



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

**Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 9
Tanzania
Child Labour in Commercial Agriculture – Tobacco:
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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The coordination of this work was done by Andrea Rossi at the International Labour Organization (ILO) Area Office, Dar es Salaam. Dr Rwegoshora served as lead consultant and the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) in Geneva provided guidance and technical support throughout the study.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BAT	British American Tobacco
BoT	Bank of Tanzania
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (of the ILO)
ITGA	International Tobacco Growers Association
IUF	International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers Associations
JMT	Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania (Swahili for URT)
MoAF	Ministry of Agriculture and Food
MoEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
REPOA	[Network for] Research in Poverty Alleviation
TADREG	Tanzania Development Research Group
TIE	Tanzania Institute of Education
§URT	United Republic of Tanzania
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labour
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UNITASHUMTA	Umoja wa Michezo na Taaluma Shule za Msingi Tanzania [Alliance for Game and Study Among Primary Schools in Tanzania]

A Typical Working Child on Tobacco Plantations

Samson (not his real name) is a 15 year-old boy working on a tobacco plantation in Urambo. He moved to Urambo from Kigoma with his parents. Like his brothers and sisters, he started working on the plantation when he was nine years old, during holidays and on weekends, to pay for his school fees. He has since completed his primary education and now works full-time.

Samson works 10-12 hours a day, felling trees and weeding to clear fields for cultivation; transplanting tobacco seedlings and tending the farms; and plucking and curing leaves. He is paid weekly and he uses his income to purchase personal effects and gives the rest to his parents for food and basic household items.

Samson works barefoot and thorns often prick him. He complains of back pain especially after carrying bags of tobacco leaves to the weighing station five kilometres away. There is no safe drinking water on the plantation and Samson and his friends frequently suffer from diarrhoea and typhoid. All medical expenses are deducted from his salary. He looks anaemic and has several burn scars on his arms.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) was inspired by the concerns of the Government of Tanzania and the International Labour Organization (ILO) about the plight and sufferings which children are going through in different forms and guises, in labour-intensive industries and factories, and in concealed domestic slavery and other forms. The human rights of children living under such circumstances, in terms of education and/or a decent life, are greatly affected. With the goal of eliminating child labour, especially in its worst forms, the ILO and the Government of Tanzania have committed themselves to action. Among the first steps of action is the undertaking of specific issue-focused research field studies in order to determine the nature and manifestations of the WFCL, the context and factors surrounding the problem and the local areas in which they occur, the feelings and characteristics of the victims and the possible solutions to the problem of child labour.

This particular study was conducted on the tobacco farms in two districts in mainland Tanzania: Urambo district in Tabora region and Iringa Rural district in Iringa region. The sample areas for field investigation were selected from within these districts.

The methodology used was based on the rapid assessment (RA) approach, which allows researchers to carry out a relatively quick coverage of large data-source areas within a relatively short time period. The wide range of data-gathering instruments included in this methodology allow for cross-comparative and cross-validation. The specific methods and techniques used in this study included a literature review and documentary analysis, observation, mapping, interviews and questionnaire administration; each of these was geared to or targeted at a relevant category or segment of the population under investigation.

The tobacco growing villages covered in the study had one primary school each and the enrolment rates on the basis of gender were almost at par. Still, there were drop out cases and children who had never been to school. In the study areas in Urambo there were 13 school dropouts and 10 children who had never been to school. In the sample areas in Iringa only five children had not been to school at all.

In view of the findings on school resources it can be summarised that there was an acute problem in regard to the shortage of infrastructure in all schools in tobacco growing areas. The shortage of teachers was a common observation within tobacco growing areas, which portrays the reality of rural based primary schools in Tanzania.

Only 44% of the studied schools in tobacco growing areas provided their pupils with meals, porridge or first aid. Furthermore, in the course of raising school funds some schools included work activities on tobacco farms as one of their means of income generation for the school fund.

Nowadays, taking children to a primary school for basic education means incurring school expenses and other contributions. It is clear that in tobacco growing areas, school children worked on tobacco farms or plantations in order to also meet school and personal costs. This was necessitated by the fact that parents and guardians failed to meet school expenses and contributions such as school fees, school building costs, UMITASHMUTA and other school requirements such as school uniforms (clothes/shoes), exercise books and pencils/pens.

As in many rural primary schools, the completion rate did not tally with the transition rate to secondary education in tobacco growing areas. Just a few primary education leavers qualified for secondary education whereas the majority remained in their respective villages. The main argument for this is based on the fact that there were very limited secondary education opportunities. Those who remained in villages got absorbed in different informal activities in the nearby or other regions/districts. These activities included working on tobacco farms or plantations, working on non-tobacco farms (family farms), and running petty businesses.

Socially, the children working on tobacco plantations/farms were of wide-ranging age categories, between seven and fifteen years old. As far as gender is concerned, both girls and boys are employed on tobacco farms and plantations. In the areas of this study in Iringa and Urambo a total of 100 working children were sampled. Out of these 61 (61%) were boys and 39 (39%) were girls. Most of the child workers hailed from regions situated along the central railway line, namely

Dodoma, Kigoma, Singida, and Tabora, as well as along the Dar es Salaam-Tunduma road (Njombe and Makete districts). Economically, it would appear that economic hardship was the main drive behind children going to work on tobacco farms.

The main causes of WFCL on tobacco plantations in the selected areas in Iringa rural and Urambo districts were found to result from poverty. It was found out that 84% of the parents of the children working on the tobacco plantations/farms came from *poor* and *very poor* socio-economic backgrounds. Their parents were found to earn, on the average, between TSh. 81,000.00/= and TSh. 86,400.00/= (just above 100 US dollars) per year. The working children on the tobacco plantations/farms in Iringa and Urambo did not get adequate food. It was revealed, for example, that out of 100 working children in the sample areas in both districts 63 (63%) took only two meals, and only 19 (19%) ate three times per day. Both adult and child respondents gave destitution as a major cause of WFCL with a frequency of 107, while the need for money to buy school expenses and food, were pointed out with frequencies of 84 and 43 respectively.

A small family size characterised most child migrants on tobacco plantations in both districts. In the sample areas in Iringa rural and Urambo districts, 38 (50.7%) of the 75 child respondents and 41 (65.1%) of the 63 child respondents, came from large families (i.e. from families of over five siblings, a figure above the national average of five children). In the study areas in Iringa, 37 (49.3%) of the child respondents in the district came from large families while in Urambo such children represented 34.9% of the child subjects in the areas in question. While large families may force children into WFCL on plantations/farms in order to support their families, the findings in both Urambo and Iringa suggest that family size is not the only factor. The children also relied on themselves for food and other expenses, and on one another, through social support networks, to solve their social problems. It is significant to observe that 39% of the child respondents in the study areas in Iringa came from female-headed families.

There is not direct and quantifiable data on the role of culture in the child labour phenomenon on tobacco farms, although this does not deny a possible relationship. For instance, in the case of Iringa, the Wakinga and Wabena, who constituted a majority of the workforce on the tobacco plantations, are well known in folklore to be among the most highly traveled and enterprising ethnic groups in the country. For them, among other things, working for a wage on the plantations has been established since the colonial times and, over the course of time, a sort of cultural value has been established. More particularly, Wakinga are known to be proud of working for a wage for eventual remittance back to their home of origin.

While the plantation/farm owners were aware of WFCL and of the campaigns against child labour at national and international levels, they had made little efforts to combat it. The plantation/farm owners were found to be keener on protecting their economic interests due to profits resulting from the gross exploitation of children. The government on the other hand, seemed to collude with the plantation/farm owners who paid income tax, and development levy for their workers. This collusion is seen as a hindrance to any campaigns against WFCL. Lack of understanding among plantation/farm owners, village/ward leaders and parents, of the definition of child labourer was also a problem.

This study addresses the extent and magnitude of worst forms of child labour in Urambo and Iringa districts. The analysis focused on the activities and tasks performed by working children, the schedule of working and break time, the working environment and conditions, and hazards and risks involved.

The study revealed that usually more boys than girls work on tobacco farms and plantations. The most popular activities carried out by the majority of working children are preparing the farms and plantations, planting tobacco, tending tobacco farms and plantations and picking tobacco. Few working children got involved in the preparation of the seedlings, curing tobacco and marketing it. Children mostly between 13 and 18 years of age undertook these tasks, which needed more care.

Boys tended to do more difficult tasks than girls. Some tasks involved in the preparation of seedlings and curing tobacco and marketing are a case in point and involved greater hazards than other tasks. There were differences between Urambo and Iringa district in terms of the extent and magnitude of the activities and tasks and how they were done. On Urambo farms all activities and tasks were done manually, while some tasks in Iringa were mechanized, particularly the clearing of the land which was done by tractors. While all activities were done by only working children in Urambo, in Iringa adult workers participated in all activities. There was a close agreement between the responses of children and those of adults regarding the types of activities and tasks done and how they were performed.

Regarding the number of hours children worked, working children in Urambo district worked for longer hours than those in Iringa district, particularly those who lived with the farm owners. While the average number of hours children worked

in Iringa was about eight hours, those in Urambo worked about twelve hours. Some children in Urambo worked for between fifteen to seventeen hours, and some reported to have worked for over seventeen hours.

The different management and administrative systems used between the two districts may explain the difference of hours that children worked. While on the plantations there is a formal system of management and administration applied to all working children, farm owners use informal systems, each farm owner using his or her own rules and regulations. Both districts also differed regarding times working children started working. While the majority of children started working at 7.30 a.m in Iringa district, the majority of children in Urambo started earlier, at 6.00 a.m. or 7.00 a.m. There were no children who started working in the afternoon in Iringa district, but some children started working just before noon and in the afternoon in Urambo district. Most of the children who started working at these times were school children who worked part-time. In both districts almost all working children were not given time for breaks to rest or to have lunch.

The assessment of the nature of working environment and conditions in both districts revealed that there were various hazards and risks facing working children. The hazards and risks emanated from the nature of natural surroundings, working conditions, and tools used. Other hazards and risks emanated from the nature of the materials used, the constraints and abuses, emergency and personal care, and physical and mental stress. Most of the hazards and risks discussed in this study, coupled with other indicators of worst forms of child labour analysed, lead to the conclusion that children working in tobacco experience dangerous hazards and risks which constitute the "worst forms of child labour."

Regarding the earnings children received, it was found that in Urambo children were paid at different times, but those who worked for longer hours and were paid either every six months or yearly, were paid less than those who were paid daily, weakly and monthly. The earnings were higher in Iringa than in Urambo district. This implies that working children, especially those who lived with farm owners, were being exploited more than those living in camps in Iringa district. However, the earnings in both districts were far less than the minimum pay in Tanzania (TSh. 30,000/=). In the sample areas in Iringa and Urambo the average monthly pay that the child worker received was TSh.10,500/= and TSh. 7,800/= respectively. In the sample areas in Iringa the minimum monthly pay for an adult worker was TSh. 25,000/=. All children were paid in cash, but the actual payment they received was less than the contracted earnings. This is because the employers deducted a good amount of money from those earnings for various reasons, including the value of foodstuffs and other necessities provided to the children by their employers, medical expenses, fines, and made up expenses. In both district payments were made to the children themselves.

Very few children had other sources of additional income, which implies that they mostly depended on their work on tobacco farms. In Urambo the majority of children sent or gave money to their parents, but many of them gave very little amounts of money either once a year, twice a year, monthly or once per week. The earnings were also spent by children, primarily on buying personal effects and daily necessities of life, supplementing family incomes, and paying for school expenses.

Regarding the relationships between the employers and working children, all working children said their contracts with their employers were oral and informal and that they were not given any fringe benefits. While the only service provided to working children in Urambo district was the offering of a shelter to live in, in Iringa district children were given more and better services including rooms in blocks of houses, electricity, tap water and first aid. In general, however, the relationships between the employer and working children were business-based secondary relationships rather than primary relationships based on love, sympathy, empathy and affection.

One general conclusion is that children in Urambo district toiled more and worked in a more difficult environment under worse conditions than those in Iringa district. The hazards and risks children are experiencing in both districts, however, call for immediate actions to address more pressing problems. These actions, viewed as possible solutions or interventions in chapter six, include: the expansion and improvement of all aspects of both primary and vocational education; passing an Act in parliament prohibiting child labour in all its forms and ensuring that it is enforced; and removing and rehabilitating working children together with sensitising the public about the dangers of child labour.

Other solutions suggested focus on how poverty at the family level can be alleviated to increase family incomes and ultimately assist in freeing children from work on tobacco farms/plantations. They include the provision of loans to parents (peasant farmers) to invest in agriculture and small businesses, and the employment of modern farming methods in the tobacco industry. Canning factories for mango juice and tomatoes in Urambo and Iringa respectively were pointed out as one of the solutions to increase the parents' incomes by increasing their chances of employment, and to free children from

child labour. Another solution that was deemed important in combating child labour is to increase the number of labour officers sensitive to the problems of child labour.

1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.1 Genesis

This study on children working on tobacco plantations/farms in two districts in Tanzania in relation to the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) was inspired by the concerns of the government of Tanzania and the International Labour Organization (ILO); their concerns being the plight and sufferings that children, the world over, have been going through in different forms and guises - through lack of educational opportunities, in labour-intensive industries and factories, in concealed domestic slavery and in other forms. While most countries believe in human rights and have ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, child labour continues in many countries unabated, and it tends to be practised in the worst forms in developing countries, largely because of economic recession and persistent poverty.

In an effort to eliminate child labour - especially the worst forms – the ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) has committed itself to action in this field. For the purposes of ILO Convention 182, Article 3 defines the worst forms of child labour as those that comprise:

- (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the safety or morals of children.

ILO/IPEC is sponsoring issue-specific field studies to investigate selected WFCL in order to determine their causes, consequences, characteristics and scope, and fill in the missing gaps in knowledge and research.

As in most other countries, child labour is virtually prohibited in Tanzania, yet it continues to flourish in different forms and areas: in commercial as well as subsistence agriculture, in mining and in the informal sector, including the domestic domain, and in prostitution. The specific focus of this report, as part of a wide-ranging child labour study in Tanzania, is on tobacco farms and plantations. The tobacco-based form of the agricultural industry is reported to be absorbing a sizeable segment of child workers in the country.

1.2 Background information on Tobacco farming in Tanzania

Tobacco is a narcotic plant of the genus *Nicotiana*, family Solanaceae, whose dried leaves are prepared and used for smoking, chewing or as snuff. *Nicotiana tabacum*, a native of America, is the most generally cultivated species, introduced to Europe (first in Spain) as a medicinal plant in the sixteenth century, along with the habit of smoking tobacco introduced in England in about 1556 by the English navigator Sir John Hawkins. In Africa, where tobacco was first introduced in the early 20th century by the British colonial administration, it was grown extensively in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and, to a lesser extent, Uganda and Tanzania (Stamp 1964; Morgan 1973: 106).

As can be judged from its geographical locations, tobacco grows best in temperate conditions. It also thrives in tropical areas, with a combination of requirements including highlands ranging from 900 to 1,500 meters [2,953 to 4,921 feet] above sea level; fertile, mostly light red or grey sandy soils; an annual rainfall range of 625 to 1,000 millimetres [25 to 39 inches] evenly distributed from the transplanting stage to the beginning of harvesting; and a temperature ranging from 20 to 30 degrees Celsius. Production of the crop, which entails many stages and processes, is premised on "topping" the plant, which brings forth about a dozen large leaves that can then be cured by either exposure to the sun, air currents or artificial heat and is subsequently matured for two or three years in the warehouse. Each of these stages and processes is labour-intensive and, in the less developed countries, requires a concentration or an accumulation of human labour power in order to obtain the best quality possible.

In Tanzania, tobacco is one of the major cash crops (Barie 1979; Ministry of Agriculture and Food [MoAF] 1999), ranking fifth in the country's cash crop exports in order of importance after coffee, cotton, cashew nuts and tea in 1997 (Bank of Tanzania [BoT] (1997: 70), third after coffee and cashew nuts in 1998/99 (BoT 1999) and fourth after coffee, cotton and tea during the 1999/2000 crop season (MoAF 1999). It contributes about nine percent of the country's export earnings (BoT 1999: 30). It is grown mostly on small- and medium-scale subsistence farms in Tabora, Ruvuma, Shinyanga, Singida, Rukwa and Kagera, where the small-scale farmers are organised under cooperative unions; but it is also grown on large-scale plantations or estates such as in Iringa, where some Greek farmers have their own association, the Southern Highlands Tobacco Growers Association (SHTGA) and Mbeya. In Tanzania, only two methods are used in tobacco curing, namely curing by steam technology or flue-curing (as is done by large farmers in Iringa, Chunya in Mbeya) and curing by fire-heating technology (as is the case in Songea in Ruvuma and, Urambo in Tabora). Flue-cured tobacco accounts for 70-80 percent of the crop's total production, while fire-cured tobacco accounts for 20-30 percent.

Whether grown on small subsistence farms or on large plantations, the crop involves numerous stages and processes of work, which are for the most part labour-intensive and thus require more human labour inputs than machinery and automation. The range of activities includes, though is by no means limited to, the following:

- Clearing bush and thickets for cultivation;
- Cultivation: manual tilling of the land or, where mechanised, tractor work;
- Construction of tobacco drying sheds;
- Preparing tobacco nurseries and constructing nursery beds;
- Sowing of tobacco seeds;
- Watering of tobacco seedlings;
- Making ridges and transplanting of tobacco seedlings;
- Weeding and trimming the planted plots (several times) both on tobacco farms and on other contiguous or otherwise interlinked crop farms;
- Harvesting: plucking tobacco leaves and drying (curing) them in barns;
- Bundling and grading of tobacco leaves (into more than 70 grades);
- Trucking of bundles to drying bays/storehouses; and
- Burning of tobacco stalks.

These and several other intervening or lead-on chores form a cyclic agricultural lore that results in a wide inter-linkage of activity throughout the year, allowing little break time between intervals. The situation is uniform irrespective of location, so that the effects of the agricultural cycle on the tobacco farms in the various regions mentioned are generally the same or similar.

Tobacco growing is reckoned to have first been introduced into Iringa in Tanzania in 1938, although records show it to have been popularised in the country between 1945 and 1950 with the rising demand for tobacco on the world market. Cultivation was then, as for several years that followed, in the hands of the Greek farmers, who had wished to escape the political-economic hardships in Greece and Cyprus and were attracted by the economic prospects of tobacco growing in Tanganyika, where at the same time they enjoyed the general protection of the colonial government. Cultivation of the flue-cured (steam-dried) variety of tobacco was introduced in 1958 (by the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation and, at that time, only for European farmers). African farmers were allowed to grow the crop in 1960 but only on small holds and only on condition of selling the freshly plucked leaves to the company. Africans began curing the crop in 1962 after an exodus of European tobacco farmers.

Tobacco growing in Tabora - the second of the two largest tobacco-growing regions in the country - has a slightly different historical pattern. After the Second World War, some of the British soldiers who fought in the war came to Tanganyika from South Africa in order to undertake farming under the umbrella of the British company called Overseas Food Corporation (OFC).

In the 1940s, they introduced a groundnuts scheme at Mpwapwa (Dodoma region) and later at Urambo (in Tabora). The scheme failed and the farmers switched to tobacco growing. The OFC first introduced tobacco growing in Tabora region in 1958 but British farmers, under the umbrella of the Overseas Food Company and with the full monopoly, introduced it in Urambo district in the 1960s. The British farmers cultivated the crop in blocks of land at Songambebe and Kondamoyo, near Urambo town. The go-downs and other farm buildings used by the farmers can still be seen today in those two places, although they are now dilapidated.

It was after the departure of the British farmers in the early years of independence that Tanzanians who had worked on the British farms (mostly as helping hands or labour) started growing the crop, extending further and widely on family-based small holds. After Iringa and Tabora, production of the crop was extended to other regions, such as Shinyanga and Tanga, where there were conducive climatic and soil conditions. By 1967, tobacco was one of the most strategically important export crops in the country, combined with coffee, cotton, tea and sisal, contributing to one of the best economic periods in the history of the country. Cultivation of flue-cured tobacco is currently undertaken mainly in Iringa, Mbeya (Chunya), Tabora, Rukwa (Mpanda), and Singida (Manyoni), while cultivation of the smoke-dried (fire-cured) variety is found mainly in Ruvuma (Songea), Shinyanga (Kahama) and Kagera (Biharamulo).

Notwithstanding this general success, however, there are some notable variations and exceptions. Tobacco growing in Tabora region, especially over the last decade, has been fluctuating, with a generally downward trend (Planning Commission/Regional Commissioner's Office Tabora 1998; Ofisi ya Mkuu wa Mkoa Tabora 2000). The trend has been such that, while the costs of growing the crop are rising, the price per kilo is falling to the extent that the smallholder farmer is failing to recover even the costs incurred (e.g. on fertilizers, extra labour and other inputs). This is clearly indicated in Tables 1.1 and 1.2 in respect to the whole region and Urambo district, respectively. In the 1999-2000 season, for instance, tobacco sales in Urambo amounted to TSh. 2,705,005,182/= (or 2.7 billion)¹. The average price per kilogramme was TSh. 508.70, a rate that did not compare favourably with the production cost that ranged from TSh. 400.00 to 500.00 per kilogramme (ibid). The implication of this trend has been two-fold.

Table 1.1: Trend of Tobacco Production in Tabora Region, 1992-1999

Production Season	Production Volume (Million Kg)	Pronounced Price for Season (TSh per Kg)	Price of NPK Fertilizer (TSh/Bag)
1992/93	14.4	380	6,500
1993/94	11.5	600	9,700
1994/95	17.1	613	14,980
1995/96	20.0	680	15,600
1996/97	25.5	680	15,300
1997/98	14.9	621	16,200
1998/99	9.8	621	16,200

Sources: Office of Regional Commissioner, Tabora (May 1998 and July 2000); Planning Commission, Dar es Salaam.

Table 1.2: Trend of Tobacco Production in Urambo District, 1995-2000

Production Season	Production Volume (in Kg)
1995/96	9,256,000
1996/97	13,027,000
1997/98	6,300,000
1998/99	6,134,000
1999/2000	4,675,405

Source: Documents in Office of Regional Commissioner, Tabora

On the one hand, increasingly fewer farmers are now inclined to continue growing tobacco on any significant scale, as it is seen as a "waste of time and resources that could have been spent more profitably elsewhere." On the other hand, a decreasing rather than increasing number of farmers are inclined to employ "extra" hands on their farms because of the failure to pay salaries from a crop that is not bringing in the necessary profits. Indeed, in the 2000-01 season many farmers in Urambo either completely shied away from employing extra-family labour or drastically curtailed the number of employees they would engage on their smallholder farms. It may be noted that the overwhelming proportion of the labour force on tobacco farms – in Tabora as in Iringa and elsewhere - is comprised of children. [Thus, the size of the head-count of the children employed on farms in Urambo in the WFCL survey in November 2000 is somewhat less than the normal magnitude in the past years].

¹ USD \$1 = TShs 887 (September 2001)

Despite fluctuation in tonnage, occasioned by soil infertility, the bad weather conditions in the 1997/98 crop season and, as mentioned above, the declining producer price, production of tobacco in the country in general has been considerable, as demonstrated in Table 1.3, covering the past five years.

Production of such high tonnage of the crop, against the many labour-intensive chores and tasks demanded by the full seasonal cycle of production, indicates a necessarily high turnover of workers and hands on the farms. It also assumes a possibility of deliberate efforts to attract farm hands from more outlying areas, in addition to those locally available, particularly when the farms are located far in the heart of the country, relatively out of view of everyday labour-regulating legislation, and fairly well-insulated from active politics of protest.

Table 1.3 : Tobacco Production and Commercial Value, 1996-1999

Year of Production (Crop Season)	Variety of Tobacco	Tonnage	Accrued Earnings (Mill. Shillings)
1996-97	Flue-cured	27,101	28,008.7
	Fire-cured	8,279	
	Total	35,380	
1997-98	Flue-cured	41,274	33,060.1
	Fire-cured	9,054	
	Total	50,328	
1998-99	Flue-cured	32,448	36,671.5
	Fire-cured	5,482	
	Total	37,930	

Source: Bank of Tanzania [BoT] 1999:113; Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania [JMT] 2000: 104.

1.3 International labour concerns and Tanzania's policy response and parameters

The rate of absorption of a nation's population in the different sectors and sub-sectors of the economy often depends on the size and activity of the sectors that constitute the economy, even though, in industrialised nations, the pattern may be mitigated by intervening factors such as mechanisation, labour-saving machinery and automation. For most developing countries (lacking as they are in the extent of mechanisation, labour-saving machinery and automation), agriculture is not only the biggest sector of the economy but also the largest employer of the nation's population, accounting for as much as 80 to 85 percent.

In Tanzania, agriculture is the mainstay of the economy, consisting mainly of subsistence smallholder farming and providing over 80 percent of employment in the rural areas. The life chances for the vast majority of the population in the villages depend almost entirely on the nature and prospects of the agricultural sub-sector and the agricultural activity engaging them. In a situation where the agricultural economy has been stagnant or on the decline as some studies have shown in the case of Tanzania (TADREG 1997; REPOA 2001), it can be expected that an overwhelming proportion of the national population lives in conditions of poverty and destitution, with the social services either in want, disrepair or unreachable by the greater proportion of the population.

What is worse is the fact that children ages 10-15 years have entered into adult labour roles in some of the hard-labour bearing agricultural ventures on cash crop plantations and farms, particularly in the tobacco growing areas. [In Zanzibar, children in the age range of 8 to 15 constitute a whole 18-20 percent of the labour force in the rubber, clove and green-alga plantations (Ishengoma 1995)]. By some reckoning, children currently working on tobacco-growing farms constitute part of 30% of the total "child population" involved in one guise or another in what are known as 'child labour' environments (Eldring et al 2000). Such environments include *commercial and subsistence agriculture, mining, prostitution and commercial sexual exploitation, the informal sector, and domestic service*. The increasing incidence, patterns and content variation of child labour can rightly be associated with the socio-economic difficulties and burdens that the country has experienced over the past decade, particularly with respect to the structural adjustment programmes and the implementation of the market reforms, or liberalization, adopted in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Rugumisa 1989; Ishengoma and Nchahaga 1996; Rwegoshora et al 1997; ILO/IPEC 1998). Implementation of these reforms and formulation of related policies have, in one way or another, affected the social-sector budget, thus worsening the general living conditions and not only aggravating rural poverty but impoverishing urban lifestyles. For instance, the removal of subsidies and of fixed pricing on essential food items has certainly reduced the affordability and the rate of calorie-intake

of certain food items, just as the removal of subsidies on education has increased the levels of inability for poor families to meet basic education costs.

Given the vastness of the agricultural economy on which more than 80% of the population depend; given its absorptive capacity relative to other sectors, and despite the trend of attenuated actual and potential returns on investment, about 45 percent of school-age children are not in school (MoEC 1999) and are likely to have contributed significantly to the 30% proportion of the “child labourers” estimated to be residing and working in commercial agriculture (ILO 1996: Part I). And, given the high incidence of rural poverty that is encompassing over 60% of the national population (Omari 1991:12-14; Sendaro 1991: 85-101; IFAD 1992; Kaijage & Tibaijuka 1996), it follows that the vast proportion of children labouring on tobacco farms, as in other child-labouring environments, are living not only in degraded and demoralising working conditions but also under poor nutritional and educational circumstances.

The Government of Tanzania and her social-sector partners have demonstrated a strong commitment and the political will to address the child labour problem in the country. In 1998, Tanzania ratified ILO’s Minimum Age Convention No. 138 on Minimum Age (setting the minimum age for entry or admission into any employment at *not below 15*) and thereafter, in collaboration with a wide range of social partners, initiated a consultative process leading to the formulation of policy guidelines on child labour. A four-fold policy perspective, adopted within the continental African context, stipulates the following stages of action:

- To raise progressively the minimum age for entry or admission to employment or work to 15 years;
- To put an end as soon as possible to hazardous work done by children, to bonded labour of children, and to work done by young children of 12 years of age;
- To protect children at work through legislation, labour inspection and other means; and
- To attack the root causes of child labour by improving the living and working conditions of the rural poor and by strengthening their organizations (ILO/IPEC/URT 1996: Part III).

On their part, the worst forms of child labour, have been identified and defined as follows:

- i. All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- ii. The use, procurement or offering of a child for prostitution production of pornography or pornographic performances;
- iii. The use, procurement or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs; and
- iv. Work which, by its nature or the circumstances of which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (ILO: 1999: 8).

