



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

**Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 13
Tanzania
Children Working in Commercial Agriculture – Coffee:
A Rapid Assessment**

**By
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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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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ATE:	Association of Tanzania Employers
ICFTU:	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ILO:	International Labour Organisation
MLYD:	Ministry of Labour and Youth Development
TFL:	Tanzania Flowers Limited
TFTU:	Tanzania Federation of Trade Unions.
TPAWU:	Tanzania Plantations and Agriculture Workers Union
TOT:	Training of Trainers
UMATI:	Uzazi na Malezi Bora Tanzania (Family Planning Association)
WFCL:	Worst Forms of Child Labour

A Typical Working Child on a Coffee Plantation

Fatuma¹ is a twelve year-old girl working on a coffee plantation in Karatu. She lives with her parents on the farm, where they are employees. Fatuma has seven older brothers and sisters, and she is the third born in the family. Her two elder sisters are already married and they live in the next village. Three of her brothers are in primary school and the youngest one is still at home.

Fatuma dropped out of school while in Standard VI last year, because her parents could not afford to pay her school fees. Even her brothers' school fees have not been fully paid. She now works on the farm on a full-time basis. Her work consists mainly of picking and weeding the coffee *shamba*. On average she spends 9-10 hours working every day.

Payment is on a piece rate basis, Tsh 250/-² for every tin of coffee berries (20kg). Payment for her labour is made in cash on a daily basis to her parents. They use it to purchase food and personal effects for Fatuma and to contribute towards the school fees of her younger brothers. During the last picking season, she was bitten by a strange insect, which resulted in a serious skin infection. She has twice seen dangerous snakes, but ran away in good time.

¹ All names have been changed for reasons of confidentiality

² USD \$1 = Tshs 887 (September 2001)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Research by: NSWTI

Coffee is among the key export cash crops in Tanzania. It ranks second to cashew nuts in terms of foreign exchange earnings for the country. Total production of coffee rose from 41,000 tons in 1998 to 45,000 tons in 1999. This is an increase of 7.4 percent. Tanzania had a bumper harvest of coffee in 1995 when total production stood at 47,970 tons. The total foreign exchange earning in the same year amounted to 142.6 million dollars. Thereafter, production declined up to 38,050 tons in 1999, which fetched a total of 76.63 million dollars. This was a decline of 20.7 percent.

It is estimated that there are about 400,000 coffee producers in Tanzania. That number includes both small and big farmers. The main coffee producing areas in Tanzania include, Kagera Mbeya, Ruvuma, Kilimanjaro and Arusha regions. Coffee is mainly produced by a few rich farmers and a large number of peasants, while in Arusha and Kilimanjaro in particular, Christian missionaries also own coffee plantations. Whereas small holder peasants in Kagera and Mbeya (Rungwe) rely exclusively on family labour, the coffee plantations in Arusha mainly deploy children, especially during the peak picking season.

Child labour on coffee plantations in Arusha was studied as one of seven rapid assessments undertaken in Tanzania to investigate the worst forms of child labour as part of a larger International Labour Organization (ILO) – International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) project. It was considered that coffee plantations harbour high incidences of child labour. The study applied the rapid assessment methodology and both qualitative and quantitative approaches were used. A qualitative approach was used to describe the nature of child labour activities in the plantations, while a quantitative approach was used to collect quantitative data in households and schools in an attempt to verify the causes of child labour on the plantations.

The most dominant methods which were used included, documentary analysis, interviews with children, key informants, parents and non-working children. Other methods included observation, focussed group discussion and transecting. Most of these methods were useful in terms of generating relevant information required by the study.

There were, however, a few limitations in using the rapid assessment methodology. These included the limited time for undertaking the study, as well as limited time to conduct interviews with working children. Interviewing children successfully requires time to build a rapport, in order to ensure maximum cooperation. Given more time more children would have been able to be interviewed.

The quick timeframe did not allow verification of some of the findings from the key respondents and children. Understanding the impact of child labour takes time, so as to examine all factors that may have a negative impact on the children.

The key variables examined by the study comprised the actual activities performed by children on the coffee plantation, the working conditions to which the children were submitted and the hazards they faced. Other variables included, demographic factors, family background of the working children, level of income of parents with working children, education levels and other interesting life experiences. The study has revealed that the four key locations i.e. Nitin, Shah, Tinga Tinga and Kiran coffee plantations employed around 1,200 children during the picking season. The majority of the children who work on the coffee plantation were aged 10 to 14 years. Most of the working children belonged to Mbulu and Iraqw tribes - those indigenous to the area of study.

The working children were female (i.e. 60%) as compared to males (40%). Furthermore, most of the working children were also attending school on the coffee estates, a fact which is revealed by an insignificant number of drop outs. Working affected the children's academic performance. Most of the schools had only one child, if any, selected to join secondary school.

In as far as family size is concerned, most of the working children come from families with six to nine members. The findings suggest that the smaller the family, the less likely the children were forced to work. Likewise, the size of large families acted as a push factor into child labour. Family income was another factor that influenced children's involvement in the child labour activities on the coffee plantations. Most of the children who participated in child labour came from families with low income earners. Children from families that earned higher income did not participate in child labour activities.

