



**International Labour Organization
International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)**

**Tanzania
Child Labour in the Informal Sector:
A Rapid Assessment**

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Preface

Unacceptable forms of exploitation of children at work exist and persist, but they are particularly difficult to research due to their hidden, sometimes illegal or even criminal nature. Slavery, debt bondage, trafficking, sexual exploitation, the use of children in the drug trade and in armed conflict, as well as hazardous work are all defined as Worst Forms of Child Labour. Promoting the Convention (No. 182) concerning the Prohibition and immediate action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999, is a high priority for the International Labour Organization (ILO). Recommendation (No. 190, Paragraph 5) accompanying the Convention states that “detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up to date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms, as a matter of urgency.” Although there is a body of knowledge, data, and documentation on child labour, there are also still considerable gaps in understanding the variety of forms and conditions in which children work. This is especially true of the worst forms of child labour, which by their very nature are often hidden from public view and scrutiny.

Against this background the ILO, through IPEC/SIMPOC (International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour/Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour) has carried out 38 rapid assessments of the worst forms of child labour in 19 countries and one border area. The investigations have been made using a new rapid assessment methodology on child labour, elaborated jointly by the ILO and UNICEF¹. The programme was funded by the United States Department of Labor.

The investigations on the worst forms of child labour have explored very sensitive areas including illegal, criminal or immoral activities. The forms of child labour and research locations were carefully chosen by IPEC staff in consultation with IPEC partners. The rapid assessment investigations focused on the following categories of worst forms of child labour: children in bondage; child domestic workers; child soldiers; child trafficking; drug trafficking; hazardous work in commercial agriculture, fishing, garbage dumps, mining and the urban environment; sexual exploitation; and working street children.

To the partners and IPEC colleagues who contributed, through their individual and collective efforts, to the realisation of this report I should like to express our gratitude. The responsibility for opinions expressed in this publication rests solely with the authors and does not imply endorsement by the ILO.

I am sure that the wealth of information contained in this series of reports on the situation of children engaged in the worst forms of child labour around the world will contribute to a deeper understanding and allow us to more clearly focus on the challenges that lie ahead. Most importantly, we hope that the studies will guide policy makers, community leaders, and practitioners to tackle the problem on the ground.



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¹ Investigating Child Labour: Guidelines for Rapid Assessment - A Field Manual, January 2000, a draft to be finalized further to field tests, <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/simpoc/guides/index.htm>

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A Typical Working Child in the Informal Sector¹

Hamisi is a 14 year-old boy working informally in the fishing sector in Mwanza. He emigrated to Mwanza with his parents when he was 10. His parents have since died and he now lives and works with his mother's brother, who is a fisherman. He does not attend school.

Hamisi helps his uncle to ferry, bisect, dry and salt the fish. He works eight hours a day, every day of the week. He does not receive payment in cash, instead he receives shelter, food, clothing and his medical expenses from his uncle.

Hamisi spends many hours under the scorching sun and complains of frequent headaches. He has cut himself on several occasions with a sharp knife he uses for bisecting fish. Last year, one of his cuts became seriously infected. Several of his friends have drowned.

¹ All names have been changed / Data based on the result of the research

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is a result of a rapid assessment study conducted in Arusha, Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza regions to investigate activities performed by working children in the informal sector. Four main activities were studied. They included scavenging in Arusha Municipality and the City of Dar Es Salaam, quarrying in the City of Dar Es Salaam, garage work in Arusha Municipality and the City of Mwanza, and fishing and fish processing in the City of Mwanza.

For the purpose of this study, the *informal sector* is defined as ‘a way of making a living which lacks a moderate degree of security of income and employment, whether productive or not, working for oneself or others, legally or otherwise’ (Foster-Carter, 1985). This sector was specifically studied because it is a fast growing sector in Tanzania, particularly in urban areas. Its contribution to the national GDP is estimated to be 32 percent. The sector attracts many middle to low income earners. As a result children of different age groups, gender, family status and size, education levels and areas of origin have largely been involved in the informal sector activities. The sector is estimated to employ about two million people countrywide, among them close to 60,000 children aged below 15. In the study areas the number of children engaged in informal sector activities was estimated to be 4,920 in Arusha, 4,982 in Dar Es Salaam and 1,703 in Mwanza.

The purpose of this study was to quickly gather sufficient qualitative and quantitative information on the informal sector activities in the study areas in order to be able to set programme priorities and action plans to eliminate child labour, focusing on worst forms of child labour (WFCL). Specifically, the study attempted to:

- (a) Find out the causes that push children to involve themselves in the informal sector activities, particularly in scavenging, quarrying, garage and fishing and fish processing activities;
- (b) Assess the children’s working conditions (i.e. working hours, working days, working tools, working risks and working earnings and their use) in the above informal sector activities;
- (c) Examine the demographic characteristics of working children in the selected activities and their distribution in terms of their gender, age, district of origin, education status, family status, family size and activities and tasks performed;
- (d) Propose tentative intervention measures to eliminate child labour in the areas investigated as a matter of urgency; and
- (e) Test and evaluate the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment methodology as related to this study and these WFCL.

The study used the rapid assessment methodology created by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and UNICEF. This methodology uses a variety of data collection methods. Among the most dominant methods used to collect information in this study were the following: reviewing existing literature on the subject matter, transecting, mapping, child interviews, interviews with key informants, observation and focus group discussions. Quantitative methods were used to supplement as well as to solicit information from different study units. Qualitative information was useful in making comparisons between working and non-working children, particularly to find out whether the socio-economic conditions affecting working children were the same as those affecting non-working children. Variables such as family size and the state of poverty of working and non-working were examined.

Our sampling frame consisted of various categories of respondents. The main respondents were working children who were purposively, and later, on randomly selected. Other categories of respondents who were selected in this way included non-working children and teachers. Key informants in all selected area were also included in the sample because of their expertise on child welfare issues, the informal sector and knowledge of places (key locations) under study. A total number of 157 working children, 60 non- working children, and 79 key informants from City/Municipal councils, NGOs, and the local communities were contacted.

The main limitations of the rapid assessment methodology included:

- (a) Short field work duration which was not sufficient to exhaustively and with high degree of accuracy gather enough information through rapid assessment methods; and
- (b) Frequent interruptions of working children and key informants by their work mates or relatives while mapping, and holding focus group discussions and individual interviews.

Despite the above shortcomings the main conclusions which can be drawn from the study findings include:

(a) Efforts undertaken to combat child labour in the informal sector

There have been a number of efforts made to withdraw children from child labour in the informal sector through research and by various institutions and organizations including Government ministries and departments, Trade Unions, Parastatals as well as NGOs in Tanzania and in the study areas in particular. The government, for instance, has been creating an enabling environment to combat child labour through prohibiting employing children under 15 through Employment Ordinance Cap. 366. It has also worked toward this end through ratification of international conventions and recommendations on the elimination of child labour and the creation of a Child Labour Unit in the Ministry of Labour Youth Development and Sports to design, implement, monitor and evaluate child labour elimination efforts and strategies. NGOs like Children for Children's Future and Compassion International Tanzania Limited in Arusha, Youth Information and Cultural Centre, Child in the Sun, DOGO DOGO Center and KIWOHEDE in Dar Es Salaam, and KULEANA and UPENDO in Mwanza have been at the forefront of movements to sensitize their members and the general public on the need to alleviate child labour. Some of these NGOs have acted to the extent of withdrawing children from the streets, where most of them were involved in informal sector activities and providing them with alternative employable skills e.g. tailoring, carpentry, masonry and gardening in vocational training centres. Regardless of these efforts, children in large numbers are still engaged in various informal sector activities, including scavenging, quarrying, garage work and fishing and fish processing.

(b) Demographic variables

There were more male working children (90.4 percent or 142) in the informal sector activities investigated than females (9.6 percent or 15). This disparity is due to the fact that most female children are tracked by society into domestic works rather than to scavenging, quarrying, garages and fishing and fish processing which are more male-oriented activities. Most of the working children, 65.6 percent (103), were children aged between 14 to 17 years old. About one third (52) were younger children aged between 7 to 13 years, and less than one percent (2) were even younger than seven years. The reason why children of the age group 14 to 17 were dominant among working children was the lack of secondary schools and vocational training opportunities available to them once they finished primary education. In all age groups male children dominated.

As far as their districts of origins were concerned, most of the working children, 31.8 percent (50), came from the cities and municipality where the study was conducted. Another 30.5 percent (48) came from districts of distant regions from the study areas, while 20.4 percent (32) of working children came from districts of neighboring regions of the study areas. Only 17.2 percent came from districts within the regions of the study areas. For those who came from outside the study areas 39.3 percent (42) migrated with their parents, 24.3 percent (26) came to live with their relatives, 15 percent (16) came to seek employment, and 14.0 percent (15) said they came to undergo further training. Five percent (5) reported that they migrated because of mistreatment and abuse at home compared to 3 percent who migrated to continue with schooling, only to find themselves engaged in child labour activities.

(c) Education status

In as far as education status is concerned, working children who completed primary education comprised 34 percent (53) of the children studied as compared to 24 percent (37) who were never enrolled, irrespective of their being of school-going age. Likewise, 23 percent (36) of working children in this sector were attending school as compared to 19 percent (30) who had completely dropped out of primary school education. For working children who were not enrolled more than half (56.8 percent) mentioned their parents'/guardians' inability to pay school fees and other school contributions as the reason for not being enrolled. The other major reasons which were mentioned by 32.4 percent (12) of working children never enrolled were the death of parents/guardians and parents'/guardians' refusal to enroll them. A further reason mentioned by 10.8 percent (4) was that they were still too young to be enrolled; these seven years old and others were already street children. Like their peers who were not enrolled, 43.3 percent (13) of dropout working children mentioned the failure of parents/guardians to pay for school fees and other contributions as the reason for dropping out of school. Other major reasons mentioned were failure to get school transfer clearance when they migrated from one area to another (20 percent), death of parents/guardians (13.3 percent) and mistreatment at home (10

percent). Furthermore, the majority or 80.0 percent (24) of dropout working children left school before reaching standard/class five and most of them left in standard/class three. Of working children who were also attending primary school the majority or 72.2 percent were below standard/class five.²

(d) Family status

Most of the working children, 43.4 percent (68), were equally divided between living with either both parents or other relatives. There were more children, 19.1 percent (30), living with their mothers only as compared to 4 percent living with their fathers only. On the other hand, 11.5 percent (18) of the working children lived alone while 8 percent (13) lived with their friends/peers and were in most cases leading a street life.

(e) Family size

As indicated in the previous sub-section, a sizable number of the working children (11.5 percent) were living alone. Sixteen percent of working children came from households which had six members and 15 percent came from families with two members. The latter were those mainly staying with single siblings and other relatives. There were other working children who came from households which had up to eleven members, however, the average family size for all working children who were interviewed in this study was five members.

(f) Estimation of working children

Scavenging children both in Dar Es Salaam at Vingunguti dumpsite and Arusha Municipal garbage sites were estimated to be between 30 to 70 and 80 to 100 children per day respectively. In quarrying activities at Kunduchi quarrying sites in the city of Dar Es Salaam the estimate was approximately 200 to 320 working children every day. Working children in fishing and fish processing activities in the city of Mwanza were estimated to number 30 to 40 in Igombe beach and 25 to 30 in Mwaloni beach. As far as garage activities are concerned, in the city of Mwanza there were approximately 12 working children in the Pamba road key location area and 25 in Mabatini key location area, while in Arusha it was estimated that 48 children were working in the four selected key location areas. Garage and fishing and fish processing activities were absolutely male dominated.

(g) Working hours

On average, children worked for nine hours per day in all informal sector activities. When broken down by activity, however, children working in garages worked for 10 hours, and children engaged in quarrying, fishing and fish processing and scavenging activities worked on average for nine hours, eight hours, and seven hours per day respectively. This denotes that children were exposed to long hours of work which is detrimental to their normal growth and development at such a tender age.

(h) Working days

The majority, 50.3 percent (49), of working children in all informal sector activities worked for at least five days each week, from Monday to Friday. The other 45.9 percent (79) of working children worked every day without rest and despite the weather conditions. A few, 3.8 percent (6), working children worked over the weekend only; these were mainly primary school pupils. This situation has far reaching consequences in as far as school performance and child growth and development are concerned as it is doubtful that these children get ample time to rest, play and work on their school assignments.

(i) Working tools

A number of the tools used by working children such as hammers, metal buckets, spades, heavy and sharply pointed metals (for quarrying), and boat pedals and sharp knives (fishing and fish processing) were outdated, obsolete and required manual labour. The tools were dangerous for children to use as they were designed to be used by adults.

² Standards I-VII roughly correspond to ages 7-15.

(j) Risks

A good number of working children in quarrying, garage and fishing and fish processing activities complained of body pains, sustaining injuries, abuse and catching respiratory, water-borne, and other water related diseases frequently. Children in scavenging complained of sustaining injuries, respiratory and diarrhea diseases due to the nature of their activity, and the environment which was dirty, smelly and included discarded expired hospital needles and syringes, broken bottles and dangerous chemicals. Despite all these dangers, children were found working without any protective gear such as gloves, helmets, gum boots, masks and glasses to protect themselves.

(k) Mode of payment

The majority, 66.2 percent (104), of the working children in all informal sector activities was paid in monetary terms, followed by 14.0 percent (22) paid in kind, especially in fishing and fish processing activities. Twenty children (12.7 percent) were completely unpaid. The remaining 7.0 percent (11) who were apprentices in garage activities were only given allowances.

(l) Earnings of working children

On average working children earned Tshs. 679/- per day³. Working children in fishing and fish processing activities earned more than others, about Tshs. 1,115/- per day compared to Tshs. 759/-, Tshs 406/- and Tshs. 388/- for working children in garages, quarrying and scavenging activities respectively. Moreover, in this sector the earnings of the working children increased with age. For example, working children between ages 14 and 17 on average earned Tshs. 780/- per day, and those aged between 10 and 13 earned on average Tshs. 476/- per day. Those below nine earned on average Tshs. 200/- per day. For most working children these payments do not reflect the hardships and risks involved while working. For instance, in the case of an accident, a child would not have sufficient money for treatment, let alone for his/her physical upkeep.

(m) Use of earnings

On average, working children in informal sector activities spent Tshs. 361/- per day on their personal needs. Working children in garages spent on average more than others i.e. Tshs. 435/- per day. Children working in fishing and fish processing activities spent almost the same amount at Tshs. 432/- per day, while those in scavenging and quarrying activities spent Tshs.298/- and Tshs. 218/- respectively. As in the case of earnings, daily spending of working children is correlated with age, that is, the older the child - the higher the amount spent. At least two thirds of all working children were contributing to their household's budget. On average they were contributing Tshs. 311/- per day. Generally, male working children contribute more to the household than female working children, as they earn much more than their female counterparts.

(n) Causes of child labour

Poverty, being an orphan child, irresponsible parenthood, and marriage breakdown were mentioned as the core causes of children's involvement in the informal sector by all categories of respondents (central government, local government and NGOs officials, other adults, working and non-working children). Government policies, unemployment and underemployment, non-conducive school environments and large family size were listed as other contributing factors by three categories of respondents. Further contributing factors mentioned by at least two categories of respondents were peer influence, demand for labour, mistreatment and abuses, and lack of skill acquisition. One category of respondents mentioned divergence from extended to nuclear family and delinquency.

³ USD \$1 = TShs 887 (September 2001)

From the findings of the study the following recommendations were drawn:

To the Government institutions

- The Ministries responsible for Planning, Regional Administration and Local Government, Finance, Education and Labour Development should be responsible for incorporating child labour elimination considerations into the national planning guidelines. They should also develop macro policies consistent with elimination of child labour initiatives as well as facilitate the implementation of those policies. In this regard, the Planning Commission should work in close collaboration with other ministries directly involved in the programme to expand secondary school education. This will help the majority of primary school graduates to be absorbed into secondary schools or to open more vocational or post primary technical facilities that can train primary school leavers different skills like carpentry, auto-mechanics, iron works and tailoring. Likewise master trainers (garage owners) in informal sector workshops and garages should be assisted so that they can enroll children on apprenticeship bases. Additionally non-formal education should be introduced to all children who passed school-going age without being enrolled or who dropped out of school, and cost sharing should be abolished for all school-going age children to allow maximum primary school enrollment.
- The Ministry of Finance should mobilize and allocate adequate resources to various share and/or stakeholders such as sectoral ministries, NGOs and District Councils to implement child labour elimination programmes.
- The Ministry responsible for Regional Administration should coordinate programmes of local government aimed at the elimination of child labour. Besides, the ministries should support capacity building measures to eliminate child labour in their respective jurisdictions.
- The Child Labour Unit, Ministry of Labour Youth Development in collaboration with the Directorate of Primary Schools should coordinate skills development programmes for child labour elimination.
- At the regional level, the Regional Secretariat should assist District Councils to translate child labour related policy directives into practical interventions and should be responsible for coordinating the planning and implementation of district level programmes.
- At the District level, Local Government Authorities should plan and implement child labour elimination initiatives in collaboration with the people and local institutions within their areas of jurisdiction. These authorities include village councils, Development Committees at Ward level, District Council, Town, Municipal and City Councils. Their roles and responsibilities should include among other things: building up strong leadership at the village, ward and district levels to enable carrying out efficiently and effectively child labour elimination programmes in the informal sector activities; interpreting macro and sectoral policies related to child labour according to local conditions; building capacity at village and ward levels by providing technical support and skills development in child labour and child related issues; sensitizing communities on child labour elimination and other related policies and programmes; coordinating district plans and NGO/CBO activities towards elimination of child labour in the informal sector activities; coordinating donor supported programmes on the elimination of child labour; and mobilizing and allocating resources for implementations of district plans related to the of child labour problem.

To households, families and communities

Families, households and communities are the main actors in child labour elimination programmes. Each family, household and community should be responsible for:

- Identifying and prioritizing household/community needs;
- Designing and implementing child labour elimination programmes according to their priorities and capacity;
- Mobilizing locally available resources i.e. financial, material and human for financing, building and maintaining school and vocational centers' infrastructure, staff and children; and

- Implementing, monitoring and evaluating family/household and community child labour elimination programmes in their respective locality.

To non-governmental organizations

Since NGOs are important institutions in child labour elimination programmes due to the fact that they are close to the people and sometimes formed and managed by communities, their roles and responsibilities should therefore be:

- Building local capacity and empowering communities through establishing sustainable development projects with a view to enabling self-reliance among people;
- Collaborating and coordinating with other stakeholders in child labour programme designs and implementation in order to avoid duplication of activities;
- Mobilizing and enhancing community participation in child labour elimination programmes;
- Assisting people, particularly working children, in designing strategies to contribute to their own development programmes; and
- Mobilizing community resources such as materials and people needed to build more schools and vocational training centers to open up more opportunities for school-going age children and Standard VII leavers who are engaged in child labour activities in the informal sector.

To the private sector

In a free market economy, the private sector has a role to play in child labour elimination programmes. This includes:

- Providing employment opportunities to unemployed parents and families to enable them to cease using their children's labour in the informal sector activities to supplement their income;
- Providing affordable education and health services to the general public and more particularly to the poor and unemployed parents to enable their children to continue with school instead of being engaged in child labour activities in the informal sector;
- Mobilization of savings and investment in poverty eradication programmes which will have a spill over effect on the elimination of child labour programmes among poor parents and families; and
- Provision of credit facilities to Standard VII leavers which will enable them to obtain employment in more decent businesses and jobs;

To donor communities

In recognition of the important role played by donors in programmes to eliminate child labour, donor support will be required in the following areas:

- Providing supplementary financial, technical and other support in the implementation of child labour elimination policies and programmes;
- Providing support for capacity building to share and/or stakeholders including NGOs and CBOs in the forefront of the fight to combat child labour; and
- Participating in monitoring and evaluating child labour elimination programmes.

1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF CHILD LABOUR IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR IN TANZANIA

1.1 Defining the concept of “informal sector”

The concept of the informal sector has been defined differently by various scholars and policy makers. These differences have influenced the nature of policies and interventions which have been implemented in a number of countries in Africa. At one level, the ‘*marginal*’ or ‘*informal*’ economy are terms which have been used to describe the income generating activities of large parts of the majority of the urban poor in the sector (see Sethuraman, 1976; Bagachwa, 1981; Bagachwa and Ndulu, 1988; Maliyamkono and Bagachwa, 1990 and Luvanga, 1994). At another level, the sector is referred to as “a catch-all” term for activities ranging from the poorest (e.g. rubbish tin, bottle, and box scavengers and shoe shiners) to productive enterprises with several employees (e.g. fishing, mining, quarrying, agricultural and commercial sectors). In it, it is a residual category for any economic activity that is not formal. In practical or policy terms it is not, therefore, a very effective or manageable category. The overall picture painted of the informal sector is negative, stigmatized by research findings, and indicative of usually illegal work in which operators lack skill, education and above all familiarity with modernizing elements of the city (Sanyal, 1988).

In an attempt to present a more positive and objective view of the informal sector, the ILO has come up with a comparative analysis of the informal versus formal sector dichotomy. Table 1.1 offers a summary of the ILO comparative matrix, contrasting the two sectors and highlighting the strengths and limitations of both.