The National Labour Advisory Board (NLAB) has already endorsed the draft of this policy. Following the adoption of the ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour (ILO 1999), at the time of this research Tanzania was preparing ground for the ratification of the convention ²while a number of workshops and seminars were organised to raise public awareness. Within this context, the Tanzanian government, along with a wide range of stakeholders, has indicated its commitment to the implementation of a five-to-ten-year Time-Bound programme to reduce and eventually eliminate the worst forms of child labour in the identified sectors, including tobacco farms.

1.4 The Problem

Presently, it seems that even after official adoption of ILO’S Convention No. 182 on WFCL and virtual prohibition, child labour in Tanzania still goes on unabated and continues to flourish. Its manifestation seems to be a growing phenomenon, largely exacerbated by the economic recession and persistent poverty that has afflicted not only the country in general but also, and most notably, the rural sector and its closely associated agricultural sector. The emergence and growth of a child labourer population is a new factor of alarming dimensions on the agricultural labour scene. It points to a serious contradiction not only between the human rights concerns and the economic survival instincts within a population, but also between the obligations to the international development concerns and codes on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the insensitivity to the exploitation and vulnerability of children occasioned as it is by the immediate economic pressures and commercial gratifications.

² The Convention has been ratified by the National Assembly in 2001.

Currently among policy-makers and administrators, government officials at different levels as well as the general public, there is an inadequate conceptual understanding, awareness or even appreciation of what constitutes the WFCL as an issue in the socio-economic life and health of a nation. While forms of child labour may be generally understood and often taken for granted as different socialisation areas and processes in the child-rearing function of society, its “bad” forms have rarely surfaced in adult talk. What could be termed worst forms of child labour in the most indignant situations beyond normal child work - still remains debatable and, in most developing country situations, is even avoided in serious economic talk. While pioneering surveys have now identified key areas and niches that provide hubs of worst forms of child labour instances (including tobacco commercial farming), no details of incidence are available, such as the extent or severity, the causes, the patterns as well as the characteristics or circumstances of the child labour situation. Any preventive and even curative measures against WFCL (as are intended to be taken in case of positive confirmation of the fact) would, in the final analysis, depend on the precise parameters of the incidence. For this particular study, precise information on the parameters of child labour (and the worst forms of it if any) was required for the purposes of planning, advocacy and execution of a time-bound eradication programme.

1.5 Efforts Made to Combat Child Labour On Tobacco Plantations

In accordance with the nature, magnitude and level of awareness of WFCL in the areas of the study in Iringa rural and Urambo districts, there seem to have been few previous efforts made to combat any form of child labour on the tobacco plantations/farms. The efforts that have been made in the form of a few campaigns, as reported by Amma et. al. (2000), were only able to make plantation/farm owners, political leaders and government functionaries at the village and ward levels aware of child labour. They, for example, knew that it is not only inhuman but also illegal in Tanzania. They knew that child labour was internationally unaccepted and were very conscious of the national and international campaigns against it.

2. RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

2.1 Purpose of this Study and Specific Study Objectives

The principal purpose of this study was to seek and obtain as much qualitative, quantitative, valid and reliable information as possible that would assist in characterising the child-labour situation in the tobacco-growing areas in Tanzania in a relatively short period of time (three months). More specifically, the objectives were perceived as eight-fold, namely:

- i. To verify and substantiate (against defined criteria) the existence of the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) on the farms;
- ii. To find out the causes;
- iii. To assess the working environment and conditions, in general, and specifically with respect to the children;
- iv. To examine the characteristics of the forms of labour, particularly the WFCL, in which children are involved as “labourers”;
- v. To find out the results, effects and consequences of child labour on the farms: physically, physiologically, socially, psychologically and otherwise;
- vi. To undertake a situation analysis of basic education provision in the areas (in general) and on the farms (specifically), with respect to availability, access, infrastructure, pedagogical resources, and the potential for responding to children’s needs;
- vii. To recommend ameliorative action, specifically in terms of possible and workable intervention measures to eliminate WFCL as a matter of urgency; and
- viii. To test and assess the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment methodology and provide information on technical and operational aspects of this methodology including problems encountered, corrective actions, and lessons learned – with an aim to improve the methodology for future investigations.

2.2 Contextual Approach

In the context of the wish by stakeholders to address the whole question of the debilitating worst forms of child labour across countries in the developing world and, in this case, in Tanzania as expeditiously as possible within a defined time frame, and given the short time given by the stakeholders (led by the ILO) within which to solve this debilitating and multi-dimensional issue, the most efficient and cost-effective approach of the study possible was the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment methodology [RA].

By definition, rapid assessment is an evaluative approach that employs as many methods and techniques as possible towards the understanding of a problem or issue within a three month period, and within the limitation of resources available. It does this with the greatest potential for divulging as much or as rich information as can be collected to work towards understanding the nature and dimensions of the problem along with insights into possible solutions. The RA approach employs a variety of techniques in its attempt to cover wide ground and to make sense of what is observed in the interest of identifying the push and pull factors and characteristics of the WFCL.

While the RA methodology focuses mainly on the qualitative questions such as the “hows” and “whys” of an issue, it also invokes a quantitative dimension in the course of its enquiry into the “whats” [e.g. extent, frequency of occurrence]. In these cases statistical, quantifiable evidence is reached for in order to render findings more meaningful and to facilitate the processes of explaining the circumstances, predictability, and preventability of the WFCL at hand. Thus, in RA methodology both quantitative and qualitative techniques are relevant and, and in the case of the WFCL study they were accommodated and used to provide complementary tools of description and analysis to the research.

2.3 Selection and Justification of Study Sites

Tanzania is home to as many as nine tobacco-growing regions, with as many districts producing the crop in several local areas (see Table 2.1). For the purpose of this rapid assessment, a sample of local growing areas - more purposive than just random - had to be sought. The selection was justified by the fact that the problem of child labour was bound to be more intense and complex in more extensive and expansive tobacco growing areas rather than in small, isolated ones. Two of

the nine regions most representative of tobacco growing in the country were deemed justifiable for selection and considered suitable for a focused analytical study. These regions were Tabora and Iringa. Tabora and Iringa regions share the most extensive of the tobacco-growing areas in the country and they represent both modes of agricultural production of the crop: plantation agriculture in Iringa where tobacco is grown on a large-scale and the production is more formally organised; and small to medium-holder farming in Tabora where it is grown on a small-scale and the farmers are organised under their co-operative union.

Table 2.1: Tobacco-growing areas in Tanzania

Region	District	Some Local Growing Areas, Plantation or Farm Names
Iringa	Iringa Rural	Mloa
		Sao Hill
		Kidamali-Kipere
		Nyamihuu
		Nzihi
Kagera	Biharamulo	Biharamulo
		Nyamirembe
		Nyakagomba
Mbeya	Chunya	Chunya
		Tunduma
Rukwa	Mpanda	Mpanda
		Uruwira
Shinyanga	Kahama	Bukune
		Runzewe
Singida	Manyoni	Manyoni
		Itigi
Tabora	Urambo	Urambo
		Kaliua
		Kigwa
		Ndala
Tanga	Handeni	Handeni-
Kigoma	Kibondo	Kibondo
		Kasana

Source: *Atlas of Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Lands, Settlement and Water Development (1967), p. 20; Berry (1971: 60-61); Tanzania Institute of Education (n.d.). *Secondary School Geography*. Dar es Salaam: TIE.

2.4 Determination of Sample Subjects (respondents)

Adoption of the subjects to observe and/or interview was consequent upon the choice of the regions, districts and local areas or sites. In this particular case, the subjects, who constitute the sample of study, were drawn from the relevant local sites in Tabora and Iringa regions. It was the intention that as many individuals as possible falling within the categories designed for observation or interview were reached and covered. The ten major categories of respondents targeted were as listed below:

- i. The “child workers” working on the farms and defined as children by the criterion of below the age of 18;
- ii. Owners and officials of the tobacco plantations/farms;
- iii. Parents or guardians of the children;
- iv. Head-teachers and/or teachers in schools within the farms (if any) and outside the farms;
- v. Ward and/or village leaders;
- vi. Agricultural officials;
- vii. Farm workers (in general) within the tobacco farms;
- viii. Labour officials;
- ix. Non-working children; and
- x. Key informants.

The number and names of sites visited, as well as the number of respondents covered in the two regions of Iringa and Tabora, are summarised in Table 2.2. As indicated, altogether the total number of respondents was 399, out of whom slightly over a quarter (26.6%) were females and slightly under three-quarters (73.4%) were males.

Table 2.2: Summary of research sites and respondents by Category and Farm Location

Region	District	Categories	Nzihi		Kidamali		Nyamihuu		Total Fe	Total Ma	Grand Total
Iringa	Iringa Rural		Fe	Ma	Fe	Ma	Fe	Ma			
		Working children	15	10	2	8	10	10			55
		Owners and officials	0	1	0	1	0	1			3
		Parents or guardians	0	9	6	12	3	7			37
		Head-teachers and/or teachers	1	2	2	0	1	4			10
		Ward and/or village leaders	2	3	0	5	2	3			15
		Agricultural officials	0	0	0	3	0	0			3
		Farm workers (non-children)	0	2	0	1	0	7			10
		Labour officials	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
		Non-working children	1	5	0	6	2	6			20
		Key informants	0	1	1	1	0	2			5
		Sub-total	19	33	11	37	18	40	48	110	158
Tabora	Urambo		Imalama-koye		Urambo		Kapilula		Total Fe	Total Ma	Grand Total
			Fe	Ma	Fe	Ma	Fe	Ma			
		Working children	4	11	7	8	5	10			45
		Owners and officials	0	4	0	4	4	0			12
		Parents or guardians	3	74	6	6	0	9			98
		Head-teachers and/or teachers	4	5	2	2	2	2			17
		Ward and/or village leaders	1	4	2	6	5	3			21
		Agricultural officials	1	0	0	1	1	0			3
		Farm workers (non-children)	0	8	0	8	0	2			18
		Labour officials	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
		Non-working children	4	3	2	4	2	3			18
		Key informants	0	2	1	2	2	2			9
		Sub-total	17	111	20	41	21	31	58	183	241
		Grand Total							106	293	399
		Total Percentage							24.0	73.4	100

Source: Field Data, 2000.

2.5 Methods and Techniques of Study

Five principal methods were employed for this study, namely (1) search, review and documentation of relevant literature; (2) observation; (3) mapping; (4) interviews; and (5) questionnaire administration. Within the frame of some of these methods, more than one technique was designed and targeted for a particular set of information. Below are explanatory notes on each of the methods selected and used.

- 2.5.1 *Literature review and documentary analysis.* Most of the task of reviewing and analysing relevant literature and sets of documentation was done before field investigations at the research sites. The task covered a number of ILO and IPEC reports and publications as well as several other research surveys and reports conducted within Tanzania related to the country's economy, agricultural activity, child labour, schooling and other issues. In addition to analysis of this literature before fieldwork, documentary review continued within the research sites, particularly as related to written and oral records on the history of the plantations and farms, human resource management styles, labour turnover and related records. A complete listing of items of literature reviewed in connection with this study is appended to the report.
- 2.5.2 *Observation.* Observation offers, as its most obvious advantage, the opportunity for the researchers' eyes and minds to sense and view the situation of the subjects of the study. Observation complements the other four senses (hearing, touching, feeling and even tasting) resulting in the gaining of a comprehensive understanding of the circumstances. Systematic direct observation of child workers, their activities, the general plantation/farm layout and the kind of circumstances the children live in, was necessary in order to determine the general appearance, presentation, character and temperament of the children, and to know where they work and live. Also to determine or at least approximate their working and living conditions.
- 2.5.3 *Mapping.* This method was developed over the past 30 years, largely in connection with equity concerns and constraints at micro-levels beneath mythical national and regional averages of distribution of educational opportunities. Mapping is now an innovative addition to methods or sets of research techniques, closely allied to observation but still standing on its own for its importance in facilitating the reliving of situations and events. This is achieved through "depicted geographical representation on paper" of sights or events, their location and spatial setting and the institutional network within which they may be occurring. The method is connected with focused studies of local conditions and local constraints (diagnosis) and searches for local solutions.

With respect to child labour studies, mapping aims to "capture physical outlines of scenes and sites, landmarks or niches" that help in describing, explicating or else illuminating certain physical, social, behavioural or other relationships in the general accounting for of situations." In the case of this study, researchers were to "map out" local key tobacco-growing locations and to feature the major physical layout and other characteristics, in the hope that such physical maps or sketches might help in the explanations and interpretations of existing dynamics, resources, dilemmas and/or constraints towards mitigation of the problem of child labour.

- 2.5.4 *Interview.* Beyond observation and mapping, live exchanges and discussions between researchers and subjects are of crucial importance in adding a sense of reality to the investigation, that accrues from the dimension of human interaction. It gives analysis and interpretation of perspectives and events an added advantage of third-party views and feelings.

Interviews were directed to three main target-respondents, namely:

- a) *Key informants* – individuals, carefully selected within the local study areas on account of their acquaintance with the local area and their intimate knowledge of the child-labour circumstances (e.g. employment, socio-economic status and cultural background) within the tobacco farms;
- b) *Individual child workers* – children working on the farms, as many of them as possible within the premises of the farms and residential quarters. In-depth interviews to be conducted through a structured interview schedule where only selected information was required on certain themes and perspectives, and through an unstructured interview schedule where the interest was in "navigating" through all the information available in order to gain a complete perspective on issues at stake; and

- c) *Groups of individuals* – selected individuals (adults and/or children) interviewed in a group mainly on issues that required a collective memory or perspective (e.g. on inventories of children's economic activity, general perceptions of leisure, work and labour, and solutions to child labour).

2.5.5 *Questionnaire administration.* This is a structured listing of questions designed to elicit and, where necessary, probe responses on particular issues as well as cross-check information obtained through other strategies such as documentation and interviews. In the case of the WFCL study, the questionnaire was structured along specific information needs in order to make it possible to find out about relationships – correlation, causal or other – between certain factors relating to the WFCL problematic. Specifically, focused questionnaires were designed for administration to labour officials who turned out to be completely absent at ward, village or even farm levels.

2.6 Problems Encountered and Mitigation

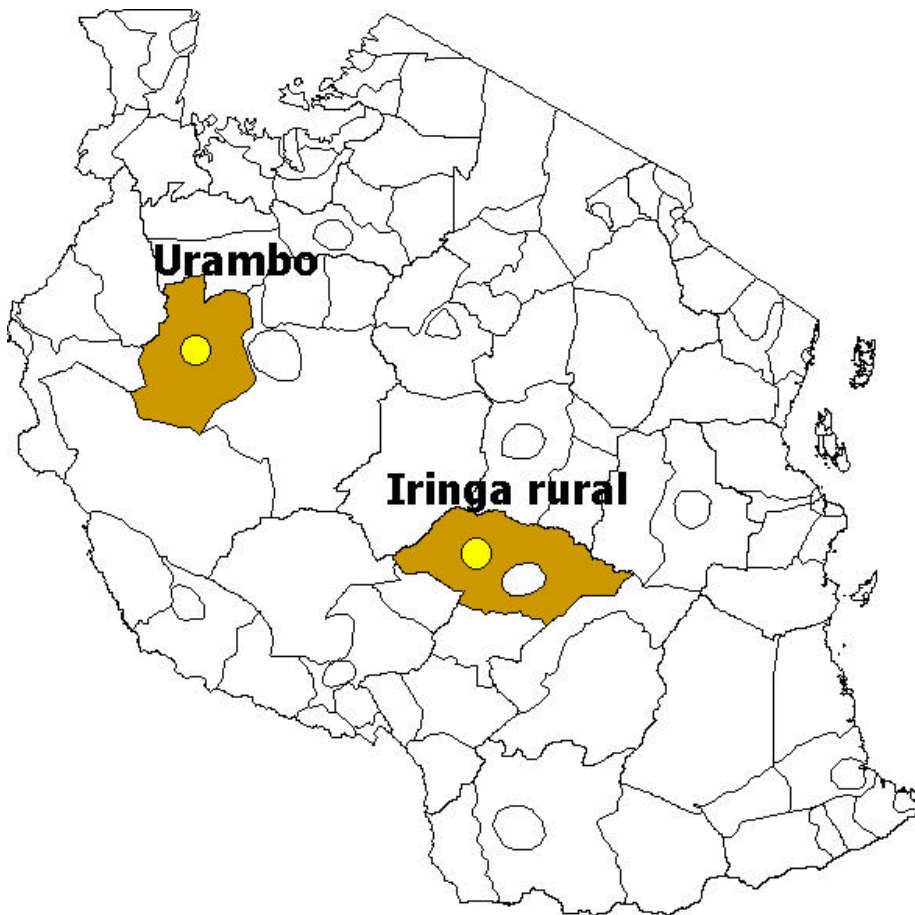
The major problems encountered in the field related to logistics were in relation to the search for and actual interaction with the targeted subjects. While, for example, owners and officials of the plantations/farms were formally introduced to the researchers, they were often difficult to reach and talk to, probably anticipating and suspecting the kind of questions that might be raised relating to salaries, the ages of child-employees, and general employee welfare. They were often reported to have travelled on official errands/business, when they were actually present either in their homes or in office in a different location. Once reached, many owners and officials tended to be jumpy in responding or altogether evasive on some issues. While some of them would volunteer some documents, especially those relating to the genesis and history of the farm, some of the more “potentially controversial” documentation such as that on legislation and conventions was not divulged or produced.

There were also problems encountered with the working children themselves. A number would run away at the sight of the researchers, presumably believing that the latter were “policing them and might arrest and take them away” from a job and pay they already had in hand. Some children – although certainly not many – did not wish to tell their story of travel to and employment on the farms; and some did not even want to tell of their working and living experiences for fear of any possible relay of such stories and their sources to the management.

Notwithstanding these incidental pitfalls, the field investigations were positively enhanced and assisted by interviews with several other categories of respondents – for instance, the key informants; formal and informal focus interviews with groups of individuals, especially adult workers on the plantation farms and school teachers; and questionnaires administered to agricultural officials.

The chapters that follow draw from the rich information obtained from the various categories of respondents; in many cases it has been cross-checked for validity with certain independent individuals, official records or feeder side reports.

3. DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREAS



This chapter focuses on the ecological and environmental profile of the selected locations. To be able to realize this end, it is divided into sub-sections with respect to location, physical features, climatic conditions, demography and socio-economic infrastructure for Iringa Rural district (Iringa region) and Urambo district (Tabora region).

3.1 Iringa Rural District

3.1.1. Location, Physical Features and Climate

Location: Kidamali, Nyamihuu and Nzihi are study localities found in Nzihi ward, Kalenga division in Iringa rural district. The localities are found between Latitude 45 and Longitude 35 in the West of Iringa rural district. While the division headquarters is at Kalenga, the ward headquarters is at Nzihi.

Physical Features: Kidamali, Nyamihuu and Nzihi villages are situated on the Great Rift Valley, surrounded by small mountains. Also, the little Ruaha River passes in the Nzihi ward near Nzihi, Kidamali and Nyamihuu villages.

Climate: Like many parts of Iringa, the locations that were involved in the study experience a climate that supports a variety of economic activities, and is especially conducive to agriculture. There are two main seasons in Iringa rural viz., dry summer and wet season. Dry summer lasts for six months starting from May to October whereas the wet season begins in November and lasts through April.

3.1.2 Demography: Gender, and Ethnicity of Population

The respondents were asked to mention the number of people in their respective villages. The responses are presented in Table 3:1.

Table 3.1 Residents in the Locations by Gender

Locations	Demography					
	Adults		Children		Total	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Iringa rural district						
Kidamali	1460	1300	700	570	2160	1870
Nyamihuu	442	358	621	400	1063	758
Nzihi	960	800	1360	880	2320	1680

Source: Field Data, 2000.

From the data in Table 3:1, the following observations can be made. Women constitute a larger proportion in terms of population size in all the locations (villages). This implies that women form the largest part of the productive force in Iringa Rural district.

Similarly, as data will show in a later chapter (in Table 5.2), the Hehe, Bena, and Kinga are the main ethnic groups that comprise the ethnicities of the population in the villages covered in the study. Historically, the indigenous ethnic group is the Hehe. The Bena and the Kinga are migrants from Njombe and Makete respectively. There might be many explanations underlying their coming to the villages under study, but wishing to travel and work on tobacco plantations (for a cash income) seems to be the prime motivation. Coming from Njombe and Makete to Kidamali, Nyamihuu and Nzihi was perceived as a solution to poverty.

3.1.3 Socio-economic infrastructure

Roads: The villages have access to the road that cuts across the villages from Iringa to Ruaha National Park. This makes the contacts between the villages and Iringa regional and district headquarters simple.

Industries: The villages are privileged to have a water factory, which is located in Kidamali village.

Basic social services: In the three villages covered in the study there are public social services. They include one primary school in each village. There is one ward dispensary at Nzihi. The dispensary was built before Kidamali and Nyamihuu became autonomous villages in the 1970s.

Subsistence activities: Survival activities include economic activities carried out in Kidamali, Nyamihuu and Nzihi. In particular, the main activities are agricultural in nature. People cultivate maize, beans, sunflowers, and tomatoes. Tobacco is a widely cultivated cash crop.

3.2 Urambo District

3.2.1 Location of Key Locations

The study was conducted in Urambo district, in Tabora Region. Since it is the smallholders living in village communities that grow tobacco in this district, three wards were selected, each ward serving as a key location. These locations are Urambo B which is rural urban in nature, Imalamakoye, and Kapilula (see Map).

3.2.2 Physical Features of Key Locations

The topography of the key locations is undulating with some granite hills emerging from the ridges, and low swampy depressions forming the drainage lines between the ridges. Elevation is generally between 1000–1500 metres.

Soil fertility is one of the factors that limits agricultural production in this part of Urambo district. Although the soil has the potential to support a variety of crops, much of it is infertile sandy soil. The soil of the localities are usually of medium fertility when first cleared of woodland, but both structure and fertility decline under crop growing. Some farmers have started to realize the importance of using fertilizers and improved seeds for both food and cash crops.

3.2.3 Climate and Vegetation

The key locations have a warm climate with temperatures reaching their peak in September–October just before the onset of the rainy season. The daily mean temperature is around 23°C. There is a slightly cooler period from May to July marked by the onset of dry winds that continue until October. The key locations are usually hot around noon and in the afternoon, and cold in the morning, evening and at night. The localities are in the zone with heavy rainfall, which amounts to over 1000 mm per year. However, although total rainfall may be sufficient for the commonly grown crops, distribution through the growing season is uneven and unreliable. Despite this situation, there is no irrigation system in the key locations. The vegetation of the key locations consists of *miombo* woodlands (branchy *stegiajulbernoida*) and wooded grassland where original forests have been cleared.

3.2.4 Demography

Table 3.2 indicates some of the demographic characteristics of the key locations. It can be noted that Urambo B has a higher population than the other two locations because of its sub-urban nature. The population becomes sparsely distributed towards the rural area. Imalamakoye and Kapilula have a sparsely distributed population. On the whole the population distribution in Urambo is uneven. The density is about eight people per sq. km., and its annual population growth was 2.3 in 1988. The dependency ratio of the key locations is about 2.8%.

3.2.5 Ethnicity of Key Locations

The original inhabitants of the key locations are Nyamwezi people. The locations receive people from other parts of the country and in particular from Kigoma, Singida, Dodoma, and Rukwa regions searching for employment opportunities on tobacco farms.

Table 3.2: Population of Key Locations in Urambo District

Key Location	Adult Population			Children Population			Total Population		Total	Depend ants
	Men	Women	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Males	Females		
Urambo B	3962	4438	8400	2158	2386	4544	6120	6824	12944	154
Imalamakoye	2650	2950	5600	1430	1628	3058	4080	4578	8658	322
Kapilula	1520	1370	2890	356	497	853	1876	1867	3743	210
Total	8132	8758	16890	3944	4511	8455	12076	13269	25345	686

Source: Field Data, 2000.

3.2.6 Socio-economic Activities in the Key Locations

Agriculture is the predominant economic sector in the key locations. It is dominated by smallholders organised in villages. The smallholders employ very little capital, the main inputs being labour and land. Only a few farmers apply fertilizers and spray pesticides.

The cropping pattern is characterized by both subsistence crops and cash crops; the former including maize, cassava, beans, rice, sweet potatoes and millet. Also grown are vegetables and fruits, particularly mangoes. Cash crops include tobacco, groundnuts, and sunflowers. Surplus food crops are also sold. Other activities performed by people in the localities include saw milling of indigenous species of trees in the forests, carpentry, beekeeping for honey and wax, and fishing.

3.2.7 Socio-economic Infrastructure

The three key locations have few and poor roads; all of are unpaved, worn out and in poor condition, especially during the rainy season when some roads become impassable. The communication facilities exist only in Urambo town where the telephone system is still manual. There is also one post office in this town. The use of electricity for domestic purposes is limited to residents in rural-urban areas of Urambo B key location, which is near to Urambo town. Thus, most people in the locations depend on firewood as their source of energy. The supply of this form of energy has resulted into indiscriminate cutting of trees and consequently destruction of the forest cover causing soil erosion and other forms of land destruction. The key locations lack tap water for domestic and other uses. The only sources of water are shallow wells bored by the farmers themselves. Urambo town has about six boreholes as its water sources. The locations lack natural water sources.

There are five primary schools in the key locations, but none of them had adequate numbers of classrooms, teachers, houses, desks, buildings and furniture. Most classrooms were temporary and were to be demolished. Efforts to construct new classrooms were being made in all five primary schools with the support of donors and the community.

People in the key locations depended on one government hospital and a clinic. There are two common diseases in this area, malaria and diarrhoea, both of which have high incidences during the rainy season when there are a lot of mosquitoes and the environment carries more infection. Three mosques and two churches are in Urambo town. Believers walk to town from villages for prayers. There is one police station in Urambo town. Other administrative structures found in the key locations are offices for the ward and village leaders.

4. NATURE AND EXTENT OF CHILD LABOUR ON TOBACCO PLANTATIONS IN TANZANIA

In this chapter an attempt is made to establish the nature and extent of WFCL in Urambo and Iringa (Rural) districts. The chapter analyses the demographic characteristics of the children involved in child labour on tobacco plantations/farms in the areas in question (i.e. their age, gender and origins). It also examines the educational profiles of the children in the two study areas, the socio-economic status of their families, the sizes of the families to which they belong, the conditions of their houses and the general conditions in which they lived. Also discussed in this chapter are the activities and tasks performed by the children. The differences that manifest themselves between the two districts in this regard are due to the fact that farmers in Urambo district grow tobacco on a small scale while in Iringa it is grown on a large scale on plantations.

4.1 Demographic Characteristics

In trying to capture the social characteristics in the tobacco growing locations, the respondents were asked to identify their age, gender, ethnic groups, places of birth, and religious backgrounds. The findings are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: The social characteristics of children in selected tobacco-growing areas

District	Age Group	Gender		Tribes											Place of Birth	
		F	M	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	U	R
Iringa	Below 7	1	-	29	26	25	1								3	78
	8-10	10	2													
	11-12	9	3													
	13-14	5	10													
	15-17	3	22													
	18-22	5	10													
Urambo	Below 7	-	-					22	15	3	7	4	4	5	-	60
	8-10	-	-													
	11-12	1	4													
	13-14	12	6													
	15-17	26	5													
	18-22	5	1													

Key: 1-Hehe, 2-Bena, 3-Kinga, 4-Luguru, 5-Nyamwezi, 6-Ha, 7-Sukuma, 8-Tutsi, 9-Nyaturu, 10-Gogo, 11-Fipa, Chagga, Ngoni, Nyisanzu, and Sumbwa. U: Urban; R: Rural Source: Field Data, 2000.

In light of the data summarised in Table 4.1, the following conclusions can be deduced. In all tobacco growing areas there are migrant labourers. This is evident by the fact that respondents who formed the sample during data collection were from different regional backgrounds. In particular, the data would seem to suggest that in Iringa district migrant labourers hail from Iringa districts particularly Iringa rural, Makete and Njombe. As for Urambo, migrant labourers come mainly from Kigoma, Singida, Dodoma, Rukwa, Kilimanjaro and Ruvuma.

There are two explanations: (i) child workers, once they travel all the way from their original homes to tobacco-growing areas in search of employment, tend to settle there (on the tobacco farms). Working on tobacco farms thus apparently becomes a “more reliable and/or more secure” means of earning an income. (ii) alternatively, child workers are the offspring of migrant labourers who migrated to and continue to work on tobacco farms, subsequently begetting and raising children in that “adopted plantation/farm home”. The adopted home becomes, for all practical purposes, a permanent home. Thus, it is rational to argue in the final analysis, that migrant labourers reproduce themselves.