Children worked on average eight hours a day. However, the working days depended upon the season. The agricultural calendar of coffee production reveals that December to January is the time for pruning, while February to April is when spraying takes place and there are few young children involved. From May to June it is time for weeding, and from July

to September coffee picking is undertaken. Girls are mostly involved in weeding and picking coffee berries while boys are involved in these same tasks as well as in spraying.

Most of the children worked during the morning hours, mostly during the school vacations. Some worked for 10 hours while others worked for eight hours. Working tools consisted of big scissors for pruning, and bush pangas (knives) and hand hoes for weeding. The risks involved in child labour activities on coffee plantations included skin diseases, pneumonia, cuts from the coffee tree plants and snake and insect bites. Because the plantations bordered the Ngorongoro national park, children were also at risk of harm from wild animals.

The major cause of child labour was low income of the parents which necessarily compelled the children to participate in child labour activities. Other reasons included family size as mentioned earlier, and a low level of recognition of the importance of education. Solutions, therefore, call for raising the standard of living of the parents by increasing their income. In African culture and perhaps in many other countries, a child is helpless; it is the parents position which will determine how the child behaves. Hence by empowering the parents, we may solve the problem of child labour on the coffee plantations. Moreover, there is the need to educate the parents on the importance of schooling, so that they put more concern and emphasis on the academic performance of their children.

In summary, given the above circumstances, the results of the research in Karatu district is assessed as a worst form of child labour. If the situation is left to grow and assume new dimensions it is expected to become even more severe. Because of this, measures should be taken immediately to improve the situation and avoid the development of even worse circumstances.

1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.1 The coffee sector in Tanzania

The economy of Tanzania is heavily dependent on the agricultural sector, which accounts for 5% of the GDP, and contributes more than 55% of foreign exchange earnings. This sector also provides employment to 85% of the population and is a dependable source of food and raw materials for the industrial sector. Main cash crops grown for export include coffee, cashew nuts, tea, tobacco, cotton, sisal, pyrethrum, cloves, copra and spices. Some of the cash crops such as coffee, tea, sisal, tobacco and pyrethrum are mainly grown on large estates or by peasant farmers, while the remaining crops are largely grown by small holder farmers. Tanzania's agriculture is vulnerable to erratic rainfall patterns and changing climatic conditions. Good harvests were recorded in 1994/95 and 1995/96, especially for coffee and cotton, which benefited from the good rains.

Tanzania is among Africa's well-known coffee producers and exporters. Other leading African countries include Côte d'Ivoire, Uganda, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Kenya and Cameroon. There are two main types of coffee grown in Tanzania, Arabica and Robusta. The regions producing coffee include: Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Tanga, Morogoro, Iringa, Ruvuma, Mbeya, Rukwa, Kigoma, Kagera Mwanza and Mara.

It is estimated that, there are more than 400,000 coffee producers in Tanzania. The above number includes both small holder farmers and large-scale farmers. According to a large scale commercial and institutional farming survey carried out in 1994/95 (funded by the World Bank with technical assistance from the Food and Agriculture Organization and in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Central Bureau of Statistics) the following was revealed:

Coffee is grown on 154 commercial and institutional agricultural holdings. According to the 1994/95 census on large-scale farming, these holdings were concentrated in the regions of Kilimanjaro (33%), Arusha (38%) and Mbeya (10%). The total area of planted coffee was 6,548 hectares, while privately registered companies operated the largest area (73%). The number of planted coffee trees was 5,695,457; they were distributed among operators as follows:

- Government operators - 4%
- parastatal organizations – 1%
- private registered companies - 81%
- private non-registered companies - 6%
- other operators - 8%.

The table below illustrates the percentage distribution of surveyed coffee trees among operators. The average number of trees per agricultural holding was 39,983 and the coffee production was 2,105 tons with an average yield of 322 kilogrammes per hectare.

In the last twenty years, coffee production in Tanzania has remained more or less stagnant at an average of 50,000 metric tons per year, despite the fact that land under coffee cultivation has doubled with the discovery of new coffee growing areas and the liberalization of the coffee market. The present acreage under coffee is around 258,000 hectares. Small holder farmers command the majority with 246,000 hectares, while the remaining 12,000 hectares are under estate(s) holders. For more details refer to the table on coffee cultivation acreage below.

Table 1.1: Coffee cultivation acreage (000 Hectares) in Tanzania 1995 – 2000

Year	SMALL HOLDERS		Total	ESTATES	TOTAL
	Mild Arabica	Hard Arabica and Robusta		Mild Arabica	Small Holders and Estates
1995/96*	150.6	96.3	246.0	12.2	258.2
1996/97*	150.6	96.3	246.0	12.2	258.2
1997/98*	150.6	96.3	246.0	12.2	258.2
1998/99*	150.6	96.3	246.0	12.2	258.2
1999/00*	150.6	96.3	246.0	12.2	258.2

* Estimates

Source: Basic Data, Agriculture and Livestock Sector, 1992/93– 1989/99 Ministry of Agriculture.