Table 1.1: Contrasting characteristics of the urban informal and formal sectors

Informal Sector	Formal Sector
Easy entry	Restricted entry
High degree of resourcefulness	Frequent reliance on external resources
Family ownership of enterprises	Corporate ownership (usually foreign)
Small scale operation	Large scale (possible excessive/toxic waste)
Skills acquired outside formal school system	Formally acquired skills, often dependence on expatriates
Unregulated competitive markets	Protected markets (tariffs, quotas, licenses)

Source: ILO: Employment, Incomes and Equality (1972: 6)

It is argued that, by providing a tabular backdrop of contrasting characteristics between informal and formal sector dualism, the ILO provided a fertile ground for a wave of criticism for lack of labour absorption in urban economies in developing countries (Sanyal, op. cit.).

On the other hand, Valentine Omolo Opere (1989) views the informal sector as consisting of very small (micro) units established, owned and operated by one or few private individuals who do not possess adequate capital, skill and know how to have free access to them. These micro units generally escape the discriminative, legal or statistical framework in force. The informal economy often covers a wide spectrum of economic activities undertaken at an extremely small-scale level. The majority of these activities are privately owned and includes food processing, shoe repair, woodwork, metal fabricating, garages, scavenging and the like. For the purpose of this study, the *informal sector* is defined as ‘*a way of making a living which lacks a moderate degree of security of income and employment, whether productive or not, working for oneself or others, legally or otherwise*’ (Foster-Carter, 1985). This definition has the advantage of encompassing a variety of forms of income generating activity without falling into the traps of attempting to classify these various activities

1.2 The development of the informal sector in Tanzania

Prior to independence, considerable economic activities were taking place at the household level without being captured in official statistics. Concepts such as traditional activities, subsistence activities and efforts in the national accounts in as early as the 1960s to measure “*subsistence activities*” reflected the existence of unrecorded or informal activities. However, the origin of the informal sector in Tanzania can be characterized

into four major eras (Nsana et al. 1994), that is, immediately after independence; after the Arusha Declaration; the years 1974 – 1989; and the post-1980 period. Following is an effort to outline the main feature of each period, and how each period is related to the development of the informal sector in Tanzania.

- (a) Immediately after independence in 1961, some indigenous people (especially those working on estates) opted to work on their own rather than working for their colonial masters. They established their own small-scale level practices, e.g. black smith, shoe making, tailoring and retail trade. Although these activities existed even during the colonial period, they increased intensely after independence.
- (b) After the Arusha Declaration of 1967 with its concomitant nationalization of the major means of the economy, the informal sector prospered and two types of the informal sector operators emerged. The first category constituted those whose properties were nationalized, and who established smaller enterprises that did not qualify for nationalization (most of the Asians moved into this type of business). The second was made up of former employees in the nationalized enterprises who could not be re-employed and who thus formed small businesses in areas such as retail trading, carpentry, tailoring and metal fabrication.
- (c) The period between 1974 and 1980 was characterized by the Ujamaa Villages Act of 1975, stipulating that there should be no place for individual ownership of small-scale industrial activities in villages. During this period communal ownership was encouraged. This act accelerated the rural-urban migration, especially among the youths who wanted to escape from the social demands of the new system of living. Unfortunately, during this period the informal sector was highly constrained by legal by-laws. Regardless of the by-laws, the informal sector activities flourished, particularly in urban areas, as a survival mechanism following the economic crisis that began to surface in the late 1970s. Many micro-enterprises were born out of the need to survive in a harsh economic climate, and many micro-entrepreneurs had no focus other than to endure from one day to the next.
- (d) The 1980s and the structural adjustment reforms period was characterized by collapse of the formal sector employment, compression and erosion of real wages in the 1980s and proliferation of informal sector activities in Tanzania. Public sector reforms through retrenchments and redeployment aimed at reducing the size of the public sector became a fashion. Most retrenched employees who could not be absorbed in the formal employment and those wishing to supplement their formal incomes, turned to the informal sector as an income generating opportunity. Besides, with erosion in real wages, formal employment increasingly became unattractive and unrewarding to the extent that some employees opted for employment in the informal sector. The study conducted by Tripp (1988) revealed that after the 1980s, over 70 percent of employees who were formerly the employees of the formal sector left and joined the informal sector.

In terms of employment, indicative information obtained from three population census (1967, 1978 and 1988) shows a large share in total employment of informal sector employment. Employment for informal sector activities was found to be 4,156,320, 5,207,660 and 6,206,470 respectively. This means that, the informal sector employment was 74.6 percent in 1967, 67.8 percent in 1978 and 59.5 percent in 1988 of the economically active population. Both men and women were largely involved in informal sector activities.

The 1990/91 Labour Force Survey revealed that out of 10,900,000 people who were employed in all sectors (both formal and informal), 2,369,380 were engaged in the informal sector. The majority 985,597 (60 percent) were in rural areas while the remaining 555,497 (40 percent) were in urban areas. Disaggregated by gender the statistics further indicated that 1,531,094 were males and the remaining 838,286 were female. Among these, there were 53,748 children below the age of 15 engaged in the sector (27,277 males; 26,491 females).

The subsequent surveys conducted in Dar Es Salaam (1995), Mwanza (1999) and Arusha (2000) estimate the number of working children under 15 years of age to be 4,920, 1,703 and 4,000 respectively (Dar Es Salaam Informal Sector Survey, 1995; Mwanza City Council Informal Sector Survey, 2000; Simon Panga, 2000). Although more current hard data is not readily available, these figures are still skyrocketing. This fact is also attested to by the study Tanzania Informal Sector Road Map conducted by the Enterprise Development Center (2000). The study noted that over the past decade up until the present time, the importance of the informal sector in Tanzania as a provider of employment and income has increased and is still increasing tremendously.

The recent official data from the National Employment Policy (1997) indicates that the sector's employees are estimated to be not less than two million people. This is more than twice the number of people employed in the formal sector (Government, Parastatal and Private Firms). The informal sector on the other hand, has the capacity to employ 62.5 percent of the yearly increase of labour force in urban areas. The capacity of the formal sector is 8.5 percent. Operating at a small-scale, most projects in the informal sector include pottery, cooking oil extraction, brewing and selling local brews, making mats and baskets, small retail shops and related trade activities, flour milling, automobile garages, carpentry, building works, brick making, poultry farming, vegetables, fruits and flower farming, fishery, mining and bee-keeping.

Various estimations of the size of the informal sector have been established. The first estimates put the informal sector GDP contribution at less than 10 percent in 1978 and slightly increased to 10.3 percent in 1985 (Aboagye, 1989). The second estimates by Maliyamkono and Bagachwa (1990) testify that the informal sector was equally less than 10 percent of official GDP before 1979, but increased to almost one third of the GDP by the second half of the 1980s. The third estimates by the National Informal Sector Survey (NISS) (1991) revealed the share of informal sector GDP in official GDP was 32 percent. The fourth estimates of GDP covering the post-adjustment period in Tanzania, estimates the figure to be as high as 60 percent (Sarris and Van den Brink, 1993 and Bagachwa and Naho, 1993).

1.3 History and past research on child labour in the informal sector

Child labour is virtually prohibited in Tanzania and yet it continues to flourish. It is a growing phenomenon that is largely fostered and facilitated by the economic recession and persistent poverty encountered in the country. Patterns and incidences of child labour in Tanzania are largely associated with the implementation of market reforms that the country has adopted over the past decade (Rwegoshora et. al., 1997 and ILO, 1998). The implementation of these policies has affected the social sector budget and thus worsened not only rural, but also urban poverty.

The removal of subsidies on education, for example, has certainly aggravated the rate of inability of poor families to meet the basic education costs. As a result, there is falling gross and net enrollment for primary school from as high as 80 percent in the 1980s to less than 50 percent at present (Mbele, 2000). For example, in 1997 only 13 percent of children aged seven actually entered class one at age seven. The above scenario has made many children unable to attend school and there has been an increasing rate of primary school dropouts over the last few years. According to the ILO (1999), the average drop out rate during the mid 1990s was 26 percent. The increasing numbers of absenteeism and drop out in schools add to the number of children who are not enrolled in school. Because of this there is a high probability that children who drop out of primary school engage in child labour practices in the informal sector on a full-time basis, while others involve themselves on a part-time basis. Children aged between 8–15 years, the majority of whom are drop outs constitute 8–20 percent of the labour force in the informal sector (ILO 1998).

The participation of children in the informal sector activities of various kinds is on the increase (Mwangosi et.al. 1990; Rwegoshora, 1995; Ishengoma and Nchahaga, 1996; Musoke, 1996; Rwegoshora et. al 1997; Save the Children Fund, 1998; Kadonya, 1998 and Lugalla and Jessica, 1999). The exploitation of child labour in the urban informal sector is closely associated with the current influx of children and youth from the rural to urban areas. The most visible child workers are those working on the streets of urban centers, but there is a bigger number engaged in various types of tasks and activities like scavenging, fishing and related activities, spraying cars and panel beating. The most invisible children include those involved in drug trafficking, working in garages, and metal and wood workshops. Commercial sexual exploitation and child domestic workers also fall into the realm of the informal sector. Child prostitution is fast growing in the urban areas in Tanzania. Poverty and conflict in the family make children look for a life away from home. In the urban areas they find themselves with limited choices available to them and are forced to enter into the exploitative labour market. These areas include populous sub-urban centers across the country where young girls are recruited from rural villages with promises of good jobs in urban areas. The immediate danger that these sexually exploited children are vulnerable to include contracting HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.

Child domestic workers also form a special category in the informal sector. The available information about these children indicates that they routinely work very long hours, under pressure and stress and almost in total isolation from their families and friends. They are normally subjected to physical and sexual abuse.

Perhaps the newest emerging group of working children includes orphaned children (Lifa, 1999). Orphaned children have been forced to move and live on the street, and quite often this happens when the extended family system fails to accept orphans or fails to provide adequate care, following the death of their parents. The situation is made worse when unscrupulous relatives deprive children of the family resources. Such children end up in the streets where they have to work in order to survive. Most of them become vulnerable to various abuses in the informal sector.

What characterizes such children's livelihoods (or rather survival strategies) is that their income generating options are invariably laborious, low productivity work forcing them to work long hours for small returns. This, in turn, means that children are forced to work in an effort to maintain bare subsistence. Some of this work is done in the household, but a substantial part is done on the street (e.g. at garbage, quarrying, garage or fishing sites). This study was concerned with the bottom end of the informal sector, from the rubbish, tin, bottle and box scavengers and quarry workers to garage and fish scaling labourers. These activities are blurred along the lines of illegality and criminality. They are the marginal activities which many people, particularly children, are forced into. It is here that, approximately 60,000 of Tanzania's children can be found (see e.g. NISS, 1991).

1.4 Efforts made in the past to combat child labour in Tanzania

Various efforts have been made to combat child labour in various sectors in Tanzania. Most of these efforts have been manifesting themselves in the form of research, sensitization and actual withdrawal of children from child labour activities. At the center of the efforts to combat child labour in the country there have been a number of partners involved. They include Government, NGOs, Employers' Associations and Trade Unions, the private sector and parastatal organizations

For its part the government has done quite a lot in creating an enabling environment to combat child labour through ratification of International Conventions and Recommendations on the elimination of child labour and the enactment of the Employment Ordinance Cap. 366. Among other things, these have resulted in the prohibition of employing children under 15 years of age, and the formulation of positive policies geared towards eradicating poverty and improving people's welfare standards (e.g. structural recovery programs aimed at reducing poverty and bridging the gap between the rich and poor as well as the National Poverty Eradication Strategy, 2000). Since the mid-1980s the creation of a "Child Labour Unit" has further intensified efforts towards the struggle against child labour⁴. These efforts include research to identify the causes, nature and extent of child labour as well as the identification of existing holes in the intervention measures adopted to combat the problem. Training is undertaken to create awareness through seminars and workshops to both government employees dealing directly with enforcement of laws as well as to the general public. Consequently, through conducting research, sensitizing the public and key players, and building capacity of labour officers, the consensus that there is a need to eliminate child labour has been established.

There exist a multitude of NGOs all over Tanzania and Mwanza, Dar Es Salaam and Arusha regions in particular, which have been at the forefront, of the movement to sensitize their members of the need to combat child labour. These include those supported by the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) and non-IPEC supported programmes. Examples of such NGOs are Children for Children's Future, Children of the Street, Welfare Association and Ukombozi Street Children Center in Arusha; Child in the Sun, DOGO DOGO Street Children Center, Youth Information and Cultural Center, KIWOHEDE and Tuamoyo Street Children Center in Dar Es Salaam; and Fish for Life Organization, Tanzania Rescue Services, UPENDO DAIMA and KULEANA in Mwanza. This is not a comprehensive listing.

Some of the NGOs such as DOGO DOGO Center, Child in the Sun, YCIC, KIWOHEDE and KULEANA have withdrawn children from child prostitution, child domestic work and life on the streets and provided them with alternatives. These alternatives offer the youth employable skills, e.g. tailoring, carpentry, gardening, artistic works in vocational training centers, etc.

Nonetheless, coordination of all the NGO activities is lacking, apart from a few exceptional cases. For example, one important initiative started by Egos dealing with street children in Dar Es Salaam was the establishment of the Dar Es Salaam Network for Street Children (DNSC 1992). The Network's objective was to bring all

⁴ The Child Labour Unit oversees the implementation of programmes on the elimination of child labour not only in the informal sector, but also in other sectors.

projects involved with street children together to share information and other services. The overriding general objective was to discuss and discover the solutions to the problem of children under difficult circumstances. Today, however, the network that was created is not as strong as it was in 1992.

In addition, even the limited number of NGOs collaborating are of a wide variety. Most of the NGOs concerned are facilitating organizations, for example, KULEANA, DOGO DOGO Street Children Center, Youth, Culture and Information Center and Child in the Sun. These NGOs have proven to be capable of organizing development programs with regard to children's rights, including the elimination of child labour, either with Tanzanian funds or with additional foreign funding. Even this category, however, is far from homogenous. Some focus on training (of street children), others on day care facilities for children of working mothers. Still others are engaged in reuniting children with their parents, or focus on vocational training. Some organizations fight for legal rights of children, or protection of children against child labour.

Some NGOs in Dar Es Salaam City perceive their role as a temporary one, as in theory, it should be. In their views NGOs are instrumental in empowering local communities, or particular segments of such communities (e.g. children). Other NGOs are less clear in their long-term outlook. Far from being critical of this vision, it can be observed that the local Dar Es Salaam City conditions offer ample space for short-term strategies and tactics to play out.

An analysis of the performances of several government and non-government agencies in addressing the child labour and its elimination, shows that the various agencies have not even touched the fringe of the problem. Problems of sustainability and replication are ever present due to the donor driven nature of many programmes. However, it appears that during the past few years, their efforts have gained momentum as the list of Governmental and NGO activities mentioned in this chapter illustrates.

Partners such as the Tanzania Association of Employers (ATE) and the defunct Tanzania Federation of Trades Union (TFTU) have also played a significant role in the war against child labour in their capacities as umbrella organizations. ATE is an umbrella organization that has been at the forefront in the campaign against child labour. It has been dealing with the removal of child labourers among its members through employers associations such as Tanzania Sisal Growers, Tea Growers Association and Coffee Growers Association. The recent dissolved TFTU used its sectoral members like Conservation, Hotels and Domestic Allied Workers Union (CHODAWU), Tanzania Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union (TPAWU) and Tanzania Mining and Construction Union (TAMICO) in the campaigns against child labour. The efforts of these two umbrella organizations and their association members have been invaluable. The private sector has also made significant contributions in the war waged against child labour in the country through training and awareness creation among the general public. Under this sector, the mass media partners including Independent Television (ITV), Dar Es Salaam Television (DTV), Radio One, Radio Free Africa, Radio Tumaini, Sunday Observer, the Guardian, Majira, Mwanjani are among the notable partners who have been key in leading the campaign against child labour in the country.

Parastatal organizations have also played a role. Though the number of existing parastatals in Tanzania is dwindling quickly due to the government policy of privatizing most of them, the few remaining ones have been actively involved in the fight against child labour. The National Social Welfare Training Institute is one such organization that is highly involved in training, consultancy and research against child labour in Tanzania.

2. RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

2.1 Approach

Understanding child labourers in the informal sector requires special skills. Working children need to be approached gently, and their confidence gained before they can discuss their lives truthfully. Reaching out to a child worker and engaging him/her in a discussion of life, work and family and his/her feelings is a challenging task. It demands engagement and this in turn calls for a response. In view of this, finding out about working children was a task undertaken with a commitment to action.

For the purposes of this study, both qualitative and quantitative information was required in order to create the basis for determining priorities for national action. A qualitative approach was employed for the purpose of getting the perspectives and feelings of the respondents as shown in Table 2.1, while the quantitative component was equally important in to provide statistical data on the actual number of children involved in various activities in the informal sector and their basic characteristics. On this account, both qualitative and quantitative information supplemented and complemented each other to make the study findings richer.

2.2 Sampling

The study was conducted in three main urban centers, Arusha, Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza. These locations were chosen because they are big and growing urban areas with increasing populations, either through normal growth rate or rural urban migration process. They are densely populated urban centers with a number of formal and informal economic activities taking place as well as places where children were found taking an active role in the informal sector activities.

In each of these urban centers, specific key locations were identified with the assistance of the key informants. The main guiding criterion was the type of activity that was being studied. In Arusha, for example, the survey took place where scavenging and garage activities were located i.e. Unga Limited, Ngarenaro, Sombetini, Kaloleni, Central Market, Them, Lemara and Njiro main garbage. In Dar Es Salaam the sampled locations included Kunduchi Quarrying Site and Vingunguti Dump Site. The main activities studied in Mwanza City included fishing and fish related activities as well as garage activities and thus the key sampled locations in Mwanza were those along Lake Victoria i.e. Igombe Beach and Mwaloni Beach for fishing, and the City Suburbs i.e. Pamba Road and Mabatini for garage work.

2.2.1 Sampling of respondents

For appropriate representation of the study, the main population included various categories of respondents from three selected urban centers. These included working and non-working children, parents, city commission officials, regional labour officers, municipal community development workers, social welfare officers, health officers, education officers, planning officers, dump managers, ward executive officers, village executive officers, head teachers, teachers and NGO officials. Working and non-working children were randomly selected in the key locations. Other respondents, because of their limited number, were included in the sample. Out of this process a total number of 330 respondents were interviewed. Table 2.1 indicates a sampling frame of respondents by their categories and the urban areas covered.

Table 2.1: Sampling frame of respondents (N = 330)

Respondents	Arusha	Dar Es Salaam	Mwanza	Total
1. Working Children	50	53	54	157
2. Non Working Children	20	20	20	60
3. Key Local Informants	10	10	13	33
4. Labour Officers/Inspectors	1	3	3	7
5. Social Welfare Officers	2	2	2	6
6. Regional Trade Officer	1	-	-	1
7. Administrative Officers	1	-	-	1
8. Economist/Planning Officers	1	2	1	4
9. Education Officers	1	2	1	4
10. Health Officers	1	2	1	4
11. Community Development Officers	1	2	1	4
12. Ward Executive Officers	-	2	2	4
13. Village Executive Officers	-	-	1	1
14. Ward Social Welfare Committee Members	-	3	7	10
15. NGO Officials	5	5	3	13
16. Head Teachers	-	2	2	4
17. Teachers	-	4	6	10
18. Garage owners	-	-	7	7
Total	94	112	124	330

Source: Field survey, 2000

2.3 Data collection methods

During the study various methods were used to collect the necessary information on the perceptions, causes, incidences and nature of the working children in the informal sector activities as well as existing efforts towards its eventual elimination. These included reviewing the existing literature concerned with the informal sector activities in Tanzania, transect walks, mapping, interviewing key informants, observation, administering questionnaires and holding focus group discussion. The rationale behind using each method is described below:

(a) Study of documentary information

Information was studied from official documents such as the national population censuses, national informal sector survey, regional socio-economic profiles of areas under study, ILO/IPEC reports on the elimination of child labour in Tanzania and ILO rapid assessment manual, and newspapers such as The Sunday Observer, The Guardian, Majira and Mtanzania. This review of the existing literature was an eye opener regarding what is already known on child labour in the informal sector in Tanzania, and identified missing gaps of knowledge as well as information useful to designing the rapid assessment on working children in the informal sector. Researchers were able to obtain the available statistical data on the nature of employment in the informal sector, the trend of the development of the sector in Tanzania and its size. This provided useful background knowledge and thereby helped to focus on the research problem at hand more sharply.

(b) Transect walk

This was a tool used as an icebreaker by the team of researchers to familiarize themselves with the physical environment and infrastructure and to identify the locations of the working children. The research team walked the transects with insiders such as Ward Executive Officers, Community

Development Officers, Village Executive Officers, NGO Officials and other knowledgeable individuals in various key locations. In some instances researchers had to walk long distances looking for working children who were widely scattered in the locations such as along the Lake Victoria shores where children were performing fishing and fish related activities. Other areas where transect walks were difficult to conduct due to the scattered nature of the activities performed by working children were in garage and quarrying activities in Arusha, Mwanza and Dar Es Salaam. It was through transecting, however, that researchers, with the help of the insiders, were able to determine the areas that seemed to have higher incidences of working children.

(c) Resource mapping

This method was used in this particular study as a powerful tool for a visual representation of the localities transected showing various resources (e.g. land, water sources, recreation areas, and socio-economic infrastructure including roads, schools and clinics). Groups of working children were involved in the exercise of mapping existing resources within their localities with the guidance of the facilitators (see Annexes for resource maps of the respective localities). Together with resource mapping, social mapping was also used to show the arrangement and composition of households within different localities visited. The social maps were generally used as introductions to discuss social stratification, inequalities, social problems and coping strategies in the respective localities (see Annexes for social mapping in all key locations sampled). Through mapping exercises, the researchers were able to locate the areas with incidences of child labour.