Table 4.2 indicates the number of children working on tobacco plantations in Iringa rural and Urambo districts by age category and gender. According to observations and information from key informants it is estimated that about 1,500 and 800 children in Iringa (Rural) and Urambo districts respectively were working on tobacco plantations and farms, when this study was undertaken.

Table 4.2 Working Children by Age Category and Gender

Age	Iringa Rural			Urambo		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
6 or less	0	0	0	0	0	0
7-9	1	5	6	0	0	0
10-13	8	13	21	1	4	5
14-17	19	4	23	22	10	32
18 and above	4	1	5	6	2	8
Total	32	23	55	29	16	45

Source: Field Data, 2000.

4.2 Educational Profile

In order to analyse the educational profiles in the selected tobacco growing areas, the variables below are examined. They include: number of schools, state of primary school infrastructure, distance from schools to tobacco farms/plantations, drop out rate, number of children attending school, number of school-age children out of school, enrolment rate, number of teachers, and teacher pupil ratio. Others include services provided at school, school income generating economic activities, school expenses and contribution met by parents/guardians, graduate and transition rate to secondary education, activities of primary education leavers, and the phenomenon of child labour in tobacco farms.

4.2.1 Quantity of Schools

In order to find out whether or not there were any educational institutions in tobacco growing areas, the village leader respondents were asked to indicate the number of primary and secondary schools and vocational training centres in their respective villages. Basically, the aim was to closely explore whether or not there was any significant relation between child labour and education. A summary of findings is indicated in Table 4.3.

According to national plans, every village in Tanzania is supposed to have at least one primary school. In comparison, Urambo and Iringa appear to have realized the national targets as far as building primary schools is concerned. Eight different villages in three different wards (Imalamakoye, Kapilula, and Urambo 'B'), all characterised by small holders farmers, were included in the study. In Iringa the study covered only three villages in one ward viz., Nzihi, which is characterised by big farmers of Greek origin who own tobacco plantations.

Table 4.3 The Number primary schools in the selected tobacco growing areas in Tanzania

District	Key location	Number of schools		
		Primary	Secondary	Vocational Training
Iringa	Kidamali	1	-	-
	Nyamihuu	1	-	-
	Nzihi	1	-	-
	Total	3	-	-
Urambo	Imalamakoye	1	-	-
	Nsenda	1	-	-
	Ulasa 'B'	1	-	-
	Kapilula	1	-	-
	Urambo	1	1	-
	Azimio	1	-	-
	Ukombozi	1	-	-
	Mwenge	1	-	-
	Total	8	1	-

Source: Field Data, 2000.

Another factor to note is that, in the two districts, there were a negligible number of post-secondary educational institutions. It would appear that people have not taken seriously the call by the government to build secondary schools on community self-help. [In Tanzania, an increasing number of secondary schools are built on a self-help basis.] In the absence of many such schools, some children lived several tens of kilometres away from secondary school. Pupils in rural villages still struggle to benefit from the limited educational opportunities in the government-owned secondary schools. This is due to the fact that there was only one public secondary school for all wards covered in the study. The peculiarity with Urambo is based on the fact that it is a small town and the district headquarters. In general, the picture one gets is that there is still a problem of access to education in the areas.

4.2.2 State of Primary School Infrastructure

In order to assess the state of primary school infrastructure in tobacco growing areas the teacher respondents were asked to show the number of classrooms, desks, teachers, houses, latrines, chairs, libraries and playgrounds at their school. In view of the data presented in the Table 4.4, the following observations could be highlighted.

Table 4.4: The State of primary school Infrastructure in the Selected Tobacco Growing Areas

School Infrastructure	Schools											
	Kidamali		Nyamihuu		Nzihi		Urambo		Ukombozi		Mwenge	
	Avl	Req	Avl	Req	Avl	Req	Avl	Req	Avl	Req	Avl	Req
Classrooms	6	14	6	13	11	16	12	24	7	12	4	12
Desks	130	156	137	137	230	230	255	255	182	182	160	159
Staff-houses	0	8	3	10	3	19	3	25	-	18	-	18
Latrines	18	18	16	16	28	28	12	42	14	24	22	12
Chairs	7	8	8	25	20	36	6	30	8	30	4	42
Libraries	-	-	0	1	0	1	-	1	-	1	-	1
Playgrounds	1	2	4	8	2	6	2	5	2	4	2	4

Source: Field Data, 2000.

Key: Av.= Average Level

Req.= Required

From the data it is evident that there were still problems in different rural primary schools in connection with staff housing, classrooms, chairs, libraries and playgrounds. While there may be genuine problems of lack of money, it is still plausible to argue that people in certain villages lack the spirit of self-initiated development - a philosophy which holds that people should help themselves, in their respective communities, and not rely on the the central government for this.

This outlook is not practiced in these areas, as some villages have failed even to erect houses for teachers on the pretext of lack of money, even when the initial stages of construction had hardly required any cash inputs.

As for library and playground provisions, their virtual absence in the school compound is an indicator not only of potential intellectual poverty (in the form of undeveloped reading habits), but also of a lost opportunity for promoting physical and physiological capital in personal growth (Mziray and Kitta 1996).

4.2.3 Distance from School to Tobacco Growing Areas

The teachers were asked to indicate the distance travelled from their particular school to the nearest of the growing areas. The findings are presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Distance from school to tobacco growing areas

District	School	Distance to tobacco farms (in kilometres)
Iringa Rural	Kidamali	E: <1 (actually 300metres); W: 1; N: 1
	Nyamihuu	< 1 (actually 6 metres)
	Nzihi	3
Urambo	Ukombozi	3
	Urambo	3
	Mwenge	5-6
	Azimio	4-5
	Kapilula	2
	Ulasa 'B'	1
	Nsenda	-
	Imalamakoye	< 1 (actually 250 metres)

Legend: E: *East*, W: *West*, N: *North*

< *Less than*

Source: Field Data, 2000.

In view of the data presented in Table 4.5, it is evident that the primary schools in the study areas were close to tobacco farms/plantations. This enables school pupils whose parents/guardians were in socio-economic problems to opt for the easily available means of contributing to their survival. Consequently, they ended up working on tobacco farms during short and long vacations. As Eldring et al (2000:40) discovered about child labour in the "Tobacco Growing Sector in Africa," hunger forces children to work instead of attending school, as this allows them to buy food and solve immediate survival problems.

4.2.4 Dropout Rate

The head teachers were requested to indicate the drop out rate in their respective primary schools over the last four years. Essentially, this part of the study aimed at capturing the connection between the presence of tobacco farms and pupil attendance in village schools. The responses are indicated in Table 4.6.

With reference to the data in the table, the following remarks can be made. First, all school heads, with the exception of that at Ukombozi in Urambo, point to a dropout problem among their pupils. Given this reporting, it is logical to argue that tobacco farms contribute to the irregularity of attendance in schools. This was probably due to the fact that some pupils could unceremoniously abscond from classes (and probably continuously miss classes) in the interest of fetching quick money on the commercial tobacco farms.

Secondly, there was a positive correlation between proximity of a school to a tobacco farm and pupils' temptation to work on that farm. Working on tobacco farms appeared to be an attractive vocation to many school children in schools within the vicinity of the farms, and this seemed to be attributable to a desire for some "independent" cash income so as to finance part or all of the schooling costs in addition, possibly, to supporting their parents/guardians. It can be strongly argued that chronic and in many cases abject poverty in the socio-economic background of the school children (i.e.

parental poverty and/or wilful parental encouragement of under-age employment among their children), had to a considerable extent prevented primary schools from realizing their planned goals, including those of achieving full pupil attendance as well as maintaining full classes of children at all times.

Table 4.6: Dropout Rate in Primary Schools in the Selected Tobacco Growing Areas

District	School	Trend of Dropout													
		1997			1998			1999			2000				
		Total Enrol't	Reported Dropouts		Total Enrol't	Reported Dropouts		Total Enrol't	Reported Dropouts		Total Enrol't	Reported Dropouts			
			N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%		
Iringa Rural	Kidamali	124	0	0.0	204	0	0.0	299	0	0.0	377	2	0.5		
	Nyamihuu	406	31	7.6	334	54	16.2	402	23	5.7	411	51	12.4		
	Nzihi	na	-	-	na	na	-	na	-	-	618	4	0.6		
Average % for District				3.8				8.1				2.9			4.5
Urambo	Ukombozi	610	0	0.0	592	0	0.0	605	0	0.0	646	0	0.0		
	Urambo	1,110	4	0.4	1,210	2	0.2	1,060	5	0.5	1,013	3	0.6		
	Mwenge	410	27	6.6	440	22	5.0	476	34	7.1	478	31	6.5		
	Azimio	510	6	1.2	402	4	0.9	600	3	0.5	590	2	0.3		
	Kapilula	241	15	6.2	250	11	4.4	260	10	3.8	281	11	0.5		
	Ulasa 'B'	304	10	3.3	289	8	2.7	300	10	3.3	320	4	1.3		
	Nsenda	425	17	4.0	465	13	2.8	470	17	3.6	480	11	2.3		
	Imalamakoye	294	6	2.0	280	5	1.8	260	9	3.5	300	4	1.3		
Average % for District				11.8				8.9				11.2			6.4
Overall average % (for both districts)				7.8				8.5				7.1			5.5

Source: Field Data, 2000.

Thirdly, the overall percentages for the two districts indicate that the problem of dropouts in primary schools in tobacco-growing areas seemed to fluctuate, although there appeared to have been a slight decrease in the last two years. A cursory look at the data for the two districts might give an impression that there are significant variations between the two districts. While the average dropout rate for Iringa rural district appears to have been lower in the past four years, the opposite is true in Urambo, which recorded a much higher dropout rate. However, the small coverage of schools in Iringa Rural by the study and the unavailability of data in one school (Nzihi), do not allow for an analytical comparison between the two districts, beyond the factual observation that areas in both districts experience a certain amount of pupil dropouts from school.

It may further be noted that the dropout rate in the schools in the surveyed tobacco-growing areas is as much among boys as among girls, meaning that both sexes were equally victim to the factors influencing dropping out of school at such a premature stage (at least before the age of 16).

The respondents were also asked about the possible reasons underlying the problem of dropout in their respective schools. The findings are summarized in Table 4.7. The factors mentioned include, among others, outright parental/guardian encouragement of children to work on tobacco farms; laxity on the part of the parents or guardians; habitual and persistent truancy; migratory tendencies; and pregnancies.

Table 4.7: The Reasons Underlying the Problem of Dropout in Tobacco Growing Areas

Reasons/factors	Frequency of responses (N=27)	%
Lack of educational support by parents/guardians	3	11.1
Poor economic situation of parents/guardians	5	18.5
Working (by children) in tobacco farms	7	25.9
Diseases	1	3.7
Long distance from home to school	3	11.1
Pregnancy	5	18.5
Migration to towns searching for paid employment	4	14.8
Failure by parents/guardians to meet school cost	2	7.4
Poor school infrastructure	1	3.7
Persistent truancy on minor activities	4	14.8

Source: Field Data, 2000.

The identified factors in the table suggest a few points. First, some parents did not understand or appreciate the importance and position of education in life. To them schooling does not count for much on account of one or both of the following: a cultural outlook that does not attach any value to education, or a view of education as truly inappropriate or irrelevant and not responsive to their household livelihoods. These views resulted in the failure of some parents/guardians to invest in their children's education. They think of education more in terms of immediate returns and less in the sense of long-term gratification. Second, there was a significant correlation between working on tobacco farms and truancy/dropout. This simply implies that there was truancy because management on tobacco farms either accommodated young school-going age children or, alternatively, had no policy against engagement of school children on the farms. Along these lines, it is rational to argue that chronic poverty drives some school children out of the school system towards areas of immediate gain for economic survival. In short, all reasons underlying the problem of dropout in primary schools in the selected tobacco-growing areas rested on economic hardships at household and/or personal levels, as recent research studies have indicated (Mpango and Mushi 1998).

4.2.5 Number of Children Attending School

In trying to assess the number of pupils attending primary schools in tobacco-growing areas, the heads of school were asked to indicate the number of children in their respective schools. The aim was to investigate whether or not there was any influence of the tobacco farms on the children's attendance. Table 4.8 reflects the results.

Table 4.8: The number of children attending school in the selected tobacco growing areas

District	Areas	Children in school			School Capacity	Excess (+) / Deficit (-)
		Female	Male	Total		
Iringa Rural	Kidamali	187	190	377	487	-110
	Nyamihuu	198	213	411	240	+171
	Nzihi	308	310	618	495	+123
Urambo	Ukombozi	327	319	646	315	+331
	Urambo	550	495	1,045	1,045	-
	Mwenge	246	232	478	315	+163
	Azimio	317	273	590	700	-110
	Kapilula	-	-	-	-	-
	Ulasa 'B'	162	158	320	350	-30
	Nsenda	275	205	480	500	-20
	Imalamakoye	156	144	300	350	-50

Source: Field Data, 2000.

As indicated in the table, some schools were overpopulated i.e. they had more pupils than the recommended number. This suggests that the teaching and learning process was not conducive as classrooms were overcrowded. On the other hand, some schools are under-used with the number of pupils below the recommended number, hence public resources were lost unproductively due to under-use.

4.2.6 School-going-age Children Out of School

The teacher respondents were asked to show the number of school-going age children, who had not been enrolled in primary schools situated in tobacco growing areas. The results are presented in Table 4.9.

From the data summarized in the table, it can be concluded that there was a problem of out-of-school children in tobacco-growing areas, even though by comparison the intensity of the problem varied from one area to another. In this case it was seemingly more serious in Urambo than in Iringa. Despite this, only in Mwenge village in Urambo district was the rate of non-attendance (41.2%) close to the national average (45.0), which is much higher than those in the rest of the villages. The difference between the villages in the sample areas in Urambo and Iringa districts would suggest the tobacco plantations in the latter help more in keeping children in school than the tobacco farms in the former. This might be explained by the fact that in the sample areas in Iringa more children of the school-age cohort work part-time than in those areas in Urambo. Besides, in the sample areas in Iringa difficult activities and tasks were mechanised and involved older children (especially those in the camps) and adults. Less difficult activities and tasks involved younger children. In the study areas in Urambo mostly older children and very few adults were involved in all the farm activities and tasks in which almost no machines were used.

The fact that the rates of school non-attendance in the study areas in both districts were not worse than those in many districts in the country seemed to confirm that school enrolments in the commercial agricultural sector are higher than in other sectors which involve child labour. In an earlier study on the 'nature and extent of child labour in Tanzania' (Ammal, et al, 2000), it was found out that commercial agriculture sector had the highest number of children who were in school (92%). However this should hardly be surprising because the agriculture sector provides employment to 85% of the country's employed population.

Table 4.9: Magnitude of Primary School-going age Children Not in School in the Selected Tobacco Growing Areas

Region	District	Village	School-going age Children Not in School	No. of Pupils	%
Iringa	Iringa Rural	Kidamali	10	377	2.6
		Nyamihuu	30	411	7.3
		Nzihi	25	618	4.0
Tabora	Urambo	Ukombozi	0	646	0.0
		Urambo	50	1045	4.9
		Mwenge	197	478	41.2
		Azimio	130	590	22.0
		Kapilula	n.r.	N.R.	N.R.
		Ulasa'B'	25	320	7.8
		Nsenda	70	475	14.7
		Imalakoye	54	300	18.0
		Total	591	5260	100

Source: Field Data, 2000.

The problem of out-of-school children can be attributed to a number of related aspects, including poor economic household situations, illiteracy and a relatively low view of formal education as an important human resource investment. Working on commercial farms and other ventures for quick money becomes an immediate objective among many families and children from this socio-economic background.

4.2.7 Enrolment Rate

The teachers were asked to show the number of children who had enrolled in their schools for the previous five years. Findings were as summarized in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Number of Pupils Enrolled in Selected Tobacco Growing Areas

District	School	Enrolled Pupils by School Year														
		1996			1997			1998			1999			2000		
		F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T
Iringa Rural	Kidamali	-	-	70	-	-	80	-	-	95	-	-	78	-	-	-
	Nyamihuu	56	48	104	37	36	73	35	37	72	47	45	92	36	47	83
	Nzihi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	61	63	124
Urambo	Ukombozi	55	40	95	49	54	103	54	37	93	36	66	102	46	68	114
	Urambo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Mwenge	39	38	77	38	32	70	41	40	81	43	43	86	-	-	-
	Azimio	30	34	64	55	49	104	29	28	57	51	50	101	45	48	93
	Kapilula	40	27	67	30	20	50	27	35	62	40	20	60	27	31	58
	Ulasa 'B'	25	20	45	26	32	58	18	22	40	32	34	66	38	47	85
	Nsenda	31	24	55	25	26	51	34	25	59	24	32	56	35	24	59
	Imalamakoye	25	24	49	23	22	45	19	24	43	30	20	50	25	30	55

Source: Field Data, 2000.

To evaluate the enrolment rate in primary schools in tobacco growing areas, teacher respondents were asked to indicate the number of children who are enrolled in every school. Looking at the data in Table 4.10, it can be concluded that there was no significant difference between the number of girls and boys enrolled in primary schools especially in Iringa rural. This

finding is in line with the study by Bendera (1997), which reveals that there is gender parity at the primary school level in Tanzania, which is unlike some other African countries, especially in the sub-Saharan region.

4.2.7.1 Educational characteristics

The children on the farms were asked to indicate the educational attainment of children in the selected tobacco growing areas. The findings are summarised in Table 4.10.1.

Table 4.10.1: Educational Attainment Levels of Working Children in the Selected Sample Areas

	Iringa Rural				Urambo				Total		Grand Total	%
	Working children		Non-working children		Working children		Non-working children					
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M		
Nil	1	7	-	-	4	9	-	-	5	16	21	15.6
Dropped out	1	0	-	3	5	10	-	-	6	13	19	14.1
Completed primary education	2	8	1	12	0	1	0	0	3	21	24	17.7
Completed O-level secondary education	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2	1.5
Schooling	18	18	2	2	7	8	5	9	32	37	69	51.1
Total	22	33	3	17	16	29	5	10	46	89	135	100.

Source: Field Data, 2000.

In light of the data presented in the Table 4.10.1, it can be observed that though children who work on tobacco farms/plantations have attained education levels that range from nil to secondary education, the majority were in primary schools. However, in most cases, school children work on tobacco farms during short and long vacations. As the table indicates, working on tobacco farms is for all children – girls and boys. Table 4.10.2 and Table 4.10.3 indicate the educational and schooling status of children working on tobacco plantations/farms in Iringa and Urambo.

Table 4.10.2: Educational Status of Working Children

Iringa	Child Age Categories				Male	female	Total
	6 or less	7-9	10-13	14-17			
Never Attended School	0	0	0	5	4	1	5
Attending	0	6	20	10	17	19	36
Dropout	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Urambo	Child Age Categories				Male	Female	
	6 or less	7-9	10-13	14-17			
Never Attended School	0	0	0	10	8	2	10
Attending	0	0	2	12	8	6	28
Dropout	0	0	3	10	7	6	26

Table 4.10.3: Schooling Status of Working Children

Iringa												
School Status												
	Age											
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Not Attending	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	3	6
I			2									
II					1		1					
III				2	3	1	1					
IV			1			3	3					
V					1	1		2	1	1		
VI								3	2	4		
VII										1		
Urambo												
Not Attending							2	1	5	7	5	3
I												
II												
III								1		1		
IV									1	3		
V									1			1
VI								1		3	1	
VII											1	

Tables 4.10.2-4.10.3
Sources: Field Data, 2000.

4.2.8 Availability of Teachers

The respondents (Heads of the primary schools) were requested to indicate the number of teaching staff in their respective schools. The findings are presented in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Availability of Teachers in the Primary Schools in the Selected Tobacco Growing Areas

Region	District	Primary schools	Teachers	
			Female	Male
Iringa	Iringa Rural	Kidamali	4	2
		Nyamihuu	3	5
		Nzihi	6	3
Tabora	Urambo	Ukombozi	15	3
		Urambo	24	4
		Mwenge	15	5
		Azimio	12	6
		Kapilula	-	-
		Ulasa'B'	4	5
		Nsenda	1	8
		Imalamaye	5	3
		Total	89	44

Source: Field Data, 2000.

It is well known that the effectiveness of primary schools in any country depends on a combination of things, including the teachers. In light of the data in Table 4.11 above, the following conclusions can be drawn. First, there is a shortage of teachers in primary schools based in rural areas including the tobacco growing areas. This problem of too few teachers is in line with a study by Ishumi, et al (2000) that clearly asserts that the shortage of teachers in primary schools is a common problem in many rural areas. According to the study, the problem is attributed to freezing of employment and the negative attitude among teachers towards working in rural areas.

4.2.9 Teacher-Pupil Ratio

The standard teacher/pupil ratio in primary schools in Tanzania is 1:48 implying that one teacher is supposed to attend to forty-eight pupils (MoEC, 1999). In order to know the teacher/pupil ratio in tobacco growing areas the respondents were asked to state the number of teachers and that of pupils in each of the schools covered in the study. To get the ratio, the number of pupils was divided by the number of teachers. The results are presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Teacher/pupil Ratio in the Selected Tobacco Growing Areas

District	School	Teacher/pupil ratio		
		Pupils	Teachers	Ratio
Iringa	Kidamali	377	6	1:63
	Nyamihuu	411	8	1:53
	Nzihi	618	9	1:69
	<i>Total for district</i>	<i>1406</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>1:61</i>
Urambo	Ukombozi	646	18	1:36
	Urambo	1045	28	1:37
	Mwenge	478	20	1:24
	Azimio	590	18	1:38
	Kapilula	-	-	-
	Ulasa 'B'	320	9	1:36
	Nsenda	475	9	1:53
	Imalamakoye	300	8	1:38
<i>Total for district</i>		<i>3854</i>	<i>110</i>	<i>1:35</i>
Grand total		5260	133	1:40

Source: Field Data, 2000.

From the data in the table the following conclusions can be deduced. First, there is a great variance in teacher-pupil ratio between tobacco farms in Iringa Rural district and those in Urambo. Teachers in schools in the former handle a much larger number of children (61) than the national and nearly ideal average. Contrary to this observation, tobacco-growing areas in Urambo district are in a much more favourable situation, carrying a teacher-pupil ratio (1:35) far below the average for both districts and indeed for the nation.

The contrasting teacher/pupil ratios obtained in the two districts have explanations; one being an unequal distribution of primary school teachers. All the primary schools visited in Iringa Rural district did suffer from a great shortage of teachers, with the few on post carrying a much greater teaching load than normally assigned and mandated by the Government³. On the other hand, almost all Urambo primary schools had an adequate (in some cases, more than adequate) number of teachers. This variation is confirmed in studies that have been conducted in the country in recent years (Levine 1996; Levira and Mahenge 1996; Omari 1998).

4.2.10 Services Provided at School

The school teachers were asked to indicate whether or not their schools provided pupils with any services at any point during the school calendar. The results are presented in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Services provided to pupils by school

Region	District	Schools	Services to Pupils	
			Yes	No
Iringa	Iringa	Kidamali	√	-
		Nyamihuu	√	-
		Nzihi	-	√
Tabora	Urambo	Ukombozi	-	√
		Urambo	-	√
		Mwenge	√	-
		Azimio	-	√
		Kapilula	√	-
		Ulasa 'B'	√	-
		Nsenda	-	√
		Imalamakoye	-	√

Source: Field Data, 2000.

Out of eleven primary schools covered in the study, six of them did not provide its pupils with services, such as porridge and a 'first-aid' kit. While such services were not mandatory for all primary schools in the country, there has been an attempt among most schools to provide such services in order to improve the teaching-learning environment and to reduce the rate of pupil absenteeism and/or tendencies towards non-attendance or truancy. The rest of the schools (i.e. five of the sample schools) provided their pupils with the services. The heads of schools were asked to identify the type of services that were given to their pupils. The services identified included lunch (porridge or other meal) and 'First Aid'. It was further noted that during the rain seasons many families ran short of food, a problem that had direct consequences on the pupils' attendance to school. Provision of meals was therefore one of the ways of making sure that pupils did not miss class in pretence of hunger due to lack of food at home. There are still some rural areas in Tanzania where people have not managed to produce enough food for the whole year. It is arguable that lack of capital to invest in agriculture and inadequate rains, among other things, might have resulted in underproduction of food crops.

4.2.11 School Income-Generating Activities

Teachers were asked to state whether or not their pupils were involved on tobacco farms and plantations as part of a school income-generating venture. Of the eleven heads of school, only one admitted that pupils were involved in tobacco-farm activities several times per year as a source of school income. This seems to have evolved out of the school's normal decision-making process, particularly when schools in the country have often operated with little or no government

³ The Teacher-Pupil ratio in primary schools in Tanzania is supposed to be 1/48.

funding and have been implored to find ingenious ways of raising funds “by self-reliance.” Several other respondents did indicate that there were nearby schools whose teachers sent pupils to work on tobacco farms as part of an education for self-reliance philosophy, and, presumably, as part of a deliberate school policy.

4.2.12 School Expenses and Contributions met by Parents/Guardians

The respondents were asked to identify the school costs met by parents or guardians. All respondents indicated a range of school fees, such as UPE (Universal Primary Education) contribution, UMITASHUMTA contribution (sports and games), contribution for rehabilitation of school infrastructure, and lunch contribution. Of all the fees, a total of TSh. 5,000/= (viz. the formal school “tuition” fees of about 2000/=, the UPE contribution of about 2000/=, and sports and games contribution of 1000/=) were common and mandatory to children in all primary schools.⁴ Although, numerically, the amount seems affordable, there were many households, both in rural and urban areas, that were unable to pay. This was confirmed by the fact that when the respondents were asked whether or not all parents or guardians managed to meet the costs, all of them stated that there were some who could not afford to. For those who have not been able to pay, more often than not, their children were sent back home, or the school board called the parents to explain the reasons they would not pay, or legal action was taken against the recalcitrant parents.

However, there are many other user fee charges fixed by school boards for the school development that are directly met by parents or guardians. Though the idea is fundamental, there were children who dropped out as a result of these extra costs of education. Other important expenses to be met by parents/guardians included contributions for porridge, lunch, desks, classrooms, and so on. Pupils who were not ready to leave school opted for working on tobacco farms during short and long vacations as a means of earning money for school expenses.

4.2.13 Completion Rate and Transition to Secondary Education

In order to know the primary school completion and transition rates in the selected tobacco growing areas, the teachers were requested to provide information on both the numbers of pupils completing school and on those getting selected to join secondary schools. The findings are summarized below.

From the data in Table 4.14, the following observations can be put forward. First, the completion rate in Urambo district is higher than that of Iringa district. This was probably due to the fact that more schools were covered in Urambo than in Iringa. As for the transition rate to secondary education, the explanation is based on the fact that the presence of a public secondary school in Urambo played an important role in determining the number of pupils selected to join Form One. It was still evident that there were many students who left Standard Seven and remained in their villages, as the number of those selected for secondary education was negligible as compared to those enrolled. On the basis of this observation one is forced to believe that those who missed opportunities for secondary education opted for other activities in order to survive, among whom could be working on tobacco farms situated in their respective villages.

Table 4.14: Primary Std VII Output and Transition Rate to Secondary Education

School	Std VII Output and Transition Rate																				
	1993			1994			1995			1996			1997			1998			1999		
	C	T	%	C	T	%	C	T	%	C	T	%	C	T	%	C	T	%	C	T	%
Iringa Rural District																					
Kidamali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nyamihuu	36	2	6	24	0	0	68	0	0	38	2	5	42	3	7	17	13	76	69	1	1
Nzihi	?	?		?	?		?	?		?	?		?	?		160	?		113	5	4
Urambo District																					
Ukombozi	?	?		?	?		?	?		?	?		?	?		?	?		?	?	
Urambo	?	24		?	14		?	30		?	23		?	52		?	64		?	60	
Mwenge	45	20	44	41	24	59	38	26	68	47	25	53	43	33	77	59	47	80	52	25	48
Azimio	?	?		?	?		?	?		?	?		79	54	68	88	48	55	92	64	70
Kapilula	45	2	4	37	7	19	23	4	17	33	2	6	41	5	12	33	23	70	30	8	27
Ulasa'B'	52	5	10	65	5	8	26	3	12	40	7	18	35	3	9	35	5	14	27	5	19
Nsenda	39	3	8	29	8	28	33	11	33	35	14	40	34	19	56	46	18	39	37	22	59
Imalamakoye	35	2	6	36	9	25	35	12	34	48	10	21	39	19	49	38	7	18	41	10	24

Legend:

C: Completion (Std VII Output); T: Transition rate (Number/Percent From Std VII completion figure to Secondary Form I)

-: At Kidamali classes had not yet reached Std VII, Records were not available

Source: Field data from sample schools.