Recent trends in coffee production between the years 1992 and 2000 indicate that Tanzania recorded good harvests of coffee (both Arabica and Robusta) during the seasons 1992/93 and 1995/96 which produced 59,574 and 52,490 tons of clean coffee respectively. Other seasons have witnessed a sharp decline in coffee production as follows: 1993/94 – 34,151 tons, 1994/95 – 41,971 tons, 1996/97 – 43,568, 1997/98 – 38,002 tons, 1998/99 – 46,670 tons and 1999/00 – 47,811 tons. The table below illustrates clearly the recent trends in coffee production.

Table 1.2: Coffee production trends (tons) in Tanzania 1992/93 – 1999/2001

COFFEE/Year	92/93	93/94	94/95	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00
Arabica	44229	25708	26483	40547	30752	21447	31674	34431
Robusta	15345	8443	15488	11943	12816	16555	14996	13380
TOTAL	59574	34151	41971	52490	43568	38002	46670	47811

Source: Agricultural Information Services (AIS), Ministry of Agriculture.

The figures in the above table underline the fact that coffee production in Tanzania has decreased during recent years. Over the last eight years the average production was approximately 45,000 tons while the long-term average had been 50,000 tons (Economic Survey 1999).

Coffee production remains much below its potential. In view of the present acreage under coffee (around 258,000 hectares), estimated average coffee production should have exceeded 80,000 tons by now. The Tanzania Coffee Board (TCB) has recently confirmed that the coffee production target of 52,000 metric tons for the 2000/01 season was set to be surpassed as more coffee was still under different stages of processing and awaiting disposal at the TCB auction in Moshi.

As stated earlier, coffee remains one of the key export cash crops of Tanzania. Currently, coffee ranks second to cashew nuts in terms of foreign exchange earnings for the country (Economic survey 1999).

1.2 Problems facing the coffee sector in Tanzania

Coffee faces several production problems including disease. Diseases such as leaf rust (*Hemileia Vastatrichum*) and fusarium bark disease (*Fusarium still boides*) among others mostly affect Arabica Coffee. Out of these diseases only fusarium bark affects Robusta coffee.

The most notorious insect pests attacking both types of coffee include leaf miners, antestia, berry moths, berry borers, leaf skeletonizers, scales and mealy bugs. Nematodes also afflict Arabica coffee. Moreover, poor application of field husbandry practices affects coffee production significantly. Factors affecting low coffee yields are too few coffee trees per hectare, poor pruning, and lack of inputs to control diseases and insects resulting in poor production per tree. Many coffee trees are old and need stumping to rejuvenate production. Practices of coffee cultivation that are the cultural norm are weeding, mulching, pruning, stumping, spraying against pests and diseases, fertilizer application and harvesting.

Tanzania is not only faced with the problem of decline in coffee production, but also the decline in the quality of coffee produced. The decline in coffee production is attributed to the following factors:

- **Changing climatic conditions:** These have continued to influence the year-to-year coffee production. Much of the crop under cultivation is rain-fed therefore lack of adequate rainfall affects coffee production. For example, the serious drought that hit the northern Arabica Coffee producing regions caused significant fall in coffee outputs in the 1997/98 season when only 38,002 tons were produced.
- **Poor motivation to farmers** in the form of low prices, low payments, and competition with other crops: in the past, through a monopoly system, coffee was sold to cooperatives. Buying on credit and prolonged delays in coffee payments to the farmers have been a wide spread phenomenon. This coupled with poor pricing policies (low prices), have widely discouraged coffee farmers in Tanzania. With the liberalization of coffee trade in 1994 many private coffee buyers have joined the business and brought with them vigour and competition. Now many small holder farmers prefer to sell their coffee to private buyers because of the good price offered and prompt payments. But the word “good price” should be used with caution since the actual local buying price has been falling drastically over the years. While a kilogramme of coffee was bought at around Tshs. 800/= during the 1993/94 season, now the same kilogramme is bought at TShs. 300/= by private buyers and TShs. 200/= by cooperatives respectively.

The only consolation to the peasants or small holder farmers is that their payments are no longer delayed, especially when their coffee has been sold to private buyers. Ironically some of the cooperative societies have now become buying

agents of private coffee buyers. However many farmers countrywide are worried about the continued instability of coffee prices.

- There is a low use of inputs by coffee farmers due to the requirement that the costs of the inputs have to be paid for in cash. The inputs include chemicals such as pesticides and insecticides and also industrial fertilizer.
- Many small holder farmers use poor coffee crop husbandry practices, and have tended to ignore normal cultural practices of coffee farming that involve weeding, pruning, stumping, spraying, fertilizing, and harvesting when the coffee berries are red and ripe.