(d) Interviewing key informants

Most of the key informants were identified by virtue of their positions and their knowledge in the area. In-depth discussions were conducted in a structured manner with individuals who were carefully chosen because of their knowledge about children's economic activities. The interviews assisted the team of researchers to target the study, both in terms of locations for the study and the type of occupations that were examined. These key informants included city commission officials, regional labour officers, municipal community development workers, social workers, health officers, education officers, planning officers, dump managers, ward executive officers, village executive officers, head teachers, teachers, NGO officials, elders and working and non-working children. These provided entry to the local key locations. They were also important for giving information that sometimes would not be obtained by other means, as they had a good idea of what went on in their respective areas (see Annex 2). Another asset of the key informants was that they were instrumental in facilitating the interviews with children. The most frequently used method of starting to gain the confidence of a child worker is to be introduced by a person from the area that they know, and hopefully trust.

(e) Direct observation

Observations enabled the team of researchers to gather sufficient information even before interviewing started. In many key locations visited it was possible to observe working children directly as well as the interactions between them and their clients. Consequently, through this method the researchers were able to systematically observe existing behaviours, working conditions and associated hazards, working tools as well as other abuses leveled against working children in scavenging, quarrying, fishing and garage activities in the localities concerned. Additionally, observation helped in counting working children in order to establish the relative magnitude and severity of the problem in each locality. The observations were systematic - a list of activities that children were engaged in was recorded. The method was useful in the sense that it helped the team of researchers to observe the actual situation of working children and the type of hazards and risks encountered.

(f) Questionnaire

These were administered to the purposively selected 157 working children in the three areas covered by the study. The questionnaires were used in order to gather quantifiable data which provided information about economic activities of household members, number of working children and the like in the sampled key locations (see Annex 1). Related to this, questionnaires were designed to gather

quantitative information to triangulate the data collected through free interviewing and to find out the relationship between various socio-economic factors and causes of child labour in the informal sector.

(g) Focus group discussions (FGDs)

FGDs were held among key informants, i.e. city commission officials, regional labour officers, municipal community development workers, social workers, health officers, education officers, planning officers, dump managers, ward executive officers, village executive officers, head teachers, teachers, elders, NGO officials and non-working children (see Annex 2). The homogeneous groups of government/municipal officials, NGO officials, working and non-working children were optimal for in depth information about the perception, causes, nature and extent of WFCL, existing initiatives and/or efforts towards the elimination of the problem as well as potential solutions for its eradication. In addition, FGDs with the identified informants served to provide more and better information than could be obtained in a much more time consuming exercise of individual interviews with the same people.

2.4 Data processing and analysis

The data gathered were processed and analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Qualitatively, the researchers first translated and categorized them into various themes and sub-themes identifying the perceptions, causes, extent and magnitude of working children in the informal sector, existing initiatives and/or efforts to eliminate it, as well as tentative solutions. Eventually, the data were synthesized before making conclusions. Quantitative data was processed by using the SPSS programme and analyzed by using percentages, ratios, frequencies and tabulations.

2.5 Limitations of the study

The limitations of the study are divided into two parts: (i) problems emanating from operational aspects of the study and (ii) problems emanating from the methodology used i.e. ILO/UNCEF Rapid Assessment Methodology (RAM).

(a) Operational problems

- (i) Members of the consultancy team did not receive the necessary assistance and inputs they needed such as research clearance and information regarding whom to contact. Because of this there were unnecessary delays in securing research clearance. The researchers therefore experienced difficulties accessing relevant government officials at the selected localities who were responsible for introducing them to the working and non-working children (control group from primary schools). Most often the relevant authorities were either not available due to constant bureaucratic meetings in the office or outside, or had traveled without delegating authority. This anomaly caused the researchers to miss some data from the control groups. The problems were later solved by the researchers who requested and were granted extra days to collect the said data.
- (ii) The study was carried out at the time when the Dar Es Salaam City Commission and its three Municipalities were electing their Mayor(s) and counsellors, and even worse, when many government officials including those in Mwanza and Arusha were busy preparing themselves for Christmas, Idd Elftri and New Year festivals. Thus a substantial number of officials from these localities were very busy and were not available for interviews and discussions, let alone to provide research clearances on time to enable the study to run its course smoothly.
- (iii) Also related to the above limitations was the bad timing in regards to some of the sectors identified as pocketing working children under hazardous conditions. For example, in the fishing activities in Mwanza, the study was conducted when there were very little fishing activities undertaken due to the off-season. This fact was attested by key informants who asserted that fishing activities flourish during the months of April to June and September to November. The situation compelled the researcher to rely on key informants to identify children who were involved during the peak months to be interviewed.

- (iv) The two week duration set for undertaking data collection for the rapid assessment investigation was not quite sufficient to exhaustively gather the information required for the study. Bearing in mind the bureaucratic red tape in most government offices it took almost a week for some of the researchers to secure research clearance. And on a few occasions researchers, especially in Dar Es Salaam, were unable to get clearance from the City Council Director who in charge of the Vingunguti dump site
- (v) During the training before fieldwork it was agreed upon that there was no need for a control group in the informal sector. The reason behind this decision was that in urban areas working children in the informal sector do not necessarily stay in or around the places they work. Therefore, during the fieldwork non-working children participated in focus group discussions to solicit their perception on child labour. However, during the preparation of this report it was found there was a need to compare basic characteristics of working and non-working children in the informal sector. Unfortunately due to lack of available funds, data for comparison purposes was collected only in the City of Dar Es Salaam.

(b) Methodological problems

- (i) Understanding working children requires skills and time to establish rapport before one can gain their confidence. Given the short time span for the research it was not possible to build rapport, hence there was suspicion among members of the community (both working adults and children), especially in quarrying (Dar Es Salaam), scavenging (Dar Es Salaam and Arusha) and garage activities (Mwanza and Arusha). Some people were a bit suspicious and sometimes overtly hostile towards the consultancy team alleging that many researchers, NGOs and politicians have been using them as '*capital*' for their own benefits and not for the benefits of the marginalized and disadvantaged groups (i.e. themselves). The garage owners were reluctant to let the researchers interview them as well as the working children mistaking them with labour inspectors who are notorious for closing down their businesses. These problems encountered caused some delay and brought up the issue of compensation for time and information.
- (ii) Many working children were interviewed at their work sites. Due to the nature of their work there were too many interruptions either with their employers, fellow working children, parents or guardians. This situation affected the responses of the working children as some could not talk freely in front of other people.
- (iii) Given the small areas that were studied it was not possible to generalize these findings countrywide, thus the necessity of a large study covering a more wide population still exists.

3. DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREAS

This chapter describes the area profile of the regions where the study was undertaken. In each region the ecological and environmental profiles are highlighted. In view of this, the chapter is divided into three parts. The first part describes the Arusha area profile, the second part describes Dar Es Salaam, and the third part describes Mwanza.

3.1 Arusha municipal

(a) Demographic patterns, economy and ethnicity

According to the information derived from the Arusha Municipal Council, it is estimated that the Arusha municipality has a total population of 270,466 people of whom 39 percent are children between 0-14 years. Among these, 127,012 people (47 percent) are female and 143,454 are male. The annual population growth rate is six percent against the national rate of 2.8 percent. Arusha municipality faces rapid population growth, which is accelerated by rural-urban migration. There is a high population influx to Arusha from neighbouring regions, mainly Kilimanjaro, Tanga, and Singida. This population influx can be explained by two main reasons: Arusha, as a tourist and industrial town, has been attracting a number of people in recent years; and this municipal is the main market for the 'Tanzanite' mineral from Mererani.

The main ethnic groups are Waarusha which constitute about 45 percent of the population, followed by Chagga comprising about 30 percent of the population. Other minority groups include Asians, Pare, and small tribes from neighbouring regions such as Singida, Tanga, Mara, Morogoro, Kilimanjaro and Dodoma. Besides small scale agriculture, commerce and industries (big, medium and small scale) are the most predominant economic activities for the Arusha urban population. The Arusha Municipal Trade Officer estimated that about 70 percent of the residents earn their livelihood through various buying and selling activities.

(b) Informal sector activities

The importance of the informal sector activities for the Arusha municipality economy cannot be over emphasized. In 1986, the Tanzania government decided to withdraw itself from direct production of goods and services and hence moved to a free market economy. This decision reduced the size of the formal sector (industrial sector) through privatization of many public organizations and industries, especially those that were found to be economic burdens to the central government. As a result, many Tanzanians were forced into either unemployment or underemployment. At the same time it is estimated that about 600,000 new Tanzanians enter into the labour market to seek jobs which are not there (Marsha, 2000). Most of these are Standard VII leavers who have failed to be provided with further opportunities for secondary and vocational training schools.

The impact of the above situation is reflected by the annual increasing rate of children into the urban streets coming from both rural and urban families. For example, Panga (2000) in his study about street children in Arusha suggests that about 4000 children come into Arusha's streets annually due to the hard economic lives of their parents.

Most of the unemployed adults and youth in Arusha municipal find their way into the informal sector. Arusha Municipal Council (2000) estimated that about 40 percent of its total labour force engages in commercial and industrial activities. Of these, 55 percent are working in informal sector activities such as small business, small-scale industries and backyard garages, tourism related activities, carpentry, and tailoring.

The informal sector in Arusha municipal serves dual roles: economically in terms of job creation, and consumer-wise as poverty excludes many people from buying from the formal sector. The informal sector is, therefore, the poor man's sector, catering to his needs (ILO 1985).

(c) The provision of social services

Arusha town faces socio-economic problems arising from rural-urban migration. This has resulted into serious constraints on the limited urban services available. The subsequent sub-sections offer the descriptions of the services.

(i) Health services

Health services are among the pre-requisites for human growth and development. Arusha municipality offers three types of medical services: hospitals, health centers, and dispensaries. The municipal has five hospitals, of which one belongs to the government, and four belong to private institutions. Other health facilities available are seven health centers, 45 dispensaries, 10 pharmacies and 146 medical stores. According to the 1998 Municipal Health Status Report, there were 392 hospital beds with an average of 279 persons per bed.

The most common diseases affecting residents of Arusha municipality according to 1999 figures are shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Common diseases affecting residents in Arusha municipality

Diseases	Under 5 Years		Above 5 Years	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Malaria	24,380	28.77	30,499	32.29
ARI	15,541	18.57	18,618	19.71
Pneumonia	14,092	16.63	10,925	11.57
Diarrhoea	10,452	12.33	8,675	9.19
Skin infection	11,154	13.16	6,644	7.05
UTI	1,798	2.12	6,170	6.53
Minor surgical	1,447	1.71	7,299	7.73
Intestinal worms	2,695	3.18	3,024	3.20
Eye infection	1,830	2.16	1,441	1.53
Ear infection	1,162	1.37	1,145	1.21
Total	84,751	100	94,440	100

Source: District Health Plan of Arusha, 2001

Although HIV/AIDS continues to be a threat for the most active population in Arusha, there were no available statistics on how many children under five were infected. According to the Regional Medical Office there were 1,520 HIV/AIDS cases in 1999 in the Arusha urban area. Among them, 670 were males and 850 females. The data was not aggregated between adults and children.

(ii) Solid waste management

The Health Department is responsible for carrying out solid waster management in Arusha municipality. Solid waste generated in the municipality is composed of household, market, commercial, institutional, construction, street and garage waste. Refuse generated in Arusha was estimated at an average of 200 tons per day. The per capital refuse generation rate per day is 0.8 kilogrammes, while the municipal has a capacity to collect only 112 tons daily which is 56 percent of the refuse generated per day. The remaining 44 percentare uncollected due to limited financial resources required for purchasing enough collection trucks and other equipment. This results in serious environmental pollution in the municipality.

Solid waste collection is carried out in all municipal wards around the town center. There were about 30 dustbins around the municipal; each with a capacity to store three to four tons at a time. When full, the garbage was emptied to the main dumpsite about five to six kilometres out of Arusha town.

Njiro dumpsite was surrounded by a residential area causing health hazards to the near-by residents. There are plans to shift the dumpsite to Murriet area, which was prepared through a financial assistance from the World Bank to become a new municipal dumpsite.

(iii) Education services and enrollment

In as far as educational infrastructure is concerned, it was noted that pre-primary schools, primary schools and secondary schools exist as described in this sub-section. Arusha municipality consists of 95 pre-schools of which the Council owns nine and 86 are privately owned. These schools are supposed to cater to 46,483 nursery school-age children, and thus are a long way from being sufficient. Nursery schools play an important role in preparing children of three to six years old to join the formal primary school education system. In addition to these pre-primary schools, the municipality has 29 primary schools. Among these, only four are privately owned and the rest are owned by the Municipal Council.

According to the Arusha Education Department (2000), there were 34,032 pupils in all 25 primary schools owned by the Municipal Council. Of these 17,880 of the students (53 percent) were females compared to 16,152 males. The actual demand for teachers for the above figure of pupils was 999. However, the number of teachers available was only 814. The shortage of all schools in the municipal totals 185. Under these conditions the teacher-pupil ratio was approximately 1:30, compared to the regional average of 1:41 (Regional Education Office, 1997).

Arusha municipality has been affected dramatically by the shortage of classrooms in primary schools. Statistics from the Municipal Education Office (2000) suggest that the actual demand for classrooms in Arusha municipality is 664 compared to the 373 classrooms available. This makes a shortage of 291 classrooms. If one compares the total number of pupils in all 25 schools with the available number of classrooms, it is evident that every single classroom takes approximately 65 pupils. However, in some schools, e.g., Kaloleni with 1,259 pupils, have only eleven classrooms, which makes an average of 140 pupils per classroom. Other schools in the Municipal with the highest number of pupils per classroom include Kijenge and Burka Primary schools with 103 and 96 pupils respectively. This situation contributes to school dropout and absenteeism, which are the causal factors of the WFCL in the Municipal.

The actual demand for desks is also high compared to the existing number. For example, the year 2000 Municipal Education Department estimates for school desks suggest that about 11,403 desks are required. Currently, there are 9,533. For all 25 primary schools there is a shortage of 1,870 desks, (16.3 percent) of the actual demand. Table 3.2 illustrates the situation of the education infrastructure for Arusha municipality.

Table 3.2: Situation of educational infrastructure in Arusha municipality

Type	Required	Available	Shortage
Classroom	664	373	291
Teacher's Quarters	773	34	739
Pit Latrines (Pits)	1,353	373	973
Desks	11,403	9,533	1,870

Source: Arusha Municipal Education Department Annual Report, 2000

Through direct participant observation there was a direct correlation between the shortage of a number of infrastructure facilities highlighted in Table 3.2 in Arusha municipality and the existence of child labour.

As far as current education enrollment is concerned, during the academic year 2001 it was estimated that about 6,385 children of 7-13 years were expected to be enrolled in Standard I: 3,291 girls and 3,094 boys. Data from the Municipal Education Office revealed that 71 percent of the total estimate was already enrolled to start primary education by January 2001. Comparatively, girls were 2,327 and boys 2,221 of this total. The enrollment trend for the past four years is summarized in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Primary school enrollment for four years, from 1998-2001

Year	Expected			Enrolled				Never Enrolled			
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	%	M	F	Total	%
1998	314 5	332 5	6470	260 7	2625	5222	8 1	53 8	700	1235	19
1999	359 8	373 8	7336	260 0	2596	5796	7 1	99 8	114 2	2142	26
2000	376 4	367 5	7439	296 4	2832	5796	7 8	80 0	843	1643	22
2001	309 4	329 1	6385	222 1	2327	4548	7 2	87 3	964	1837	29

Source: Regional Education Office, 2001

In terms of dropout rates and absenteeism, Arusha municipality is among the districts with the lowest rate of school dropouts. For example, primary school Head Teachers of Meru, Kaloleni and Kijenge revealed the annual estimate for the number of pupils who drop out of school for various reasons at only six.

Similarly, when primary teachers and parents were asked to explain why the targeted enrollment was not realized, teachers said this was facilitated by the shortage of classrooms and poor family planning causing some families to have more children than their economic reality can accommodate. Parents pointed at economic hardships facing parents which cause them not to meet the educational needs of their children. Another reason offered by the Community Development Officer was the engagement of school-age children in child labour prior to their enrollment in primary school.

In as far as secondary schools were concerned, there were fewer secondary schools than primary schools. This means that after finishing primary school education, only a small group of pupils found their way to secondary school, while the majority joined the labour force in the informal sector.

3.2 Dar Es Salaam city

(a) Population

Dar Es Salaam is a fast growing metropolis. The recorded 1988 census population of the urban agglomeration was 1,360,859, distributed in three administrative districts⁵: Kinondoni, Ilala and Temeke as indicated in Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4: Population distribution in Dar Es Salaam by district, gender and rural/urban residence

	Dar Es Salaam	Kinondoni	Ilala	Temeke
Total	1,360,865	627,416	331,663	401,786
Male	707,264	326,894	171,371	208,999
Female	653,601	300,522	160,291	192,787
Rural	141,276	56,615	25,407	59,254
Urban	1,219,589	570,801	306,256	342,532

Source: United Republic of Tanzania, Bureau of Statistics. 1991. 1988 Population Census, Regional Profile, Dar Es Salaam

The bulk of the population live in urban wards compared to 141,276 in rural zones. In 1991, estimates put the total figure at 1,573,811, and forecasts of up to 3 million inhabitants for the year 2000 were given (URT, Bureau of Statistics). The population is unevenly distributed. Ilala district has the highest density, and Temeke the lowest as indicated in Table 3.5.

⁵ Since last year the three districts have become full municipal councils after the government decision to decentralize the Dar Es Salaam City Commission (Council).

Table 3.5: Dar Es Salaam population density by district

District	Population	Persons per Km ²
Ilala	331,670	300 - 400
Kinondoni	611,672	200 - 300
Temeke	401,776	100 - 200

Source: United Republic of Tanzania, Bureau of Statistics. 1991.1988 Population Census, Regional Profile, Dar Es Salaam

Residential patterns vary across the city. Msasani, Mikocheni, and Oysterbay comprise low and medium density housing, while at the other extreme, densely populated squatter settlements are found in areas like Vingunguti, Manzese, Keko, Temeke, Tandale, Mburahati, Mbagala, and Tandika. Other parts of the city are characterized by high-density planned residential plots, i.e. Ilala, Magomeni (Kinondoni), Kariakoo, Upanga, Ukonga. This pattern has not changed much. In fact, there are more low and medium density areas such as Ukonga, Kimara and Mbezi Beach.

Dar Es Salaam, translated literally as '*Haven of Peace*', encompasses members of approximately all of Tanzania's 122 ethnic groupings who have migrated to the city mainly for socio-economic, cultural and political motives. There are several characteristics and patterns of migration revealed by key informants in the course of the investigation. It was revealed that migration has involved various categories of people. These include the poor, illiterate and unskilled individual adults, youth and children (potential street children and child workers) as well as migrants who are relatively educated, attended better schools than those in the former group, and are looking for green pastures in which to improve upon their socio-economic conditions (i.e. secondary school leavers, university and college graduates from local and foreign institutions).

Strictly, there are at least four significant rural-urban migration patterns in Dar Es Salaam. The first one is temporary migration, where migrants leave their wives and relatives up-country and return for a month or two when on leave. The second is circular migration which is common among the Chagga ethnic group, especially during the Christmas and New Year holidays. The third is permanent settlement, common among retired and retrenched employees. The last pattern of migration is step by step migration, whereby migrants with no contacts or affiliation in Dar Es Salaam familiarize themselves gradually with urban life prior to moving permanently to the city.

Migrants adopting the last migration strategy usually settle near older residents of the same grouping. Although there are areas that are segmented by religious affiliation, many neighbourhoods in Dar Es Salaam include concentrations of residents of similar ethnic affiliation. The largest grouping in Dar Es Salaam includes the Zaramo, Ndengereko, Rufiji and other coastal peoples. They are mainly Moslems, and many of them live in Temeke Municipal, parts of Kinondoni and Ilala. Another large grouping includes the Sukuma/Nyamwezi, who are found in considerable numbers in Kigamboni (Temeke Municipal) and Kunduchi (Kinondoni Municipal), and in some of the rural wards. Other migrants are less concentrated. Migrants originating from Mtwara and Lindi tend to live in Temeke, and some parts of Kinondoni, while those from Morogoro, Iringa, and Dodoma often settle in Kinondoni, areas of Manzese and Kibamba. In the older part of the City, i.e. Kariakoo, one finds the Zaramo and the Manyema from Kigoma Region. In zones like Magomeni and Ilala, one finds a mixture of people from the coast and from up-country. In the relatively newer parts of the city like Mikocheni, Mbezi, Tegeta, Sinza or Mwenge one finds more people from up-country regions. There are a significant number of Indians and Arabs, especially in Upanga and Kariakoo.

(b) Household characteristics

According to the Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS) (1991/92), about 83 percent of Dar Es Salaam households are male headed and 17 percent are female headed. The average household size for the whole country is 4.9 persons per household. Rural households are generally larger than urban households (5.5 versus 4.4 for Dar Es Salaam and 5.3 for other urban areas). The proportion of single, double, three and four person households (58 percent) was relatively higher in Dar Es Salaam and other urban areas (46 percent) than in the rural areas (43.5 percent). For Dar Es Salaam this is partly due to the patterns of migration described above, and partly from the preference for small family size. Equally worth noting is that Dar Es Salaam has the lowest proportion of households with foster children (16.7 percent) than any region in the country.