4.2.14 School Leavers Post-Primary Preoccupations and Activities

In order to assess the fate of students leaving Standard Seven, teacher respondents were asked to identify the activities they performed after their primary education. The findings are summarized in Table 4:15.

Table 4.15: The Trend on the Kind of Activities or Occupations after Leaving Primary School

Children's activities	Frequency of responses	Percentage
Working in tobacco farms/plantations as labourers	9	23.7
They engage in farming	10	26.3
Petty businesses	10	26.3
Bee keeping	1	2.6
Further studies	2	5.3
Get married	1	2.6
Migration to towns	2	5.3
They become street children	2	5.3
They take care of animals	1	2.6
Total	38	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2000.

From the responses indicated in Table 4.15, it can be concluded that working on tobacco farms is amongst the activities that actively absorbed primary school leavers. It is evident from data on Iringa Rural (see Table 4.14) that the number of children who proceeded to secondary education was very small compared to the national average of 10% (MoEC 2000: 11-12) and, indeed, as contrasted with the figure for Urambo. In any case, the transition rates for both Iringa Rural and Urambo districts were below the national average, implying in some sense, that a sizeable proportion of primary school leavers, apart from school dropouts in both districts, found their way to the informal sector as a possible source of livelihood.

4.3 Parental/Guardian Level of Education

The children were asked to mention the levels of education of their parents/guardians. The responses ranged from nothing to university education. The real picture is captured in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: Parental/Guardian Level Education in the Selected Tobacco Growing Areas

Parents/ Guardians	The level of education				
	Nil	Drop out	Primary education	Secondary education	College/ university
Iringa Rural district					
Father	4	7	17	0	0
Mother	12	8	15	0	0
Guardian	9	0	6	0	0
	25	15	38	0	0
Urambo district					
Father	0	20	18	4	0
Mother	0	16	15	1	0
Guardian	0	19	28	2	2
	0	55	61	7	2

Source: Field Data, 2000.

In general, the average level of education of the parents and guardians was primary education and below. There were very few children in the selected tobacco-growing areas whose parents/guardians had education beyond primary school. For the majority, a significant proportion either did not go to school at all or dropped out of school before completing Standard

Seven. According to the data in the table, it might be argued that there seems to be an indirect correlation between a low educational level of parents/guardians and a negative valuation of formal education for their children. This can also be reflected in the low educational attainment of their children, as seemed to be the case in tobacco-growing areas.

4.4 The Phenomenon of Child Labour on the Farms: Does it Fall Within the Definition of WFCL?

Child labour is a very common issue in many parts of the world today. It cuts across urban and rural areas in many different forms. In order to assess whether child labour was present in its worst forms as regards the selected tobacco-growing areas, children, parents, village leaders and school teachers were probed to state whether or not there was child labour in their respective locations. Almost all categories of respondents, including focus group discussion participants, reported that there was child labour in their respective villages and that the working environment for both children and adult labourers in tobacco farms and plantations left much to be desired. The findings in regards to the working environment in their respective villages are summarized in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17: The Working Environment by Range of Issues Involved

	Issues/Elements in Working Environment
1.	Children between ages 7 and 18 work long hours on tobacco farms
2.	Children were engaged in mixing and applying fertilizers in the tobacco plants
3	After pruning, children apply <i>Thiodan</i> (chemical) to destroy the tobacco shoots
4	Not infrequently, foremen insult and/or rebuke the working children
5	Children work under the sun for extended hours
6	In case of rain, they must all do the same work until they finish their piece rates
7	Children apply DDT (another chemical) to kill pests and treat the affected tobacco
8	Children face/inhale very bad/pungent smells during the curing of tobacco

Source: Field Data, 2000.

According to the respondents, the indicators of the worst forms of child labour in tobacco growing areas included: long working hours without consideration of the age of the children employed on the tobacco farms; exposure of children to poisonous (toxic) chemicals such as *Thiodan* and DDT, which endanger children's health; and verbal abuse by foremen.

Similarly, it was discovered through focus group discussions and key informants, that there were children from as far as Kigoma, Dodoma, Singida, and Shinyanga who worked on tobacco farms in Urambo. For Iringa, the children came from as far as Njombe and Makete districts. While some would have travelled at their own will as an adventure or to visit friends or relatives, cases were reported where officers or agents of the plantation owners in Iringa, travelled all the way to Njombe and Makete to lure young boys and girls into "an attractive job with an attractive salaried income."

4.5 The Socio-economic Status of the Families of Children Working on Tobacco Farms/Plantations

The level of poverty of the families of children working on tobacco farms/plantations depended on the degree to which they had access to basic needs - food, clothing, shelter medicine and/or medical treatment, and land to work on or some other means of work. It may be noted that parents who were extremely destitute would even consider education for their children, which they could ill afford an unnecessary luxury. Table 4.18 indicates the responses of the parents of working children about their socio-economic status, i.e. whether it could be described as average, low, or very low. They were asked to respond to the question according to the way they understood the situation. The responses suggest that a majority of the working children in the tobacco farms come from families of low socio-economic status. If this is true, then the correlation between WFCL and socio-economic status, or poverty, exists without a doubt.

Table 4.18: The socio-economic Status of Parents of Working Children on Tobacco Plantations/Farms In Iringa and Urambo Districts

Level of SES	No. of Responses			
	Iringa	Urambo	Total	%
Average	1	8	9	15.2
Low	7	13	20	34.0
Very Low	12	18	30	50.8

Source: Field Data, 2000.

The socio-economic status of people in a given community is reflected in a number of ways. These include household average incomes, patterns of expenditure, household goods (whether there are durable goods or otherwise) and the types of houses in which people live. Table 4.19 shows the parents' personal incomes per year in the six locations in Iringa rural and Urambo districts. The respondents were regarded as main household bread earners and hence family heads. Out of 15 parents/guardians, in tobacco growing areas in Iringa rural district who mentioned their annual incomes, 10 (66.6%) earned between 20,000.00 shillings to 200,000.00 shillings. If the average per year is calculated, each would earn not more than 81,000.00 shillings. Only five (37.4%) respondents earned between 300,000.00 shillings and 600,000.00 shillings. Out of the 18 parents/guardians in the study areas in Urambo who revealed their annual personal incomes, 14 (77.7%) earned between 30,000.00 shillings and 200,000.00 shillings. The remaining four (22.2%) earned between 300,000.00 shillings and 2,000,000.00 shillings. On the average therefore, each individual would earn 374,666.00 shillings per year. Of the 18 respondents who revealed their incomes, the majority (77.7%) earned less than 200,000.00 shillings This would mean that 24 (72.1%) of the 33 parents who revealed their incomes earned between 81,000.00 shillings and 86,400.00 shillings (just over \$100.00 dollars). The majority of the parents were thus very poor, even at the national level.

Table 4.19 Personal Incomes of Parents of Children Working in Tobacco Plantations/Farms in Iringa Rural and Urambo Districts per Annum

Reported Incomes by Category (TSh)	Iringa Rural		Urambo	
	No. of Responses	% of Responses	No. of Responses	% of Responses
20,000 – 50,000	2	15.0	5	21.7
50,001 – 100,000	2	10.0	0	0.0
100,001 – 150,000	2	10.0	2	8.7
150,001 – 200,000	4	20.0	4	17.4
200,001 – 250,000	0	0.0	0	0.0
250,001 – 300,000	1	4.3	2	8.7
300,001 – 350,000	0	0.0	1	4.3
350,001 – 400,000	1	4.3	0	0.0
400,001 – 450,000	0	0.0	0	0.0
450,001 – 500,000	1	4.3	1	4.3
500,001 – 550,000	0	0.0	0	0.0
550,001 – 600,000	1	4.3	1	4.3
600,001 – 650,000	0	0.0	0	0.0
650,001 – 700,000	0	0.0	0	0.0
700,001 – 750,000	0	0.0	0	0.0
750,001 – 800,000	0	0.0	0	0.0
800,001 – 850,000	0	0.0	0	0.0
850,001 – 900,000	0	0.0	1	4.3
900,001 – 1,000,000	0	0.0	0	0.0
1,000,001 – 2,000,000	0	0.0	1	4.3
Above 2,000,000	0	0.0	0	0.0
No Response	15	25.0	5	21.7
Total	20	100.0	23	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2000.

These annual incomes emanated from the children's parents' main sources of income, which often included or constituted their occupations. It was deemed prudent, for better understanding, to find out if the fathers differed from those of the children's mothers. Table 4.20 indicates the occupations of the fathers of children working in tobacco farms in Iringa rural and Urambo districts.

Table 4.20: Occupations of the Fathers/Guardians of Children Working in Tobacco Plantations/farms in Iringa and Urambo

Occupations	Responses	%
1. Work in the Tobacco plantations	4	4.7
2. Farming	61	71.7
3. Carpentry	2	2.4
4. Petty Business	8	9.4
5. Driver	3	3.3
6. Teacher	2	2.4
7. Others*	5	5.9
Total	85	100

* Masonry, fishing, politics, night-security guard.

Source: Field Data, 2000.

A majority of the children's fathers were peasant farmers, followed by those who engaged in petty businesses. Working on tobacco farms ranked third among the occupations of the children's fathers. As for the occupations of the children's

mothers, as shown in Table 4.21, the findings followed the same pattern. A majority of the mothers (73) were peasant farmers, 12 were engaged in petty businesses while eight worked on the tobacco farms.

Table 4.21: Occupations of Mothers of Working Children on Tobacco Farms in Iringa Rural and Urambo districts

Occupations	Responses	%
1. Work on the Tobacco plantations	8	8.4
2. Farming	73	76.8
3. Teacher	2	2.1
4. Business	12	12.6
5. Others*		
Total	95	100

Source: Field data, 2000.

There is a difference between Iringa and Urambo in that the forms of tobacco growing are not the same. In Iringa where there are plantations, it would seem that most adults were not employed in the sector as would have been expected. Secondly, the plantation owners did not depend upon villagers who had been residents there all their lives as their source of labour. Thirdly according to interviewed informants, the local people, the Hehe, disliked being employed by others. It is no wonder thus that the tobacco plantation owners in Iringa rural district depend on migrant workers from Njombe and Makete districts. They lived in the camps within the plantations and a few live in the villages.

In Urambo district where tobacco production depends on small holders, tobacco farmers also used migrant workers especially from Kigoma, Singida and Dodoma, although farming ranked first in the list of occupations of working children. However, unlike in Iringa rural district, the tobacco farmers in Urambo also grew food crops, especially maize, which they used to feed their workers. The workers were not only involved in tobacco but also in food crop cultivation. The majority of the working children's parents were, like in Iringa, peasant farmers if they hailed from the area. Working children who migrated from Kigoma, Singida, Dodoma and other regions lived with their employers. Those who could not be employed or fell out with their employers ended up as street children in Urambo town as they often did not have enough money to return to their homes in Kigoma, Singida, Dodoma, and other regions.

4.5.1 Housing Conditions and Durable Assets

The socio-economic status of the people in a community can be reflected in the kind of house they live in, or even the number of houses they have depending on the size of each family and its resources. A house with iron roofing, brick and nicely plastered walls, would ordinarily be considered a modern house. Table 4.22 shows the number and kinds of houses the parents of children working in tobacco farms in Iringa rural and Urambo districts live in.

Table 4.22: Housing Conditions of Parents of Children Working on Tobacco Farms in Iringa Rural and Urambo districts

	Total No. of Sample Parent Houses	Proportion Stated as in Modern Condition	%
Iringa	74	41	60.8
Urambo	70	45	64.9

Source: Field Data, 2000.

The houses described as 'modern' differ from grass-thatched houses mainly because they are more durable. It was observed that a majority of them had mud walls. The number of parental houses by tobacco-farm working children in the selected areas of this study is shown in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23: The Number Of Houses Of Parents Of Children Working on Tobacco Farms In Iringa Rural And Urambo Districts

Number of Houses (in Categories)	Number of responses	Percentage
1-2	60	71.4
3-4	13	15.5
5-6	7	8.3
Over 6	4	4.8

Source: Field Data, 2000.

It is however arguable that the number of houses the parents had might have been built by using family labour especially when local materials like soil, water for the walls and thatch for the roofs were used. Hence the number of houses may not necessarily be one of the realistic determinants of a family's socio-economic status but it may assist to understand its size. Nevertheless the majority of the children's parents seemed to have one or two houses.

Another determinant of socio-economic status of the parents of the children working on tobacco farms that was examined, concerned the types of durable assets they had in their households. These household assets, as illustrated in Table 4.24, included bicycles, motorcycles, radio sets, carts, vehicles, tractors etc. While these household goods do not indicate that the children's parents were well-to-do since one can save money over a period of time and buy any of them, except of course a motor vehicle or motorcycle, they may reflect the income levels of the communities in question in terms of their numbers and types. Bicycles, ranked first with a frequency of 52 (51%), are very much depended upon in the rural areas in the country where they have become a major means of transportation. As for radio sets, it is the main means the people in Tanzania can have access to national and international news. Although they were ranked second with a frequency of 34 (42.1%) on the list of the durable goods, they were of various types and qualities and were of small sizes so that they were economical in the consumption of dry cells.

Table 4.24: Household Durable Assets of Parents of Children Working on Tobacco Farms in Iringa rural and Urambo districts.

Parents Assets	No. of Responses		%
	Urambo	Iringa	
Bicycles	26	26	25.5
Motorcycle	1	-	1.0
Radio	9	34	33.3
Carts	3	-	2.9
Tractor	-	1	1.0
Motor Vehicles	-	2	2.0
Total	39	63	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2000.

It is evident, according to the data in table 4.24, that the income levels of the villagers in the sample areas in both Iringa and Urambo districts were low.

4.5.2 Family Composition (Size)

The welfare of one's family depends not only on the family's resources but also on its size. It may be noted that the size of one's family is not necessarily a result of the high productivity of its members and hence their resourcefulness, but might be instead due to ignorance. According to the 1988 population census report (Bureau of Statistics 1989), the average size of the family in Tanzania is five members. A figure below five (i.e. 1-4) would be reckoned as a small family, while above

five would be taken as large. Children working on tobacco farms were interviewed regarding the size of the families they came from in order to find out about their household background situations. Tables 4.25 and 4.25.1 indicate the children's household situation in terms of family size and head of household.

Table 4.25: Family Size in Urambo and Iringa (R) districts

Location	Large Family	%	Small Family	%	Total	%
Urambo	22	34.9	41	65.1	63	100
Iringa	37	49.3	38	50.7	75	100

Source: Field Data, 2000.

Table 4.25.1: Head of Household in Urambo and Iringa (R) Districts

Location	Female-Headed	%	Male-Headed	%	Child-Headed	%	Total	%
Urambo	3	6.0	45	90.0	2	4.0	50	100
Iringa	25	39.0	33	51.6	6	9.4	64	100

Source: Field data, 2000.

A majority of working and non-working children on tobacco farms in the selected areas in Iringa rural district came from large families (over five children), while in Urambo district they came from small families (1–4 children). In both districts, these constituted 49.9 and 34.9 per cent of all the children involved in the study respectively. However, typical of most African families, in both districts the majority of the children came from male-headed households as shown by 45 (90%) and 33 (51.6%) children in Urambo and Iringa rural districts respectively. As shown in table 4.25.1, more female-headed households were found in Iringa rural district (39%) than in Urambo (6%), just as were households headed by the children. Six children in Iringa rural district and two in Urambo district responded that they were on their own.

It is of interest to note that among the key locations in Iringa rural district, Kidamali was the most important as there were more workers and hence more activities. During interviews, it was discovered that there were about 136 children who had lost at least one parent and 36 others who were orphans. Their parents had been victims of HIV/AIDS, which was prevalent in the area due to truck drivers, and businessmen who came to buy and transport tomatoes to Dar es Salaam and other towns. Although these orphans were assisted by the village government and Mr. George Felliakus, the plantation owner who donated a cow, three goats, a sheep and TSh. 15,000.00/=, there was no plan that would ensure they would earn a sustainable livelihood and avoid the bleak reality of working on the tobacco plantations in the future.

Table 4.25.2 shows the family status of children working in tobacco plantations/farms in Iringa (Rural) and Urambo districts by gender. In the study areas in Iringa, 25 (45.4%) children lived with both their parents while in Urambo there were 16 (35.5%) such children. Of these children, 13 (52%) and 9 (56.6%) in Iringa and Urambo respectively were boys. It is significant to note that 14 (31.1%) the study areas in Urambo lived with their employers.

Table 4.25.2.: FAMILY STATUS (Mode of Living/Residence) by Gender

	Mode of Abode/Residence	Iringa Rural		Urambo	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
1	Living with both parents	13	12	9	7
2	Living with only mother	9	7	1	2
3	Living with only father	1	0	2	0
4	Living with other relatives	0	0	1	0
5	Living with the employer	1	0	12	5
6	Living with other adults	9	3	3	2
7	Living with friends/peers	0	0	0	0
	Total	33	22	29	16

Source: Field Data, 2000.

Fig 1 Family status by districts

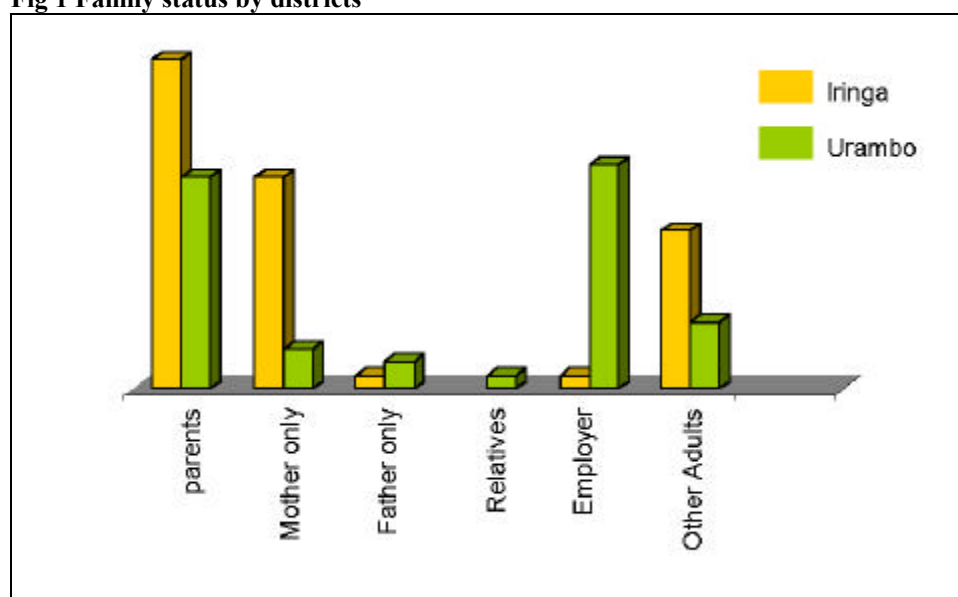


Table 4.25.3 indicates the children's family status by age categories. A majority of the children were within 10-13 and 14-17 years age groups. Those who completed primary education form the bulk of the children ranging from 14-17 years. As the table indicates, the majority of the working children in the study areas both in Iringa and Urambo districts, in the 14-17 age group, lived with both their parents and their employers respectively. In the study areas in Iringa, these children included others in the 10-13 and 7-9 age groups while the children between the ages of 10 and 17 who lived only with their mothers ranked second. In the sample areas in Urambo, the children in the 10-13 and 14-17 age groups who lived with both parents ranked second to those living with their employers.

4.25.3 FAMILY STATUS (Mode of Living/Residence) by age categories

District		Manner/Mode of Living	Age				
			6 or less	7-9	10-13	14-17	18 and over
Iringa	1	Living with both parents	0	3	9	12	1
	2	Living with only mother	0	0	7	7	2
	3	Living with only father	0	1	0	0	0
	4	Living with other relatives	0	0	0	0	0
	5	Living with the employer	0	0	1	1	0
	6	Living with other adults	0	2	4	4	2
	7	Living with friends/peers	0	0	0	0	0
	8	Other	0	0	0	0	0
Urambo	1	Living with both parents	0	0	3	9	4
	2	Living with only mother	0	0	1	2	0
	3	Living with only father	0	0	1	0	1
	4	Living with other relatives	0	0	0	1	0
	5	Living with the employer	0	0	2	13	2
	6	Living with other adults	0	0	0	5	0
	7	Living with friends/peers	0	0	0	0	0
	8	Other	0	0	0	0	1

Source: Field Data, 2000.

4.5.3 Living Conditions

The children were asked questions related to their general living conditions to understand better the socio-economic positions of their families that were thought to have a bearing on their employment in the tobacco farms. Such conditions would, by necessity, include the number and kinds of meals they took per day, the number of times they took a bath and the availability of toilets. Table 4.26 indicates the rates of taking baths and the availability of toilets in the environments where children working on tobacco farms in Iringa rural and Urambo districts lived. Most of the children took a bath once a day, possibly after working for the whole day in the field. Working children who mentioned the number of times they took bath per day in both districts numbered 55 (40%) out of a total of 138 child respondents. Also, of the total number of child respondents, 44 (31.9%) said that they bathed twice a day. This means that 55% and 44% of the working children in the study areas in both districts took bath once and twice a day respectively. Non-working children who responded that they took bath once or twice a day numbered 13 (9.4%) and 16 (11.6%) respectively. Ten (7.2%) children did not mention the rates at which they took bath. It was encouraging to learn that all the children interviewed responded that they had a toilet at home. It implied that if they fell sick it was not due to a lack of compliance with the basic principles of hygiene. The standard of living of the children's families, as reflected by the various aspects pertaining to the socio-economic conditions of the households, did not seem to differ very much with the general national scenario.

**Table 4.26: Rates of Taking a Bath by Children Working on Tobacco Farms
In Iringa Rural and Urambo Districts and the Availability of Toilets**

The Rate of Taking Bath					Availability of Toilets				
No. of Taking Bath	Responses N=138				Types of Responses	No. of responses N=138			
	Urambo		Iringa			Urambo		Iringa	
	WC.	NWC.	WC.	NWC.		WC.	NWC	WC.	NWC
Once	29	5	26	8	Yes	45	15	44	14
Twice	16	10	28	6	No	0	0	0	0
Total	45	15	54	14		45	15	44	14

Source: Field Data, 2000. *WC= Working Children *NWC= Non-working Children

As for the number of meals¹ the children took per day, it was found that all those involved in the study had at least two meals. However the majority of the working children, as shown in Table 4.27 ate only twice per day while the majority of non-working children ate three times per day. In the areas of our study in Iringa, for example, 32 (27.1%) children who worked on the tobacco plantations took only two meals per day while 20 (14.5%) non-working children took three meals. However, 12 (8.7%) working children in Iringa indicated that they also took three meals per day. In the study areas in Urambo, 31 (22.5%) working children and 11 (8.0%) non-working children took two meals a day. Of the remaining children, 7 (5.1%) and 10 (7.4%) working and non-working children respectively responded that they ate three times a day. Only one working child responded that he took only one meal a day. While lack of enough food at home might be one of the reasons for the working children to have only two meals a day, long working hours without lunch breaks might be one of the main factors, especially for Iringa. The 14 (10.1%) children who did not indicate the number of meals they took per day might imply that their meal times were perhaps irregular.

¹ Three meals include breakfast, lunch and supper.

Table 4.27: Number of Meals taken Per Day by Children Working on Tobacco Plantations in Iringa and Urambo Districts

Distri ct	Number of meals N=138													
	1				2				3				Total	
	WC	%	NWC	%	WC	%	NWC	%	WC	%	NWC	%	WC&N WC	%
Iri- Nga	0	0.0	0	0.0	32	23.2	0	0.0	12	8.7	20	14.5	64	46.4
Ura- mbo	1	0.7	0	0.0	31	22.5	11	8.0	7	5.1	10	7.4	60	43.5
Non- Respo nse													14	10.1
Total													138	100

Source: Field Data, 2000.

Table 4.28 shows the different kinds of food that constituted the children's diets. They are typical Tanzanian meals that one would expect in most of the country's regions: ugali and rice are common starch foods; protein is found in the beans and meat, and roughage exists in different kinds of vegetables. The children's diets are not necessarily poor in nutrients and vitamins, save for the lack of fruits which were not frequently mentioned.

Table 4.28: Types of Food taken by Children working in Tobacco Farms in Iringa and Urambo districts

Types of Food	Frequency of Responses	Percentage
Stiff porridge (<i>ugali</i>)	93	11.1
Soft porridge (<i>uji</i>)	60	7.1
Mixed maize/beans (<i>Kande</i>)	22	2.6
Millet stiff porridge	10	1.2
Millet soft porridge	23	2.7
Beans	85	10.1
Cassava	45	5.3
Vegetables (e.g. spinach, cabbage, <i>kisamvu</i> , <i>mchungu</i>)	105	12.5
Chapati	21	2.5
Buns (Andazi)	37	4.4
Meat	49	5.8
Tea with milk	18	2.1
Tea without milk	57	6.8
Fish	45	5.3
Rice	65	7.7
Groundnuts	47	5.6
Fruit (mangoes, oranges, bananas, pineapples etc)	46	5.5
Milk	12	1.4
Total	840	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2000.

However indicating the kinds of food one eats is different from the frequency at which he/she eats and the access to meals. In this respect, the sample population in the study areas showed remarkable differences. It would seem that the situation in Urambo was worse than in Iringa. The findings seem to further augment the poor socio-economic background of children working on tobacco plantations/ farms in question.

4.6 Range of Labour Activities and Tasks

Table 4.29 indicates the activities, tasks and number of children involved in Urambo farms and Iringa plantations. The number of boys and girls indicated consists of the respondents who participated in the study. However, it was revealed in the FGDs with adults that usually more boys than girls worked on tobacco farms and plantations.

Six types of activities are shown in Table 4.29. The first activity included preparation of the fields in which to plant tobacco. In Urambo some fields were near the farmers' residences but many of them were far from the places of residence, consequently working children have to walk long distances to and from the fields carrying tools and farm products. Fields near the residences were usually reserved for food crops, particularly maize, beans, groundnuts, cassava and fruit trees.

Preparation of fields in Urambo district included tasks such as cleaning the land by felling trees with axes and pangas and removing stems if the fields were new ones. Other tasks include clearing felled logs and branches which are used as firewood and/or reserved for curing tobacco; removing grass and shrubs if the fields had been used before; and tilling the land with hoes by making terraces. Both boys and girls participated in this activity, but boys performed the more difficult tasks. Usually girls engaged in removing grass and shrubs and tilling the land. Thirty-nine boys and five girls reported to have engaged in this activity.

The second activity included preparation of the seedlings. Tasks involved included the selection of seeds, preparation of seedbeds, planting the seeds, construction of shelters for seedlings, fetching water for watering the seedlings, watering the seedlings not less than twice a day, and weeding. Boys usually performed these activities. Seventeen boys reported to have undertaken these tasks.

Planting tobacco was the third activity. It included tasks such as uprooting the seedlings and carrying them to the fields, transplanting the seedlings, and fertilising the transplanted seedlings after seven days. Both girls and boys took part in this activity. In Urambo key locations thirty-five boys and six girls said that they had engaged in this activity.

The activity that follows and takes longer than others includes tending the growing tobacco in the fields. Frequent weeding, earthing-up terraces, applying fertilizer, spraying pesticides, and pruning tobacco were the major tasks performed as part of this activity. Both boys and girls carried out tasks in this activity. In Urambo, thirty-eight boys and six girls reported to have undertaken these tasks.

Table 4.29: Activities, Tasks and Number of Children Working in Urambo and Iringa Rural.