On the other hand, the decline in the quality of coffee produced in Tanzania is caused by a number of reasons, namely:

- Aging of the coffee trees, especially in the northern regions of Arusha, Kilimanjaro and Kagera region, and lack of replacement or replanting of new trees is a major contributory factor for the persistent low production.
- Reduction in the use of inputs by farmers due to the prohibitive prices at which these inputs (fertilizers and pesticides) are sold. Fewer small holder farmers can afford to buy those inputs than in the past.
- Nationalization of coffee estates in the 1960s after the Arusha Declaration placed the huge estates in the hands of people with little knowledge of coffee farming and management thus lowering the quality of their produce.
- Declining standards of grading coffee at the buying posts.
- Minimal motivation to coffee farmers in order to improve quality due to lack of differential prices offered at the market for better quality coffee (Economic Survey 1999).

Realizing the many problems facing the coffee industry in Tanzania, the Ministry of Agriculture through the Coffee Management Unit and the Tanzania Coffee Board together with other stake holders, undertook various initiatives to encourage the coffee farmers to improve the quality of coffee they produced. Among these initiatives are:

- First and foremost, the rehabilitation of central pulperies in Kilimanjaro, Arusha and Ruvuma regions.
- Carrying out coffee quality campaigns in the major coffee producing regions in order to appeal to the small holder farmers to improve the quality of their coffee.
- Coffee pruning campaigns were carried out in the coffee growing regions. This was partly intended to provide advice to all farmers on coffee farm husbandry practices. The campaign is likely to assist in stabilizing coffee production and ensuring higher incomes to farmers.
- Promotion of seedling production all over the regions where coffee is grown. For example, in the northern zone alone seedling production would need to be stepped up to 3 or 4 million seedlings. Seedling production experiences gained during the 1995/96 seasons concluded that commercial seedling production could not be expected to solve the problem as farmers had proven to be reluctant to buy coffee seedlings at market rates.
- Preparation of an investment programme in order to increase the availability of water to coffee farmers in Mbozi, Mbeya region.
- Appealing or urging coffee buyers, both private and cooperatives alike, to introduce differential prices at the buying posts, by paying a higher price for the coffee of a higher quality.
- Upgrading of coffee research programmes was considered necessary in order to solve priority constraints that limit the production of both Arabica and Robusta Coffee and to improve quality by using improved technologies so as to raise farmers' income.

All the above stated measures (I.L.O 1996) are well spelled out in a policy on agriculture prepared by the Ministry of Agriculture, incorporating inputs from all stake holders in the coffee industry. This agriculture policy was adopted in 1997.

It must be acknowledged, however, that in order for the envisaged improvements in coffee productivity and profitability to occur, various constraints facing the small holder farmers need to be overcome. These include improvement in ways of controlling diseases and insect pests, provision of farm credits, loans or subsidies, increased availability of inputs, extension services, farmers education, and seasonal labour availability (Economic Survey 1999).

Coffee production in Karatu District

Karatu is one of the producers of coffee in Arusha Region. It ranks second after Arusha; followed by Babati. Coffee is a long established cash crop in Arusha Region. Over the last ten years, production in the Arusha Region has tended to increase slightly overall. Within this region, production in Arumeru is stagnant and Arusha is showing a declining tendency. Karatu and Hanang also show stagnating production while both Babati and Monduli show some improvement. Arusha Region produces 15% of the total coffee production in the country. The region produces an average of 13,000 tons of coffee per year and the average yield is around 0.58 tones per hectare. Coffee production trend in Arusha Region is indicated in Table 1.3

Table: 1.3: Estimated production of coffee (tons) by district – Arusha Region 1990/91 – 1996/97

District	90/91	91/92	92/93	93/94	94/95	95/96	96/97	Total	Yearly average	%	Rank
Arumeru	7500	8500	7000	10500	10000	9985	8500	61985	8855	68	1
Arusha	1999	3000	1180	2250	2450	1386	870	13135	1876	15	2
Babati	105	413	540	240	125	190	779	2392	342	3	5
Hanang	2	16	11	8	6	7	2	52	7	-	6
Mbulu/ Karatu	1645	157	29	102	1700	1600	356	5589	798	6	4
Monduli	100	1200	1200	1300	1200	1200	1300	7500	1071	8	3
Total	11351	13286	9960	14400	15481	14368	11807	90653	12949		

Source: Social Economic Survey Arusha Region, 1997.

The above table shows that Arumeru ranks first in coffee production followed by Arusha, and Monduli ranks third. The average annual production of coffee for the three districts in 1996/97 was 8,855 tons, 1876 tons and 342 tons respectively. Karatu ranked fourth with an annual average production of 798 tons. The latest data for production of coffee at Karatu district could not be obtained because Karatu was part of Mbulu district until 1995. The district has yet to establish its own statistical database for its various departments.

Karatu has more than thirty coffee plantations and a good number of them are located in Oldeani area. Asian businessmen mainly own the coffee plantations (Economic Survey 1997).

The processing of coffee consists of a number of stages. The first stage involves the picking of the red ripe coffee berries. This process requires many workers and it is at this stage that many temporary workers including children are employed. The second stage is when the coffee is passed through a pulping machine to remove the outer coat and extract the coffee bean. Thereafter, the coffee is kept to ferment for two days. After fermenting the coffee beans are washed and then spread on driers. After drying, the coffee beans are graded and packed in bags of fifty kilogrammes each. The bags are then sent to the coffee board for marketing to the external markets.