The proportion of men in polygamous marriages in Dar Es Salaam is the lowest in the country as well at 2.6 percent, indicating a similar picture that reflects the relative modernity, youth and stage of life of Dar Es Salaamites. The proportion of women is also low (12.4 percent), but not the lowest in the country, which is found in Kilimanjaro Region (12.2 percent) (TDHS 1991/92: 51-52). A far smaller proportion of young women in Dar Es Salaam are in polygamous relationships, perhaps reflecting changing attitudes in response to the globalization of culture.

(c) Socio-economic activities

Besides being the main economic centre, Dar Es Salaam is also the main industrial, commercial and transport centre of Tanzania. The city provides a range of economic activities from large industry, commerce and business, to petty trading, retail trade, fishing, agriculture and quarrying. The city is still the headquarters of government ministries, corporations and other local and foreign non-governmental and international organizations, making it the unofficial capital of Tanzania (officially, the Capital City of Tanzania is Dodoma). At least 3 million people are said to be dependent upon the city and its activities for their livelihood and well being.

Table 3.6: Distribution of occupation by gender, Dar Es Salaam region

Type of Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Legislators, administrators and managers	9,122	2,017	11,139
Professionals, technicians and teachers	57,909	15,238	73,147
clerks	21,224	17,815	39,039
Services and shop sales	58,626	22,833	81,459
Cultivators	41,038	57,781	98,819
Mixed farming	8,140	2,349	10,489
Agricultural workers	2,916	638	3,554
Craftsmen and machine operators	62,907	5,735	68,642
Small scale traders and labourers	93,490	31,815	125,305
Other workers	14,245	5,191	19,436
Not employed	156,465	310,105	466,570
Not stated	4,627	4,313	8,940
Total	530,709	475,830	1,006,539

Source: United Republic of Tanzania, Bureau of Statistics, 1991.1988 Population Census, Regional Profile, Dar Es Salaam

The major occupational groups of the region's population are distributed by gender in Table 3.6. The table vividly depicts that men dominate most of the city's administrative, professional, craft, commercial agriculture and trade occupations. Women excel in sales, and are the largest proportion of subsistence cultivators and the unemployed. Additionally Table 3.6 reveals that a good number of the unemployed are unemployed by choice: far fewer men than women are looking for work, and most women report themselves to be homemakers.

Table 3.7: Distribution of economic activity by gender, Dar Es Salaam region

Type of Economic Activity	Males	Females	Total
Working	370,409	162,950	533,359
Looking for work	17,127	7,881	25,008
Student	98,573	90,226	188,799
Homemaker	17,394	192,422	209,816
Retired/too old	4,702	5,230	9,932
Unable to Work	4,188	4,284	8,472
Others	14,488	10,073	24,561
Not Stated	3,814	2,743	6,557
Total	530,695	475,809	1,006,504

Source: United Republic of Tanzania, Bureau of Statistics. 1991.1988 Population Census, Regional Profile, Dar Es Salaam

Table 3.8: Education by gender, Dar Es Salaam

Gender	No Education	Primary Incomplete	Primary Complete	Some Secondary or Higher	Don't know/Missing	Number of Persons	Median Number of Years
Male	21.8	65.4	11.9	0.6	0.2	1046	7.1
Female	32.2	60.8	6.5	0.2	0.3	965	5.4

Source: Excerpts from Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey, 1991/92

Table 3.8 reveals that women are disadvantaged by lack of educational attainment because of high dropout rates in the course of schooling and completion of primary school, which eventually affect their chances for employment.

3.3 Mwanza urban area

(a) Location

The City of Mwanza is one of the seven districts of Mwanza region located on the southern shores of Lake Victoria in Tanzania. It covers a total of 1,324 square kilometers; out of these, 900 square kilometers (68 percent) are covered by water and the remaining 424 square kilometers (32 percent) form dry land (Mwanza Municipal Council, 1999).

Administratively, the City of Mwanza is made up of two divisions, i.e. Nyamagana and Ilemela. Ilemela Division has nine wards, among them four are urban, three are rural and two are mixed. In the case of Nyamagana Division, out of its eleven wards nine are urban and the remaining two are rural.

(b) Population

According to the last population census (1988), the City of Mwanza had a total population of 223, 013. The recent data collected by the Mwanza City Council in September 1999 indicates that the total population of the City has increased to 505, 550. This mean that on average the population has been increasing by 6.8 percent per annum, against the national rate of 2.8 percent. This rapid growth is attributed not only to natural growth but also to rural-urban migration.

Table 3.9 shows the distribution of the population of the City of Mwanza in 1999 by gender and place.

Table 3.9: Distribution of population in the city of Mwanza by gender and place (as of 1999)

Characteristics	Total population	Children below 18
Total	505,500	206,642
Male	246,646	102,173
Female	258,904	104,464
Rural	94,593	34,264
Urban	364,035	153,966
Sub-Urban	46,922	18,412

Source: Mwanza Municipal Council (1999): District Situation Analysis from Child Rights Perspective

From Table 3.9 it can be seen that children under 18 years were 41 percent of the total population. The same table also shows that for both populations females were slightly outnumber (51 percent) males (49 percent).

(c) Socio-Economic Activities

The residents in the City of Mwanza are engaged in the agriculture, livestock keeping, fishing and manufacturing activities both in formal and informal sectors. Some of the main activities are highlighted as follows:

- ***Agriculture and Livestock Keeping***

Agriculture in the City of Mwanza is one of the economic activities especially in the rural wards. It is estimated to employ about 85 percent of the rural population. Crops grown are cotton, rice, sorghum, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize, beans, vegetables and tropical fruits such as pineapples, oranges, papayas and mangoes. Cotton is the major cash crop serving both locals and the export market. Most of the farmers in the city, however, are small-scale farmers. Their farming activities are labour intensive, including working with hand hoes and plough pulled by oxen.

In addition, Mwanza residents are very active in livestock keeping and husbandry both in rural and urban wards respectively. By 1996 there were about 13,090 dairy cattle in the urban area. In rural areas livestock keepers are also cultivators. It is estimated that more than 15 percent of the whole population in the urban center are involved in these activities (Mwanza Municipal Council, 1999).

- ***Fishing***

It is estimated that about one percent of the residents in the city are either directly or indirectly employed in the fishing sector. Mwanza residents enjoy a variety of fish from Lake Victoria, which is the second largest freshwater lake in the world. There are a variety of types of fish in the lake including Lates Niloticus sometimes referred to as Nile Perch, and locally known as "*Sangara*"; different types of Oreochromis locally known as "*Sato*" or "*Ngege*"; Labeo Victorianus, locally known as "*Nungu*", which are mostly found in flooded grassland beside both permanent and temporary streams; Rastrineobola Argentea locally known as "*Dagaa*"; and: Haplochromis ssp, locally known as "*Furu*" and mostly found over mud, sand and rocky bottoms at a depth of one to 18 meters.

Fishing is a seasonal activity performed mainly between April and June and from September to November. Individuals use traditional and simple equipment, while big fishermen including some of the fish processing industries like Tanzania Fish Processing Ltd. and Tan Perch, engage in fishing activities using modern mechanized equipment. Most of the fresh fish is processed and exported mainly to the European Union countries and other neighbouring countries. At least 60 percent of the fresh fish is consumed in the city and exported to other regions, including to Dar Es Salaam. Salted and dried fish are primarily exported to other regions and neighbouring countries.

- ***Manufacturing***

Mwanza urban center is not only the major industrial and commercial center for Mwanza region, but also the largest industrial and commercial center in northwestern Tanzania. There are a variety of industrial manufacturing and processing activities that take place here ranging from small-scale to large-scale industries. These include textile mills like Nyanza Knitting Industries Ltd., leather factories like African Tanneries, edible oil mills like VOIL (Vegetable Oil Industries Ltd.), printing workshops such as Continental Printing and Continental Printing and Package Company (CPPC), metal workshops like Mwanza Engineering Works, beverage plants like the Tanzania Breweries Plant and Coca Cola Plant, cosmetic and soap making factories such as Lake Soap Industries and fish processing industries which include Tan Perch, Mwanza Fish Processing Ltd., Omega, Tanzania Fish Processing Ltd., Fish Victoria Fisheries and Nile Perch. Most of these industries are concentrated mainly in Kitangiri Ward in Ilemela Division and Butimba Ward in Nyamagana Division. One of the key informants revealed that, these industries employ both females and males.

- ***Informal Sector***

The active labour force in the city is mainly engaged in the informal sector. It was learned from one of the city officials that every year there are primary school graduates who are unable to continue with secondary school education thus both girls and boys enter the labour market. Since formal opportunities are not being created fast enough to absorb them, the majority are either employed or self-employed in the informal sector as the only available alternative.

(d) Education

Education in any society is fundamental and a pre-requisite for socio-economic development. In recognition of this, there are pre-primary and primary schools, secondary schools and vocational centers in the city.

There are 28 City Council primary schools with pre-primary facilities, and 87 privately owned pre-primary schools which serve as day care centers at the same time. In 1999 it was estimated that there were about 1,736 children aged five to six years old attending these schools. They therefore catered to less than one percent of all children in the city who are estimated to total 58,007 (Mwanza Municipal Council 1999).

Education is the right of every child in Tanzania. Within this context, all children between ages seven and 13 are required to go to school. Table 3.10 shows the number of primary school streams for boys and girls in both public and privately owned schools in 1999 in the city of Mwanza.

Table 3.10: Number of primary schools and pupils in the city of Mwanza in 1999

Type	Schools	Streams	Boys	Girls	Total
Public School	60	1,157	27,475	27,826	55,301
Private School	6	50	917	809	1,726
Total	66	1,207	28,392	28,635	57,027

Source: City Council Education Department 1999 Annual Report

Table 3.10 indicates that the majority (91 percent) of primary schools in the city are public schools. Girls in these schools were slightly greater in number (50.2 percent) compared to boys; although in privately owned schools there were more boys (53 percent) than girls (47 percent). According to the City Council Education Department, there were 1,165 teachers for all public primary schools. This means that the teacher pupil ratio was 1:47 - a shortage of 382 teachers to conform with the standard level of 1:45.

As far as enrollment of pupils in primary school is concerned, in 1999 a total of 12,458 children between ages seven to 12 years were enrolled. Among these, 6,396 were boys and 6,062 were girls. According to the City Council Education Department estimates, this was only two thirds the number what they had targeted to enroll, and only one third of the total number of the children eligible. There are a number of factors contributing to low enrollment rate in the city. Among them the main ones are inadequate teachers and classrooms to accommodate all eligible children in the existing schools; low levels of awareness of the value of education by some parents and children; and poverty. Due to economic hardships most of the pupils are engaged in petty businesses in the informal sector, which support their parents' efforts to earn their livelihood.

Enrolling in school is one action, and completing primary school is another. Table 3.11 below shows the rate of dropouts in primary schools in Mwanza city.

Table 3.11: The number of dropout students and their reasons by gender

Reasons	Boys	Girls	Total
Truancy	386	386	762
Death	14	20	34
Pregnancy	-	27	27
Other	12	8	20
Total	412	441	843

Source: Mwanza City Council Education Department 1999 Annual Report

Table 3.11 reveals that 853 pupils in public primary schools (about 1.6 percent of all pupils) dropped out in 1999. There were slightly more girls compared to boys (51 to 49 percent). The main cause, which accounted for about 91 percent of all dropouts, was truancy. There are a number of factors attributed to pupils' truant behaviour. These include low levels of awareness of the value of education by some children and their parents; poor teaching and learning conditions due to inadequate classrooms, desks, textbooks and teachers; and poverty.

Death was the second main cause attributed to about 4 percent of all dropouts. More boys (59 percent) than girls died during the year under review. Pregnancy was the third cause, which affected 27 girls. For the remaining 20 pupils (60 percent of whom were boys), they dropped out due to other reasons. Implicitly, these findings indicate that the majority of primary school leavers with the exception of those who died, dropped out and entered the informal sector labour market.

In Mwanza there are 17 secondary schools. Seven of them are government owned while 10 are privately owned. In 1999 these schools had a total of 6,979 students. The city of Mwanza has two vocational centres owned by the Vocational and Education Training Authority (VETA) in Nyakato Ward. The City Council owns two vocational centers at Kirumba and Nyakabungo Primary Schools. At Kirumba Primary School there were only eleven students; four studying carpentry and seven training as blacksmiths. In Nyakabungo there were only eight students; they all studied carpentry although there were facilities for studies in domestic science as well.

(e) Health services

During the study no statistics were obtained on the occurrence of diseases, however, the five most common causes of morbidity (sickness) for the city residents are malaria, upper respiratory tract infection (URTI), diarrhoea dysentery, intestinal worms and minor surgery. The most common causes of death are malaria, anemia, upper respiratory tract infection (URTI), diarrhoea related diseases, pneumonia, and obstructional pulmonary diseases (Mwanza Municipal Council: 1999).

4. NATURE AND EXTENT OF CHILD LABOUR IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter profiles of the study areas were discussed. In this chapter the nature and extent of child labour in the informal sector in the three selected urban areas will be presented. This chapter is divided into five parts. The first part presents the demographic variables. The second part presents the educational attainment of working children. The family size and activities performed by children in the informal sector are the focus of parts three and four. Lastly, this chapter provides a tentative estimation of the magnitude of child labour in the study areas.

4.2 Demographic variables of working children

Demographic variables of both working and non-working children were essential for both interpretation of the study findings and programming for interventions in alleviating the problem of child labour. Therefore during the study, information concerning gender, age and districts of the children's origins were collected.

4.2.1 Gender and age

Table 4.1 shows the percentage distribution of working children by gender and age.

Table 4.1: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by gender and age (N = 157)

Age group	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
6 <=	0.6	0.6	1.3
7 - 9	0.6	0.0	0.6
10 - 13	5.7	26.8	32.5
14 - 17	2.5	63.1	65.6
Total	9.4	90.6	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

Table 4.1 shows that few girls (only about 10 percent or 15 total) were captured by the study. Girls tended to be hired for domestic work, rather than in the informal sector activities selected for this study, namely scavenging, quarrying, fishing and fish processing and garage activities. Girls are used to performing domestic work and believed to be more trustful than boys in the households hired. The few girls who were engaged in the selected informal sector activities did so as their last resort as they preferred domestic work when faced with these limited options. Thus as far as the above selected informal sector activities are concerned, they were male dominated activities. The same table indicates that about one third (34.4 percent) were aged below 14 years. Among these, about 2 percent were below 10 years of age. The remaining two-thirds (65.6 percent) were relatively older children aged between 14 and 17 years. The majority of older children joined informal sector activities as the only available option because there were outlets for primary school leavers. Outlets for primary school are vocational training centers and secondary schools that are limited in number compared to the primary school graduates, as seen in chapter three.

Since it was equally important to know the opinions of non-working children regarding the problem of child labour, researchers collected information on gender and age of this group of children for comparison purposes. Table 4.2 shows the gender and age distribution of non-working children interviewed in Dar Es Salaam.

Table 4.2: Percentage distribution of non-working children by gender and age
(N = 20)

Age Group	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
6 <=	0.0	0.0	0.0
7 –9	5.0	10.0	15.0
10 –13	35.0	30.0	65.0
14 – 17	10.0	10.0	20.0
Total	50.0	50.0	100.0

Source: Interviews with non- working children in Dar Es Salaam City, 2001

Table 4.2 indicates that there was an equal number of both female and male non-working children. Furthermore, the table shows that there was no non-working child under age six and the majority of the children were in the age group of 10–13. Unlike in the other age groups, in this group female respondents were slightly dominant (35 percent) compared to their male counterparts (30 percent).

4.2.2 District of origin

In the course of this study, working children were asked to mention the places where they were born. It was assumed that the area of origin of a child worker had an impact especially if that area happened to be underdeveloped. Table 4.3 shows the responses in terms of children’s district of origin, instead of their ethnicity, which in Tanzania is given little importance.

Table 4.3: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by area of origin and sex (N= 157)

Area of origin	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
In the city/municipal	1.9	29.9	31.8
In districts within the region of the study area	0.0	17.2	17.2
In districts of neighbouring regions of the study area	1.9	18.5	20.4
In districts of distant regions of the study area	5.7	24.8	30.5
Total	9.5	90.5	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

The selected study areas, namely the cities of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza and the Arusha municipality are the largest urban centers in Tanzania, attracting people including children from all over the country. Table 4.3 reveals that only 32 percent (50) of all interviewed working children were born in the study areas, while the rest 68 percent (107) were migrants either from districts within the regions of study areas, districts of neighbouring regions or more distant regions.

Among the migrant children, those from distant regions were dominant, accounting for 30.5 percent (48) of all working children interviewed. Child migrants from districts within the region of the study area and districts in neighbouring regions accounted for 37.6 of all interviewed working children.

Table 4.4 shows the responses of non-working children when they were asked the same question.

Table 4.4: Percentage distribution of non-working children by area of origin and sex (N = 20)

Area of Origin	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
In the city/municipal	30.0	35.0	65.0
In the districts within the region of the study area	0.0	0.0	0.0
In districts of neighbouring regions of the study area	10.0	5.0	15.0
In districts of distant regions of the study area	10.0	10.0	20.0
Total	50.0	50.0	100.0

Source: Interview with non-working children in the city of Dar Es Salaam, 2001

As in the case of working children, Table 4.4 indicates that the majority of non-working children (65 percent) were born in the city/municipal of the study areas. They were followed by 20 percent of those born from distant districts of the study areas. Non-working children born in the districts of neighbouring regions of the study areas represented only 15 percent of the whole sample. This indicates that being born from the study area and outside the area, is not an issue because there were non-working children coming from outside but they were not engaged in child labour activities.

During the study researchers were also interested in soliciting information with regard to reasons for migrating. Table 4.5 indicates working children's reasons for migrating to study areas.

Table 4.5: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by reasons for migrating to study areas and sex (N= 107)

Reason for migrating	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Migrated with parents	4.7	34.6	39.3
Came to stay with relatives	3.7	20.6	24.3
To continue with schooling	0.9	1.9	2.8
To undergo training	0.0	14.0	14.0
To look for employment	1.9	13.1	15.0
Running away from mistreatment and abuses	0.0	4.7	4.7
Total	11.1	88.9	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipal, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

Table 4.5 shows that about 64 percent of all working children who were not born in the study areas, had either migrated there with their parents, or came to stay with their relatives. This percentage is higher compared to 29 percent (31) of all migrant children who came to look for employment and training to acquire special skills in the informal sector, especially in the garage activities. About 5 percent (7) of working children indicated to have run away from their homes due to mistreatment by their parents or guardians and other abuse.

For comparative purposes, researchers were obliged to solicit information with regard to the reasons for non-working children migrating to the study areas. Table 4.6 clearly summarizes their responses.

Table 4.6: Percentage distribution of non-working children by sex and reasons of migrating to study areas (N = 20)

Reasons for migrating	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Migrated with parents	29.0	29.0	58.0
Came to stay with relatives	13.0	29.0	42.0
To continue with schooling	0.0	0.0	0.0
To under go training	0.0	0.0	0.0
To look for employment	0.0	0.0	0.0
Running away from mistreatment and abuses	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	42.0	58.0	100.0

Source: Interviews with non-working children in Dar Es Salaam City, 2001

As in the case of working children, Table 4.6 indicates that the majority of non-working children (58 percent) migrated with their parents and the remaining 42 percent came to the study areas to stay with their relatives. The reason cited by the children who migrated with their parents was the transfer from rural countryside to Dar Es Salaam. This phenomenon applies mostly to children of the working class. When further asked why they were attending school regularly and not engaged in informal activities like the working children, they cited economic stability of their parents and guardians/relatives. This reasoning suggests that concerted efforts to improve the household income and living standards can deter parents from using their children's labour to supplement their meager incomes.

4.3 Education status

In the survey, information on education attainment was collected for every working child interviewed. The purpose was to understand different levels of education attained by the working children in the informal sector. Table 4.7 shows the percentage distribution according to their educational status and age.

Table 4.7: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by education status and age (N= 157)

Education Status	Age Group				Total
	6 < =	7 - 9	10 - 13	14 - 17	
Never enrolled in primary education	1.3	0.0	14.0	8.3	23.6
Dropout from primary education	0.0	0.0	5.7	13.4	19.1
Attending primary education	0.0	0.6	12.7	9.6	22.9
Completed primary education	0.0	0.0	0.0	34.4	34.4
Total	1.3	0.6	32.5	65.6	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

The education profile of working children, as depicted by Table 4.7, indicates that at least one third (54) of working children had completed primary school education. All children in this category were aged between 14 to 17 years. They were followed by those never enrolled who accounted for at least a quarter (37) of all interviewed working children and the majority (59 percent) were aged between 10 to 13 years. Similarly, the study revealed that 23 percent of the working children were primary school pupils who also worked on a part-time basis. The remaining working children, estimated at about 20 percent (30), were primary school dropouts. The majority (70 percent) were aged between 14 to 17 years. The picture that emerges from these findings is that the majority of participants are either dropouts or primary school leavers. Very few had never been enrolled in primary education. In discussing with working children, they mentioned the circumstances which forced them to engage in child labour activities. The reasons are discussed in detail in chapter six on causes and solutions for alleviating the problem.

Similar to the case of working children, the information with regard to education status and age was collected for non-working children. Table 4.8 summarizes non-working children responses.