Name of District	Activities Performed by Children	Tasks Involved in the Activity	Number of Children		Average Age of Children	Performed by Adults As Well	
			Boys	Girls		YES	NO
Urambo District (Tabora Region)	1.Preparing the farms	Clearing the land by felling trees, removing the logs from the field, clearing grass and stems, tilling the land with hoes by making terraces	39	05	15	-	√
	2.Preparing the seedlings	Preparing the seeds, preparing the seedbeds (nurseries), planting the seeds, constructing shelters for seedlings, fertilising seedlings, watering the seedlings and weeding	17	00	15	-	√
	3.Planting tobacco	Uprooting and carrying seedlings to the fields, transplanting the seedlings, fertilizing transplanted seedlings	35	06	15	-	√
	4.Tending tobacco in farms	Weeding, earthing-up, applying fertilizer, Spraying pesticides, pruning tobacco	38	06	15	-	√
	5. Picking mature tobacco leaves	Plucking leaves, carrying picked leaves, sorting leaves into full and broken ones, arranging leaves for curing.	38	06	15	-	√
	6.Curing tobacco	Building or repairing curing burns, preparing leaves in the burn, felling trees in the forest to get curing logs, carrying logs from forest to residence, preparing fire and curing process, keeping the fire burning day and night, removing cured tobacco in burns.	18	00	15	-	√
	7.Marketing tobacco	Classifying cured tobacco into grades (grading), tying grades tobacco into bales at farmer's residence (or carrying tobacco to the baling sheds), carrying tobacco bales to market centres for marketing	12	05	15	-	√

Name of District	Activities Performed by Children	Tasks Involved in the Activity	Number of Children		Average Age of Children	Performed by Adults As Well	
Iringa (Rural) (Iringa Region)	1.Preparing Plantations	It is done by tractors (mechanised) Clearing	Boys	Girls		YES	NO
			05	00	16	√	-
	2.Preparing the seedlings	Watering seedlings in (nurseries) Weeding	10	-	-	√	-
	3.Planting tobacco	Uprooting and carrying seedlings to the plantations transplanting the seedlings, fertilising transplanted seedlings	28	10	16	√	-
	4.Tending tobacco in plantations	Weeding, applying fertilisers, spraying insecticides, pruning	28	10	16	√	-
	5. Picking mature tobacco leaves	Plucking leaves, collecting fallen tobacco leaves, carrying picked and collected leaves	26	12	16	√	-
	6.Curing tobacco	Trying poles for curing tobacco, carrying tobacco to and from burns	16	00	16	√	-
	7.Marketing tobacco	Classifying cured tobacco into grades (that is grading tobacco), baling	28	10	16	√	-

Source: Field Data, 2000.

The activity of curing tobacco is next and goes hand in hand with picking tobacco because tobacco is immediately cured after it has been picked. Some tasks involved in this activity were done long before harvesting and curing tobacco. These include tasks such as building or repairing curing burns, felling trees in the forest or thick bushes to get logs for curing tobacco, carrying those logs from forests and bushes to the residences where burns are constructed, and chopping big logs into smaller pieces of wood. Other tasks include preparing fire and the curing process, keeping the fire burning day and night, and removing cured tobacco from burns and putting it in special rooms. These tasks are very difficult and are done by boys only. Eighteen working boys reported to have performed these tasks.

The last activity is marketing tobacco. Before tobacco is sold it is sorted and classified into 86 grades. This grading task is done by both boys and girls and requires a high degree of dexterity to minimize the breaking of tobacco. After grading tobacco it is tied into bales. It was reported in Urambo district that in the last few years baling was being done in the baling sheds. However, after privatisation of buying tobacco by allowing foreign companies to buy it from growers rather than selling it through the co-operative unions, the maintenance of baling sheds stopped and the sheds became dilapidated, and thus were no longer used. Consequently, boys were doing baling at the farmers' residences. When baling was being carried out in the baling sheds (a process reported by district authorities to be revived during the 1992/93 season) one task was to carry tobacco to the baling sheds by boys. Another task is carrying bales from the farmers' residences to the market centres for marketing, which is also done by boys.

The average age of working children in the three key locations was fifteen years. Locationwise, Urambo (B) had the lowest average age of 14 years. This is probably because it is a rural-urban key location, which was a major source of children who worked on a part-time basis and tended to be younger than those who worked on a full-time basis. The average age for Imalamakoye key location was 15 years while that of Kapilula key location was 16 years. The average age of working children tended to increase as the distance from Urambo town increased, thus it can be said that the more rural the key location the higher the age of the working children. This is because most working children in Urambo B key location, which is rural-urban, who worked on a part-time basis were school children. This category of working children tended to decrease away from Urambo town, as more rural than urban children were not attending school. However, the number of most other children who worked on a full-time basis tended to increase the farther they were from Urambo town; and there were more such children in Kapilula than Imalamakoye key location. Most children who migrated into Urambo district to work on tobacco farms worked in rural rather than in rural-urban key locations, and were also older than those in Urambo.

Judging from the number of respondents in each activity, it can be seen that the majority of children in Urambo district performed four types of activities. These included: preparing the fields, planting tobacco, tending tobacco farms, and picking tobacco. Two types of activities, namely, preparing the seedlings and curing tobacco seemed to be equally unpopular, and the activity involving the least number of working children was the marketing of tobacco. Adult responses in Table 4.30 support these observations. In Iringa district the preparation of plantations is mainly mechanised, done by tractors. However, working children were involved in clearing the land, a task done by boys using hoes and pangas. Five boys reported to have been engaged in this task. The activity of preparing seedlings involved watering seedlings in seedbeds (nurseries) and weeding. Compared to Urambo district, working children performed fewer tasks under this activity because adult workers also participated in it.

Table 4.30: Adult Respondents on the Types of Activities Done by Working Children.

Activities (See Table 7.1 for tasks)	Adult Responses		Total
	Urambo	Iringa (R)	
1. Preparing farms and plantations	64	00	64
2. Preparing the seedlings in seedbeds	18	12	30
3. Planting tobacco	60	40	100
4. Tending tobacco farms and plantations	63	59	122
5. Picking mature tobacco	64	41	105
6. Curing tobacco	19	05	24
7. Marketing tobacco	15	08	23
Total Responses	303	165	468

Source: Field Data, 2000.

Planting tobacco in Iringa plantations consists of the same tasks as those done in Urambo district, as does tending tobacco in plantations except earthing-up the terraces which is only done on Urambo tobacco farms. Both boys and girls did these activities. Twenty-eight boys and ten girls reported having undertaken these activities in Iringa district. However, in this district tending tobacco was likened by plantation owners to caring for a baby, therefore they preferred girls to boys in regards to these tasks.

Tasks involved in picking mature tobacco leaves in Iringa are similar to those in Urambo, but in the latter district the tasks were done by working children only, while in the former adult workers were also involved. Twenty-six boys and twelve girls said they had worked in this activity. While curing tobacco in Urambo district is a very difficult and tedious activity on the part of working children, in Iringa two tasks were reported by children, namely, tying poles for curing tobacco and carrying tobacco to and from burns. Adult workers did other tasks. Only sixteen boys said they had performed these tasks. Table 4.30.1 indicates the activities undertaken by the children working on tobacco plantations/farms by age categories and gender.

Table 4.30.1: Activities done by Children by age Categories and Gender

District	Activities		Child Age Category					Gender	
			6 or less	7-9	10-13	14-17	Over 17	Male	Female
Urambo	1.	Preparing farms/plantations	0	0	5	32	8	29	16
	2.	Preparing seedlings	0	0	1	22	6	29	16
	3.	Planting tobacco	0	0	5	32	8	29	16
	4.	Tending tobacco in farms/plantations	0	0	5	32	8	29	16
	5.	Picking mature tobacco leaves	0	0	5	32	8	29	16
	6.	Curing tobacco	0	0	1	22	6	29	16
	7.	Marketing tobacco	0	0	5	32	8	29	16
Iringa R	1.	Preparing farms/plantations	0	0	0	6	0	28	27
	2.	Preparing seedlings	0	0	1	3	0	28	27
	3.	Planting tobacco	0	2	12	10	5	28	27
	4.	Tending tobacco in farms/plantations	0	4	12	18	3	28	27
	5.	Picking mature tobacco leaves	0	2	11	6	1	28	27
	6.	Curing tobacco	0	0	1	11	5	28	27
	7.	Marketing tobacco	0	2	9	19	5	28	27

Source: Field Data, 2000.

Regarding marketing of tobacco in Iringa district, working children got involved in fewer tasks than those done in Urambo. In the former district child respondents said they engaged in grading and tying tobacco into bales. Adult workers also did this activity. Twenty-eight boys and ten girls reported to have done this activity in Iringa plantations. Grading involves sorting tobacco into over 80 grades in Iringa district. This task requires a lot of care, consequently the plantation owners preferred girls to boys as well as experienced young children to undertake this task. From Table 4.30 it can be noted that adult responses in Iringa district also support those of working children. Three activities were more popular than others. These included planting tobacco, tending tobacco plantations and picking tobacco leaves. The pattern of popularity of activities was similar to that in Urambo district except for the preparation of plantations in Iringa, which was mechanised while in Urambo it was manual. The average age of working children in Iringa district was sixteen years.

Having examined the nature and extent of child labour on tobacco plantations/farms, it is easier to identify the different aspects of worst forms of child labour as investigated in the study areas in both Iringa and Urambo districts. The research has shown that WFCL has a bearing on other spheres of life in the socio-economic fabric of the communities in the sample areas in question. The differences indicated in a number of investigated variables regarding the nature and extent of WFCL in the sample areas in Iringa and Urambo, reflect two important differences between the two districts. First they differ in terms of climatic conditions as explained in chapter three and, secondly the administration and management of tobacco production, as shown earlier, are different.

5. WORKING CONDITIONS ON TOBACCO PLANTATIONS

In analysing and discussing the working conditions of children working on tobacco plantations/farms, this chapter examines important aspects such as working hours, tools used by children in the activities they perform on the tobacco plantations/farms, the risks they face, and mode of payment and its use.

5.1 Daily Activities

In both Urambo and Iringa district it was impossible to draw an exact daily activity calendar or time budget showing times for starting and finishing each activity or task, or when and by which gender a given task was performed. It was difficult to collect such specific data because the respondents did not have exact records from which to draw this information. Furthermore, the data was so fragmented that it was impossible to synchronize a particular time, an activity and its tasks, and gender. Consequently, a general analysis is presented regarding the reported number of hours children work per day, the times they start working, and the duration of break time to rest. The number of working hours and time for working give an indication of when the work ends.

5.1.1 Number of Hours Children Work Per Day

Table 5.1 indicates the number of hours children work per day in both Urambo and Iringa districts. It can be noted from Table 5.1 that the number of hours children worked in Urambo district was longer than those in Iringa district. While in Iringa district two children reported to work for less than six hours, no child in Urambo fell under this category. While on Iringa tobacco plantations most children (29 of them) worked between six to eight hours, in Urambo 30 children worked between nine to fourteen hours (16 of them between 9-11 hours and 14 children between 12-14 hours).

The last category for Iringa district was 9-11 hours and only seven children reported to work for that time. But, in Urambo district four children reported to have worked for between fifteen to seventeen hours, and three children said they had worked for over seventeen hours.

Table 5.1 Number of Hours the Children Work per Day in the Sample Areas on Tobacco Farms/Plantations in Urambo and Iringa Districts

Hours a Day	Responses						
Range of Hours	Urambo			Iringa			TOTAL
	Children	Adults	Total	Children	Adults	Total	
Less than 6 Hours	00	00	00	02	09	11	11
6 – 8 HRS	00	00	00	02	09	11	11
9 – 11 HRS	16	12	28	07	10	17	45
12-14 HRS	14	48	62	29	02	02	64
15-17 HRS	04	09	13	00	00	00	13
Over 17 HRS	03	06	09	00	00	00	09
Total	44	85	129	38	73	111	240

Source: Field Data, 2000.

As shown in Table 5.1, the pattern of hours reported by adults is the same as that of child workers. Nine adult respondents said children in Urambo district worked for over seventeen hours. In fact, during Group Discussions, some adult respondents reported cases of some children working between eighteen to twenty hours during the picking season because children worked in the fields during the day and in the burns curing tobacco throughout the night.

Table 5.1.1 indicates the average working hours per day by age categories and according to activities. As it can be noted in Table 5.1 as Table 5.1.1, child workers on Urambo tobacco farms worked for longer hours than those in Iringa tobacco plantations.

One reason for this difference was that most children who came from outside Urambo district (the “Wakeraji”) lived with their employers and therefore were available to work any time during the day and night. However, most part-time child workers worked shorter hours.

Table 5.1.1 Average Working Hours Per Day by Age Categories and According to Activities

District	Activities		Child Age Category					Totals	
			6 or less	7-9	10-13	14-17	Over 17		
			Average Hours					Male	Female
Urambo	1.	Preparing farms/plantations	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
	2.	Preparing seedlings	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
	3.	Planting tobacco	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
	4.	Tending tobacco in farms/plantations	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
	5.	Picking mature tobacco leaves	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
	6.	Curing tobacco	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
	7.	Marketing tobacco	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
Iringa R	1.	Preparing farms/plantations	0	6	7	7	7	28	27
	2.	Preparing seedlings	0	6	7	7	7	28	27
	3.	Planting tobacco	0	6	7	7	7	28	27
	4.	Tending tobacco in farms/plantations	0	6	7	7	7	28	27
	5.	Picking mature tobacco leaves	0	6	7	7	7	28	27
	6.	Curing tobacco	0	6	7	7	7	28	27
	7.	Marketing tobacco	0	6	7	7	7	28	27

Source: Field Data, 2000.

The difference in hours children worked in Urambo and Iringa might lie in the two different management and administrative systems used. While there is a formal system of administration and management on the plantations with risks and regulations applying to all working children, farm owners use informal systems of management and administration, each farm owner using his or her own rules and regulations. The family-based system of farming in this district lacks specific, formal working times, which is the reason for more categories of working hours than those on Iringa tobacco plantations.

5.1.2. Times Working Children Start Working

Different times at which children start working are shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Time of Day at Which Working Children Start Working on Farms/Plantations in Urambo and Iringa Districts

Time of Work	Responses						
	Urambo			Iringa			Urambo and Iringa
Categories	Children	Adults	Total	Children	Adults	Total	Total
6.00 am	10	18	28	02	14	16	44
7.00 am	20	49	69	00	05	05	74
7.30 am	00	10	10	36	42	78	88
8.00 am	10	12	22	00	06	06	28
11.00 am	02	08	09	00	00	00	09
1.00 pm	01	06	07	00	00	00	07
3.00 pm	01	02	03	00	00	00	03
4.00 pm	01	01	02	00	00	00	02
Total Responses	44	106	150	38	67	105	255

Source: Field Data, 2000.

It can be seen from Table 5.2 that there were again two different patterns between Urambo and Iringa districts, in terms of when the children started working. Of the 38 working children in Iringa who responded to this section, 36 of them said they started working at 7.30 a.m., only two said they started working at 6.00 a.m. Even adult responses reveal the same pattern. Of 67 respondents, 42 said working children began working at 7.30 a.m., 14 at 6.00 a.m., five at 7.00 a.m. and six at 8.00 a.m.

However, the situation in Urambo was different. Most children started working at 7.00 a.m. (20 of them) or earlier at 6.00 a.m. (10 of them). Ten children said they started working at 8.00 a.m. and two started at 11.00 a.m. While there were no children starting work in the afternoon in Iringa district, three children said they started working at that time in Urambo district. Children who started working at 8.00 a.m. and later were mainly part-time workers who lived with their parents, relatives and guardians. Most of the children who lived with their employers started working very early in the morning. Adult responses also showed the same pattern revealed by working children. Forty-nine adults out of 106 said children started working at 7.00 a.m. and eighteen said children started working at 6.00 a.m. Adult respondents in Urambo also reported that children started working in the afternoon. The observation that most children in Iringa district started working at 7.30 a.m. reflects the use of formal, standard management and administrative systems in those plantations and a lack of it on Urambo farms.

5.1.3 Duration of Break Time for Working Children

Out of 44 working children in Urambo district, 16 children reported having a lunch break of one hour and six children reported a two-hour lunch break. Twenty-two children said they had no time to rest or have their lunch until after working hours. In Iringa district all 38 child respondents said they were not given time to rest during the working hours. For the children who worked for long hours this was a very tiresome and torturous practice.

5.2 The Working Environment and Conditions on Tobacco Farms and Plantations

This section makes an assessment of working environments and conditions of working children on Urambo and Iringa tobacco plantations and farms. The analysis focuses on the nature of natural surroundings, working conditions, tools used, nature of materials used, constraints and abuses, emergency and personal care, and physical and mental stress. Risks and hazards working children face are discussed under each category of working environment and conditions.

5.2.1 Nature of Natural Surroundings

In both Urambo and Iringa districts the working children worked under extreme climatic and weather conditions. Children worked in the rain during the rainy season. They wore clothes that could not protect them from severe cold during the rainy and cold seasons. In areas where soils contain loam and clay, as is the case with Urambo, the ground on the slopes becomes slippery, causing children to fall down while carrying heavy loads. During the dry season, children work under the scorching sun in a windy and dusty environment. The daily weather also provides extremes. Children worked in the cold in the morning and at night, and in hot conditions around noon and in the afternoon. In Urambo district it was reported that children are exposed to excessive cold at night when they were outside curing tobacco without proper clothing or umbrellas. The rooms where they slept at night are not insulated in any way. Unsuitable bedding was the only protection for the prevailing weather conditions.

Children faced health hazards as a result of these climatic conditions. They experienced problems such as headaches, fevers, nose bleeding, dry skin, and sunburns from scorching sun. Diseases such as malaria, diarrhoea, typhoid, cholera and fungus infection were common during the rainy season when there were a lot of mosquitoes and flies, and when work was performed in a filthy environment. Contaminated water, including drinking water, additionally affected the children's health. Colds, coughing and influenza were common during the dry, windy season due to dust. Falling down as a result of the slippery ground sometimes caused injuries. Children faced the risks of being bitten by snakes and poisonous insects and being pricked by poisonous thorns and bones when they went barefoot to fell trees in the thorny wooded grasslands and forests, in order to get logs for curing tobacco.

Wood in Urambo district has been cut continuously for curing tobacco near the villages where the forest has gradually deteriorated into scrubs. Consequently, child workers had to walk long distances from the villages to places where they could get logs that they carry on their heads and shoulders. Working children walk long distances to and from tobacco fields, which were located far away from farm residences in Urambo, and from residences of parents, relatives and guardians in both Urambo and Iringa districts. In Urambo district, working children also walked long distances to fetch water for watering the seedbeds and for domestic purposes. Children walked between five to ten kilometres for these purposes.

5.2.2 Working Conditions

In both Urambo and Iringa districts children involved in curing tobacco were exposed to excessive heat in the burns. This heat causes drying of the skin and anaemia. According to our key informants, working children suffered from inflammation of the eyes, coughs and tuberculosis due to tobacco fumes and their strong, pungent smell, smoke from burning logs, and inhaling dust and fumes of pesticides and fertilizers. As seen before, waterlogging causes stagnant water that causes fungus in the toes and fingers.

5.2.3 Tools Used

In both Urambo and Iringa the major tool used was a hand hoe; all working children in both districts used this tool. The panga and axe were also common tools that were mainly used by boys to clear the land and fell and chop trees and logs. Working children also used knives to prune tobacco, and spoons to apply chemical fertilizers. Other tools used were rakes and watering cans for watering seedbeds. All working children in both districts used knives. Working children and adults reported expending excessive energy and consequent exhaustion resulting from the use of hoes, axes and pangas. These three tools used a lot of energy and caused physical strains.

5.2.4 Nature of Materials Used

In both Urambo and Iringa districts tobacco growing uses fertilizers and pesticides. The chemical fertilizers used in Urambo were NPK 16:20:18 and NPK 16:18:12 which contain Nitrate (N) Potassium (P) and Calcium (K). These are corrosive chemicals. Working children handled these fertilizers with bare hands and thus corroded their hands. They also inhaled dust from these fertilizers, causing respiratory problems and chest pains. Among the pesticides used included Rogory, Basamid, Copper Oxide, Fenevuratt and Thiodan dust. The spraying of these insecticides in the fields was done using bare hands. All these pesticides were poisonous which caused many health complications and even death. Besides working in tobacco fields, children in Urambo were also made to work in other fields such as maize fields where they used urea to fertilise the crops, also with their bare hands.

5.2.5 Constraints and Abuse

One of the constraints suffered by all working children in both districts is exploitation by their employers. Child workers, and particularly full-time workers, were not paid the contracted amount of money. Children complained bitterly that they were being purposefully denied their full payment due to concocted reasons. This exploitation problem is discussed in Section 5.4 of this chapter.

Another problem is child abuse. It was been reported from both districts that working children, particularly girls, suffered sexual abuse, and in particular, sexual harassment. Consequently, children suffered from Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) including syphilis. This disease was reported as common in the plantation camps in Iringa. Children also faced the risk of catching HIV/AIDS. It was revealed during the Focus Group Discussions in this district that some working children were victims of HIV/AIDS spread by lorry drivers who came to the farms to buy tomatoes. Other risks of sexual harassment included premature pregnancies and child bearing, and shouldering parental responsibilities at too young an age, with minimal or no financial capacity to raise children properly.

Another problem is lack of parental ties, care and love. The relationship between the employer and the working child is secondary and thus based on business conditions, rules and regulations. The important primary relationship based on love and affection of the parents is absent in the case of many working children. Some farm owners and foremen on the plantations demonstrated secondary relationships by beating and insulting working children, the latter using strong abusive language. Children were also exploited with the employers subjecting them to very difficult tasks for long periods of time without rest and thus overworking them, not giving them necessary services and, in Urambo, denying them the freedom to move and make their own choices. To the employers these children were “tools” or “instruments” used to achieve their economic and other ends.

Regarding strict working rules and regulations, in Urambo, for example, farm owners denied working children, especially full-time child workers who lived with them, the freedom to move freely after working hours. The reasons for this restriction may be to retain them as employees for a longer time and to ensure that they do not escape or work for other people, where they may learn about alternative wages and working conditions that may be higher and better than those they are receiving. In some extreme cases, denial of freedom of this kind has tended to approximate the semi-bondage system in which children are locked up.

Working children in both districts were accorded very low status and low prestige due to the nature of the work they were involved in, how they did it and how they lived. This social status, coupled with punishment for failure to accomplish the tasks as required, cause emotional and mental stress and despair. A number of respondents revealed moral decay among working children due to emulating bad behaviours of their peers such as foul language, stealing, smoking, drug abuse, premature sexual activity, fighting, and other vices.

5.2.6 Emergency and Personal Care

All respondents in both districts revealed that working children were not being provided with protective gear in handling and using fertilizers and pesticides on the farms and plantations. Children were also not given special clothing or uniforms to wear while working. While children in the camps in Iringa plantations got safe and clean drinking water, those in Urambo faced the risk of drinking unsafe water due to contamination from their unclean environment. Urambo is a semi-dry area and has a serious shortage of water during the dry season. The water used comes from the wells.

Toilets were available to all children but most of them were pit latrines with low standards of hygiene. Working children in Iringa, particularly those living in camps, were given first aid but paid medical expenses themselves. In Urambo working children got no first aid. Their employers sent them to the hospital when they fell sick, but they deducted medical costs from the earnings of the children concerned. Many children living with farm owners also complained of a poor diet. They said they were given poor and inadequate food, hence suffered hunger, and diseases such as anaemia and marasmus, and general body weakness.

Cases of accidents were also revealed. Fire accidents occurred during curing tobacco when burns caught fire leading to some children sustaining injuries. A case of a child dying due to this accident was cited. It was also reported that baling uses paper lined with tar that is highly inflammable. Sometimes this paper caused fire accidents in which child workers suffered burns. Despite this dangerous situation farm owners did not have fire extinguishers.

5.2.7 Physical and Mental Stress

All working children and adult respondents in both districts said that children were subjected to heavy-duty tasks, which were so difficult and arduous that they caused excessive exhaustion. All respondents observed that some tasks children performed were beyond their physical ability and their ages. These heavy-duty tasks tended to cause stunted growth of working children. This situation of toiling children, coupled with overworking them for long hours without rest, resulted in children suffering physical and mental stress.

Analysis of Work Earnings

This section analyses economic cost-benefits involved in the worst forms of child labour on Urambo and Iringa tobacco farms and plantations respectively. In particular, it makes an analysis of the forms of payment made to child workers, use of earnings and relations between the employers and child workers.

5.3 Forms of Payment

5.3.1 Earnings Paid to Working Children

In Urambo district, Tabora Region, some child workers were being paid daily and others weekly, monthly, every six months, and yearly as shown in Table 5.3. The form of payment, by activities, is shown in Table 5.3.1.

Out of 44 child respondents twelve said were paid daily, five weekly, six monthly, nine every six months, and 12 yearly. For those paid daily, the earnings ranged from TSh. 200/= to 500/= per day, and most children were paid 300/= per day.

The earnings paid weekly ranged from 1,000/= to 2,800/=. Monthly payments ranged from 4,000/= to 15,000/=. While those who were paid after every six months received earnings ranging from 30,000/= to 40,000/=. Yearly payments ranged from 50,000/= to 80,000/.

When the weekly, monthly, six months and yearly earnings are calculated on a daily basis the situation becomes as shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Forms of Payment to Child Workers in Urambo District

Daily		Weekly		Monthly		Every six months		Yearly	
Amount Paid (TSh)	No. of Responses	Amount Paid	No. of Responses	Amount Paid (TSh)	No. of Responses	Amount Paid (TSh)	No. of Responses	Amount Paid (TShh)	No. of Responses
200	02	1,400	01	4,000	01	30,000	01	50,000	01
300	06	1,750	01	6,000	01	32,000	02	55,000	01
400	03	2,100	02	12,000	03	35,000	03	65,000	04
500	01	2,800	01	15,000	01	38,000	02	70,000	03
-	-	-	-	-	-	40,000	01	75,000	02
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	80,000	01
Total Responses	12	-	05	-	06	-	09	-	12

Source: Field data, 2000.

Table 5.3.1: Forms of Payment/Income and Activities

Activities		Form of Payment	
		Urambo	Iringa*
1.	Preparing farms/plantations	Cash	Cash
2.	Preparing seedlings	Cash	Cash
3.	Planting tobacco	Cash	Cash
4.	Tending tobacco in farms/plantations	Cash	Cash
5.	Picking mature tobacco leaves	Cash	Cash
6.	Curing tobacco	Cash	Cash
7.	Marketing tobacco	Cash	Cash

Source: Field Data, 2000.

* Employers in Iringa plantations sometimes buy food items, especially a bag of maize flour, for the workers and deduct the cash equivalent from the employees' salary. As such it is not an additional payment; it is equated to cash value and deducted from the employees' cash salary.

Table 5.4: Earnings Calculated on Daily Basis

Daily pay reported		Weekly changed into daily pay		Monthly changed into daily pay		Six months changed into daily pay		Yearly changed into daily pay	
Amount Paid (TSh)	No. of Responses	Amount Paid (TSh)	No. of Responses	Amount Paid (TSh)	No. of Responses	Amount Paid (TSh)	No. of Responses	Amount Paid (TSh)	No. of Responses
200	02	200	01	130	01	170	01	140	01
300	06	250	01	200	01	180	02	150	01
400	03	300	02	400	03	190	03	180	04
500	01	400	01	500	01	200	02	195	03
						220	01	220	02
Total 3,900	12	1,450	5	2,030	6	1,720	9	2,215	12
Average 320		290	-	340	-	190	-	180	-

Source: Field Data, 2000.

It can be noted from Table 5.3 that children who were being paid daily, weekly and monthly got better earnings than those paid after every six months and yearly. While the daily earnings in the first three categories range from 130/= to 500/=, those in the last two categories ranged from 140/= to 220/=. Worse still, the children who toiled longest for one year were the ones who got paid the least. In Urambo district these children were dubbed as “Wakeraji,” meaning those who worked for the whole year and got paid once, at the end of the tobacco season when farm owners sold their tobacco.

Most of the children who were paid daily and weekly were primary school pupils who worked on a part-time basis during the holidays and after class hours during the day, especially in the afternoon. These two categories were better paid than the child workers in the last three categories.

The reasons for the lower pay of children paid after every six months and yearly were not clear, but one of them might be due to their more desperate position to get a job and earn some money so that they can solve their pressing economic problems. This situation tended to weaken them during the negotiations and drawing of the contract. This situation coupled with their low level or lack of formal education, was a disadvantage to them during the negotiations of the earnings they get paid by their employers whose aim was to maximize their incomes.

The average earnings for children in the three key locations in Urambo district was about 260/= per day. The combined average earnings for child workers paid every six months and yearly was about 190/= and the average for those paid yearly was about 180/= per day. Both averages are lower than those in the first three categories whereby the daily average was 220/=:, daily average in the weekly category was 290/=:, and daily average in the monthly category was 340/= per day. These averages also confirm the observation noted earlier that children who are paid after every six months and yearly are paid lower wages than those in the other categories.

Given the official minimum pay of 40,000/= per month by which daily earning amounts to T.shs. 1,330/=:, child workers in Urambo district were paid very little money by their farm owners. This may be the reason why they preferred to employ more children than adults. In fact, in the three key locations none of the tobacco farmers employed an adult worker.