1.3 Research studies on child labour on the coffee plantations in Tanzania

Research studies have established that between 350,000 and 400,000 children below 15 years of age in Tanzania are engaged in child labour in various sectors of the economy including agriculture, mining in the informal sector and in domestic services (ILO/IPEC 1999).

Not many scholars have carried out research studies on child labour in the coffee sector. The few studies on child labour in the coffee sector include that of Rwegoshora (1995) and Nchahaga (1994). The former noted that most of the studies that have been made revolved around providing an overview of a situational assessment of child labour on plantations and related hazards. The plantations that were covered included coffee sugar, tea, tobacco, sisal, rubber and cloves. On all these plantations child labour has been found to exist and on most plantations, child labour was not a new phenomena. The latter was a case study report on the child labour situation in the North Eastern parts of Tanzania, specifically Arusha and Kilimanjaro Regions where there are significantly high yields of coffee, bananas and sugar cane. Three factors were noted as prompting the existence of child labour. These were poverty of parents, the irresponsibility of the parents, and the societal culture.

Nchahaga's study covered three coffee plantations in Arusha – namely the Holy Ghost Fathers, Kijenge and Burka coffee farms. The three farms had a total of 130 permanent workers who live in workers' camps built by the employers. The majority of working children were the sons and daughters of the farm employees. Children worked on the plantations during the picking seasons and during school vacations. The children worked for eight to ten hours per day. Since the amount of time children spent each day on the farms was the same as that spent by adults, the children were being exploited by being made to work for long hours without consideration of their age. Additionally, the heavy workloads

assigned to them were not proportional to their age. To make matters worse, child labour interferes with schooling. The labouring children spent a good part of their time working on the plantation depriving them of time for rest and recreational activities which are crucial to children's psycho-social development. The working children were paid very meagre wages, which were not proportional to their work - a main attraction of employing child labour compared to adult labour.

The plantation owners did not provide any incentives to the children who worked on the farms besides the meagre wages. By employing cheap labour employees are able to minimize costs and maximize profits. The study also revealed that children had no employment contracts which means they were working at their own risk. Most studies including Makusi (1992), Mwangosi (1995) and Mfunguo (1994) on child labour have acknowledged this.

The study by Nchahaga (1994) has shed some light on the child labour situation in the coffee sector. Important points highlighted in the study include the following points:

- Remuneration for both adults and children was the same i.e. Tshs. 120/=³ for filling one tin of ripe coffee berries.
- Work was measured on the basis of piece rate.
- Working children worked at their own risk; as they did not have a formal contract children were mostly recruited on oral contracts.
- Children worked for long hours (8- 10 hours) for meagre wages.
- Child labour affected school performance.
- Employers exploited working children.
- Child labour exacerbates the impoverishment of the rural people and further marginalizes them.

1.4 Efforts made in the past to combat child labour

Various measures have been taken to combat child labour in the agriculture sector. Both the trade unions and employers have, in collaboration with the International Labour Organization (ILO)/International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), implemented various programme activities for effective prevention of child labour on tea, coffee and tobacco plantations.

Intervention strategies have included the training of trade union leaders on collective bargaining for better and safer working conditions for children, raising awareness of plantation owners about negative aspects of child labour, safeguarding jobs for adults, and gradually reducing the number of children working on plantations.

Specific programmes on the elimination of child labour include the following:

(a) ILO – IPEC Programme

Programmes on the elimination of child labour under the support of ILO/IPEC started in 1996. Commercial agriculture was one of the sectors covered from 1996–1998. Implementing agencies were the Tanzania plantation and Agricultural Workers Union (TPAWU), Association of Tanzania Employers (ATE), Maelezo (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting) and the Ministry of Labour and Youth Development. Activities in the commercial agriculture sector included seminars and workshops aimed at creating awareness amongst employers, parents, local leaders, trade union leaders, schoolteachers, NGOs and religious leaders.

The ILO/IPEC Programme covered Rungwe, Muheza and Lushoto Districts. In terms of creating awareness the programme was very successful as an increasing number of key players hold a greater awareness of child labour issues. Since 1996 participating institutions, particularly TAPWU, have been monitoring the child labour situation.

³ USD \$1 = TShs 887 (September 2001)

(b) Trade Union programmes

TPAWU, alone and in collaboration with the International Trade Union Secretariat (ITS) named the International Union of Food (IUF), has negotiated collective bargaining agreements with employers in which the issue of child labour was given due consideration. TPAWU has also negotiated for the adoption of the International Code of Conduct (ICC) with some employers. The ICC does not allow child labour (employment) and it also allows for independent field monitors.