Table 4.8: Percentage distribution of non-working children by education status and age (N = 20)

Education Status	Age Group				Total
	6 < =	7 - 9	10 - 13	14 - 17	
Not enrolled in primary education	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Dropout from primary education	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Attending primary school	0.0	20.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Completed primary education	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	0.0	20.0	50.0	30.0	20.0

Source: Interviews with non-working children in Dar Es Salaam City, 2001

The findings from Table 4.8 shows that non-working children interviewed in all age categories, with an exception to those aged six and below, were attending school regularly. There was no child who claimed to have never been enrolled in primary school, dropped out or completed primary education, as was the case with the working children. When probed on their reasons for attending school regularly and not joining their colleagues in informal child labour activities, the majority mentioned that their parents or guardians and relatives were economically well off and did not need them to supplement the household income on informal child labour activities. Other equally important reasons cited were their parents' or relatives' great care and love for their well being.

Researchers also wanted to know the reasons why children were either never enrolled or dropped out from the primary school education system. Tables 4.9 and 4.10 show the percentage distribution of working children by "reasons for never being enrolled" and "dropping out from the primary school education system" respectively.

Table 4.9: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by reasons for never being enrolled and age (N= 37)

Reasons for not being enrolled	Age Group			Total
	6 < =	10 - 13	14 - 17	
Orphaned	0.0	13.5	2.7	16.2
Parents' or guardians' inability to pay school fees	5.4	35.1	16.2	56.8
Parents or guardians refused	0.0	2.7	13.5	16.2
Still young to be enrolled	0.0	5.4	0.0	5.4
Already a street child	0.0	2.7	2.7	5.4
Total	5.4	59.5	37.1	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

Table 4.9 indicates that the main reason given by 57 percent (21) of all working children for never being enrolled was the inability of their parents and guardians to pay school fees because they were poor. Other reasons which were equally mentioned by 32 percent of working children who were not enrolled was the parents' or guardians' reluctance to enroll them for reasons unknown to the children or because they were orphaned. Other reasons mentioned by a few working children (11 percent) included being too young to be enrolled and already being a street child.

Knowing the reasons for dropping out of school, as well as knowing which standard/class the children were enrolled in before joining child labour activities, was important for establishing the causes of their dropping out of school. Table 4.10 shows the percentage distribution of school dropouts by the standard/class they were enrolled in when they stopped attending.

Table 4.10: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector who dropped out by standard/class and age (N= 30)

Standard	Age Group		Total
	10 – 13	14 – 17	
Std 1	6.7	3.3	10.0
Std 2	3.3	13.3	16.6
Std 3	10.0	20.0	30.0
Std 4	6.7	16.7	23.4
Std 5	3.3	13.3	16.6
Std 6	0.0	3.3	3.3
Total	30.0	70.0	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar -Es- Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

In light of the data summarized in Table 4.10 above, about 30 percent of the respondents dropped out after standard three, followed by 24 percent who dropped out after standard four and very few (3.3 percent) who dropped out after completing standard five. Table 4.12 presents the reasons for dropping out.

Establishing the standard and age of non-working children was necessary in order to make a comparison with the pattern of working children in Table 4.10. Table 4.11 presents the standard and age of non-working children.

Table 4.11: Percentage distribution of non-working children by standard and age (N = 20)

Standard	Age Group			Total
	7 - 9	10 - 13	14 - 17	
Std 1	10.0	0.0	0.0	10.0
Std 2	5.0	0.0	0.0	5.0
Std 3	0.0	15.0	0.0	15.0
Std 4	0.0	10.0	0.0	10.0
Std 5	0.0	10.0	0.0	10.0
Std 6	0.0	20.0	5.0	25.0
Std 7	0.0	10.0	15.0	25.0
Total	15.0	65.0	20.0	100.0

Source: Interviews with Non – Working Children in Dar Es Salaam City, 2001

What we gather from Table 4.11 is that most of the non-working children were in standard six (25 percent) and seven (25 percent). Those in standard three (15 percent of the total sample) followed, while only 30 percent of non-working children were in standards one, four and five respectively. The remaining five percent were in standard two. When disaggregated by age, the children aged between 10-13 were the majority (65 percent), followed by those whose age ranged between 14-17 (20 percent). Those between 7 – 9 years formed the minority of the non-working children (15).

Table 4.12: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by reasons for dropping out and age (N= 30)

Reasons for dropping out	Age Group		Total
	10 - 13	14 - 17	
Parents' or guardians' inability to pay school fees	10.0	33.3	43.3
Lack of transfer clearance	6.7	13.3	20.0
Death of parents/guardians	6.7	6.7	13.3
Long distance to school	0.0	6.7	6.7
Mistreatment at home	3.3	6.7	10.0
Witchcraft beliefs	3.3	0.0	3.3
Lack of school facilities	0.0	3.3	3.3
Total	30.0	70.0	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

Table 4.12 shows that the working children who dropped out of school mentioned failure of parents or guardians to pay for school fees. This was the main reason, accounting for 43 percent (13) of all dropouts. The second most cited reason was the failure to get school transfer clearance when the children migrated from one area to another. This was mentioned by 20 percent of all dropouts. Other reasons included death of parents or guardians and mistreatment at home mentioned by 13.3 percent and 10 percent of all dropouts respectively. The latter reason included, for example, deliberately starving children for the purpose of disciplining them and frequent and excessive caning as a way of punishment.

Working children who were simultaneously attending primary school were also asked to indicate the standard they reached. Table 4.13 summarizes the percentage distribution of working children by their standard and age.

Table 4.13: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector who were also attending primary school by standard and age (N= 36)

Standard	Age Group			Total
	7 – 9	10 – 13	14 – 17	
Std 1	0.0	5.6	0.0	5.6
Std 2	2.8	11.1	5.6	19.4
Std 3	0.0	16.7	2.8	19.4
Std 4	0.0	11.1	16.7	27.8
Std 5	0.0	8.3	5.6	13.9
Std 6	0.0	2.8	8.3	11.1
Std 7	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.8
Total	2.8	55.6	41.6	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

The general picture one gets from Table 4.13, is that the majority of working children were in standard four, followed by those in standard two and three. Most of the children aged between 14-17 were repeaters, and some began primary school when they were a bit older - above age seven.

4.4 Family status

It was important to examine the family status of working children to know whether this had any bearing on causes of child labour in the informal sector. Within this framework, working children were asked to reveal whom they were staying with. The responses summarized in Table 4.14 indicate that about 43 percent (68) of all working children interviewed, were either staying with both parents or other relatives including grandparents, aunts, uncles and siblings within the same household. Working children staying with only their mother comprised 19 percent, followed by 13.4 working children who were staying with other adults.

Table 4.14: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by family status and sex (N= 157)

Family Status	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Living with both parents	3.2	18.5	21.7
Living with mother only	3.2	15.9	19.1
Living with father only	0.6	3.8	4.4
Living with relatives	0.0	21.7	21.7
Living with other adults	1.9	11.5	13.4
Living with friends/peers	0.6	7.6	8.2
Living alone	0.0	11.5	11.5
Total	9.6	90.4	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

It is a common belief among the people that family status is a significant determinant of children engaging in child labour. Thus, in order to prove this claim, the researchers asked non-working children with whom they were staying. Table 4.15 gives the summary response of family status of non-working children.

Table 4.15: Percentage distribution of non-working children by family status and sex (N = 20)

Family Status	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Living with both parents	25.0	35.0	60.0
Living with mother only	15.0	5.0	20.0
Living with father only	0.0	0.0	0.0
Living with relatives	10.0	10.0	20.0
Living with other adults	0.0	0.0	0.0
Living with friends/peers	0.0	0.0	0.0
Living alone	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	50.0	50.0	100.0

Source: Interviews with non-working children in Dar Es Salaam City, 2001

Like working children, the majority of non-working children (60 percent) lived with both parents. The remaining 40 percent was equally divided between children either living with their mothers only (20 percent) and with their relatives/guardians (20 percent). It should be noted that here was no non-working child who lived with their father only, with other adults, with friends/peers or alone as was the case with working children. Still, the conclusion that one can draw from these findings is that family status does not have a direct impact on determining whether a child should work or not. Other intervening variables, however, such as income, parents' irresponsibility, and death of the parents seemed to play a significant role in facilitating the process.

All working children were also asked about the whereabouts of their parents in order to determine if there was any correlation between certain types of parents and child labour. The two tables below summarize working children's responses.

Table 4.16: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by where their mothers were staying (N = 157)

Where was the mother staying	Total
In the same locality	51.6
Not in the same locality	29.3
Not known	2.5
Deceased	16.6
Total	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

Table 4.17: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by where their fathers were staying (N= 157)

Where was the father staying	Total
In the same locality	35.7
Not in the same locality	32.5
Not known	6.4
Deceased	25.5
Total	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

Looking at the data in Tables 4.16 and 4.17 the following remarks can be drawn. First, more mothers than fathers of working children were living in the same localities with their children and there were more working children who do not know the whereabouts of their fathers than of their mothers. Secondly, more fathers than mothers of the working children were reported to have died. Therefore, the majority of the working children in the study areas were denied parental care, especially from their fathers. The findings also imply that mothers carry a large burden of the caring for their children, however, they are in a weak economic position. This explains the obligation children have to help their mothers and support themselves.

Tables 4.18 and 4.19 present the economic activities of parents of working children's parents. This information was important in determining whether there was any relation between parents' and children's economic activities.

Table 4.18: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by their mothers' economic activities and sex (N = 121)

Mother's economic activity	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Fish processing activities	0.0	4.1	4.1
Quarrying activities	0.8	2.5	3.3
Other informal sector activities	0.8	18.2	19.0
Farming and livestock keeping	0.8	30.5	31.4
Employed in formal sector	0.0	3.3	3.3
None	9.1	0.8	9.9
Unknown	0.8	28.1	28.9
Total	12.4	87.6	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

Table 4.19: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by their fathers' economic activities and sex (N = 157)

Father's economic activity	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Fishing and fish processing activities	0.0	11.2	11.2
Quarrying activities	0.0	1.7	1.7
Scavenging	0.0	0.9	0.9
Other informal sector activities	0.0	9.5	9.5
Farming and livestock keeping	2.6	19.0	21.6
Formal sector employment	0.0	12.1	12.1
None	0.0	2.6	2.6
Not known	0.0	40.5	40.5
Total	2.6	97.4	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

In light of the data summarized in Tables 4.18 and 4.19, the dominant economic activities for both parents of the working children were farming and livestock keeping within or outside the study areas. These activities accounted for about 31 percent (38) and about 22 percent (25) of their mothers and fathers respectively. The next most important activity was self-employment in the informal sector for mothers at 19 percent (23), and formal sector employment for fathers at about 12 percent (14). Also the two tables above reveal that more than one-third (56) of all working children in the informal sector were following in the footsteps of their parents to join the sector's workforce.

4.5 Family size

Family size was another variable that was examined. It has been widely argued that the larger the family the more vulnerable the children in the families are to child labour. In an attempt to test this assumption/hypothesis working children were asked the total number of members in their household within the study areas. Their responses are summarized in Table 4.20 below.

Table 4.20: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by their family sizes and sex (N= 157)

Family Size	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
1	0.0	19.1	19.1
2	1.9	13.4	15.3
3	1.9	10.8	12.7
4	0.6	5.1	5.7
5	1.3	9.6	10.9
6	1.9	14.0	15.9
7	1.3	8.3	9.6
8	0.0	3.2	3.2
9	0.6	3.8	4.4
10	0.0	2.5	2.5
11	0.0	0.6	0.6
Total	9.6	90.4	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

Table 4.20 shows that about 19 percent (30) of the working children were staying with either their friends/peers or alone. The table further reveals that about 36 percent of the working children were staying in households with no fewer than six members. However, the calculated average family size was five members for all working children and for both sexes. This number is not small as far as household requirements are concerned. Bearing in mind the economic hardship hitting hard on the pockets of many families, there is a great likelihood of such families using extra labour including their children to make ends meet.

In order to compare the family status of non-working children and that of working children, respondents in the control group were also asked about their family size. The following were their responses.

Table 4.21: Percentage distribution of non-working children by their family sizes and sex (N= 20)

Family Size	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
1	0.0	0.0	0.0
2	0.0	0.0	0.0
3	10.0	15.0	25.0
4	15.0	15.0	30.0
5	20.0	10.0	30.0
6	0.0	0.0	0.0
7	5.0	5.0	10.0
8	0.0	0.0	0.0
9	0.0	5.0	5.0
10	0.0	0.0	0.0
11	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	50.0	50.0	100.0

Source: Interviews with non-working children in Dar Es Salaam City, 2001

While on average the family members of working children and non-working children were the same (five members per household), the percentage of non-working children staying in households with more than six members was small (15 percent compared to 36 percent among the working children category).

4.6 Activities and tasks performed by working children

As mentioned earlier, four informal sector activities were selected to be investigated on child labour in the three urban areas of Arusha municipality, and the cities of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza. Since not all activities performed in the informal sector can be regarded as WFCL, the activities were selected to meet this specification. They were scavenging in Arusha and Dar Es Salaam, garages in Arusha and Mwanza, quarrying in Dar Es Salaam and fishing and fish processing in Mwanza. In order to determine the tasks the working children were performing in all study areas, both survey and rapid assessment methods were used. This was important in order to establish the extent and magnitude to which children were engaged in labour. Tables in this sub-section show the distribution of tasks and numbers of children involved in each activity in the study areas.

Before asking exactly what tasks the working children were performing in the informal sector, the researchers first asked who introduced them to these activities. Table 4.22 shows the distribution of working children according to the persons who introduced them to the informal sector activities.

Table 4.22: Percentage distribution of working children by persons who introduced them to the informal sector by activities (N =157)

Persons who introduced them	Activities				Total
	Scavenging	Garage	Fishing and fish processing	Quarrying	
No one (self)	22.9	5.1	8.3	2.5	38.9
Parents	0.6	5.7	3.2	5.1	14.6
Siblings	0.0	8.3	1.9	0.6	10.8
Guardians	0.6	8.3	2.5	4.5	15.9
Friends	5.1	1.3	5.7	1.9	14.0
No response	1.9	0.0	0.0	3.8	5.7
Total	31.2	28.7	21.7	18.5	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipal, City of Dar es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

Table 4.22 indicates that about 39 percent (61) of all working children interviewed were engaged themselves in informal sector activities. This was on their own initiative after realizing the hardships they were enduring, and the need for earnings. The remaining children, excluding those who did not respond to this question, were

introduced by other persons to the informal sector activities in which they were engaged. Guardians introduced at least 16 percent of all working children, while parents and friends introduced at least 15 and 14 percent respectively. Siblings introduced at least 11 percent of all working children.

4.6.1 Scavenging

Scavenging is an activity that is growing quickly in most developing countries. Scavenging tasks are undertaken not only by children but also by youth and adults. In this case the research focused on child participation. Through observations, girls were recorded as participating in the scavenging of boxes, bottles, and tins (8.2 percent) as well as boys (53.1 percent). A small number of girls were also found scavenging for food (2.0 percent), as compared to boys at 8.2 percent. Table 4.23 shows that scavenging activities are, on average, dominated by boys.

Table 4.23: Percentage distribution of working children in scavenging activities by tasks performed and sex (N=49)

Tasks	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Scavenging boxes, bottles and tins,	8.2	53.1	61.3
Scavenging toys, shoes and clothing	2.0	10.2	12.2
Scavenging plastic bags and rubber bands	0.0	4.1	4.1
Scavenging timber pieces and charcoal	0.0	8.2	8.2
Scavenging electrical wires	0.0	2.0	2.0
Scavenging food	2.0	8.2	10.2
Scavenging photos and magazines	0.0	2.0	2.0
Total	12.2	87.8	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality and the City of Dar Es Salaam, 2000

Table 4.24 shows how the working children in scavenging activities were distributed according to age.

Table 4.24: Percent distribution of working children in scavenging activities by tasks performed and age (N= 49)

Tasks	Age Group			Total
	6 <=	10 – 13	14 – 17	
Scavenging boxes, bottles and tins	0.0	30.6	30.6	61.2
Scavenging toys, shoes and clothing	0.0	8.2	4.1	12.3
Scavenging plastic bags and rubber bands	0.0	2.0	2.0	4.0
Scavenging timber pieces and charcoal	0.0	0.0	8.2	8.2
Scavenging electrical wires	0.0	2.0	0.0	2.0
Scavenging food	0.0	4.1	6.1	10.2
Scavenging photos and magazines	2.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
Total	2.0	46.9	51.1	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality and City of Dar Es Salaam, 2000

Table 4.24 indicates the number of children above 13 years was slightly greater than those who were below age 14. The table further shows that the majority, 61 percent (30), of children who scavenged boxes made of wood and hard paper, tins and bottles were aged between 10–13 and 14–17 respectively. These items were in high demand for paper and beverage industries as well as for other informal sector activities such as black smith work. Thus scavenging these items had an economic value. Scavenging for food, either for the children themselves or for household consumption, was carried out by 12 percent (6) of all scavenging children aged between 10–13 and 14–17. The remaining 27 percent (13) were engaged in scavenging toys, shoes, clothing, timber pieces and charcoal and their ages ranged between 14-17. Other items such as plastic bags, rubber bands, electrical wires, photos and magazines were scavenged for at lower rates because they were in less demand in the market. Working children

from all age groups performed these tasks, though more children from the age group of 14–17 seemed to scavenge only those items of monetary value.

4.6.2 Garages

In this study, garage activity was absolutely male dominated. There were 49 working children in these activities and this group thus accounted for 29 percent of all interviewed working children. Table 4.25 shows the distribution of these working children by age.

Table 4.25: Percentage distribution of working children in garage activities by tasks performed and age (N= 49)

Tasks	Age Group		Total
	10 - 13	14 – 17	
Mechanical works	0.0	48.9	48.9
Auto electrical works	4.4	4.4	8.8
Panel beating	0.0	22.2	22.2
Spraying and painting	0.0	20.0	20.0
Total	4.4	95.6	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality and City of Mwanza, 2000

Table 4.25 indicates that about 96 percent (43) of all working children in garage activities are between ages 14 to 17. This is partly explained by the fact that most of the tasks in informal garage activities are labour intensive (e.g. mechanical works, panel beating, spraying and painting) and hence need energetic persons with strong and mature bodies to perform them. Table 4.26 presents the tasks that were performed by working children in informal garages, in both study areas.

Table 4.26: Percentage distribution of working children in garage activities by tasks performed and areas of study (N= 45)

Tasks	Arusha	Mwanza	Total
Mechanical works	22.2	26.7	48.9
Auto electrical works	4.4	4.4	8.9
Panel beating	15.6	6.7	22.2
Spraying and car painting	13.3	6.7	20.0
Total	55.6	44.4	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality and City of Mwanza, 2000

Table 4.26 shows that mechanical work was the dominant task, performed by about 49 percent (22) of all interviewed working children in informal garage activities. Mechanical work included turning up and overhauling engines, replacing shock absorbers, checking and replacing tools in break systems and amending and replacing tires. The second most performed task was panel beating, including welding cars involved in accidents. Car spraying, painting and auto-electrical work followed as the tasks least performed. Adults working in the same garages were found performing almost all the same tasks mentioned above. Children were always under supervision of adults and in most cases the participation of children was taken as part of an apprenticeship.

4.6.3 Fishing and fish processing activities

Working children in informal fishing and fish processing activities accounted for 22 percent of all working children interviewed. The survey of this activity was done in Mwanza alone and incidentally there was only one girl, who was engaged in scaling fish, found in this business. Although boys dominate in this activity, the key informants told the researchers that the participation rate of girls increases during the fishing seasons. Table 4.27 shows the distribution of working children in fishing and fish processing activities by age.

Table 4.27: Percentage distribution of working children in fishing and fish processing activities by tasks performed and age (N= 34)

Tasks	Age group		Total
	10 – 13	14 – 17	
Actual fishing	5.9	5.9	11.8
Ferrying fish	29.4	11.8	41.2
Scaling fish	5.9	0.0	5.9
Bisecting fish	2.9	11.8	14.7
Salting and drying fish	0.0	11.8	11.8
Picking fish fats	2.9	2.9	5.8
Loading fish into lorries	0.0	8.8	8.8
Total	47.1	52.9	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in the City of Mwanza, 2000

Table 4.27: shows that young children aged between 10 to 13 years were slightly fewer than those who between 14 to 17 years. Some of the tasks performed in this activity, like ferrying fish, do not require any training, but others require a long period of time to acquire the required skills, like scaling fish. This is why even young children are engaged in this activity. The tasks performed in this activity are highlighted in Table 4.28.

Table 4.28: Percentage distribution of working children in informal fishing and fish processing activities by tasks performed (N = 34)

Tasks	Percentage of Working Children
Actual fishing	11.8
Ferrying fish	41.2
Scaling fish	5.9
Fish bisecting	14.7
Salting and drying fish	11.8
Loading fish into lorries	8.8
Picking fish fats	5.8
Total	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in the City of Mwanza, 2000

Table 4.28 shows that about 41 percent (14) of all working children engaged in these activities were ferrying fish from boats and canoes at the shores to platforms at beaches. Another activity was to remove all fishing equipment and carry it to fishermen’s villages, about a kilometer away in the case of Igombe, where the fish were sold. Finally, the working children had to come back again to wash the boats and canoes to prepare them for parking. If the child was working on an engine-powered boat, it was his responsibility to buy and carry cans of diesel or petrol from the filling stations to beaches. Other duties which they were supposed to perform included helping in mending fishing nets and buying food from food vendors for the fishermen; they were then expected to carry it to the boats and canoes before they leave for fishing in the afternoon around 4.00 p.m. Although these tasks were child dominated, there were also male adults who were found performing the same task during the study period.