The payment pattern in Iringa tobacco plantations is different from that of Urambo district. In the former district child workers were paid on a daily basis only. The following are amounts of money which the respondents said were being paid daily and the numbers in brackets are the number of respondents who said they got paid that amount: 200/= (1); 300/= (17); 500/= (02); 600/= (01) and over 700/= (05). Thus the earnings in the three key locations ranged from 200/= to over 700/= per day, and as in Urambo, most child workers were paid 300/= per day. The average earning in Iringa district was about 350/= per day, which was higher than that in Urambo district.

The average earnings for both districts were about TSh 170/= per day, which was lower than that for each district. This amount was about 17 per cent of the official daily minimum pay in Tanzania. The analysis of payment according to age categories and time intervals is illustrated in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4.1 Forms of Payment by Time Intervals and Age Categories

District	Timing	Child Age Category					Male	Female
		6 or less	7-9	10-13	14-17	Over 17		
Urambo	Daily	0	0	3	8	1	5	7
	Weekly	0	0	2	3	0	1	4
	Monthly	0	0	2	4	0	2	4
	Every 6 months	0	0	2	5	2	8	1
	Yearly	0	0	0	8	4	12	0
Iringa Rural	Daily	0	6	20	25	4	33	22
	Weekly	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Monthly	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Every 6 months	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Yearly	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Field data, 2000.

5.3.2 Mode of Payment

In both Urambo and Iringa (R) districts all children were paid in cash. Both child and adult respondents revealed this. Also in both districts employers were supplying foodstuffs (maize, maize flour, beans, rice, etc.) and other daily necessities (such as paraffin, match boxes, cooking oil, soap, etc.) to child workers, the value of which was being deducted from their earnings when they got paid (see Table 5.4.1). Thus, the actual earnings the child workers received were less than those contracted. This practice affected child workers who came from outside the key locations and lived within the tobacco plantations in Iringa district and with farm owners in Urambo district. The employers preferred to use this system of deducting money for buying foodstuffs and other necessities from the earnings of child workers, possibly because it was a strategy for retaining them and/or a way of exploiting them (i.e. they were denied the freedom to buy these items from other sources where they may buy them at cheaper prices and make other free choices).

In both districts the payments were being made to child workers themselves. The children received good earnings at the beginning of the rainy season, in November – January, when there are many activities including preparation of the fields, preparation and watering seed beds, transplanting the seedlings, fertilizing and weeding. This is a critical time when many children are needed to do these important tasks. In Urambo district most of the child workers were part-time workers, and particularly school children who worked in order to earn money to meet school expenses.

Another time in Urambo district when child workers receive good earnings is at the end of the tobacco season in June and July because this is the time for marketing tobacco, when farmers get money to pay their workers. All the yearly paid child workers get their payments during this time. Children get paid according to their contract less the deductions, when farmers get good incomes from the sales of their tobacco. However, when the prices of tobacco fall and their incomes drop, child workers who toil throughout the year get lower earnings than those contracted, if they are even paid at all. At times some unscrupulous farmers deduct money from the contracted earnings of children by deceiving them, saying that they (the farmers) have received low payments after selling the tobacco.

5.3.3 Remittances [Giving Money to Parents and Relatives]

In Urambo district the amount of money child workers gave to their parents and relatives ranged from TSh. 500/= to TSh. 20,000/=. Of the 44 child respondents, three reported to have sent 20,000/= each to their parents, another three children sent 15,000/= each, ten children sent 10,000/= each, five children sent 5,000/= each, and six children sent 4,000/= each. Of these 27 respondents thirteen reported to have sent money twice a year, and the three respondents who sent the highest amount are among these. Eleven of them said they sent the money once a year. All these children were paid either after every six months or yearly. The remaining 17 child respondents reported sending or giving smaller amounts ranging from 500/= to 2,000/=. Ten of them reported to give 2,000/= each, five children gave 1,000/= each, and two children gave 500/= each. All of these children said they gave the money to their parents and relatives once per week. All of them were part-time child workers who were paid daily, weekly or monthly.

In Iringa district, fourteen child respondents said that all the money they got was being given to their parents weekly. Ten respondents reported that the amount they gave to their parents per month was between 1000/= and 3000/=. Nine child respondents gave between 5,000/= and 10,000/= either per month or yearly to their parents. The remaining five child respondents said that they spent all their earnings for personal use.

5.4 Other Sources of Income

In Urambo district, 19 working children indicated that they had other sources of income besides what they earned working on tobacco farms. The remaining 25 children said they did not have any other source of extra income. In Iringa only six out of 38 children said they had other sources of income. In Urambo the major source was working on non-tobacco farms belonging to other farmers who grew food crops such as maize, beans, cassava and groundnuts and cash crops such as sunflowers. Ten children reported using this source. Five children from Urambo and one from Iringa said that their source of additional income was conducting small businesses. The items sold included sweets of different kinds, cigarettes, biscuits, ice creams, roasted peanuts and cashew nuts, boiled eggs, plain water packed in small plastic bags and bottles, packed juices, handkerchiefs, batteries, electronic equipment and instruments, second-hand clothes (mitumba), food, fruits, and ornaments. Two child workers said they got their additional income by carrying luggage from a bus station for boarding and disembarking passengers and loads. Two children from Urambo and three from Iringa got their additional income from their parents and brothers and sisters.

5.5 Uses of Earnings by Working Children

Table 5.5 indicates the uses of earnings by working children in both Urambo and Iringa districts.

Table 5.5: The Uses of Earnings by Working Children

Uses of Earnings	Responses	
	Urambo	Iringa
• Personal effects (clothes, shoes, blankets, bed sheets etc.)	44	38
• Daily necessities (food, soap, paraffin, cooking oil etc.)	44	38
• Supplementing family income to buy food and other daily necessities and fertilizer for the family farm	44	13
• Buying school expenses (fees, uniform, bags, books, exercise books etc.)	22	26
• Assisting younger brothers and sisters	00	03
• Buying a radio	03	00
• Buying a bicycle	02	00
• Buying cigarettes	02	00
• Saving some money as capital for starting their own business in the future.	02	00

Source: Field Data, 2000.

Four categories of uses dominate working children's use of their earnings. These include buying personal effects, buying daily necessities, supplementing family income, and meeting school expenses. Very few child workers reported assisting their younger sisters and brothers, buying radios, bicycles and cigarettes, and saving some money as capital for starting business of their own in the future.

5.6 Relationship between Employers and Working Children

The Nature of Contracts, Fringe Benefits and Services Provided to Working Children

5.6.1 Nature of Contracts

All child worker respondents in both Urambo and Iringa districts reported that their contracts with their employers were oral and informal. None of them reported the existence of written and official contracts. Lack of written contracts resulted in the exploitation of working children and the existence of working and living conditions that did not meet minimum acceptable humane standards.

5.6.2 Nature of Fringe Benefits

All child worker respondents in both districts reported total absence of fringe benefits, which is another indicator of exploitation of working children by their employers.

5.6.3 Nature of Services Provided

On the whole the employers in Urambo district did not provide free services to child workers. The only free service provided in this district by farm owners was a place for working children to live. The reasons given by child and adult respondents as to why employers did not provide health and other services was that they expected the working children to pay for the services they needed. Employers claimed that it was the responsibility of child workers to meet all the expenses of getting the services they received from them by deducting the value of those services from children's earnings. Employers also claimed that it was the responsibility of the parents of children working part-time to pay for the services needed by their working children. Two child workers in Urambo district reported that their employers required them to pay for the treatment expenses of injuries they had sustained while working on their farms.

The situation of provision of services to working children on the tobacco plantations in Iringa district was different from that of Urambo district. Working children in the former district were provided with free housing in the camps. Most of the child workers who live in these camps came from outside Iringa (R) district. Four working children occupied a room in these camps. Other services provided by the employers include electricity, tap water, and first aid. However, child workers paid for health services other than first aid services. As it can be noted, the situation of service provision to working children by their employers was much better on the plantations than on the farms in Urambo villages where there was no electricity, tap water and first aid. Even housing for working children on plantations was better than that on smallholdings in Urambo.

All in all, the relationships between the employers and working children were secondary, rather than primary, based on the business of the farm and plantation owners.

The working conditions are well illustrated by a 12 year old girl at Urambo who, together with her sister, took refuge there after escaping from the civil war in Rwanda (See Box No. 1). Another 13 year-old girl, who is a school dropout at Nyamihuu village, exemplifies the same situation in the narration of her working life (See Box No. 2).

Box No. 1: The Situation of a Working Out-of-School Refugee Girl in Urambo

Selina is a 12 year-old girl working on a tobacco farm in Urambo district. She is a Tutsi from Rwanda. Selina and her sister ran away from the civil war in their country. With the help of a Rwandan - Tanzanian friend, Selina and her sister secured a place to stay and work in Urambo. They both live in the outscoring of Urambo town. Selina was in standard two at school when she left her country.

Although Selina is a very young girl, she works full-time, for 9-11 hours per day, preparing farms, planting tobacco, tending tobacco farms, harvesting mature tobacco, and carrying tobacco bales to the market centres. She is paid a weekly income amounting to 190 T-Shs per day. She uses her income to purchase personal effects, food, and basic household items.

Selina finds working on the tobacco farm very difficult, tiresome and dangerous, partly because she uses a hoe to till the land and a panga to cut trees and shambas.

She is not provided with protective gear while applying fertilizers and pesticides on the farm. She walks barefoot and is often pricked by thorns and other sharp objects. She feels severe pain in her neck and back when she carries heavy burdens of tobacco to the market centre, located six kilometres from her employer's residence. Due to a shortage of safe drinking water she frequently suffers from diarrhoea and fungus infection during the raining season. She looks feeble and poorly dressed, lacking clothes to protect her from severe cold, rain, scorching sun, and strong dusty winds. Consequently, she frequently suffers from fevers, coughing, and cold.

Box No. 2: The Situation of A Working School drop-out girl in Nyamihuu, Iringa

Angelina is a 13 year-old girl who comes from a family of five and lives with her mother in Nyamihuu village. She does not know who her father is and apparently, each of her kid brothers has a different father. Angelina started working on the tobacco plantation at the age of eight when she started school. However, she dropped out of school after four years because her mother could not pay fees for her and her brothers.

She works 7-8 hours per day, watering nursery beds, weeding to clear grass on the plantation, applying fertilisers and spraying pesticides, and assisting older children and adults in curing tobacco leaves. She is paid 8,400 T-Shs. monthly and uses her earnings to assist her mother to buy food, medicine, and other necessities. Her income is also used to pay fees and other school expenses for her brothers.

Angelina works without any protective gear so she is exposed to various dangers. She works sometimes in the scorching sun, in cold weather, and in dusty and windy conditions. Although she looks healthy, she often suffers from cold, dry cough and malaria. Angelina has been bed-ridden three times in the past due to diarrhoea as the environment in which she and her family live is not always clean.

5.6.4 Regularity of the Job

The employment of children on tobacco plantations/farms in the areas of research did not indicate any regular and uniform pattern. This is well illustrated in Table 5.6. For example, in the sample areas in Iringa and Urambo, 33 (73%) and 19 (35%) children worked everyday. While in the areas in question in Urambo 11 (24%) children worked on some days every week, in Iringa 36 (65%) worked on some days every month.

Table 5.6 Regularity of the Job

District	Everyday	Every weekend	Some days every week	Some days every month	Some days during the last year	Total
Urambo	33	1	11	0	0	45
	73%	2%	24%	0%	0%	
Iringa Rural	19	0	0	36	0	55
	35%	0	0%	65%	0	

NB. Analysis was not based on the form suggested in the "Minimum Tabulation Plan."

Source: Field Data, 2000.

6. CAUSES AND SOLUTIONS

This chapter presents and analyses the causes of WFCL in the areas of our study in Iringa and Urambo districts. In this chapter the solutions to WFCL, on the basis of the findings, are suggested. The factors that have been and are still contributing to WFCL are numerous. In most study reports including those by ILO/IPEC, poverty and related factors have been well documented. In this study economic, social, political and cultural causes of child labour in its worst forms were provided by different categories of respondents. These included working and non-working children, parents and supervisors, teachers, village and ward leaders, tobacco plantation/farm owners, agricultural officers and other key informants at the selected locations.

6.1 Economic Causes of WFCL

Topping the list, among the reasons that force children into child labour, is poverty resulting from low family incomes. The second reason, which in fact is closely related to the first or results from it, is the inability of parents to meet the requirements for their children's education. As indicated by adult and child respondents, children were forced to work to get money to pay for school expenses: fees, uniforms and other school needs. Interviews with tobacco plantation owners revealed that parents demanded that their children be paid when schools were opened so that they did not use the money for other things. Table 6.1 indicates the factors that make children work on tobacco farms.

Table: 6.1: Causes of 'Worst Forms of Child Labour' (as Observed in Iringa Rural and Urambo Districts)

Causes		Number	%
Responses by Adult Subjects N=189			
1	Destitution (poverty at home)	66	34.9
2	To get money for school needs - uniforms school fees, books, etc.	44	23.3
3	Orphanage and loss of adult care	2	1.0
4	Parents' need for money for food and other basic necessities	17	9.0
5	Parents/guardians' influence	10	5.3
6	Parents/guardians are unemployed	4	2.1
7	Peer influence (active encouragement or urge to children)	1	0.5
8	Negligence on part of parents/guardians	2	1.0
9	Little awareness of the importance of education	2	1.0
10	Sheer laxity on the part of parents/guardians	2	1.0
11	Traditional habit/practice	1	0.5
Responses by Child Subjects N=100			
1	Destitution (Poverty at home)	41	41.0
2	Search for money for school expenses (uniforms, books, fees etc)	40	40.0
3	Orphanage and lack of parental/guardian care	3	3.0
4	Parents/guardians' influence	1	1.0
5	To get money to pay for personal expenses	36	36.0
6	Parents/guardians' need for money to buy food and other basic necessities	26	26.0
7	To raise capital for personal business	4	4.0

Source: Field Data, 2000.

Another economic factor as shown in Table 6.1 resulted from the shortage of food and other basic necessities. This compounded the problem of poverty, which made some families send their children to work on tobacco farms to earn money. A plantation owner in Kidamali mentioned in his interview that he purchased maize and other food to sell to his workers and, during our visit he had in his stores 300 bags of maize. Selling maize and other food to workers ensured that they would not waste time that they could be working on the plantation looking for food. It should be noted that the majority of workers on tobacco plantations in Kidamali, Nzihi and Nyamihuu are migrant workers from Njombe and

Makete who usually live in camps within the plantations. They usually have no land for farming from which they can grow their own food.

The villages of Kidamali and Nyamihuu are located within the tobacco plantations. The villagers have farms some distance outside the plantations, where people lived before the establishment of the villages in the 1970s. According to the village leaders and plantation owners the latter exchanged land with the villagers through negotiations. Since then, these areas have suffered from land degradation due to the cutting of trees for wood, which is needed for curing tobacco. The land can therefore hardly sustain enough food production without heavy dependency on industrial fertilisers. The same goes for Urambo where evidence of deforestation due to the cutting down of miombo woodlands for tobacco cultivation has been well documented. It may be noted that the owner of Kidamali and Kipera farms spent 25 million shillings to buy and fetch logs from other areas far from Kidamali.

The economic factor which forced children under the age of eighteen years to work on tobacco farms is further confirmed by the responses of the children themselves as Table 6.1 indicates. The economic situation at home was the main factor for working on the farms as indicated by 41 (41%) responses of the child subjects and, as indicated by adult respondents, the need for money to buy school expenses ranked second with a frequency of 44 (44%). The need for money to buy personal expenses was indicated by 36 (36%) responses, all from Urambo, and the need to assist parents with money for food and other basic necessities was indicated by 26 (26%) of the child subject responses. The working children's responses, therefore, in addition to providing new information, corroborate the adults' responses in terms of the socio-economic situation of the working children's family backgrounds. The responses of the child renwere corroborated by those of the adult subjects.

The biggest underlying cause of the WFCL on tobacco farms is therefore, poverty. However, the concept of poverty may differ from one place to another depending on a number of factors though there are national and international definitions. For example, some observers might consider the level of socio-economic development in the tobacco growing areas in Iringa rural district as unacceptable since the crop had started being grown on a commercial basis in the area after the Second World War. One wondered if any of the revenue accrued from the sale of tobacco since the late 1940's had been put back into the local community to assist in its postive development. The people who were interviewed defined poverty as the inability of a person to have access to the basic necessities required for decent living.

6.2 The Social Causes of the Worst Forms of Child Labour

It is not easy to draw a line between economic factors and social factors but, more often than not, the latter are usually a result of the former. The extent to which the children working on tobacco farms depend on themselves, the members of their communities and their relatives was also investigated. This was done first by finding out how the children solved their financial problems. The findings are presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Ways by Which Working Children on Tobacco Farms in Iringa Rural and Urambo Districts solved their Financial Problems

Ways to solve financial problems	Frequency of responses	%
1. By working for earnings on the tobacco farms	44	44.0
2. By working on non-tobacco farms	35	35.0
3. Doing petty businesses	23	23.0
4. Selling agricultural products	33	33.0
5. Getting help from father	08	8.0
6. Getting help from mother	06	6.0
7. Getting help from both parents	12	12.0
8. Getting help from relatives	-	-
9. Getting help from guardians	03	3.0
10. Getting help from friends	02	2.0
11. Looking after animals/herding	01	1.0
12. Casual labour	10	10.0

Source: Field data, 2000.

Topping the list of the solutions to the children's financial problems was working for earnings on tobacco farms, followed by working on non-tobacco farms, conducting petty businesses, selling agricultural produce, and seeking assistance from parents. Casual labour ranked sixth while seeking existence from father and mother ranked seventh and eighth respectively.

It is thus clear that children who sought employment on the tobacco farms were pushed to do so by household situations where they could not get enough support to solve their financial problems. As Table 6.2 shows, household assistance for the children was negligible compared to their own efforts.

The social support network for children working on tobacco farms was also examined in terms of people who helped the children when they had problems or needed company. Table 6.3 indicates the children's responses to the question.

Table 6.3: Reported Ways in Which Children Working in Tobacco Farms in Iringa Rural and Urambo Districts Solve their Social Problems (*Who helps in the event that...?*)

Person(s) resorted/referred to for solution	Incidence											
	<i>Fall Sick</i>		<i>Get Depressed</i>		<i>Beaten by another child</i>		<i>In need of food</i>		<i>In need of play</i>		<i>Need to share pleasant information</i>	
	<i>N=60</i>		<i>N=60</i>		<i>N=60</i>		<i>N=60</i>		<i>N=60</i>		<i>N=60</i>	
		%		%		%		%		%		%
Owners of Farms	27	45	8	13.3	06	10	23	38.3	0	0	0	0
Father	08	13.3	6	10	5	8.3	4	6.7	2	3.3	0	0
Mother	07	11.7	8	13.3	3	5	13	21.7	3	5	0	0
Both Parents	09	15	7	11.7	6	10	8	13.3	0	0	3	5
Relatives	05	8.3	6	10	7	11.7	6	10	0	0	3	5
Friends	00	0	22	36.7	20	3.3	2	3.3	45	75	44	73.3
Guardians	00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	00
Neighbour	01	1.7	1	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	00
Teachers	00	0	0	0	5	8.3	0	0	0	0	0	
None	03	5	2	3.3	8	13.3	4	6.7	10	16.7	10	16.7

Source: Field Data, 2000.

Again as the table indicates, the majority of the children did not depend upon social support emanating from the household situations, especially when compared to that received from tobacco farm owners. For example, 27 (45%) and 23 (38.3%) children responded that they got the assistance of the tobacco farm owners when they became sick and hungry respectively. Even when it involved sharing pleasant news or confiding in others, the children mentioned 'friends' with a frequency of 44 (73.3%), and some 10 (16.7%) children responded that they did not have any one when they needed to play or share pleasant information. The role of friendship among the children who work on tobacco farms, according to the findings, and as illustrated in Table 6.3, is not only interesting but also significant. The reliance on tobacco farm owners and friends by these children in solving their social problems did not only signify the lack of support at home, but also explained the fact that some of the children lived with their employers in Urambo (in semi-bondage) and in Iringa rural district (in camps). While the nature of this social support network may assist one to understand the extent to which the children working on tobacco farms rely on themselves and the relationships they forge with one another, on a number of social aspects, including those of an emotional nature, it also shows that the children lack, to a large extent, proper parental social up-bringing. It would seem that these children have become victims of the socio-economic set-up, which, in the areas in question, also constitute the worst forms of child labour.

The social support network as discussed above is compounded by the way the children were recruited into working on tobacco farms. This was investigated by asking the children who had recruited them to work on the farms. Their responses are shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Push and Pull Factors Behind Working Children's Movement to Tobacco Plantations by Key Facilitator or Agency

Key Facilitator or Agency	Urambo		Iringa Rural		Both Districts
	N=45	%	N=55	%	Overall Average %
1. Parents/guardian (as pushing force)	7	15.5	3	5.5	10
2. Personal initiatives	22	48.9	12	21.8	34
3. Peer influence (as either pushing or pulling force)	4	8.9	27	49.1	31
4. Teachers (as pushing force)	6	13.3	7	12.7	13
5. Relatives in farms (as pulling force)	2	4.4	4	7.3	6
6. Farm owner or agent	1	2.2	2	3.6	3
7. No response	3	6.7	0	0	3

Source: Field Data, 2000.

According to the findings, as Table 6.4 indicates, overall, personal initiative seems to be the driving force behind working-children's wish to go to work on the farms as mentioned by 34 (34%) children, followed by peer influence which was indicated by 31 (31%) children. It may be noted, however, that personal initiative was the biggest single push/pull factor in Urambo as shown by 22 (48.9%) children in the key locations. In Iringa the biggest force was peer influence, which was indicated by 27(49.1%) children in the study areas. Other factors playing a part were teachers (13%) and parents/guardians (10%), both as "pushers." Although they were statistically in the minority, relatives already working on the farms (6%) and farm owners or their agents (3%) exerted some influence on the movement of children to the farms, the latter actually travelling to potential catchment areas and luring the children and youth.

Although recruitment by agent is indicated by only two responses, it is greatly depended upon by the owner of Kidamali farm, the biggest tobacco plantation among the selected areas in Iringa rural district. According to information from key informants, working children, non-working children and adult respondents, there were not less than 400 workers on this plantation, and a majority of them had been recruited from Njombe and Makete. Of these workers, 352 children between nine and 18 years were from the two districts. [In the process of interviews, it was revealed that eighteen children, ages 9-18, had actually been born and brought up in the camps within the plantations.] The procedures described as having been used to recruit the youths from Njombe and Makete indicate that most of them (the children and youth) simply started off the journeys on their own initiative, while others were attracted by friends and acquaintances who had previously been to the farms in Iringa. It is mostly this latter category that the new recruits on the farms depend upon for their future relations and establishment of social support networks.

6.3 Cultural Causes of Child Labour

The findings of the study revealed, among other things, that the majority of children who work on the tobacco plantation/farms in the study areas in Iringa and Urambo were migrant workers. Those in Iringa came from Njombe and Makete and those in Urambo came mainly from Kigoma, Dodoma, Singida, and even as far as Rukwa. The Kinga of Makete are known to be very enterprising and very good at making money. They travel long distances just to look for employment as long as it promises to bring home some extra income. This has developed a kind of pride and admiration in their society for those who leave their villages for wage employment and later return with money or useful things that others can only look upon with envy. It is even more envious of one's struggle "to do all possible" in order to become rich, which is not unknown or unimaginable for the Kinga, as they are known not only for their thriftiness but also for hard, venturesome decisions.

The Bena from Njombe district follow the same pattern as the Kinga, but they have been more influenced by the introduction of tea estates in their districts. The assurance of monthly wages, however, did lure them to the tobacco farms as well. In the course of time the practice of leaving one's home for wage employment elsewhere has become so associated with the Kinga and the Bena that it has developed into a sort of sub-culture. Njombe and Makete have virtually become child labour reserves for the tobacco plantations in Iringa rural district. The Hehe who hail from Iringa district are usually proud and less enterprising. According to one interviewee, who was a retired teacher in Nyamihuu, the Hehe dislike working for other people even if they are not well to do themselves.

6.4 Political Causes of WFCL

Although three refugees were among the respondents in Urambo, in this study, political factors behind WFCL in tobacco plantations/farms do not seem to have featured as such. The refugees did not hint at any issue that could be taken to have been a drive towards the kind of work they were engaged in. It is recommended to undertake another study on political causes of WFCL with a focus on refugees.⁶

6.5 Assessment of Self-awareness of Farm Employment as a WFCL

Self-awareness of employment on tobacco farms was assessed by the attitudes of the working and non-working children towards work on the farms. They were asked whether they liked or disliked working on the farms and why. In Iringa rural and Urambo districts 24 (64.8%) and 13 (35.2%) working children respectively responded that they liked working on the tobacco farms. Their reasons for this are indicated in Table 6.5. Among reasons for this positive attitude towards work on the farms the primary one was the need for money to improve their lives and for paying for personal and school expenses. According to these findings, it would seem that there were more children with positive attitudes in the selected area in Iringa than there were in Urambo.

Table 6. 5: Reasons for Positive Attitude Towards Working on Tobacco Plantations

Reasons	Iringa N=24	%	Urambo N=13	%	Total	%
1. To get money (to improve one's life)	20	83.3	11	84.6	31	83.8
2. Providing opportunity to assist parents	1	4.7	7	53.8	8	21.6
3. The work is not difficult	1	4.7	--		1	2.7
4.To get money to pay for personal expenses	5	20.8	10		15	40.5
5.To get money to pay for school expenses	6	25.0	6	25.0	12	32.4

Source: Field Data, 2000.

In Iringa rural and Urambo districts 14 (31%) and 31 (69%) children respectively said they disliked working on the tobacco farms. The reasons for disliking the work are provided in Table 6.6. The first reason was that the work was very difficult, tedious, tiresome and dangerous. Out of 42 respondents, 30 (68.2%) were in Urambo where the children lived with their employers in semi-bondage. Again in Urambo, 26 (59.1%) respondents indicated lack of time for rest and recreation as the second reason for the negative attitude towards working in the farms. This does not imply that in the study area in Iringa rural district the children working on the tobacco plantations had time for rest or recreation. Such children in Iringa had at least some free hours, however, either with their parents for those who lived at home, or in the camps for those whom the plantation owner housed. In Urambo, it was revealed that the child workers were also involved in various other sorts of work.

⁶ Following this recommendation, a research study on trafficking of children from the refugee camp was done by the Child Labour Unit in collaboration with ILO/IPEC. It was discovered that on some plantations, 65% of children originate from refugee camps in Kigoma and Urambo districts.

Table 6.6: Reasons for Negative Attitude towards Working in Tobacco Farms

	Occupations	No. of Respondents					
		Iringa N=14	%	Urambo N=31	%	Total N=44	%
1	The work is very difficult, tedious, tiresome and dangerous	12	85.7	30	96.8	42	95.4
2	The foremen insult children	4	28.6	-	-	4	9.1
3	Long working hours	1-	7.1		-	1	2.3
4	Underpayment	2	14.3	12	38.7	14	31.8
5	Disliking the work because of being forced by parents	-	-	1	3.2	1	9.1
6	No time to rest or for recreation	-	-	26	83.9	26	59.1
7	Causes poor health	-	-	15	48.4	15	34.1
8	No opportunity to go to school	-	-	6	19.3	6	13.6

Source: Field Data, 2000

The fact that the work on the tobacco farms caused poor health, was another reason for disliking it as mentioned by 15 (34.6%) respondents, all in Urambo district. Other reasons for the children's negative attitudes towards working on the tobacco farms included exploitation by farm owners due to underpayment, and the lack of opportunities to attend school. The findings, by observing the factors for the children's negative attitude towards child labour, clearly indicate the nature of the WFCL on tobacco farms in the two areas of the study. However the situation seemed to be worse in Urambo than in Iringa. Working children observed and interviewed in the three key locations in Urambo exhibited signs of ill-health and malnutrition, indicating that the food provided by their employers was inadequate.

The children's positive attitudes towards working on the tobacco farms were developed on the basis of economic hardships and the need for money. In the course of the children's involvement, economic and social issues became interlinked. While the reasons for the positive attitude may be based essentially on economic factors they emphasize the children's self-reliance, and eventually their dependence on the relationships they have forged amongst themselves through their social support network. The factors for the children's negative attitude towards working on tobacco farms suggest that the children were aware of the WFCL, which was also corroborated through focus group interviews.