Through a collective bargaining agreement between TPAWU and the Tanzania Tea Growers Association (TTGA), a section on the elimination of the worst forms of child labour in the agricultural work places was included. The two parties (workers and employers) agreed on the restriction of employment of children below 18 years of age on the tea plantations. A similar clause on child labour is maintained in the collective agreement between TPAWU and the Tanzania Coffee Growers Association. TPAWU, in collaboration with the Swedish Agriculture Workers Union (SLF) of Sweden, initiated an educational fund whereby poor parents whose children have qualified for secondary education are given financial assistance. This has saved these children (70% at present) from joining the other group of working children.

In 1996 a sensitization programme undertaken by the trade union catering to the workers in Conservation, Hotels, Domestic, and Allied Work (CHODAWU) helped to create awareness on prevention and elimination of child labour. Trade union leaders at the field level were assigned to sensitize community members in the villages surrounding coffee estates.

(c) Employers' efforts

Village communities have been made aware of child labour issues through a special programme carried out by the Association of Tanzania Employers (ATE). The ATE programme was implemented in the regions of Tanga, Iringa and Mbeya.

In Tanga region nine estates were covered including Herikulu and Balangai tea estates in Lushoto district. Awareness was also raised through mass media such as radio, newspapers and through contacts with other people in the village. These efforts brought about great improvement.

For example, in Rungwe District village governments have taken the initiative of sensitizing parents on the issue of child labour. As a result some villages have banned the use of children deployed by school authorities to work on plantations or local farms for the purpose of generating income for the school.

However, although child labour in the agriculture sector dropped, it was noted through various sources to have shifted to other sectors of the economy such as mining and domestic work. This illustrates the need for intersectoral programmes in order to address the child labour problem in a comprehensive and holistic manner. Strategies should also be developed to tackle the same problem on small holder farms or in areas where sub-contracting and casualisation of labour is gaining momentum.

This chapter has highlighted the situation of coffee production in Tanzania. We have noted that coffee, which was the leading cash crop in the country, has fallen to second position after cashew nuts. Increased production cost and fluctuating prices are part of the causes of the decline of coffee production.

The liberalization of agriculture production and marketing has had an adverse impact on the small holder coffee farmers and has also affected productivity. Small holder farmers who used to rely on government subsidies and farm inputs supplied on credit by the cooperatives are now supposed to fend for themselves. It was noted that in order to improve coffee productivity and for profitability to occur, the various constraints facing the small holder farmers need to be overcome. These include improvement in ways of controlling diseases and insect pests, provision of farm credits, loans or subsidies, availability of inputs, extension services, farmers education and seasonal labour availability.

The ILO/IPEC in collaboration with the Trade Union and ATE have carried out various sensitization programmes geared towards the elimination of child labour. Results of these programmes in the coffee sector are encouraging, since child labour in the coffee sector is said to have declined. However, IPEC and other key players including ATE and TPAWU should not be complacent due to the achievement attained so far, as the decline in child labour in the coffee sector may not necessarily be solely the function of sensitization programmes. Besides it has been learned that children who have been withdrawn from the agriculture sector moved to the informal sector activities where anti-child labour restrictions are slightly loose and not well pronounced.

The following chapter deals with the methodology of the study.

2. RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

2.1 Objectives of the study

The main objectives of the study comprised the following:

- To examine the causes of child labour on coffee plantations in Karatu District and determine the extent and magnitude of the problem.
- To examine the activities, characteristics and working conditions of working children on the coffee plantations.
- To analyse the consequences emanating from children's involvement on coffee plantations.
- To test and evaluate the validity of the rapid assessment methodology in studying child labour activities on the coffee plantations.
- To propose tentative measures to combat child labour on coffee plantations.

2.2 Sampling

The study took place at Oldeani, Karatu District in Arusha Region. Karatu District was deliberately chosen because it was one of the areas suspected to have a high concentration of children working on coffee plantations. There are many coffee plantations in Karatu district owned by Asian and European businessmen. According to our local key informant, the (TPAWU area official) the district has more than thirty coffee plantations that are widely scattered throughout the district.

Given the limited time scheduled for collecting information about the working children it was not possible to cover all the plantations in the district. Hence, through the assistance of the key informants, four coffee plantations were deliberately chosen. These were Nitin, Shah, Tingatinga and Kiran coffee plantations. The main criteria used to choose these plantations included accessibility and proximity from where the researchers were residing; this was particularly important because the data collection exercise was carried out during the rainy season. Related to this, the coffee plantations were located on highlands that were muddy and slippery. It is a combination of these factors that led to the selection of the above key locations.

Sampling frame

The sampling frame at the key study locations was comprised of different categories of respondents. These included working children, non-working children, parents, plantation owners, teachers, local leaders and trade union leaders. Each category of respondent was significant due to the useful information they had to offer in as far as cause, characteristics, working conditions and consequences of child labour were concerned.

Respondents from each category of respondents were randomly selected. The key informants who were limited in number were all deliberately included. These included plantation managers, trade unionists and head teachers. It was through these informants who, by virtue of their knowledge of the area and their expertise in child welfare issues, were able to provide a lot of information on child labour. They also helped to counter check the information that the researchers obtained from the working children. Through this process the study came up with a total of 148 respondents; their distribution is indicated in the table below.