The second major task was fish bisecting and cutting into pieces or filets and then washing the fish on the shores of the lake. This task engaged about 14 percent of all working children who were interviewed and again, male adults were also involved in this task. Fish bisecting was followed by salting bisected fish and filets, and then drying them in the sun for two to seven days, depending on the intensity of the sunshine. About 12 percent of the working children interviewed were engaged in these activities. An added responsibility to this task was to make sure that the fish, bisected fish and filets were not stolen. Twelve percent of working children took part in actual fishing. This task was done, either from the shores by using hooks or nets, or in deep waters. Both children and adults performed fished.

Another task, which attracted about 9 percent of the working children, was loading the fresh fish into lorries for the big fish processing industries in the city. This task included cleaning the fish if they were dirty, removing ice by spade from one end of the lorry to another so that the fish could be packed properly, and then covering them up with ice for preservation. Male adults also performed this task.

The last two tasks were scaling and removing fish intestines, washing them on the shores of the lake, and collecting fish fats - especially from "Sangara" fish which are very rich in fats. In order to facilitate a quick drying process, fats have to be removed from the bisected fish by washing them. This task also involved adult females.

4.6.4 Quarrying

Working children who were involved in quarrying activities constituted 18 percent (24) of all working children who were interviewed in this study. All of them were from Dar Es Salaam. Table 4.29 shows their distribution by sex.

Table 4.29: Percentage distribution of working children in quarrying activities by tasks performed and sex (N= 29)

Tasks	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Crushing stones	13.8	17.2	31.0
Collecting stones and crushed stones	10.3	39.9	48.3
Loading stones and crushed stones	3.4	17.2	20.7
Total	27.6	72.4	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in the City of Dar Es Salaam, 2000

As in the previous activities, Table 4.29 indicates that quarrying is boy-dominated, however, the participation of girls in this activity was higher than in the other activities studied. Girls who were participating in this activity made up about 53 percent (8) of all working girls compared to 40 percent (6), about 7 percent (1) and 0 percent in scavenging activities, fishing and fish processing activities and garage activities respectively. Table 4.30 below summarizes percentage distribution of working children in the quarrying activities by tasks performed by their ages.

Table 4.30: Percentage distribution of working children in quarrying activities by tasks performed and age (N= 29)

Task	Age group				Total
	6 < =	7 - 9	10 - 13	14 - 17	
Crushing stones	3.4	0.0	10.3	17.2	31.0
Collecting and crushing stones	0.0	3.4	24.1	20.7	48.3
Loading crushed stones	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.7	20.7
Total	3.4	3.4	34.5	58.6	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in the City of Dar Es Salaam, 2000

Unlike in the previous activities, Table 4.30 shows that working children in quarrying activities are distributed in all age groups. Moreover, the same table indicates that as children grew older, the more they participated in the activity. The same table also indicates that the collection of stones and crushed stones for and from stone crushers was the dominant task performed by 55 percent (16) of all working children interviewed in this activity. Crushing stones followed, performed by 24 percent (7). In comparison to the three tasks discussed earlier, the respondents reported that the tasks of loading stones (including crushed ones) onto lorries, and collecting stones and crushed stones were preferred because they took less time to perform than crushing stones. Adults also performed these tasks, however, females were more involved in crushing stones than males who undertook drilling and blasting rocks by dynamite.

4.7 Estimates of working children

The estimates of working children in the study areas were arrived at through physical counting of children found working during transecting and when administering questionnaires, as well as comparing notes with key informants found in respective locations.

4.7.1 Scavenging activities

In scavenging activities at Vingunguti garbage site in Dar Es Salaam, the City Officials estimated 40 to 80 children scavenging daily. The former owner of the land where the garbage site was situated put the figure between 50 to 100. During the whole week the research team spent at the garbage site doing the rapid assessment study, they counted approximately 30 to 70 scavenging children. Therefore, the estimated average number of working children at this site was 60.

In Arusha the estimated number of working children in all three key locations, namely Central Market, Goliondoi and Njiro Dump sites, ranged between 80 to 100.

4.7.2 Quarrying activities

At Kunduchi quarrying sites in Dar Es Salaam, the Ward Executive Officer and the Community Development Worker estimated the number of children working at the site to be between 150 to 300 daily. They associated this variation to seasonal issues. For instance, during rainy seasons they said there were fewer children than during dry seasons. Similarly, there were more children engaged in quarrying activities during school vacation than during school days. This fact substantiated by the fact that at the time of the research schools were closed and a substantial number of children were found working in different activities at the sites.

There are eight quarrying sites in Kunduchi and at every site the researchers counted almost 25 to 40 children working each day. Following calculations it was revealed that there were approximately 200 to 320 children found working at all quarrying sites at the time of the study.

4.7.3 Fishing and fish processing activities

The first key location area was Igombe beach, which had an average of 30 to 40 children who were found working, 90 percent of whom were males. The second location area was Mwaloni beach with some 25 to 30 children - 75 percent males.

These findings were attested to be the average number for the fishing off-season when the study was carried out. However, the key informants and interviewed working children said the number of working children in this activity normally doubles at peak season.

4.7.4 Garages

As far as the working children in the key location areas for informal garages were concerned, the number of working children who were found during transect walks were, on average, 12 and 25 for Pamba Road and Mabatini key location areas respectively. Since the working children in these areas were more or less permanent workers, their numbers did not fluctuate.

In Arusha, the number of working children was estimated to be 48. The estimates were arrived at through physical counting, and confirmed by garage owners during transect walks.

5. WORKING CONDITIONS

5.1 Introduction

In chapter four we have seen the nature and extent of child labour in the study areas. In this chapter an attempt is made to examine and analyse the working conditions of child workers in the three selected urban centres. The chapter is organized in four sub-sections. Section 5.2 presents and discusses information with regards to working hours of children engaged in child labour. Section 5.3 discusses children's working days. Information related to children's working tools is analyzed in section 5.4. Risks encountered by working children in the informal sector activities are presented and discussed in section 5.5, followed by data on children's payment for the activities performed in section 5.6. The last section discusses the use of the money obtained from the activities performed by working children in the informal sector activities.

5.2 Working hours

In a situation where labour laws are difficult to apply such as in the informal sector, the probability of children working long hours and consequently endangering their physical and mental well being is high. In an attempt to gain insight into the situation, children were asked to indicate the number of hours they spent in the activities under study. Table 5.1 summarizes their response by age.

Table 5.1: Average working hours for informal sector working children by type of activities performed and age (N = 157)

Activity	Age Group				Total
	6 <=	7 - 9	10 - 13	13 - 17	
Scavenging					
Average Working Hours					
Tins, bottles and boxes	0	0	7	9	8
Toys, shoes and clothing	0	0	10	6	8
Plastic bags/rubber bands	0	0	0	0	0
Timber and charcoal	0	0	7	2	5
Electric wires	0	0	0	11	11
Food	0	0	2	0	2
Photo and magazines	0	0	2	10	7
Quarrying					
Crushing stones	11	0	9	9	9
Collecting stones and crushed stones	0	2	7	9	8
Loading crushed stones	0	0	0	9	9
Fishing and fish processing					
Actual fishing	0	0	3	11	7
Ferrying fish	0	0	8	9	8
Scaling fish	0	0	5	0	5
Fish bisecting	0	0	5	10	10
Salting and drying fish	0	0	10	10	10
Loading fish into lorries	0	0	9	10	10
Picking fish fats	0	0	0	7	7
Garages					
Mechanical works	0	0	0	10	10
Auto electrical works	0	0	10	10	10
Panel beating	0	0	0	10	10
Spraying and painting	0	0	0	10	10
Total	11	2	7	9	9

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipal, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

Table 5.1 reveals that on average, working children in all activities and age categories, worked for nine hours per day. However, when disaggregated by activities, the statistics show that children who engaged in garage activities, on average worked more (10 hours), as compared to nine, eight and six hours, in quarrying, fishing and fishing processing, and scavenging activities respectively. Further analysis of the data shows that, on average the majority of children aged between the ages of 13-17 seem to work more hours per day (nine hours) compared to seven hours for children between the ages of 10-13. The data on working hours for children in the age group of six and below (11 hours) and between the age of seven to nine (two hours) are interesting, but based on few observations. The picture that we gather from these findings is that the majority of working children in the 13-17 age group worked longer hours under very difficult, risky and dangerous circumstances. This scenario depicts that children were exposed to long working hours at a tender age. This leads to fatigue and long term body weakening, which in the long run, can hamper healthy mental and physical growth.

5.3 Working days

One of the objectives of the survey was to determine the conditions of working children in the informal sector versus the number of working days spent performing various activities. Such data was important to determine whether working children had ample time for schooling as well as for leisure. These are the factors that relate to the children's future positive development. Information on working days was obtained by asking the working children in all study areas to mention the number of days they spent working in a week, as in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by type of activity and regularity (N=157)

Activity	Regularity			Total
	Everyday	Every weekend	Some days every week	
Scavenging				
Tins, bottles and boxes	12.1	1.9	5.1	19.1
Toys, shoes and clothing	2.5	0.6	0.6	3.8
Plastic bags/rubber bands	0.6	0.6	0.0	1.3
Timber and charcoal	1.9	0.0	0.6	2.5
Electric wires	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.6
Food	1.9	0.0	1.3	3.2
Photo and magazines	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.6
Quarrying				
Crushing stones	3.2	0.0	2.5	5.7
Loading crushed stones	3.2	0.6	5.1	8.9
Collecting and crushing stones	1.3	0.0	2.5	3.8
Fishing and fish processing				
Actual fishing	2.5	0.0	0.0	2.5
Ferrying fish	7.0	0.0	1.9	8.9
Scaling fish	0.6	0.0	0.6	1.3
Fish bisecting	3.2	0.0	0.0	3.2
Salting an drying fish	2.5	0.0	0.0	2.5
Picking fish fats	1.3	0.0	0.0	1.3
Loading fish into lorries	1.9	0.0	0.0	1.9
Garages				
Mechanical works	0.0	0.0	14.0	14.0
Auto electrical works	0.0	0.0	2.5	2.5
Panel beating	0.0	0.0	6.4	6.4
Spraying and painting	0.0	0.0	5.7	5.7
Total	45.9	3.8	50.3	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipal, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

From Table 5.2, the majority of working children, 50.3 percent (79), engaged in their respective activities during some days of the week. On the other hand, a good number of working children, 45.9 percent (72), claimed to have worked every day. A few working children, 3.8 percent (6), indicated to have worked every weekend.

When disaggregated by single activity, the data reveals that most of the children working every day were those engaged in fishing and fish processing activities, 88.2 percent (30), and scavenging, 61.2 percent (30). This was contrary to the 45 interviewed children working in garage activities, none of whom worked every day or every weekend. They said they worked only during some days of the week. They were followed by 41.4 percent (12) of children engaged in quarrying activities. Only 10.2 percent (5) of working children in scavenging activities and 3.4 percent (1) in quarrying activities mentioned to that they worked every weekend. There was no child interviewed either in fishing and fish processing activities or in garage activities who said that they worked some days of the week. The reasons frequently mentioned by working children as to why they were not working during the weekends was that they needed to rest after hard five working days as well as to go to church and worship.

The picture that we get from these findings is that most of the children in the informal sector activities are found to work almost every day or several days every week with little or no resting time. This is very dangerous when the young and formative age of these children is considered. To make matters worse, most of these children are still schooling. This makes it difficult for them to have the appropriate time to learn and complete class assignments given by their teachers at school. Hence, the situation calls for both immediate and long-term solutions to relieve or remove the heavy workload that these children have in order for them to be able to concentrate on their education and take steps towards a brighter future.

5.4 Working tools

Knowing the type of tools used by working children in the informal sector activities is important because the nature of tools used by children may have a profound impact on their healthy physical and mental development. Data on working children's tools were also useful in assessing the impact of prior efforts to combat the problem of child labour and in identifying children who are at high risk.

The working children in selected study areas were found using inappropriate and labour intensive tools, which affected their physical health. This was further facilitated by long hours of manual work. Children who were working in quarrying and fishing and fish processing activities were using tools that required a great deal of muscular energy at a tender age. For example, at quarrying sites children used heavy and sharp pointed iron bars and hammers to drill, extract, pound and break stones into pieces. This caused excessive and continuous fatigue which affected their physical and mental well being.

Most of the tools used by working children in garages were physically hazardous resulting in accidents and the development of poor health. The tools identified at various garages in Arusha and Mwanza city and municipality were obsolete spanners of different shape and sizes, drilling machines, rivet machines, pressing machines, bench vices, gas welding machines and spray guns.

The team of researchers observed that most of the tools used by children exposed them to accidents which resulted in serious injuries and/or permanent disability. As one of the working children who lost his two fingers at a garage explains:

I was assigned a job by my technician to dismantle some parts of the gear box set up by using spanners and a hammer. In the course of working, I knocked my palm and my two fingers were chopped off.

Similarly the situation at the fishing sites in Mwanza in terms of the tools used does not differ from that in Arusha and Dar Es Salaam. Through transect walks and observation, the team of researchers found that the

tools used in fishing and fish processing activities were locally designed; some of them were made of wood and some of other local materials. For example, wooden paddles for row boats which were too heavy to be used by children of 9 – 14 years were identified. The use of such devices by working children exposed them to body deformities and stunting of growth, not to mention the resulting fatigue. Other tools used were hooks, sharp knives and machetes which were potentially risky, causing accidents and serious body injuries.

5.5 Working risks

In the absence of both effective protective gear and knowledge of the risks involved in performing certain informal sector activities, the probability of working children being exposed to risky, dangerous and non-conducive working environments detrimental to their age and well being, is very high. Thus, information on working risks can be used to refine measures to protect children from being affected by their working environment physically and psychologically. Data on children's working risks are presented below by activity performed.

(a) Scavenging

During the transect walks and mapping it was discovered that the surroundings in which scavenging was done were completely unsafe. The surroundings were dirty and strewn with all types of dangerous items such as broken bottles and glasses, rusty nails, metal scraps, and syringes. Children who were found scavenging (including adults) either wore sandals or were found bare foot with no gloves or protective gear on their arms. The nature of working conditions at scavenging sites could best be summed up by an outsider in just one word, "hell" on earth. Nonetheless, for insiders (both adults and children) who make a living from the sites, the working conditions were just "normal." Perhaps the words of a 17 year old street child living at the Vingunguti dump in Dar Es Salaam gives a better picture of what it means to live and work there:

My brothers and sister, it isn't that I like to work and live here. The dump has a very strong and choking smell. It's a damn dirty, risky, unhealthy environment (just look at the piles all over) and inhabitable by all standards. But I have only two alternatives left now: I either become a thief or face the mob justice, i.e. death once caught, or stay here and continue scavenging for a living. I have chosen the latter option, no matter how difficult, risky and dangerous the working and living environment is.

(b) Informal garages

Children working in informal garages work in open spaces. During the dry season they were faced with dusty and windy conditions, while during raining seasons their workplaces become muddy. Similarly, they are exposed daily to cold temperatures in the early morning hours and to the sun in the midday and afternoon. However, the only major difference with other working children in the informal sector as far as harsh weather conditions were concerned was that when it rained or when there was no work to be performed, they could rest inside the cars around their garages. Most of the working children in the informal garages normally worked lying on the ground; thus during the dry season they are affected by dust and in the rainy season by mud. These circumstances made them look shabby and dirty. The materials they used while working such as oil, grease, break fluid, hard and soft putty and paints also magnified their level of filth and had far reaching consequences on their skin and respiratory system.

(c) Fishing and fish processing activities

Children who were involved in these activities worked in open spaces on beaches, hence, depending on the season and the time of the day, they were exposed to harsh weather conditions like their counter-parts in informal garages. Waste products from fish, especially intestines, were thrown all over the beaches. This made the place dirty and covered by a terrible stench, creating a good breeding place for flies. Due to these unhygienic conditions children were at high risk of suffering from diarrhoea - a problem which many interviewed children complained to suffer from frequently.

(d) Informal quarrying

Similar to the other work sites discussed, the working environment at quarrying sites was far from being good. Field findings revealed that children were working in a dusty, open-air environment with excessive heat due to the scorching sun. Children were also working or playing close to areas where adult males were blowing rocks with dynamites. Even more discouraging was the fact that there were no toilets around, which made it easy for all workers at the sites to catch water-borne and water related diseases such as diarrhoea and typhoid.

In the subsequent sections working risks and associated hazards with the working environment and tasks children performed, such as body pains, body injuries, accidents, diseases and abuses are discussed in detail.

- ***Body pains***

The working children who were involved in carrying heavy loads, over and above their weight and age, complained of body pain - especially headaches, chest pain, backaches and pains in the shoulders. For example, in informal fishing and related activities, children who were loading fish into lorries experienced backaches as a result of pain caused by using a spade to move ice from one side of the lorry to the other to provide space for arranging fish. Throwing heavy loads of fish inside the lorries caused pain in the shoulders. Also, children who were involved in ferrying fish and the associated activities complained about backaches caused by carrying heavy loads, especially fishnets, from the boats or canoes to the fishermen's villages, and containers of diesel or petrol from filling stations.

In informal garages, especially children who were involved in mechanical work complained of backaches due to lifting heavy loads such as car engines. In scavenging and quarrying children were often working while bending, kneeling or standing for long hours. In quarrying activities the stones the children crushed and loaded onto heaps in lorries to fill the quota were heavy and difficult to transfer causing children to experience body aches frequently.

- ***Body injuries***

Working children engaged in scaling and bisecting fish were exposed to injuries from cutting themselves with the sharp knives they used and from fish bones. Injuries caused by fish bones also affected those who were salting and drying fish. Some of the children who were involved in ferrying fish and other related activities claimed to frequently suffer from wounds and cuts from fish bones and rusty nails on the shores of the lake while ferrying fish.

As far as the activities involved in mechanical works were concerned, the working children were at high risk of being injured by hammers or car engines. For children who were dealing with panel beating, they were also at a risk of being injured by the hammers they used while working. A similar problem was experienced by children engaged in quarrying activities, particularly crushing stones, who used to hammer their fingers and nails, causing severe bodily harm and pain. Children in informal garage activities encountered severe wound cuts from sharp edges of car bodies they were repairing. These objects had rust that could cut them and expose them to tetanus. Moreover, working children dealing with welding experienced danger to their eyes and were affected by the lighting and paints; those who were spraying took the same risks as they were not using any protective gears. In the case of scavenging, children were wounded and cut, most commonly as a result of broken bottles, sharp and rusty iron bars and used needles disposed of by hospitals.

- ***Accidents***

Accidents were also mentioned in this study as hazards associated with certain tasks the working children were performing. For example, in fishing activities the working children along the shores of the lake were relatively safer compared to those engaged in deep water fishing. The latter normally dive and maneuver nets in the lake and risk drowning.

As far as the activities involved in mechanical works were concerned, sometimes the working children risk accidents when they are testing cars they have repaired. Children carrying out auto-electrical work were less exposed to risks compared to others working in garages.

There were a few incidents where some children were physically handicapped, for example, after a landslide at the quarrying site. A 17 year old boy explains this incident in which he was a victim himself:

I was born in Morogoro and come from a family of five children (three boys, two girls) of which I am the last born. I never went to school because my leg was injured while at Morogoro. Later on our family shifted from Morogoro to Dar Es Salaam's Kundichi Maweni. The whole family is involved in these quarrying activities. Between May/June last year I escaped death after two of my relatives died having been covered in a landslide at the site. The Independent Television Station (ITV) showed the episode. What saved my life was body exhaustion. I thought that I had to rest for a while. I went just a bit away from the working place, while my relatives decided to rest under a hanging piece of land. By the time the piece of land fell it was too late for them to escape. The piece of land also fell on my two legs and I was later on told that good Samaritans pulled me out.

Since then, this boy has not been at peace. It seems he has always been haunted psychologically by the ghosts of his two dead relatives. Despite this near death experience, however, he has not stopped working and frequenting the quarrying site. Possibly because it is the only job that he knows and has been exposed to.

- **Other diseases**

The working environments the children were exposed to could result in the contraction of diseases such as respiratory diseases i.e. coughs and flu as were experienced by scavenging children due to choking and bad odours from buried garbage and other chemicals and plastics. Also, skin rashes and scabies resulting from contact with contaminated garbage and diarrhoea as a result of scavenging for and in expired and contaminated foodstuffs. Children working on the unhygienic beaches were at risk of suffering from diarrhoea-related diseases including cholera and typhoid.

- **Abuse**

On the question of being abused at their working places, almost half of the working children interviewed confirmed that they were verbally abused by adults who either hired them or who were working with them. Their employers used to insult them mainly when they were slow in performing their tasks. In garages it was learned that it was common for them to be verbally abused and there were a few incidences of the children being slapped by their employers (trainers). In the case of scavenging, children frequently fight amongst themselves and receive beatings from adults who forcefully take valuable items from them. In Arusha, two scavenging children were reported to have been sexually abused (sodomised) by unknown persons at night at their sleeping places (at the corridors). There were some cases reported at the Children for Children's Future drop-in center whereby older children lure the young ones, using some money to have sex with them. The children at the center call this behavior "*Kuchungulia Video*" literally meaning "*watching video*".