6.6 Assessment of Previous Efforts versus WFCL on Tobacco Plantations/Farms

According to the nature, magnitude and level of awareness of WFCL in the areas of the study in Iringa rural and Urambo districts, there seem to have been little or no previous efforts to combat any form of child labour on the tobacco plantations/farms. The plantation/farm owners, political leaders and government functionaries at the village and ward levels seemed to be aware of child labour, and that it not only violates human rights but also that it is illegal in Tanzania, and internationally unacceptable. They were very conscious of the international and national campaigns against child labour. One of the major problems was their level of understanding of who might be described as a 'child worker.' For example almost all the plantation/farm owners did not regard any primary school graduate as a child though most of the children graduated between the ages of 13 and 14. The owner of Kidamali plantation sent his agricultural officer as an agent to Njombe and Makete at the end of each year to recruit fresh primary school leavers for work on his plantation.

Another obstacle that could have hindered any previous efforts to combat child labour, is the fact that campaigns against it undermine the interests of the tobacco plantation/farm owners who make huge profits by exploiting the children whom they grossly overwork and underpay. It is also significant to note that these profits make their way into government coffers through the taxes that the plantation/farm owners pay. In the plantation areas in Nzihi, Kidamali and Nyamihuu, the Iringa district council had a reliable source of income as the Greek tobacco farmers paid development levy for all their workers, which was deducted from their wages. It is no wonder, therefore, that the village, ward and even district government officials, particularly in Iringa, seemed to be in cahoots with the plantation owners. One village executive secretary, for example, attempted even to misinform the researchers on the whereabouts of the location's plantation owner.

The plantation owners were reluctant to provide information about the children that they employed for fear that legal measures might be taken against them.

6.7 Possible Solutions

On the basis of the findings of this study, a number of measures to eliminate WFCL on tobacco plantations/farms are suggested in this chapter. Both adult and child subjects in the study were asked to suggest possible solutions to WFCL. They provided 11 clusters of possible interventions, which are presented in Table 6.7

Table 6.7 Possible Interventions to Arrest WFCL

Intervention	Children	Adults
<p>1. <u>Primary Education and Vocational Education.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve the quality and quantity, and efficiency and effectiveness of the primary school system in terms of curriculum reform, enhancement of teacher education, management and administration, infrastructure and financing so that the school becomes an attractive institution for conducive teaching and learning. • Ensure that primary education is compulsory. • Develop special programmes at primary level which will be used to enable working children to acquire primary education as they work. This is particularly necessary for children who cannot be withdrawn from child labour because of their age and other obstacles. • Improve the quality and quantity of vocational training centres so that more primary school leavers can get a chance to study vocational subjects. • Improve teaching-learning of vocational subjects in primary schools. These subjects should be compulsory and be taught by well-prepared, competent teachers. 	 	 √ √ √ √ √
<p>2. <u>Legislation and Legal Action.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enact a law in parliament which will prevent child labour, and particularly worst forms of child labour, and punish people who act contrary to such legislation. • Take action against well-to-do parents who force their children to engage in WFCL. 	 	 √ √
<p>3. <u>Removal of working children and rehabilitation</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remove and rehabilitate those children working in WFCL, by taking them back to school and helping them re-unite with their families. 		√
<p>4. <u>Improving working and living conditions.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve the living and working conditions and environment of children in WFCL who cannot be removed. 	√	√
<p>5. <u>Self-employment and Alleviation of Poverty at the Family Level.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raise family incomes to alleviate poverty at the family level by giving them loans to invest in agriculture and small businesses, so that the family can pay for basic necessities, school fees and other expenses. • Increase the family income by diversifying cash crops instead of depending on tobacco, by finding markets for other crops such as groundnuts, beans and maize, and by increasing prices of agricultural products. • Provide assistance to working children so that they can get capital to start their own businesses so that they are self-employed. The 	 √ √ √	 √ √ √

assistance may be small loans and/or real tools and equipment.		√
6. <u>Public awareness and sensitization.</u>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raise public awareness through sensitization programmes, and guidance and counselling strategies on the dangers of WFCL in particular, and child labour in general. 	√	√
7. <u>Improving Tobacco Growing.</u>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce modern tobacco farming technology which will free children from working in farms and plantations and at the same time enable tobacco growers to increase production and maximise their incomes and profits. 		√
8. <u>Provision of Educational Support to the Poor and Orphans.</u>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide support such as scholarships etc to the poor and orphaned families for educating their children from primary level to secondary level, and to attend vocational training and other skill-oriented institutions. 	√	√
9. <u>Establishing canning factories.</u>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Since there are a lot of tomatoes in Iringa key locations and other places in Iringa Region, and a lot of mangoes in Urambo district and other places in Tabora region, establish canning factories in these areas to can tomatoes and juice and pickles from mangoes, in order to increase employment opportunities for the unemployed population in rural areas. 		√
10. <u>Labour Officers.</u>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase the number of labour officers in the country and sensitise them to the problem of child labour. 		√
11. <u>Working by Able-bodied Population.</u>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Since a small percentage of able-bodied people are working, the government should ensure that the people who are not working do work, and work hard in productive activities. 		√
12. <u>Further Research</u>		
Conduct further research in areas, which have not been fully investigated.		

Source: Field Data, 2000.

The first suggestion concerns intervention in primary education from which a majority of the working children graduate. It was emphasized that all aspects of primary education should be improved so that schools become more attractive in terms of learning and motivating the children. They also called for improving the quality of vocational training and expanding the number of vocational training facilities so that the primary school leavers might be trained and eventually be self-employed. In addition, educational support for the poor and orphans should be provided. This is one of the ways of preventing children from getting into WFCL.

Secondly, it was suggested that legal actions be taken against those who employ children and, parents who force their children to work. Enacting a law in parliament against child labour and, particularly WFCL could do this. The working children in WFCL should be withdrawn and rehabilitated by taking them back to school or re-integrating them in their families. For those children who cannot be removed from work, their working conditions need to be improved.

Since the major causes of WFCL emanate from poverty, it was suggested that measures be taken to improve family incomes to alleviate poverty by:

- Providing loans to parents to invest in agriculture, small businesses, etc, so that they can be able to pay for basic necessities, food, school expenses, etc;
- Diversifying cash crops instead of depending on tobacco;
- Finding markets for other agricultural produce such as maize, tomatoes, groundnuts etc.; and
- Increasing the prices of agricultural produce.

In this way, children would not be forced into WFCL to get money in order to supplement family incomes. In relation to this, it was suggested that since there are a lot of tomatoes and mangoes in Iringa and Urambo key locations respectively, canning factories be established to can tomatoes, mango juice and pickles. This will increase employment and help alleviate poverty among the children's parents.

Another important suggestion was the raising of public awareness through sensitization programmes, and guidance and counselling strategies on the dangers of WFCL in particular and child labour in general. In relation to this, the number of labour officers should be increased and, in their work they should tackle the problem of WFCL seriously as one of their priorities.

Finally, it was suggested that the government should ensure that every able-bodied person works - and works hard in productive activities.

6.8 Further Research and Action

Further research on the extent and nature of WFCL need to be conducted especially in areas where the phenomenon of semi-bondage, like Urambo exists. Secondly, educational programmes on WFCL in particular, and child labour in general, need to be included in our school curriculum to develop the desirable attitudes and values related to child welfare amongst our youth.

7. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter draws conclusions arising from the observations and analyses conducted on the various elements and issues of the field study and recorded in the different chapters, particularly Chapters 3-6. The conclusions will be given here by research sub-themes.

7.1 On Ecological and Environmental Profiles

The physical features and climatic conditions of the locations are generally appropriate for tobacco growing, although natural soil fertility and rainfall regimes constrain agricultural activities in the area. Regarding soil fertility, some farmers have started to use fertilizers. Much of the natural vegetation has been cleared for agriculture and energy.

The population of the key locations is sparsely distributed, but it tends to be denser towards the towns in the districts. The locations consist of more women and girls than men and boys, and the dependency ratio is about 2.8%, with young people far outnumbering the elderly. There is some ethnic diversity as a result of people immigrating to the area in search for employment on tobacco farms. Agriculture is the main economic activity practised by smallholders (in Urambo), who grow both subsistence and cash crops. The key locations are poorly served by transportation, communication, health, religions and educational facilities, most of which are located in the towns. Efforts are being made to construct better classrooms and provide new furniture in the primary schools.

7.2 On the Nature and Extent of WFCL

According to the findings, tobacco farms or plantations attract children of different educational, social and economic backgrounds ranging from those without education to those with secondary education. In all cases poverty is probably the salient feature that largely handicaps educational, social and economic parameters of different households in the selected tobacco growing areas and other rural areas.

In light of the data presentation and analysis in regards to the educational profile, the following conclusions can be made: Firstly, although education is a very crucial and inevitable tool for both individual and societal development, there are segments of the population who do not value it in this way. The indicators underlying such a failure to value education among them include the dropout rate in primary schools. The dropout rates seem to be high considering the current democratisation of the education process in the country. Also, the big number of out of school children of school-going age illustrates that there was no push among parents/guardians or village governments for children to attend school. The activities performed by primary education leavers are an indicator that the lives of the future citizens and the society at large were at high risk. Thinking along these lines one is convinced to argue that there is a need to revisit the primary education curriculum along the *philosophy of education* in the Tanzanian context i.e. *Education for Self-reliance*.

Further to the above, the failure of parents/guardians to meet school costs and the unpromising situation of school infrastructure in different primary schools in the selected tobacco growing areas are issues as well. The picture captured here presupposes that the current undesired quality of education owes much to the poor school infrastructural inputs and other necessary resources which are direct results of poverty. It might be argued that chronic poverty, which prevailed in the selected tobacco growing areas, is one of the problems behind educational stagnation in many parts of the country. If households experienced stable and reliable financial situations, parents/guardians would not have deliberately allowed their children to work on tobacco farms at such a tender age, as has been the case with many families in tobacco growing areas. Rationally, it can be deduced that education, in whatever form, level or type, suffers as a result of poverty.

The most popular activities performed by the majority of working children were preparing the fields, planting tobacco, tending tobacco farms, and picking tobacco. The activities of preparing the seedlings and curing tobacco were unpopular, and the least performed activity by children was the marketing of tobacco. Boys mainly performed all difficult activities and tasks involving greater hazards. The difference between the two districts was that while in Urambo farms all activities and tasks were done manually, some tasks in Iringa were mechanized. While all activities and tasks were performed only by working children in Urambo, in Iringa adult workers participated in all activities as well. The average age of working children in Urambo is fifteen years while in Iringa it is sixteen years. Children in Urambo tended to toil longer hours than those in Iringa districts. There was a close agreement between the responses of children and those of adults regarding the types of activities and tasks done and how they were performed. It is significant to note that employers prefer child workers to adult workers because they are cheaper and less demanding. For example, the average monthly wage for a child worker

in the sample areas in Iringa would be TSh. 10,500/=, while the minimum wage for an adult worker was TSh. 25,000/=. In addition the child worker if he/she lives with his/her parents or guardians does not demand the necessary facilities like sleeping quarters from the employer.

7.3 On Working Conditions

The study discovered that working children in Urambo district worked for longer hours than those in Iringa district, particularly those who lived with the farm owners. The difference of hours that children worked in the two districts may be explained by the different management and administration systems used. While on the plantation there is a formal system of management and administration, farm owners used informal systems with each farm owner using his or her own rules and regulations. Both districts also differed regarding times children started working. While the majority of children started working at 7.30 a.m. in Iringa district, the majority in Urambo started earlier at 6.00 a.m. or 7.00 a.m. Therefore, no children started working in the afternoon in Iringa district. In both districts working children were not given time for breaks to rest or have lunch. In Urambo very few children were given such a break, and no children in Iringa were allowed break time.

The assessment of the nature of working environments and conditions in both districts revealed that there were various hazards and risks facing the working children resulting from the natural surroundings, working conditions and tools used. Other hazards and risks emanated from the nature of the materials used, the constraints and abuse of children, emergency and personal care, and physical and mental stress. Most of the hazards and risks discussed in this study, coupled with other indicators of worst farms of child labour analysed, lead to the conclusion that children working on tobacco farms and plantations face dangerous hazards and risks which may be categorized under “worst farms of child labour.” Immediate steps must be taken to address some of the pressing problems in this sub-sector.

Analysis has established the earnings and their uses by working children in Urambo and Iringa districts. The study has revealed that in Urambo children were paid at different times, but those who lived with farm owners were being exploited more than those living in camps in Iringa district. However, the earnings in both districts were far less than the minimum pay in Tanzania. All children were paid in cash, but the actual payment they received was less than the contracted earnings. This is because the employers deducted a good amount of money from those earnings for various reasons, including the value of foodstuffs and other necessities provided to the children by their employers such as medical expenses, fines, and concocted expenses. In both districts payment was being made to the children themselves.

Very few children had other sources of additional income, which implies that they depended on working on tobacco farms. In both districts the majority of children sent or gave money to their parents, but many of them gave very little amounts of money either once a year, twice a year, monthly or once per week. Children spent the earning mainly on buying personal effects and daily necessities of life, supplementing family incomes, and paying for school expenses.

Regarding the relationships between the employers and working children, all children said that their contracts with their employers were oral and informal and they were not given any fringe benefits. While the only service provided to working children in Urambo district was a shelter to live in, in Iringa district children were given more and better services including rooms in blocks of houses, electricity, tap water and first aid. In general, however, the relationships between the employers and working children were business-oriented, secondary relationships rather than primary relationships based on love, sympathy, empathy and affection.

Analysis of the findings also indicated that the children working on tobacco plantations/farms in both districts come from small families. In the sample areas in both districts children from small and large families seemed to suffer the same fate. Although large family sizes tend to render the family resources inadequate to sustain a decent livelihood for its members, there are other factors that result in poverty.

7.4 On the Underlying Causes of and Solutions to WFCL

The findings of this study have consistently confirmed that the major causes of WFCL on tobacco plantations/farms in Iringa and Urambo districts emanates from the prevalence of poverty in the families of the children. It was revealed that the average annual personal incomes of the parents of the working children in the areas of the study were mostly very low. Most of the children involved in the study had two meals a day and they had no time to rest, especially during the daytime. The causes that were identified include economic hardships at home which forced children to work in the plantations/farms to get money and supplement family incomes to pay for school expenses, food and other basic necessities. Destitution was given as a major cause by both adult and child respondents at a frequency of 107 while need for money to buy school expenses was pointed out with frequencies of 84 and 34 respectively. This implies that any intervention to arrest the scourge

of WFCL on tobacco plantations/farms in Iringa and Urambo, in economic terms, should strive to alleviate the problem of poverty in the communities in question.

Social networks were related to the recruitment of the children into WFCL. From their recruitment into WFCL on the tobacco plantations/farms, the children relied mainly on their own labour to get money to buy food and other necessities, but they also relied on their friendships between one another, through the social support network they had established. In cases of depression, being beaten, sharing pleasant and sad news, etc., they were there for each others sharing and support.

As for cultural causes of WFCL, these were seen among the Kinga and Bena from Makete and Njombe districts respectively, which are in Iringa region. This cultural factor seemed to be more active among the Kinga who are said to be very enterprising and take pride in seeking wage employment without being choosy. Since this has been a long historical process, which probably started during the colonial period, a sort of a sub-culture seems to have been established among them. Makete and Njombe have virtually become child labour reserves for the tobacco plantations in Iringa.

It was observed that while the plantation/farm owners were aware of WFCL and the campaigns at national and international levels, efforts to combat it have been minimal, if any. In addition, they seemed to be in collusion with government officials at village, ward and even district levels to serve their economic interests due to profits resulting from the gross exploitation of children. The government officials could not easily interfere with the plantation owners because they paid huge amounts of money in taxes (income and development levy for their workers) to the central government and the district council. It is unlikely that it would have been easy for them to jeopardize this reliable source of revenue for the government. There was also lack of proper understanding of who constitutes a 'child worker' among the plantation/farm owners and even village/ward leaders and parents.

As for solutions to WFCL, suggestions provided focused first on the expansion and improvement of basic education, in all its aspects. Secondly, the solutions focused on increasing family incomes on the tobacco plantations/farms to eventually free the children from child labour. Other possible solutions to WFCL suggested include increasing the number of labour officers, sensitizing the public on the dangers of child labour, and the removal and rehabilitation of working children.

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ANNEX I: SAMPLE WORKING CHILDREN Working Children by Age Category and Gender

Age	Iringa Rural			Urambo		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
6 or less	0	0	0	0	0	0
7-9	1	5	6	0	0	0
10-13	8	13	21	1	4	5
14-17	19	4	23	22	10	32
18 and above	4	1	5	6	2	8
Total	32	23	55	29	16	45

FAMILY STATUS Mode of Living/Residence

	Mode of Abode/Residence	Iringa Rural		Urambo	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
1	Living with both parents	13	12	9	7
2	Living with only mother	9	7	1	2
3	Living with only father	1	0	2	0
4	Living with other relatives	0	0	1	0
5	Living with the employer	1	0	12	5
6	Living with other adults	9	3	3	2
7	Living with friends/peers	0	0	0	0
8	Other	0	0	1	0
	Total	33	22	29	16

FAMILY STATUS Mode of Living/Residence

District		Manner/Mode of Living	Age				
			6 or less	7-9	10-13	14-17	18 and over
Iringa	1	Living with both parents	0	3	9	12	1
	2	Living with only mother	0	0	7	7	2
	3	Living with only father	0	1	0	0	0
	4	Living with other relatives	0	0	0	0	0
	5	Living with the employer	0	0	1	1	0
	6	Living with other adults	0	2	4	4	2
	7	Living with friends/peers	0	0	0	0	0
Urambo	1	Living with both parents	0	0	3	9	4
	2	Living with only mother	0	0	1	2	0
	3	Living with only father	0	0	1	0	1
	4	Living with other relatives	0	0	0	1	0
	5	Living with the employer	0	0	2	13	2
	6	Living with other adults	0	0	0	5	0
	7	Living with friends/peers	0	0	0	0	0

EDUCATION

Iringa	Child Age Categories				Male	female	Total
	6 or less	7-9	10-13	14-17			
Never Attended School	0	0	0	5	4	1	5
Attending	0	6	20	10	17	19	36
Dropout	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Urambo	Child Age Categories				Male	Female	
	6 or less	7-9	10-13	14-17			
Never Attended School	0	0	0	10	8	2	10
Attending	0	0	2	12	8	6	28
Dropout	0	0	3	10	7	6	26

SCHOOL ENROLMENT STATUS

Iringa												
School Status	Age											
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Not Attending	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	3	6
I			2									
II					1		1					
III				2	3	1	1					
IV			1			3	3					
V					1	1		2	1	1		
VI								3	2	4		
VII										1		
Urambo												
Not Attending							2	1	5	7	5	3
I												
II												
III								1		1		
IV									1	3		
V									1			1
VI								1		3	1	

VII											1	
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ACTIVITIES

District	Activities		Child Age Category					Gender	
			6 or less	7-9	10-13	14-17	Over 17	Male	Female
Urambo	1.	Preparing farms/plantations	0	0	5	32	8	29	16
	2.	Preparing seedlings	0	0	1	22	6	29	16
	3.	Planting tobacco	0	0	5	32	8	29	16
	4.	Tending tobacco in farms/plantations	0	0	5	32	8	29	16
	5.	Picking mature tobacco leaves	0	0	5	32	8	29	16
	6.	Curing tobacco	0	0	1	22	6	29	16
	7.	Marketing tobacco	0	0	5	32	8	29	16
Iringa R	1.	Preparing farms/plantations	0	0	0	6	0	5	1
	2.	Preparing seedlings	0	0	1	3	0	3	1
	3.	Planting tobacco	0	2	12	10	5	22	7
	4.	Tending tobacco in farms/plantations	0	4	12	18	3	29	8
	5.	Picking mature tobacco leaves	0	2	11	6	1	11	9
	6.	Curing tobacco	0	0	1	11	5	16	1
	7.	Marketing tobacco	0	2	9	19	5	24	11

WORKING CONDITIONS

Regularity of the Job

District	Everyday	Every weekend	Some days every week	Some days every month	Some days during the last year	Total
Urambo	33	1	11	0	0	45
	73%	2%	24%	0%	0%	
Iringa Rural	19	0	0	36	0	55
	35%	0	0%	65%	0	

NB. Analysis was not based on the form suggested in the “Minimum Tabulation Plan”.

WORKING CONDITIONS
Average Working Hours Per Day

District	Activities		Child Age Category					Male	Female
			6 or less	7-9	10-13	14-17	Over 17		
Urambo	1.	Preparing farms/plantations	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
	2.	Preparing seedlings	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
	3.	Planting tobacco	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
	4.	Tending tobacco in farms/plantations	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
	5.	Picking mature tobacco leaves	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
	6.	Curing tobacco	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
	7.	Marketing tobacco	0	0	9	11	12	29	16
Iringa R	1.	Preparing farms/plantations	0	6	7	7	7	4	1
	2.	Preparing seedlings	0	6	7	7	7	3	0
	3.	Planting tobacco	0	6	7	7	7	16	7
	4.	Tending tobacco in farms/plantations	0	6	7	7	7	17	6
	5.	Picking mature tobacco leaves	0	6	7	7	7	6	8
	6.	Curing tobacco	0	6	7	7	7	10	1
	7.	Marketing tobacco	0	6	7	7	7	13	10

FORM OF PAYMENT/INCOME

Activities		Form of Payment	
		Urambo	Iringa*
1.	Preparing farms/plantations	Cash	Cash
2.	Preparing seedlings	Cash	Cash
3.	Planting tobacco	Cash	Cash
4.	Tending tobacco in farms/plantations	Cash	Cash
5.	Picking mature tobacco leaves	Cash	Cash
6.	Curing tobacco	Cash	Cash
7.	Marketing tobacco	Cash	Cash

* Employers in Iringa plantations sometimes buy food items, especially a bag of maize flour, for the workers and deduct the cash equivalent from the employee's salary. As such it is not an additional payment; it is equated to cash value and deducted from the employee's cash salary.

MODE OF PAYMENT

Time Intervals

District	Timing	Child Age Category					Male	Female
		6 or less	7-9	10-13	14-17	Over 17		
Urambo	Daily	0	0	3	8	1	5	7
	Weekly	0	0	2	3	0	1	4
	Monthly	0	0	2	4	0	2	4
	Every 6 months	0	0	2	5	2	8	1
	Yearly	0	0	0	8	4	12	0
Iringa Rural	Daily	0	6	20	25	4	33	22
	Weekly	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Monthly	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Every 6 months	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Yearly	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Annex II
Questionnaires and Discussion Guidelines
RA Methodology Working Matrix

Appendix-1

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS (UDSM) THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR IN TOBACCO GROWING AREAS (IRINGA RURAL AND URAMBO DISTRICTS) DECEMBER, 2000

Interview Schedule for both Non-and Working children

Region ----- District ----- Locality-----
Date -----

PART A. PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Age ----- 2. Sex -----
3. Tribe ----- 4. Religion -----
5. Place of birth ----- 6. Is it rural area? -----
or urban area? -----
7. For how long have you been in this locality? -----
8. Whom do you live with? -----
9. How many are you in the family? -----
10. Why did you decide to come here? -----
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----

PART B: EDUCATIONAL ANALYSIS

- 1.1 Are you schooling? YES ----- NO -----
- 1.2 If Yes, what is your school name? -----
- 1.3 How far is your school from home in terms of kilometres and time (hrs/minutes)?

- 1.4 In which class are you? -----
- 1.4.1 If NO, why?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----

- 1.4.2 Can your parents afford to pay school expenses? YES ----- NO-----
 If NO, where do you get the funds?
 (a) -----
 (b) -----
- 1.5 If NO, what are the reasons?
 (a) -----
 (b) -----
 (c) -----
- 1.6 Would you like to go to school? (for those who have never been to school)
 YES ----- NO -----
- 1.7 If YES, Why?
 (a) -----
 (b) -----
 (c) -----
- 1.8 If NO. Why?
 (a) -----
 (b) -----
 (c) -----
- 1.9 Would you like to go back to school? (for the drop outs) YES -----
 NO -----
- 1.10 If YES, Why?
 (a) -----
 (b) -----
 (c) -----
- 1.11 If NO, Why?
 (a) -----
 (b) -----
 (c) -----

PART C: FAMILY BACKGROUND

- 1.1 Are your parents alive? YES ----- NO -----
- 1.2 If NO, who is not alive? -----
 What was the cause of death ----- When -----
- 1.3 If all are alive, where do they come from (origin)? -----

- 1.4 What does your father do? -----
1.5 What does your mother do? -----
1.6 If, all passed away, with whom do you live? -----
1.7 What does your guardian do? -----
1.8 How many girls? ----- and boys -----
1.9 How old are they? -----, -----, -----, -----, -----
1.10 Where are they? -----
1.11 What do they do? -----
1.12 What are the main sources of your parents' daily income?