Table 2.1: Distribution of respondents by categories and gender in selected key locations in Karatu District

	COFFEE PLANTATIONS										TOTAL	%
	SHAH		NITIN		TINGA-TINGA		KIRAN					
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F				
Plantation Managers	01	-	01	-	01	-	01	-			4	3
Farm Workers	05	05	02	08	06	04	06	04			40	27
Headteachers	01	-	-	-	-	-	01	-			02	1.4
Working Children	06	06	05	07	06	07	03	10			50	34
Non-working Children	02	03	02	03	02	03	02	03			20	14
Parents	02	04	03	03	05	05	05	05			30	20
TPAWU Officer											01	0.8
Regional Labour Officer											01	0.8
TOTAL											148	100%

Source: Field survey

The table indicates a sample of 50 working children, 20 males and 30 females. During the picking season the plantations of Kiran, Nitin, Shah and Tingatinga were said to employ around 1200 working children. This implies that the sampled population of 50 working children constituted 4.2% of the total while the sampled population of 30 female and 20 male children constituted 1.7% and 1.5% of the total population of the working children in the key location respectively.

2.3 Methods of data collection

In an attempt to collect all required information concerning the causes of child labour, activities performed by children, conditions in which they work and the consequences which working children are subjected to, various methods were used as part of the overall RA methodology.

First and foremost, a literature review was undertaken. Various literature including ILO publications, economic and social surveys, research papers and articles on coffee plantations in Tanzania, and agricultural census were reviewed. The purpose of this review was to get background information about the coffee sector in Tanzania, the size of employment, and the trend of coffee production in Tanzania. The review helped us to uncover what is already known about child labour on coffee plantations, with a view of creating a basis for securing new information about the child labour situation in Tanzania. This documentary analysis was useful in the sense that it gave the researcher fairly good knowledge about the study's focus.

Key informant interviews

This was one of the methods, which was found to be useful and effective in as far as locating an entry point to key locations, without which researchers would have taken more time gaining access to the main respondents. The key informants who included local leaders, trade union leaders, teachers and influential persons, were a good source of information in terms of revealing the locations where children were to be found and the conditions under which they worked, and the types of risks and hazards children were exposed to. Interviews with non-working children were equally useful and this method was made easier through the assistance of the field guide who was familiar with the respondents.

Direct observation

In a study like this where requirements included the establishment of the magnitude and type of activities done by children, the conditions under which they worked, and the provision of an estimate of working children in selected key locations, observation was an important tool. In instituting this method, it was first decided which aspects were to be observed and when observations were to take place. With regard to the working children, the key aspects observed were as follows:

- Number of working children.
- Gender distribution of the working children.
- The general characteristics of the working children i.e. their physical appearance, health status, facilities and protective gear used.
- Conditions under which children worked e.g. in cold, rainy, open spaces, and the type of risks children were susceptible to.

Observations were carried out at two levels. First during the transect walk as the insiders with key informants, together with the researcher, walked through the study area. At another level observations were made during the interviewing process. In all these situations various aspects concerning working children were examined.

The merits of observation were that it was possible to note first-hand the conditions under which the children were working, the physical environment and even the possible physical hazards such as, in this case, snake bites, insect bites and dangers presented by wild animals. The method also provided the opportunity for researchers to physically locate and count the number of working children, and hence to establish the magnitude of the problem in the specific key location. Additionally this method provided the opportunity to observe the nature and type of working tools used and their suitability for working children.

Child interviews

Interviewing children was not a simple task. The approach needed to be gentle and conducive to creating a good rapport. In this study, interviews with individual children were conducted, but the researchers were faced with a number of problems, amongst which was the lack of adequate time for pre-testing the field questionnaires (pilot interviews) before embarking on fieldwork. The rewording of questions and changes in approach would have benefited from the pilot interviews.

There were children who enjoyed being interviewed, and when this happened a focus group discussion with other individual children in the sample was arranged. Researchers faced problems conducting interviews when they took place

within sight of the employers, parents or fellow children, whose presence interrupted the interview and affected the kind of response received. Under such circumstances the children being interviewed were not free to express themselves.

The main problem encountered regarding child interviews was that interviewing children took a long time. Most children were busy working on family farms and all those who were selected for interviews were only available during a time agreed upon, i.e. from 2.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m. Child interviews were held for four days. Since the study was carried out during vacations, the only authoritative institution that was likely to facilitate the accessibility of children at short notice was the schools. The schools were an appropriate authority to summon the children for a number of reasons: First, parents would generally immediately respond to the teachers' demand; secondly, the children could easily be accommodated in the classrooms for the interviews; and lastly, the majority (if not all) of the working children in the key locations happened to be those who were attending school. Non-school goers were almost non-existent; this fact was highlighted by the Farm Manager of Kiran Coffee Plantations and confirmed by the Headteachers of Gyetighi and Oldean Primary Schools. The Headteachers confirmed that over 95% of school-age children were attending school because of the effective education by-laws implemented in Oldean. This point will be revisited in a later chapter on "Education Analysis." Most children seemed to be very uncomfortable with the interviews, which were held within the vicinity of their parents. It seemed some children failed to express their individual experiences as child workers due to the lack of privacy. Based on the experiences of this study, for future studies on working children through the rapid assessment methodology, the following measures should be taken into account:

- Showing genuine interest in what a child says.
- Giving the child reassurance about confidentiality.
- Respecting a child.
- Limiting questions and administering simple questions.