5.6 Earnings of working children

Knowing the mode of payment and the income earned by working children was of significant importance in order to determine the reasons that pull children to engage themselves in such activities and endure such a degree of exploitation. Another answer sought was to know whether they worked for money or for other purposes. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 present the distribution of working children by activity and mode of payment, as well as the average income earned per day.

Table 5.3: Percentage distribution of working children in the informal sector by type of activity and mode of payment (N= 157)

Activity	Mode of Payment				Total
	Monetary	In-kind	In service	Other/Unpaid	
Scavenging					
Tins, bottles and boxes	15.3	0.6	0.0	3.2	19.1
Toys, shoes and clothing	2.5	0.0	0.0	1.3	3.8
Plastic bags/rubber bands	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.3
Timber and charcoal	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5
Electric wires	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Food	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2
Photo and magazines	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Quarrying					
Crushing stones	2.5	0.6	0.0	2.5	5.7
Collecting stones and crushed stones	7.6	0.6	0.0	0.6	8.9
Loading crushed stones	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.6	3.8
Fishing and fish processing					
Actual fishing	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	2.5
Ferrying fish	0.6	7.0	0.0	1.3	8.9
Scaling fish	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.3
Fish bisecting	1.9	1.3	0.0	0.0	3.2
Salting and drying fish	1.3	1.3	0.0	0.0	2.5
Loading fish into lorries	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.3
Picking fish fats	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9
Garages					
Mechanical works	9.6	0.0	3.2	1.3	14.0
Auto electrical works	1.3	0.0	1.3	0.0	1.3
Panel beating	4.5	0.0	1.9	0.0	6.4
Spraying and painting	5.1	0.0	0.6	0.0	5.7
Total	66.2	14.0	7.0	12.7	100.0

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

The general picture that emerges from Table 5.3 is that the mode of payment to the majority of children, 66.2 percent (104), in all working activities was in monetary terms. Fourteen percent (22) of working children said they were paid in kind, and 12.7 percent (20) were apprentices engaged in garage activities and paid only an allowance known as a “*soap allowance*” to wash their uniforms, although a great portion of it was used for lunch. Seven percent (11) said they were unpaid. Grouped by one activity after another, the findings reveal that working children engaged in scavenging, 76.9 percent (40), led in terms of being paid in monetary terms, followed by 72.4 percent (21) of working children in quarrying activities and 71.1 percent (32) engaged in garage activities. The second dominant mode of payment was in kind (fish) for 55.9 percent (19) of all children working in fishing and fish processing activities. The nature of activities conducted in fishing and fish processing activities allowed such a mode of payment because of the existence of employer-employee relationships when compared with scavenging and quarrying where working children sold their products directly to customers. There were also a few working children, 16.0 percent (8) in scavenging, 20.7 percent (6) in quarrying, 11.8 percent (4) in fishing and fish processing, and 4.4 percent (2) in garage activities who were unpaid workers. Most of these were working in their family or relative’s enterprises, hence the justification for not being paid. Table 5.4 presents the distribution of working children by their average income per day.

Table 5.4: Average earnings per day (in Tshs) of working children in the informal sector by type of activity and age (N=157)

Activity	Age Group				Total
	6 < =	7 - 9	10 - 13	14 - 17	
Scavenging					
Tins, bottles and boxes	0.00	0.00	367.00	425.00	396.00
Toys, shoes and clothing	0.00	0.00	283.00	250.00	275.00
Plastic bags/rubber bands	0.00	0.00	200.00	0.00	200.00
Timber and charcoal	0.00	0.00	0.00	525.00	525.00
Electric wires	0.00	0.00	400.00	0.00	400.00
Food	200.00	0.00	300.00	467.00	400.00
Photo and magazines	0.00	200.00	0.00	0.00	200.00
Sub – total	200.00	200.00	339.00	443.00	388.00
Quarrying					
Crushing stones	0.00	0.00	900.00	325.00	517.00
Loading crushed stones	0.00	0.00	383.00	538.00	423.00
Collecting stones and crushed stones	0.00	0.00	0.00	275.00	275.00
Sub – Total	200.00	0.00	339.00	443.00	388.00
Fishing and fish processing					
Actual fishing	0.00	0.00	200.00	3,500.00	1,850.00
Ferrying fish	0.00	0.00	875.00	375.00	708.00
Scaling fish	0.00	0.00	400.00	0.00	400.00
Fish bisecting	0.00	0.00	1,000.00	1,975.00	1,780.00
Salting and drying fish	0.00	0.00	0.00	1,175.00	1,175.00
Picking fish fats	0.00	0.00	0.00	300.00	300.00
Loading fish into lorries	0.00	0.00	0.00	1,083.00	1,803.00
Sub – Total	0.00	0.00	733.00	1,369.00	1,115.00
Garages					
Mechanical works	0.00	0.00	0.00	878.00	878.00
Auto electrical works	0.00	0.00	300.00	325.00	325.00
Panel beating	0.00	0.00	0.00	505.00	505.00
Spraying and painting	0.00	0.00	0.00	978.00	978.00
Sub – Total	0.00	0.00	300.00	780.00	759.00
Total	200.00	200.00	476.00	780.00	679.00

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipality, City of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

The findings in Table 5.4 show that on average all working children earned Tshs. 679.00 per day (approx. USD \$0.76). Children aged between 14-17 earned Tshs. 780.00 per day which was more than other age groups. They were followed by child workers aged 10-13 whom, on average, earned Tshs. 476.00 per day. Those who were below age 10 on average earned Tshs. 200.00 per day. The conclusion that can be drawn from these findings is that the higher the age of working children, the higher the income earned and vice versa. The same pattern repeats itself in all age groups and informal sector activities, with the exception of working children in quarrying activities aged 10–13 who earned more than those aged 14–17. The reason for these children earning more was that they were working under closer and more strict supervision of their parents than their counterparts aged 14–17 who worked independently and could thus take a more relaxed approach to work.

Children working in fishing and fish processing activities on average earned Tshs. 1,115.00 per day compared to Tshs. 759.00, Tshs. 406.00, and Tshs. 388.00 for children working in garage, quarrying and scavenging activities respectively. The patterns of these findings indicate that careful strategies were required to remove or protect children working in fishing and fish related activities. The earning they received per day was roughly along the same lines to a minimum wage: Tshs. 30,000.00 per month i.e. Tshs. 1,000.00 per day.

5.7 Use of earnings

Working children were asked how they spent their income. The purpose was to understand how the earned money was spent and/or who had a control of the money. Table 5.5 summarizes the amount of their earnings in Tanzanian shillings spent on their personal needs by sex, while Table 5.6 indicates the amount of their income spent on household budgets by sex. It is interesting to note that the payment does not reflect the conditions in which children worked. For example, scavenging appeared to the researchers to have more risks than some of the other activities, yet it was not highly paid. Quarrying also was a tedious job, and children were exposed to several hazards (as highlighted above) but in terms of payment they earned little compared to other activities. When one looks at the kinds of risks children were exposed to and the kinds of payments accrued from their activities, the earned amounts are not enough to undergo treatment, let alone to afford a simple but decent life.

Table 5.5: Average personal expenditure per day (in Tshs) of working children in the informal sector by type of activity and sex

Activity	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Scavenging			
Tins, bottles and boxes	150.00	324.00	310.00
Toys, shoes and clothing	100.00	300.00	250.00
Plastic bags/rubber bands	0.00	100.00	100.00
Timber pieces and charcoal	0.00	325.00	325.00
Electric wires	0.00	300.00	300.00
Food	100.00	363.00	310.00
Photo and magazines	0.00	200.00	200.00
Quarrying			
Crushing stones	400.00	75.00	183.00
Loading crushed stones	175.00	228.00	218.00
Collecting and crushing stones	250.00	238.00	240.00
Fishing and fish processing			
Actual fishing	0.00	225.00	225.00
Ferrying fish	0.00	358.00	358.00
Scaling fish	200.00	0.00	200.00
Fish bisecting	0.00	890.00	890.00
Salting and drying fish	0.00	375.00	375.00
Picking fish fats	0.00	100.00	100.00
Loading fish into lorries	0.00	500.00	500.00
Garages			
Mechanical works	0.00	455.00	455.00
Auto electrical works	0.00	313.00	313.00
Panel beating	0.00	420.00	420.00
Spraying and painting	0.00	461.00	461.00
Total	189.00	373.00	361.00

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipal, City of Dar es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

Table 5.5 shows that, on average, working children spent Tshs. 361.00 per day per person. Males spent Tshs. 373.00 compared to Tshs. 189.00 per day of their female counterparts. Most of the items which children spent their money on, in almost all activities were food, i.e. breakfast, lunch, and dinner for those children who stayed alone or preferred to be independent from their parents or guardians. However, the relatively highly paid

children involved in fishing and fish processing as well as garage activities seemed to spend their earnings - apart from on food items - on more luxurious and dangerous goods and services like watching rated X video shows, paying prostitutes, buying cigarettes, alcohol and even marijuana and other drugs. Thus, the researchers gathered from these findings is that extra efforts are required to educate these children as to intelligent spending to help with their future well being and development.

Table 5.6: Average household contribution per day (in Tshs.) of working children in the informal sector by type of activity and sex

Activity	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Scavenging			
Tins, bottles and boxes	100.00	193.00	181.00
Toys, shoes and clothing	0.00	100.00	100.00
Plastic bags/rubber bands	0.00	100.00	100.00
Timber and charcoal	0.00	150.00	150.00
Electric wires	0.00	100.00	100.00
Food	100.00	250.00	175.00
Photo and magazines	0.00	0.00	0.00
Quarrying			
Crushing stones	600.00	200.00	333.00
Loading crushed stones	250.00	172.00	186.00
Collecting and crushing stones	50.00	163.00	140.00
Fishing and fish processing			
Actual fishing	0.00	675.00	675.00
Ferrying fish	0.00	0.00	275.00
Scaling fish	100.00	0.00	100.00
Fish bisecting	0.00	525.00	525.00
Salting and drying fish	0.00	533.00	533.00
Picking fish fats	0.00	100.00	100.00
Loading fish into lorries	0.00	350.00	350.00
Garages			
Mechanical works	0.00	675.00	675.00
Auto electrical works	0.00	0.00	0.00
Panel beating	0.00	100.00	100.00
Spraying and painting	0.00	338.00	338.00
Total	207.00	323.00	311.00

Source: Interviews with working children in Arusha Municipal, City of Dar es Salaam and Mwanza, 2000

Table 5.6 shows a more or less similar pattern to that in Table 5.5. For instance, on average, all working children, regardless of gender, contributed Tshs. 311/- per day. When the same data is disaggregated by sex, male working children contributed more (Tshs. 323/-) per day on household budgets than their female colleagues who contributed only Tshs. 207/-. This disparity is attributed to the nature of activities which female children performed e.g. fish scaling, scavenging for expired foodstuff for consumption and for discarded second-hand clothes which had no market.

6. CAUSES AND SOLUTIONS

6.1 Introduction

Having seen the general background information on child labour in the informal sector in Tanzania, nature and extent of child labour and the working conditions of working children, this chapter aims to identify the causes of child labour in the sector. It is therefore divided into two parts. First, perceptions of child labour, and second, the causes of and solutions to child labour in informal sector activities.

6.2 Perceptions of child labour

The concept of child labour projects a particular image. As defined in ILO Convention 182, the worst forms of child labour include the involvement of children in all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery; the use of procurement or offering of a child for prostitution; the use, procurement or offering of a child for illicit activities; and work, which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (ILO Convention 182).

In order to learn the perceptions of key informants, working children, and other interested parties on what qualifies as child labour in their own communities, the research team held focus group discussion and/or individual interviews with them. In most of the focus group discussions conducted and/or individual interviews, the concept of child labour emerged as complex and unclear, with few exceptions. Perhaps, the Dar Es Salaam Regional Labour Officer's perception sums it up best:

...you know according to the Tanzania Employment Ordinance a child below 15 years of age cannot be employed. However, in our (Tanzania's) case the reality is contrary to the written laws - for many children are employed due to various reasons making it difficult to determine what is actually WFCL and what is not (i.e. work for survival).

The Regional Labour Officer noted that the matter is even further complicated by labour traditions, i.e. in order for employment to exist, there must be employer-employee relationships. He further commented that when you employ this equation to the problem of child labour in Tanzania, it becomes ineffective, as most of the children found engaged in child labour are actually self-employed, e.g. in quarrying, fish scaling or scavenging activities, etc. The situation, he complained, makes it cumbersome to deal with the "invincible employer" - the market that compels them (children) to work.

Commenting on their perceptions on the concept of child labour, 22 out of 28 government officials in all three regions visited said that under normal circumstances children all over the world do help their parents with errands. One Municipal Community Development Officer in Kinondoni however, added that some children go beyond helping their parents:

...they help parents earn income for a living. Facilitators! This is where the problem lies and it falls under what you and the ILO call child labour.

It was encouraging to note that in most of the focus group discussions or individual interviews held in all three regions, many participants were able to cite a number of activities performed by children that could be labeled as child labour. For example, in a focus group discussion with the Regional Labour Office's officials and at a later date with YCIC officials, an NGO focusing on street children, some participants mentioned that the ILO and other researchers need not go very far to establish whether child labour exists or not. The following participant's strongly worded comment explains:

Just go around the State House "necklace", i.e. along Magogoni/Kigamboni Ferry and you may find a number of children engaged in prostitution.

Besides children in prostitution, other forms of child labour mentioned by participants included, *inter alia*, domestic work, crushing stones, scavenging, fish scaling, street vending, and carrying luggage.

6.3 Causes of and solutions to child labour

In order to determine the causes of child labour, researchers held a number of focus group discussions or individual interviews with key informants and working children in Arusha municipality and cities of Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza. It is evident from the participants' responses that there were several outstanding factors that push children into child labour. The outstanding factors are summarized in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Summary ranking of causes of child labour by various categories of respondents

Causes	Respondents					
	Central Government officials	Local Government officials	NGO officials	Other adults	Working children	Non-working children
Economic factors						
Absolute Poverty	1	1	2	1	1	1
Unemployment and Underemployment	2	2	1	2	5	4
Social and political factors						
Divergence form Extended to Nuclear Family	12	11	6	7	12	7
Death of Parents/Guardians	3	3	3	3	2	2
Irresponsible Parenthood	4	5	4	6	4	3
Marriage Break Down	5	4	5	4	3	5
Big Family Sizes	6	6	7	8	9	6
Political factors						
Non Conducive School Environment	8	7	8	9	8	8
Government Policies/Globalization of Culture	7	8	9	11	7	9
Child centred factors						
Delinquency	9	10	9	10	10	11
Peer Influence	10	9	10	12	11	10
To Acquire Skills	11	12	11	5	6	12

Source: Focus Group Discussions and Interviews with respondents, December 2000

(a) Economic factors (*absolute poverty and unemployment and underemployment*)

It is clear from the above list in Table 6.1 that all six categories of respondents mentioned several different factors for children to engage in child labour activities in the informal sector. Nevertheless, the most notable cause that ranked highly from all respondents, with the exception of NGO officials, was absolute poverty. It is an indisputable fact that the problem of child labour is growing with increasing poverty in Tanzania's society, especially in the areas where the study was conducted. According to one government official from Ilala Municipal Council in Dar Es Salaam, poverty and lack of income have made it difficult, if not impossible, for most ordinary breadwinners to fend for themselves, let alone for their children.

...the situation has been made even much worse due to structural adjustment programmes and globalizaiton and its concomitant commandments, i.e. downsizing the public sector through retrenchemnt, freezing public subsidies on social service sectors, lack of control of prices, price deregualtion and competition.

Another participant in the same focus group discussion questioned the situation as follows:

...with retrenchment whom else do you expect to contribute to the household grain basket, if not the child?

This was especially the case where parents or guardians were unable to work due to old age, sickness, disability or unemployment due to retrenchment. One member of an FGD in Igombe-Mwanza lamented that the majority of children came from low income, large families in rural areas and added:

These families cannot afford to provide proper childcare and maintenance to their children. As a result the latter decide to migrate to urban areas to meet their basic needs.

The mass rural poverty, which is caused by the poor agricultural policies and unreliable market for cash crops, was also attributed to children from the rural areas joining the army of child labourers in the informal sector in the urban areas.

Parents' failure to afford primary and secondary school contributions was also associated with many children dropping out of school and joining the informal sector activities, as per the following scenario:

This is the situation of a male Standard VII leaver, aged 18. He is still living with his parents who both work in the Kunduchi quarrying sites. Since he finished school four years ago he has not secured any employment. Realizing that his future was bleak he decided to join the Kunduchi quarrying activities to work and at least earn money. Highly disappointed, he lamented that even if he had passed his Standard VII examinations four years ago and been selected to join secondary school, his parents did not have and still do not have the ability to pay school fees bearing in mind the meager resources they earn.

One quite common belief among many Swahili parents is "Kila mtoto huja na riziki yake," which translates to mean "Every child born comes with its own fortune." Such beliefs motivate parents to bear children without family planning. Eventually, when there are too many children for the parents to care for, they just leave them to fend for themselves. The children engaged in child labour are often just the tip of the iceberg of parents' irresponsibility.

Closely related to the above is the widespread unemployment and underemployment among many parents of the working children in informal sector activities. Again Table 6.1 shows that, this factor ranked second by central government and local government officials as well as other adults with the exception of NGO officials, working and non-working children who ranked it first, fifth and fourth respectively. The main argument among the respondents who ranked the factor second was that low income earned by the unemployed parents or guardians served as a ticket to send their children to the streets to work to supplement their meager income.

Similar views on causal factors were aired by NGO officials, working and non-working children who ranked the factor as first, fifth and fourth respectively. Their argument was that labour demand in the unemployed informal sector household enterprises compelled children to work in child labour activities. The argument was only dominant in the fishing and fish related activities as well as quarrying. Nevertheless, some children engaged in scavenging in Dar Es Salaam were said to scavenge against their parents' blessings in a bid to collect valuable items for sale to supplement household grain baskets. This is not to say, however, that economic reasons were the only ones sending children to work in the informal sector. There are other reasons as well.

The following solutions are proposed in response to the economic causal factors:

The need to address the facts that the schooling environment is not conducive to learning and student motivation (e.g. schools have insufficient classrooms, teachers, and desks), that parents must be encouraged to send their children to school, and also that children must be encouraged to attend school regularly. This situation requires all stakeholders from respective government ministries, regional, municipal and district authorities and village governments as well as NGOs, CBOs, private sector and donor community to join forces together in an effort to eradicate poverty and create employment opportunities for parents in order to stop the use of children's labour to supplement their grain basket. Also, to improve schooling environments by building modern and well furnished infrastructures, supplying text and exercise books, and motivating teachers by rewarding them with appropriate remuneration to allow them to concentrate on the noble teaching profession instead of forcing them to engage in side activities and eventually stop teaching. It is necessary for the government, in collaboration with NGOs, CBOs and the private sector, to assist in providing vocational skills in order to remove children from labour activities. There is also the need for the government to provide working children aged between 14-17 with credit or financial aid to enable them to perform less risky business, e.g. carpentry, masonry, etc.

(b) Social factors

(divergence from extended families, death of parents and/or guardians, irresponsible parenthood, marriage breakdown and large families)

Table 6.1 indicates that divergence from extended families, death of parents and guardians, irresponsible parenthood, marriage breakdown, and large families were among the major contributing causes to children getting involved in child labour informal sector activities. Among socio-causal factors, death of parents and/or guardians was ranked highly by almost all categories of respondents. Working and non-working children for example, ranked this factor second to absolute poverty. While central government, local government, NGO officials and other adults ranked it third to absolute poverty and unemployment. This cause was elaborated upon by the fact that many parents and/or guardians in Arusha, Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza have been dying of HIV/AIDS leaving behind vulnerable young children with no security or any other person to take care of them. Recent studies conducted in Mwanza and Arusha (1999) estimated about 1,544 and 600 orphans respectively. Many of these young children end up living and working in the streets.

Findings from Table 6.1 also suggest that irresponsible parenthood caused children to move to the streets and work while still young. This cause was ranked third by non-working children who testified that most of their colleagues who have dropped out of school and joined child labour activities did so after the death of their parents and/or guardians. Central government and NGO officials as well as other adults ranked irresponsible parenthood as a fourth contributing factor forcing children into child labour activities in the informal sector. This, they argued, was especially so with parents who were alcoholics or had multiple marriages and/or large families. For instance, the participants in focus group discussions and individual interviews with the central government, local government, and NGO officials, other adults and working and non-working children, though they ranked marriage breakdown ranging between third and fifth with emphasis on the latter, noted that most of the children on the streets engaged in child labour came from broken and large families. Among the working children themselves, large family size was ranked as a lesser of the contributing factors for them to engage in child labour activities. Regarding the issue of large families, an Executive Ward Officer for Kunduchi commented:

...besides being poor, many of the families in my ward lack family planning education. That is why most families/households in the ward are too large. On average, every household has at least eight members. So do you think taking care of such a big family is a tea party?

According to the Executive Ward Officer, the situation was so serious that children from the ages of six, seven, eight and nine were found working under very difficult circumstances in all informal sector activities all over Tanzania, including at the quarrying sites.