- (a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----

2. What type of assets do your parents have?

- (a) ----- (b) ----- (c) -----
(d) ----- (e) ----- (f) -----
(g) -----

3.1 How many houses do your parents have?

3.2 How are they built? -----

4. What is the level of education of your parents/guardian?

- (a) Father -----
(b) Mother -----
(c) Grandmother -----
(d) Grandfather -----
(e) Uncle -----

PART D: GENERAL LIVING CONDITIONS

1. How many meals do you take per day? -----
2. What do you take in every meal? -----

3. What is the type of food?
(a) ----- (b) ----- (c) -----
4. How many times do you take a bath per day? -----
5. Do you have toilets at home? YES ----- NO -----
6. If NO, why?
(a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----
(d) -----

PART E: HEALTH ISSUES

1. Are there any health problems in this area? YES ----- NO -----
2. If, YES what are the problems (identify)

(a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----

3. What are the common diseases for children in this village?

(a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----

4. How are they treated?

(a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----

PART F: SOCIAL SUPPORT NETWORK

1. How do you solve your financial problems? (Identify different ways)

(a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----

2. Do you get help when fallen sick? YES ----- NO -----
3. If YES, who helps you? -----
4. Who helps when depressed? -----

5. Who helps you when beaten by another child? -----
6. Who helps you when in need of food? -----
7. Who helps you when in need of play? -----
8. With whom do you share pleasant information? -----

PART G: WORKING CHILDREN

(i) Worst Forms of Child Labour

1. How did you get into the job? (Who influenced you)?

(a) -----
(b) -----

2. What were you doing prior to this job?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c)-----
- (d)-----

3. What are the reasons that make you work?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c)-----
- (d)-----

4. Do you enjoy working in tobacco shambas? YES ----- NO -----

5. If YES, why?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

6. If NO, why?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

7. Do you have any other sources of earnings apart from working in the tobacco shambas?

YES ----- NO -----

8. If YES, identify the sources

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c)-----
- (d)-----

(ii) **Earnings**

1. What is the payment per

- (a) Day -----
- (b) Week -----
- (c) Month -----

2. How are you paid (identify forms of payment)

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

3. To whom are the payments made (who is given your payments)

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

4. When do you have good earnings?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

5. Why good earning during this time?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

6. How are the earnings used?

Day:

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

Weekly:

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

Monthly:

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

7.1 How much is given to your parents? -----

7.2 How many times? -----

8. What are items brought for personal use?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

9. What problems do you encounter?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

10. What is the source of problems?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

11. What are the consequences of the problems?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

12. What have you achieved since you joined labour activities?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

(iii) **Relationship with the Employer**

1. What kind of contracts do you have with your employer?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

2. Are there fringe benefits out of these contracts? YES ----- NO -----

3. Does the employer provide you with any services?

YES ----- NO -----

4. If YES, list down the services you get?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

5. If NO, Why?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

(iv) **Working Environment**

1. What are the types of tools used in daily activities?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

2. What is the natural surrounding?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

3. How are the working conditions?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

4. How many hours do you work per day?-----

5. At what time do you start working? -----

6. Do you have break time? YES ----- NO -----

7. If YES, how many minutes? -----

8. At what time do you stop working? -----

PART H: INTERVENTION

1. What ways should be used to alleviate the problem of WFCL?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

2. What type of assistances would you like to be given in order not to work?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

3. Who can effectively assist in alleviating the problem?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

4. How can this be done?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

Appendix-II
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR VILLAGE/WARD LEADERS

LOCATION ----- DATE -----12.2000
DISTRICT -----

1. Sex ----- 2. Age -----
3. How many tobacco farms are there in the village/ward? -----
4. Who is the owner? -----
5. How many primary schools do you have in the village/ward? -----
6. Do all children go to school? YES ----- NO -----
7. If NO, why?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
8. Do people in the tobacco growing areas have hospitals/dispensaries?
YES ----- NO -----
9. If YES, where? -----
10. If NO, why?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
11. What are the common diseases in the tobacco growing areas?
 - (i) -----
 - (ii) -----
 - (iii) -----
12. Why, common?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
13. Which months of the year have high and low rates of diseases?
 - (a) High -----
 - (b) Low -----
14. Why?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----

Appendix-III
**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE SUPERVISORS/WORKERS IN THE
TOBACCO GROWING AREAS**

A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Farm No. ----- 2. Sex ----- 3. Age -----

B: DAILY ROUTINE

1. At what time do you start work? -----

2. At what time do you stop working? -----

3. How many workers do you have (work under your supervision)? -----

4. How many children (under 18 years old)? -----

5. What are your daily activities in this farm?

(a) -----

(b) -----

(c) -----

(d) -----

(e) -----

6. What kind of activities are performed by children?

(a) -----

(b) -----

(c) -----

(d) -----

7. What are the indicators of the worst forms of child labour?

(a) -----

(b) -----

(c) -----

(d) -----

8. What can you say about the working environment?

C: EARNINGS

1. What are the forms of payment given to children?

(a) -----

(b) -----

2. How much is given to children as payment? -----

3. How do you determine the payments? -----

D: CAUSES OF CHILD LABOUR

1. In your opinion, why do children work?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----
- (e) -----

2. What kind of children do you employ? -----

3. How do you recruit children?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

4. How many seasons of tobacco activities do you have in a year?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

5. What are the main activities for children in each season?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

6. Where do children who work here come from?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

7. What are the problems (hazards) facing the workers and working children?

- (a) Workers
 - (i)-----
 - (ii)-----
 - (iii)-----
- (iv)-----

(b) Children

(i)-----

(ii)-----

(iii)-----

(iv)-----

E. INTERVENTIONS

1. How can we help children under 18, not to work in this dangerous environment?

(a)-----

(b)-----

(c)-----

(d)-----

2. How can't this be done?

(a)-----

(b)-----

(c)-----

(d)-----

3. What should the government do, to assist the children who work?

(a)-----

(b)-----

(c)-----

(d)-----

Appendix-IV

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE TO THE OWNERS OF TOBACCO PLANTATIONS
(IRINGA AND URAMBO)**

A: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. Location -----
2. What is the size of the plantation or farm in hectors? -----
3. When did tobacco growing start in this location? -----
4. What were the factors or reasons behind the establishment of tobacco farms?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
 - (d) -----
5. Who did start the tobacco farms? -----
6. What are the forms of tobacco growing in this area?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
7. What is the production capacity in tons per year? -----
8. In the recent past five or ten years indicate the production of tobacco (in tons per year) -----

B: TOBACCO GROWING

1. What are the characteristic features of tobacco growing in this area?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
 - (d) -----
2. How many workers do you have in all tobacco farms?
 - (a) Men -----
 - (b) Women -----
 - (c) Boys -----
 - (d) Girls -----
3. What are the major activities done by children in the farm?
 - (a) -----

- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----
4. What are the indicators of the worst forms of child labour?
- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----
5. Do you have any migrant labourers? YES ----- NO -----
6. If YES where do they come from?
- (a) -----
- (b) -----
7. What is the mode of payment, for working children?
- (a) Hourly -----
- (b) Daily -----
- (c) Weekly -----
- (d) Monthly -----
8. What are the forms of payment?
- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----
9. How many times (seasons) do you employ children in a year?
- (a) -----
- (b) -----
10. What do children do in each of the seasons?
- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
11. Do you have formal contracts with the working children?
- (a) YES ----- NO -----
12. Can you mention the types of contracts?
- (a) -----
- (b) -----

(c) -----

13. If NO, why?

(a) -----

(b) -----

(c) -----

(d) -----

14. If YES, what is the contract?

(a) -----

(b) -----

(c) -----

(d) -----

15. Of which age, children are employed? -----

16. What can you say about the working environment, in which children are exposed?

(a) -----

(b) -----

(c) -----

17. In your opinion, why do children under 18 years come to ask for employment in your tobacco farms?

(a) -----

(b) -----

(c) -----

(d) -----

18. What should be done, to help children especially those under 18 years, not to work in the tobacco farms?

(a) -----

(b) -----

(c) -----

(d) -----

Appendx-V

**INTERVIEWS FOR PARENTS/GUARDIANS OF NON-AND WORKING
CHILDREN IN TOBACCO GROWING AREAS**

(IRINGA RURAL AND URAMBO DISTRICTS)

DECEMBER 2000

1. Age ----- 2. Sex ----- 3. Tribe -----
4. Level of education -----
5. Do you have any disability? YES ----- NO -----
6. If YES, what type of physical disability? -----
7. Married ----- 8. Single ----- 9. Widowed -----
10. Divorced/separated ----- 11. Occupation -----
12. How many children do you have-by-gender - boys ----- and girls -----
13. How many dependants do you have? ----- how many are orphans -----
14. What do your children do? -----
15. Do you have any children who are working in tobacco farms?
YES ----- NO -----
16. If YES, how many by gender/age -----
17. If NO, what are the reasons?
(a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----
18. If YES, why?
(a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----
19. Why do people get their children employed in tobacco farms?
(a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----
(d) -----

II. What are the indicators of the worst forms of child labour?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

20. What is your place of domicile? -----

21. When/Why did you come here?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

22. Do your children go to school? YES ----- NO -----

23. If NO, why?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

24. What is the socio-economic status of the families with working children?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----

25. Do all children in this village or ward work in tobacco farms?

YES ----- NO -----

26. If YES, why?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

27. If NO, why?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

28. What is your income per year? -----

29. What are the problems that working children encounter?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

30. How are the problems solved?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

31. What type of activities do children perform in tobacco farms?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

32. How many times (seasons) do children work in tobacco farms?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

33. Who owns the tobacco farms in this ward? -----

INTERVENTIONS

34. What should be done to do away with child labour?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

35. What should the village government do to alleviate the problem of child labour?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----

Appendix-VI
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LABOUR OFFICERS
(IRINGA AND TABORA)

SECTION A

Region ----- District -----
Sex ----- Position (Labour Officer) -----

SECTION B

1. Do you have the problem of the worst forms of child labour in your district?
YES ----- NO -----
2. If YES, can you mention the sectors which have such forms of child labour?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
 - (d) -----
 - (e) -----
3. What are the indicators of the worst forms of child labour?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
 - (d) -----
 - (e) -----
4. In your opinion, what are the causes behind the worst forms of child labour?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
 - (d) -----
 - (e) -----
5. What are the characteristic features (economically & socially etc)
 - (a) -----

- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

6. What kind of problems do the working children encounter?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

7. As labour officers, how are the problems solved?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

8. What are the consequences of child labour on the children?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----

SECTION C

9. What have been your deliberate efforts to alleviate this problem in this district?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

10. To what extent have you succeeded or failed? -----

11. If, succeeded, how?

- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

Appendix-VII

**QUESTIONNAIRE TO HEADS/TEACHERS OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE
KEY LOCATION**

1. School -----
2. Sex -----
3. What is the state of primary school infrastructure?

<u>Equipment</u>	<u>Required</u>	<u>Available</u>
Classrooms		
Desks		
Teachers		
Staff houses		
Latrines		
Chairs		
Libraries		
Play grounds		

*What is the number of school going age children, who have not been enrolled?

4. How many pupils does your school have?
 - (a) Boys-----
 - (b) Girls -----
5. What is the capacity of the school? -----
6. On average how many pupils does each class have? -----
7. What is the required number per class? -----
8. Do you experience dropout rates in your school?
YES ----- NO -----
9. If YES, why?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----

10. What is the number of teachers and their qualifications?

Grade	Male	Required	Available	Female	Required	Available
A						
B						
C						
TOTAL						

11. What is the teacher - pupil ratio?

12. Does the school provide pupils with services besides the academic ones? List down

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

13. How far is the school from the tobacco growing sites? -----

14. How much do pupils pay per year?

15. What is the trend of enrolment rate in your school?

[illegible]

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

[illegible]

17. What is the graduate rate?

[illegible]

18. How many pupils have been selected to join form one in the last ten years?

1991		1992		1993		1994		1995		1996		1997		1998		1999		2000	
F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M

19. What are the expectations of parents after primary education?
- (a) -----
- (b) -----
20. What do STD VII leavers do in the village?
- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
21. How many times, have the school pupils involved in tobacco farms?
- (a) -----
- (b) -----
22. What are the indicators of the worst forms of child labour in tobacco plantations?
- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
23. It is quite obvious that, there are children who work in tobacco farms in your area. In your opinion what are the reasons that make children under 18 years work in these farms?
- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----
24. What school expenses and contributions are supposed to be paid by parents?
- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----

25. To what has this been implemented by the parents? -----

26. Do all parents guardians afford to pay a contribution?
YES ----- NO -----
27. If NO, why?
(a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----
28. What measures are taken for the parents who fail to pay?
(a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----

INTERVENTIONS

1. What should be done at village level to alleviate the problem of child labour?
(a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----
2. Which organizations can be effectively assist to alleviate the problem of child labour in this village/ward?
(a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----
(d) -----
3. What should be the base for the programmes and interventions of child labour by NGOs and government?
(a) -----
(b) -----
(c) -----

Appendix-VIII
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR AGRICULTURAL OFFICERS IN TOBACCO FARMS
(IRINGA AND TABORA)

Date ----- 12. 2000

1. District ----- 2. Locality -----
3. Sex -----
4. Level of education -----
5. Professional qualification -----
6. For how long have you been with tobacco farms? -----
7. In your opinion, where do labourers who work in tobacco farms come from?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
8. What is the total number of labourers in tobacco farms in this ward?
Men ----- Women ----- Children -----
9. Of these labourers, how many children work in tobacco farms?
 - (a) Boys -----
 - (b) Girls -----
10. In your opinion, why do children work in tobacco farms?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
 - (d) -----
11. What are the indicators of the worst forms of child labour in these tobacco farms?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
12. Can you identify the activities performed by children in tobacco farms?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----

- (d) -----
13. When do they start work? -----
14. When do they stop? -----
15. When do they rest? ----- and for how long -----
16. Do they have time to play? ----- YES ----- NO -----
17. Identify characteristic features prevalent in this community, that force people to work in tobacco farms?
- (a) -----
- (b) -----
- (c) -----
- (d) -----
18. What are the working conditions in tobacco farms?
- (a) Natural surroundings: -
- Distance -----
- Risk of diseases -----
- (b) Tools -----
- (c) Nature of materials used -----
- (d) Abuse -----
- (e) Emergency & personal one
- | | |
|-------------------|--------|
| Special clothes | YES/NO |
| Protective gears | YES/NO |
| Drinking water | YES/NO |
| Toilets | YES/NO |
| First aid kit | YES/NO |
| Medical treatment | YES/NO |
19. What are the problems/hazards facing workers and working children?
- (a) Workers
- (i) -----
- (ii) -----
- (iii) -----

- (iv) -----
- (b) Working children
 - (i) -----
 - (ii) -----
 - (iii) -----
 - (iv) -----

INTERVENTIONS

1. What should be done to assist the working children?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
2. Which organizations can effectively assist to alleviate the problem?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----
 - (d) -----
3. What should the government do to solve the problem?
 - (a) -----
 - (b) -----
 - (c) -----

**FOCUSSED GROUP DISCUSSION - INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PARENTS
OR GUARDIANS IN TOBACCO GROWING AREAS**

Interview Guide Topics in the Form of Questions.

1. Are there any children working in tobacco plantations or farms in this village or ward?
2. Why do children work in tobacco plantations or farms in this village or ward?
3. What are the specific activities performed by children in tobacco plantations or farms in this village or ward?
4. As parents or guardians do you benefit from these activities of working children?
YES ----- NO -----
5. How do you benefit from the activities performed by children in tobacco plantations or farms?
6. What is your opinion on the question of the worst forms of child labour?
7. What should be done to combat this problem?
8. What effects do these activities have on their education, health, social relations or life in general?

RA – METHODOLOGY WORKING M ATRIX

RESEARCH ISSUES	SOURCE	METHODS
1. Historical Background <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Production in Tanzania: An Overview. • When growing of Tobacco began. • Contribution of Tobacco to national income. • Production trend for the past five(5) years. • Average annual output • Total labour force in the sector. • Members of working children. • Location of working children concentration. 	Documentary sources: Books, Journals, Conference papers research reports newspapers etc.	Preliminary Interview/review of relevant literature.
2. Methodology. Rapid Assessment/Appraisal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key Locations. Structured • Identify the Key study Locations. • Identify local research assistants (insiders). 	Local leaders individual residents	interview. Mapping.
3. Findings: -Study area profile Background history of the plantation. (a)Location of the plantation (b)Population gender and interviews age group esp. children. •Dependency ratio (c)Ethnic diversity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Original inhabitants • Migrants and where they centre from and why. (d)Socio economic activities	Owners/ Employers/Managers of tobacco the Plantation/ farms Tobacco Plantation management local leaders/Village/ ward /Religious leaders Local leaders Key Informants/	Interview mapping Interviews

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nature of economic activities taking place. • Climatic conditions and calendar seasons. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Show if children are deployed to work on plantations during specific seasons. <p>(e) Social and economic infrastructure.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain the nature of existing social service institutions: Schools, hospitals, water supply. • Communication infrastructure Road, Telephone and Posts. • Govt. institutions, police, local government. <p>(f) Education Analysis.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Number of Schools. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary schools • Secondary schools • Vocational trg. Centers -Primary School infrastructure desks, classrooms, teachers houses, latrines, playground library. -Number of children-male/female Ratio. -Distance to primary school from the Key location. - School attendance - Drop out rates and why? Boys Vs Girls. - Enrollment Rate - Member of school going age children. - Teacher-pupil ratio - Services provided at school e.g. meals, treatment for minor injuries. 	Local guides	Tansect walk.
	Key Informants Local guides/ Supervisors/workers	Tansect walk Interviews checklists
	Members of school committees	FGD(interviews)
	Heds/teachers of primary school Headteachers D.E.O.	Observation/CL & Interviews
	Parents/guardians	Interview
	School Children Headteacher/teachers Headteacher	Interview Questionnaire Interview
3.2 Underlying causes of child labour. - Economic reasons(poverty)	Headteacher/teachers	Interview
	Household members	Structured

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definition of poverty • Incoming of very poor, poor, rich. • Average income of household. • Expenditure pattern <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Size of family (standard 6) - Member of meals per day(3) • Food production in the area. • Cash crop production/ household level. • Average annual income • Are people paying development levy. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -how much are they paying • Gender resource ownership and decision making • Type of houses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Permanent, semi permanent - materials used for the walls, floor and roof. • Does the head of the family have a stable job or not/and type of job/structure occupation. • Do working children come from poor families not engaged in life labour. • Identify the nature of house Local property e.g. radio, Bicycles. <p>(b) Social reasons.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Size of the family • Family headed <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male headed • Child headed -Do some families/households value the contribution of the working children. -Would parents appreciate if a working child was withdrawn - Number of working children 	village/ward government leaders	Interview FGD.
	Household members Local Govt. leaders.	Structured interview Interview
	Household members	Observation Interview
	Household members	Observation dialogue.
	Social Workers Local leaders/ Religious leaders/village leaders Parents/Workers	Interviews Interviews
	Parents/Workers	Interviews
	Local leaders	Interviews

<p>from different types of household.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why children work on Plantations. <p>(c) Political reasons refugees migrants.</p> <p>(d) Social-cultural – socialization process.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community awareness on WFCL. • Do parents know the effects of child labour • What do they know about WFCL. - Efforts made so far to combat the WFCL in the area. - Extent and magnitude of WFCL in the sector. - Nature of activities tasks number of children involved in each task. - Daily work schedule at the working children. • When do they start working • Working hours each day • Do they have time to rest/ playing time. • Do any have recess (tea or lunch break) • Do they get any meals at the work place. - Feature of WFCL - The working environment and features of WFCL in the sector. - Nature of hazards facing children. - Nature of health problems experienced by working children. - Do hidden child worker bonded child labour exist • The possible number of 	<p>Extension Officers</p> <p>Local leaders</p> <p>Parents</p> <p>Labour Office Local leaders Extension Officers Local leaders Parents, Employers</p> <p>Children</p> <p>Working children</p> <p>Parents Labour Officers</p>	<p>Interview</p> <p>Interview Observation</p> <p>Interview FGD.</p> <p>Conversation Interview FGD.</p> <p>Conversation Interview</p> <p>Interview Interview</p>
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<p>hidden child workers.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hazards they face. -Recommendation • Forms of payment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cash <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kind - Both - How much - Duration of payment - To whom given. - When most earning are made and why. - Use of earnings • Family use(for family) • How much per day <ul style="list-style-type: none"> week month • Which items are purchased • who purchases • amount sent to parents (per what time duration) • Personal use <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Daily - Weekly - Monthly <p>For which interms.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exploitation and abuse and risks. - Employer-employee relations. • Nature of contract <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - casual - permanent - part time - oral - written <p>Type of tools used in the activity.</p>	<p>Extension Officers Working children Agriculture Officers Working children</p> <p>Working children</p> <p>Working children</p>	<p>Interview</p> <p>Interview Conversation Interview FGD.</p> <p>Conversation Interview FGD.</p> <p>-do-</p>
<p>3.3. Social Support Network</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In times of financial need - In times of illness - When depressed 	<p>Working children Focus Groups</p>	<p>Conversation Interview F/Group discussion</p>

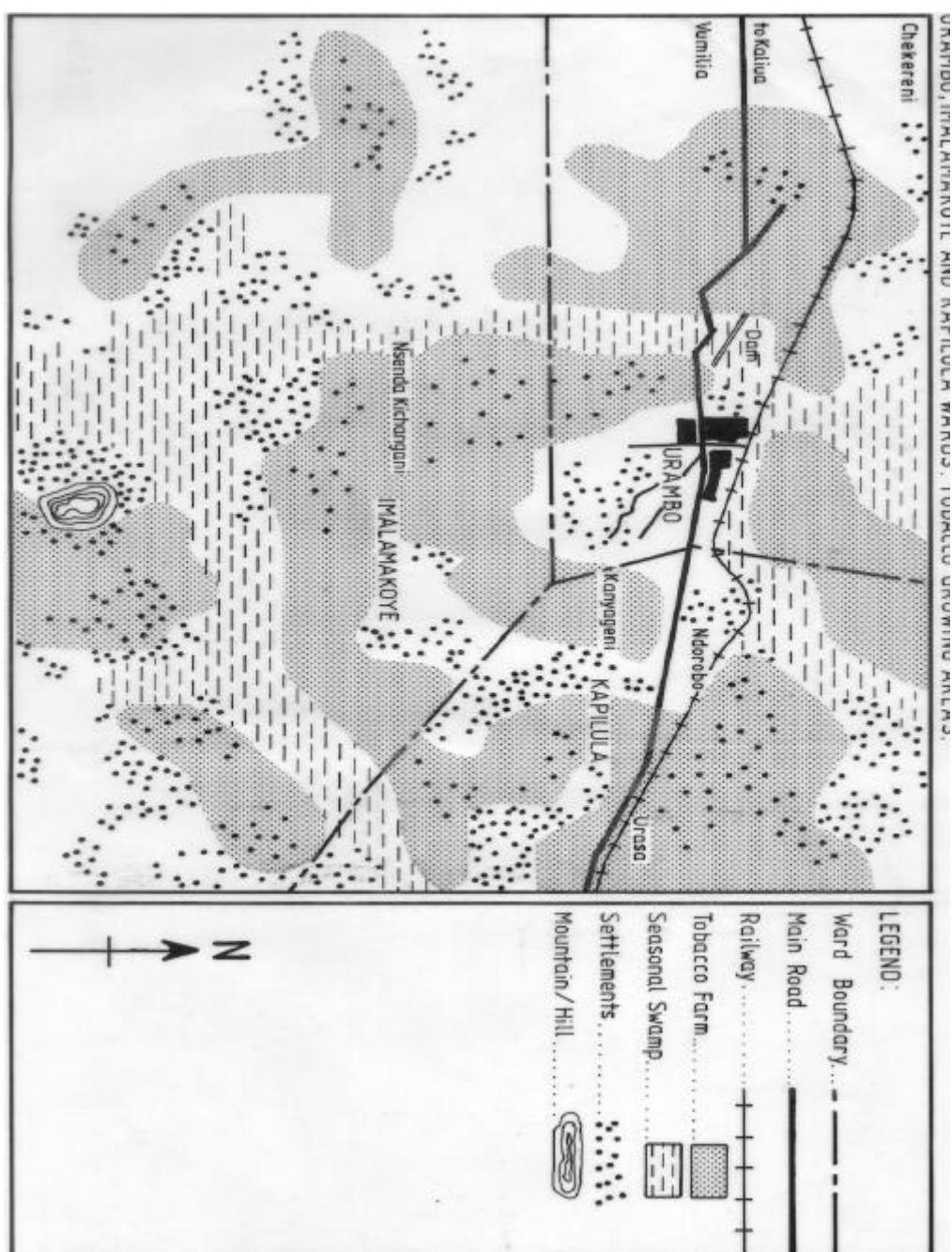
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Location.		
-Characteristics of the community surrounding the working children in encouraging is discouraging child labour practice to flourish.	Local leaders	Interview Questionnaires
- Children/Parents migration and work histories in relation to child labour.	Children Parents	FGD Interview
- Living conditions	Households	Observation Interview
• Health nutrition status		
• Food intake		
- Life histories		
- Education		
• School working	working children	Conversation Interview
• Preference for school		
• Drop out		
• Going back to school	Parents	
• Completion of Primary school.		
• Attitude of children/ Parents towards education School.		
-What is to be done		
• Measures to alleviate the problem of WFCL	Working children Parents Target Groups Local leaders	Interview FGD Questionnaire
• Kinds of intervention and assistance they would need		
• Organisation which can effectively assist to alleviate the situation.		
• Suitable and practical basis for initiaty programme and intervension by govt. NGO.	Labour Officers	Questionnaire
	Heads/teachers of primary schools	FGD.

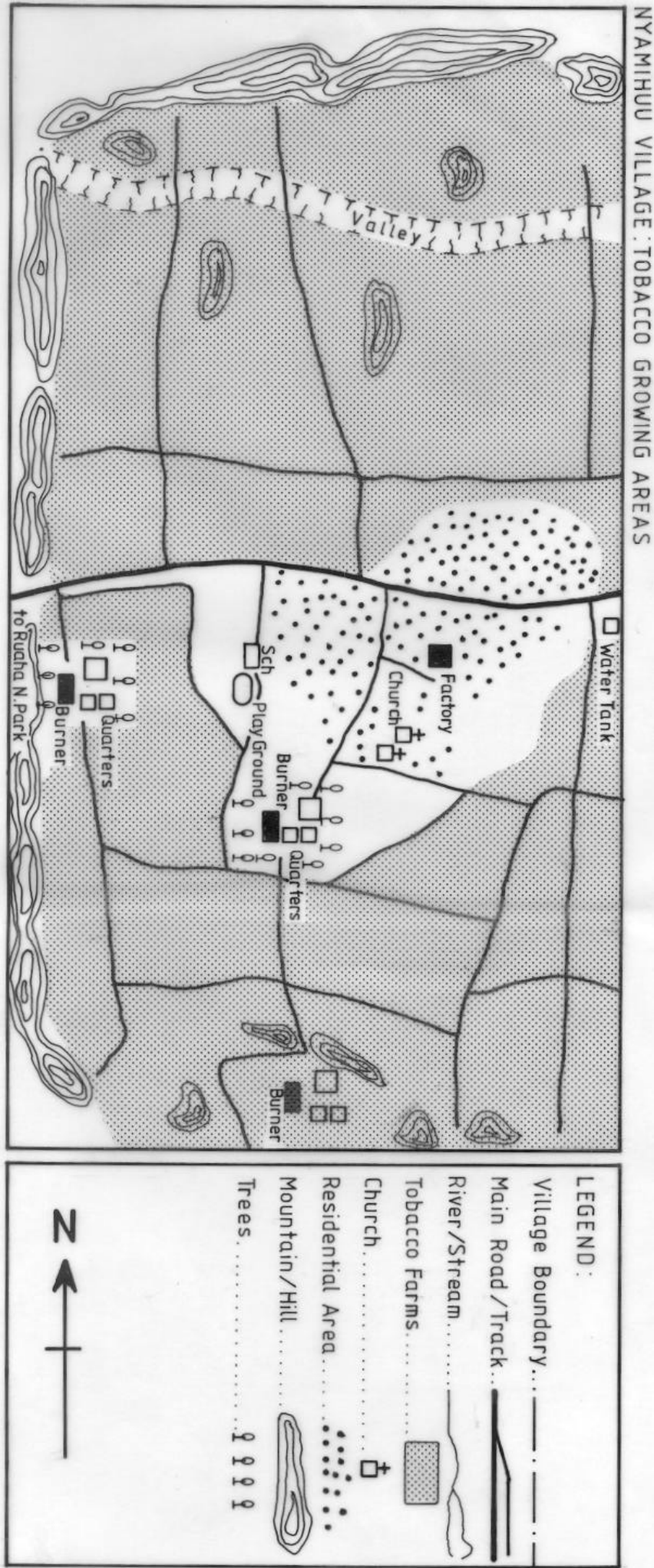
Annex III

Maps

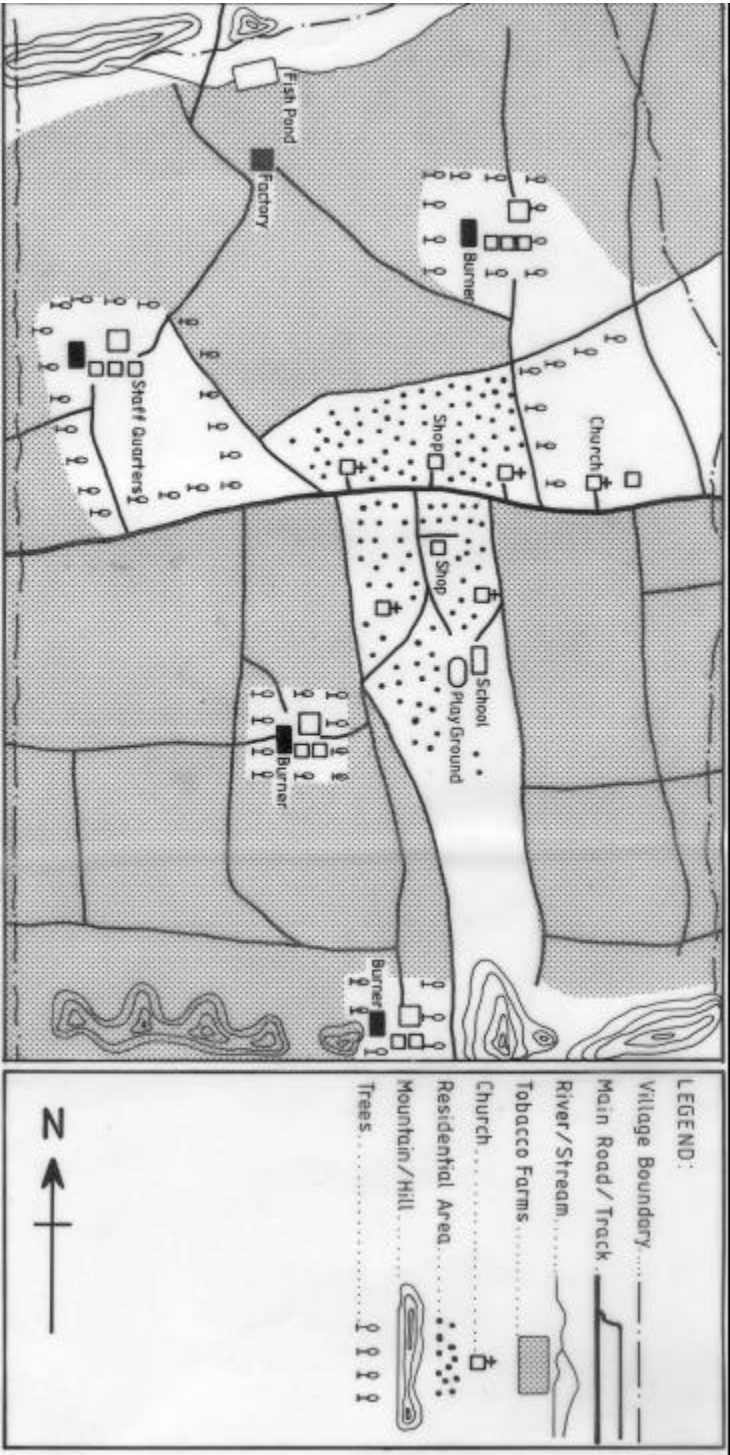
Urambo, Imalamakoye and Kapilula Wards: Tobacco Growing Areas



Nyamihuu Village:
Tobacco Growing
Areas



Kidamali Village: Tobacco Growing Areas



Nzihi Village: Tobacco Growing Areas