The Kinondoni Community Development Officer echoed her supervisor's opinion when she commented that many men in the Mwanza and coastal regions, including Dar Es Salaam, are fond of having polygamous marriages. This, she said, was partly religious (Moslem) and partly traditional. Because of embracing this

culture, the Municipal Community Development Officer said that most men have too many children and they fail to fulfill all their basic needs, e.g. food, clothing, shelter, education, health needs, etc. She concluded by stating that children born under such types of marriages were compelled to work in order to fulfill their needs and those of their parents. Similar reasoning was common throughout the focus group discussions and/or during individual interviews held.

As cited in Table 6.1, marriage breakdown and divorce, leading to step parenthood was unanimously supported by all groups of respondents with different rankings as a cause of child labour in the informal sector. Very often, participants mentioned that marriage breakdown forced children to stay with one parent. And more often than not, the mothers who are the majority in society are economically disadvantaged to fend for their basic needs, let alone for those of their children. On the other hand, if the parent whom the child stayed with remarries, it is common practice for most stepparents, especially mothers, to mistreat and abuse their stepchildren. Under such circumstances participants noted that children were compelled to work in the family enterprises, or they were starved as a way of punishing them. The end result of such mistreatment and abuses was for children to run away to the streets to live and work there independently.

It cannot be over-emphasized that irresponsible parenthood featured highly among the participants in the focus group discussions and/or individual interviews held in all three cities and/or municipalities. One such striking observation from a participant is as follows:

Born in Nachingwea, one of the male respondents used to live with both of his parents there. The tenderness, love and care he received under both his parents made for a wonderful life. However, his happy life was short-lived, as it abruptly changed five years ago. A year following his mother's death in 1998 he dropped out of school. His father remarried and the boy's stepmother mistreated him, denying him food, and beating, insulting and overworking him. So he decided to flee from Nachingwea and sought refuge from his uncles, whom he is staying with in Kunduchi – Maweni, Junduchi Ward. Nevertheless, since his arrival at his uncles' home two years ago, he says that "the gods seem not to dance on my side." His uncles seem not to care much about his future and well-being. It is against this background that he decided to seek his bleak fortune in the Kunduchi quarrying sites – there is nothing else.

A similar comment on parents' irresponsibility was made by one YCIC Street Children Centre official. He said that one of his centre's duties was to reunify street children with their parents. In one incidence in 1999 he happened to accompany a street child to his parents in Songea. When they left Dar Es Salaam to Songea the accompanied street child had accumulated Tshs. 100,000.00 through scavenging, fish scaling, carrying luggage and child prostitution (sodomy). To his surprise, upon meeting the child's father, the first thing he asked was whether he (the child) had come with any money. The child provided the father with all the money. Proving his lack of awareness of the circumstances, he thanked the YCIC official for sending his child on leave to greet him. To make matters worse, the parent asked the official when their son would go back to Dar Es Salaam to look for more money.

Another significant cause of children engaging themselves in child labour, as indicated in Table 6.1, was the attitude of some parents not to value formal western education. This has been done deliberately through some parents' attempts not to enroll their school-going age children in primary schools. The defense given was that even if they were to enroll their children in school, upon their completion they ended up not securing any employment in the formal sector. According to this argument, enrolling children to schools nowadays was just a waste of time.

The proposed solutions to address the emerging general social malaise and social factors are varied.

First, since HIV/AIDS takes a heavy toll on parents/guardians' lives, there is an urgent need to increase efforts by individual families, communities, religious institutions, NGOs, CBOs, the private sector and government to sensitize and mobilize people in the war against the virus.

Second, and related to the above, there is a need for families, communities and the public at large to revive the informal social security system embedded in the traditional extended families which used to see a child as a child of the whole society and not of an individual nuclear family.

Thirdly, concerted efforts should be made towards educating parents and the public at large on the importance of family planning (i.e. on how many children a family should have on average, different methods used in family planning, what interval should there be between the birth of one child to another?). NGOs and CBOs that work at the grassroots level should be invited to collaborate with the local government at regional, municipal/district, ward and village levels. The education given will aim to prompt a sense of responsibility among parents on caring for their children.

(c) Political factors

(Government policies/globalization of culture and non-conducive environments)

Central government officials, NGO officials, working and non-working children alike specifically emphasized the political factor as a cause, though they ranked it eighth among others. Local government officials and other adults ranked this cause seventh and ninth respectively. Through transect walks the team of researchers observed that the learning environment in most of the primary schools in the various localities visited was far from being conducive. During focus group discussions with working and non-working children, they reported significant shortages of classrooms, teachers, toilets, desks, text and exercise books, to mention just a few. The shortage of education infrastructure in primary schools demoralized pupils' interest to learn. Consequently, they either dropped out of school or became truants before they joined the army of child labourers in the informal sector activities.

During various focus group discussions held and/or individual interviews with respondents in all study areas, it was revealed that government policies and the globalization of culture were also responsible for children involving themselves in child labour activities. While central government officials and working children ranked this seventh, NGO officials and non-working children ranked it ninth. Local government officials and other adults ranked it nine and eleventh each. In an FGD conducted in Arusha with government officials it was lamented that the government and its relevant organs were either not serious about, or politically committed to, the elimination of child labour in the country. They wondered how even the ruling party, let alone other political parties, did not have a clear approach of the way they should tackle the problem of child labour in the country in their election campaign manifestos.

One participant from Dar Es Salaam was very cynical regarding the government's behaviour to continue ordering very expensive cars while the country's economy is said to be in shambles and could not support even the existing public services (including schools) fully.

Participants in FDGs in Mwanza wondered why was the government was blindly accepting some of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund policies which they believed have far reaching consequences on people's welfare, education, and health. One NGO official commented:

In the 1970s we didn't have child labour; the country had good policies, egalitarian policies, which benefited all people – the rich and the poor. The situation as it is today is that the rich are becoming richer and richer, while the poor are becoming poorer and poorer.

Even worse is the process of globalization of culture. Participants argued that the opening up of Tanzania's territorial borders to global culture has allowed alien cultural habits such as viewing x-rated video shows, taking drugs, and being influenced by the "coca-colonization" of a drinking culture, and other goods being imported. All these items require money to buy, which in most cases, parents do not have. Many working children mentioned that they worked in order to enable them to view video shows every evening, buy sweets, a bottle of coca cola and other desired goods and services.

The team of researchers proposes the following as solutions to the above-mentioned problems:

The government should show high political commitment to the efforts towards elimination of the WFCL. A ratification of ILO Convention Number 182 is one thing and its enforcement is quite another. People are interested to see deeds and not just well documented policies, which cannot be realized;

The government still has a role to play towards solving the problem of low enrollment rates among school-going age children who fail to enroll due to their parents' inability to pay fees;

Stakeholders (the government, local government, NGOs, CBOs and parents) should pool resources together to improve their children's learning environment and motivate children to attend school regularly, as well as to encourage their parents to send their children to school;

Communities should attempt to establish education funds to assist in sponsoring children from poor families who cannot afford to pay for their children's fees, as well as orphans who do not have anybody to depend on;

The government, in collaboration with parents and the public at large, should collaborate in trying to censor and ban some goods and services e.g. x-rated video tapes, films, drugs, etc. imported into Tanzania which are detrimental to the country's own culture and influence children to work in the informal sector in order to purchase them.

(d) Child centred reasons
(delinquency, peer influence and acquisition of skills)

Apart from socio-economic and political factors contributing to children's involvement in informal child labour activities, other reasons equally mentioned and ranked included delinquency, peer influence and lack of skill acquisition. Delinquency, for instance, was ranked tenth, by local government officials, other adults and working children among the least contributing factors for children engaging in child labour activities. More or less the same pattern repeats itself for central government, NGO officials and non-working children who ranked it between ninth and eleventh.

Peer influence was also ranked as having an insignificant contribution in determining children's involvement in child labour. This fact is attested to by the ranking established by various categories of respondents in the sample, who ranked it between tenth to twelfth. The lack of skill acquisition ranked between eleventh to twelfth by central government, local government, NGO officials and non working children as a causal force for children to engage in child labour, but it was ranked relatively high, i.e. fifth and sixth, by other adults and working children themselves. The reason given by both groups was that many people in the studied areas lured their children's relatives from rural areas to go with them to urban areas in anticipation of sponsorship for vocational training. However, after their arrival in town they found themselves turned into child labourers in the informal sector activities or domestic work.

The proposed solutions for the factors above are the following.

To address juvenile delinquency and negative peer influence the families, neighbourhoods, NGOs, CBOs, private organizations, ward, district and regional administration should be mobilized in collaboration with the Welfare Department of the Ministry of Labour Youth Development and Sports in rehabilitating and stimulating these children's physical and mental well-being.

In terms of the need for skill acquisition, a law should be amended and enforced to handle people who lure their children's relatives to the urban areas to train them in vocational skills and later on use them in child labour. However, for children working in garage activities as apprentices, their employers should be sensitized to treat them as children and not adults in terms of working hours, working tools, working risks and hazards as well as their remuneration.

7. CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents conclusions and recommendations. The recommendations are divided into a number of categories, geared towards the Government of Tanzania, the local governments, non-governmental organizations and/or community based organizations, the parents of both working and non-working children, employers who employ children, and finally to the children themselves.

7.2 Conclusion

The analysis of data from the research findings indicates a high prevalence of WFCL in informal sector activities in the localities visited. Despite intensive efforts by both government and NGO organizations as well as ILO/IPEC initiatives, the problem of children entering WFCL in the informal sector is still increasing.

Overall, the persistence and high prevalence of the WFCL in all localities visited seem to be caused by general poverty status of the majority of parents and/or guardians. Other equally contributing factors were poor government policies and a lack of commitment on the government's part, the rise in the number of orphans, large family size, marriage breakdown and irresponsible parenthood, and non-conducive schooling environments. The study has suggested solutions to each of these causes.

This rapid assessment investigation called for concerted efforts from all ILO/IPEC social partners to work towards eventual elimination of the WFCL. Each social partner has a role to play in order to ensure that future efforts, including the Time Bound Programme to eliminate child labour launched officially in 2001, will be successful.

7.3 Recommendations

(a) Government

The Government should show high political commitment to the efforts towards elimination of the hazardous forms of child labour and/or WFCL. It is not enough to ratify ILO Convention 182; it must also be enforced.

There was a general consensus among respondents that national policies (i.e. raising people's income, poverty eradication, employment creation commensurate with good pay, harmonizing the laws with regard to the age of the child, increasing pre-primary, primary and secondary enrollment rates, etc.) be reformulated to address more forcefully the problem of WFCL. These measures should go hand in hand with Government efforts to improve the national economy and create an egalitarian society where every citizen will have an opportunity to enjoy the benefits. For example one government official in a focus group discussion commented:

What we are currently witnessing in Tanzania are policies facilitating the regeneration of classes, i.e. between the "haves" and "have nots"; the "haves" becoming richer and richer while the "have nots" become more and more poor. It is this scenario that pushes poor parents' children into WFCL.

The recommendations to the Government follow:

- In collaboration with ILO/IPEC, strengthen the Child Labour Unit, Ministry of Labour Youth Development and Sports, and more particularly the labour inspection section through training and retraining of its personnel, recruitment of new staff to offset the current shortage, provision of incentives and supply of necessary transport logistics in order to enforce the laws more effectively.
- Address more forcefully the problems of falling gross and net enrollment for primary schools (from high 80 percent in the 1980s to less than 50 percent at present) as well as the low transition rate to secondary schools (6 percent). Pre-school education must be strengthened, and access to and quality of education must be improved in public schools.

- Through the Ministry of Labour Youth Development and Sport and the Child Labour Unit, conduct an in-depth study covering a large section of the population in order to determine their perceptions of WFCL, the underlying causes, its severity, existing efforts and what should be done for its final eradication. Such a study should help to establish the magnitude of child labour and identify factors that are likely to influence people’s perceptions, levels of awareness and their commitment to the elimination of the WFCL programmes and activities.
- Through the ministry of Legal and Constitutional Affairs and in collaboration with the Ministry of Community Development Women and Children Affairs, a review of the 1971 Marriage Act should take place to accommodate changes that will force both parents to be responsible in caring for their children.

In conclusion, unless the government improves its workers’ income and welfare, life will continue to be much more difficult forcing both parents and employers to use children as their sources of labour.

(b) Local governments

There should be concerted efforts on the part of the local government in their areas of jurisdiction to improve educational infrastructure in general, and specifically to employ new teachers where the central government cannot, build more classes, and to increase the number of desks, toilets, teachers’ quarters, exercise books and text books, etc. With the schooling environment for both parents and children as it is now (e.g. schools without classrooms, teachers, desks, etc.), it is not conducive to motivate parents to send their children to school, nor to encourage children to attend school regularly.

One participant in an interview was very cynical regarding the central government and local government behaviour to “continue ordering very expensive cars” while the economy is said to be in shambles and could not support even the existing public services (including schools) fully.

Local governments should use the power and authority conferred upon them by the constitution to amend by-laws that will ensure that irresponsible parents are dealt with accordingly. At the same time, local governments’ efforts in their respective jurisdictions to improve people’s standard of living as well as to identify disadvantaged and marginalized parents and children who can be targeted for school financial assistance must be taken seriously.

(c) Non -government organizations and/or community based organizations

Since NGOs and CBOs work at the grassroots level, they should involve the general public in the identification of their felt needs and/or problems, including the WFCL. As one participant remarked:

Experience shows that programmes and projects forced on people without their involvement always prove to be a total fiasco.

Related to the above recommendation, since the situation of WFCL seems to be unknown to many people in the regions investigated, there is a need for more public sensitization to mobilize and create awareness among the people.

In the words of a local municipal officer, “the problem of the WFCL is that its impact has not reached the grassroots level. There is a need for the sensitization of the general public on its existence and impact.”

There is also a need for NGOs and/or CBOs concerned with the elimination of the problem of the WFCL, to coordinate their efforts through a networking body in order to allow them to compare notes, share experiences, avoid duplication and wasting of scarce resources, and ensure optimal and effective programmes.

Many of the NGOs and/or CBOs dealing with the problem of child labour are too detached from the children whom they are supposed to be working with. They should therefore bridge this gap. As one key informant in Kunduchi quarrying site lamented:

We have seen many people coming here with video cameras to film our children. They interview them and promise that they will assist. But once they leave they do not come back. This is unacceptable; you are using our children for our ends, and that is why many children are reluctant to meet you.

NGOs and/or CBOs should ensure that they target the most vulnerable, disadvantaged and marginalized parents and children in the bid to eliminate the WFCL. Sometimes the tendency for some of these organizations has been to assist children of more advantaged families, instead of the poor.

Religious NGOs should try to instill a sense of commitment in their members with regards to the importance of respecting marriage as a sacred institution. This will have a direct impact on cementing marriage relations among both parents, hence reduce the problem of divorce which often ends in female headed households that harbour the majority of children working in WFCL.

(d) Parents

There is a need to educate parents on ways to solve their socio-economic problems that do not involve sending their children to work. Similarly, education programmes related to issues of family planning that focus on the costs and benefits of having many children with fewer resources and vice versa should be taught.

There is also a need for the society to embrace the traditions that see the children as belonging to the community and not only to the parent(s). This perception will help instill a sense of obligation in both parents and the community in removing children from WFCL situations.

Though it can be argued that there is still a need for parents and community members to continue initiating children into the world of work for socialization purposes which are important to their futures, they should be sensitized not to engage their children in child labour which is detrimental to their moral, physical and mental well being.

(e) Employers

Employers employing desperate working children or those they take for apprenticeship, especially in garage and fishing and fish processing activities, should strive to improve children's working conditions. For example, by supplying them with working protective gears, reducing hours of work and assigning them work which may be commensurate with their age, body physique and mental well being.

(f) Children

Children should listen to and follow the advice received from their parents and/or guardians. This will greatly reduce the number of children who join life on the streets and engage themselves in WFCL informal sector activities in defiance of their parents' and/or guardians' orders.

It is also crucial that children are taught their rights and how to channel their demands in case their rights are violated, if the WFCL in informal sector activities are to be successfully eliminated.

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ANNEX I

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE TRAINING INSTITUTE
INVESTIGATING THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR IN TANZANIA
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHILDREN WORKING IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR

Location:.....
.....

District.....Region.....
.....

Name of the
Researcher:.....

A. PERSONAL PARTICULARS

1. Name of the
child:.....
(If the child agrees to mention)

2. Age..... Gender: (i.) Male (ii.) Female

3. Religion: (i.) Christian (ii.) Moslem (iii.) Traditionalist (iv.) None (v.) Don't Know

4. Tribe:.....
.....

5. Place of Birth: (i.) Rural/urban
(ii) Village/Town
.....
(iii)
District:.....
...
(iv)
Region.....
.....

6. If not born in the study area
(i) In which year did you come to this area?
(ii) Why did you come to this area?

.....
.....

B. EDUCATION

1. Are you schooling? (i.) YES (Go to question 2)
(ii.) NO (Go to question 3)

2. In which class/standard are you?

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
---	----	-----	----	---	----	-----

3. Do you attend school regularly? (i.) YES (**Go to section C**)
(ii.) NO (**Go to question 4**)

4. Why don't you attend school regularly?

.....
.....
.....

5. Why are you not schooling?

- (i.) Not enrolled (**Go to question 6**)
(ii.) Dropped out (**Class dropped out STD.....**) (**Go to question 7**)
(iii.) Completed Primary School (Go to Section C)

6. Why were you not enrolled?

.....
.....
.....

7. Why did you drop out?

.....
.....
.....

C. FAMILY

1. In which locality are you stay?.....

2. Whom do you stay with?

- | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (i.) Both parents | (ii.) Grand Parents | (iii.) Uncle |
| (ii.) Father | (v.) Grand Father | (vi.) Aunt |
| (iii.) Mother | (viii.) Grand Mother | (ix.) Other Relatives (Mention) |
| (iv.) Brother | (xi.) Sister | (xii.) Employer |
| (v.) Alone | (xiv.) With other Children | |

3. Ask the following questions if the child does not stay with his/her mother

- (a) Where do your mother stay?.....
(b) What economic activities does she perform?.....
(c) If she is dead, when did she die?.....
(d) What was the cause of her death?.....

4. Ask the following questions if the child does not stay with his/her father

- (a) Where do your father stay?.....
(b) What economic activities does she perform?.....
(c) If she is dead, when did she die?.....
(d) What was the cause of her death?.....

5. Siblings

Nr.	Gender	Level of Education Attained	Economic Activities Engage in	Locality/Place
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
10.				

6. Relatives in the Household

Nr.	Relationship	Gender		Level of Education Attained	Economic Activities Engaged in
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

D. TYPE OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY ENGAGED IN

1. What type of activity are you engaged in?

.....

2. In which year did you join engage in this activity?

3. What were you doing before engaged in this activity?

.....

4. Who owns the business?

- (i.) Parents
- (ii.) Relatives
- (iii.) Myself
- (iv.) Employed
- (v.) Share holding (**Mention the relation and number of shareholders**)

.....

E. WORKING HOURS

1. When do you start and finish working?

2. How many times do you work in a week:

- (i.) The whole week
- (ii.) Six Days
- (iii.) Five Days
- (iv.) Four Days
- (v.) Three Days
- (vi.) Two Days

FOR EMPLOYED CHILDREN ONLY

3. Who introduced you to this activity?

- (i.) Myself
- (ii.) Others (**mention the relationship**)

.....

4. What is the modality of payment for the work done?

- (i.) Wage
- (ii.) Allowances
- (iii.) In kind (**Specify**)

.....

5. How much do you earn per day?.....

6. Do your employer provide you with anything other than wage?
.....
.....

7. Do you encounter any of the following problems in this activity?

- (i.) Overwork YES/NO
- (ii.) No leisure time YES/NO
- (iii.) No time for worship YES/NO
- (iv.) Laughing stock YES/NO
- (v.) Insults YES/NO

(vi.) Beaten

YES/NO

8. (a) Can you decide to quit this activity at your own will?

(i.) YES (Give reasons)

(ii.) NO (Give reasons)

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

F. RECALL OF ILLNES/INJURIES/ACCIDENTS

Problem	When	Got Treatment (YES/NO)	Who paid the bill
Illness			
Injury/Accident			

Extra information about the child's illness and injury or accident:

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

G. EXPENDITURE PER DAY

Category	Expenditure	Amount of Money
Individual Expenditure Per Day		
Family Expenditure (Parents plus bothers & sisters)		
Other relatives (mention their relationship)		

H. WORKING CHILDREN SUPPORT NETWORK CHECKLIST

Question	Response
To whom do you go when you fall sick?	
To whom do you go when you get seriously injured at work?	
To whom do you go when beaten by your peer(s)?	
To whom do you go when you are in need of food?	
To whom do you go when you are in need of entertainment?	
To whom do you go when you are in need of money?	
To whom do you go when you are beaten and/or abused by the owner of business?	
To whom do you go when you get disturbing news?	
To whom do you go when you are in need of counseling?	

1. Are you satisfied with the type of activities you are currently performing?

(i.) YES

(ii.) NO

2. If NO, what would you like to suggest on the following on the type of activities that you are currently performing?

• **The Government**

(i).....

(ii).....

(iii).....

(iv).....

• **The General Public**

(i).....

(ii).....

(iii).....

(iv).....

ANNEX II

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANTS/GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS/NGO LEADERS AND WORKING AND NON WORKING CHILDREN IN FGDs

1. What do you understand by child labour/WFCL?
2. What determines the involvement of children in child labour/WFCL?
3. Are/were there any prior efforts to eliminate the problem of child labour/WFCL?
4. What should be done to eliminate the problem of child labour/WFCL?
5. What are the working conditions?
6. What social support network do you have?