Focus group discussions

Two distinct series of group discussions involving a specific category of children were held. The groups comprised ten working children and ten non-working children respectively. The latter group served as a control group whose ideas and characteristics could help to prove or disprove views or opinions of the former group. Generally, Focus Group Discussions (FGD) take place after a fairly good idea about the nature and extent of the problem under study has been obtained. Likewise, participants in the FGD were assumed to have fairly good knowledge about the problem being studied. Group discussions were helpful to provide a lot of information about the subject under study.

Selection of both the working and the non-working children was done randomly, irrespective of where they lived. This was particularly so, because the four key locations have a common or homogeneous socio-cultural and physical environment. The key issue areas that were covered in the FGDs comprised inter-alia: the children's opinions regarding the problem of child labour; the major underlying causes of child labour and its consequences; the socio-economic conditions of the working children and the general characteristics of the households belonging to the working children.

Questionnaire

Using the rapid assessment methodology the data obtained was anticipated to be largely qualitative data. As the study demanded both qualitative and quantitative data, however, the questionnaire method was used to collect information in the sampled key locations to supplement the qualitative information. Most of the quantitative information was concerned with demographic variables such as primary school enrolment, dropouts in the key locations, number of pupils who failed to pay fees in primary schools, and the nature of poverty of the families with and without working children. Both qualitative and quantitative data helped to make the research findings richer.

2.4 Data analysis

The data was analysed through various methods. First, analysis was done by classifying the information belonging to one theme, then sub-themes, and still later data was organized in a logical manner. All quantifiable data was arranged in tabular form in the form of ratios, frequencies and percentages. In the case of non-quantifiable data, content analysis was applied.

2.5 Limitations

Various problems were encountered during the course of carrying out the study. These problems fall under two categories: operational and methodological. The operational problems relate to the complexity of extracting information from the children. Special expertise is needed to know how to handle children. Another aspect relates to the area covered by the study. The area was too small to allow one to generalize the findings. For example, much of the information obtained in Oldean Coffee Farms could be true of all coffee farms in Karatu, but cannot be generalized for the entire Arusha Region, let alone for the coffee sector in Tanzania. To do so would be committing an ecological fallacy.

Furthermore, the method obliges the researcher to depend too much on the key informants and secondary sources. There was also the problem of lack of adequate time for fieldwork (data collection) bearing in mind the nature and volume of work and the twelve-week time span. As a result researchers were obliged to work for long hours including weekends in order to complete the work in time.

Operational problems included the following: first, the study was carried out after the harvest season and making it hard to find many working children on the coffee farms, except a few who were picking the leftover coffee berries. The harvest season is normally from July to September and the study was carried out in December. Furthermore, the situation was complicated by the heavy rains, which made the roads muddy and slippery.

As researchers we found that rapid assessment methodology useful in several ways. Undertaking transect walks and conversing with local people helped to provide insight as to how the local people in Karatu district viewed the problem of child labour. Furthermore, the in-depth interviews with key informants and children proved to be useful tools. The tendency of depending on other people to provide information, however, may not be very useful particularly in cases where the key informants do not know the local language, cultural norms and values of the local people in the key location.

All in all, the rapid assessment methodology is effective as a means of obtaining information within a given timeframe, particularly on issues that require immediate intervention.

3. DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREAS

3.1 Introduction to Karatu District

Karatu is one of the ten districts that form Arusha Region. Other districts include Arusha, Arumeru, Babati, Hanang, Kiteto, Mbulu, Monduli, Simanjiro and Ngorongoro. Karatu district has a total area of 3,300 square kilometers which is 4.0% of the total land area of Arusha Region (83,428.50 square kilometres). Administratively the district is divided into four Divisions, 13 Wards and 43 villages (see the table below) that illustrate both the regional and district(s) set up together with the respective projected population figures.

Table 3.1: Arusha Region administrative set and projected population by the year 2000

District(s)	Administrative Units			
	Divisions	Wards	Villages	Population
1. Arusha	3	15	10	269,560
2. Arumeru	6	37	140	475,322
3. Babati	4	21	82	302,258
4. Hanang	5	21	53	164,356
5. Karatu	4	13	43	158,930
6. Kiteto	7	14	46	135,436
7. Monduli	3	14	50	156,143
8. Mbulu	3	16	60	224,391
9. Ngorongoro	3	14	46	99,853
10. Simanjiro	6	12	41	121,575
TOTAL	44	177	571	2,107,824

Source: Regional Commissioner's Office, Arusha 1998.

Table 3.2: Population projection of Arusha Region (1999)

District and Land Area	Estimates of Population for the year (s):						
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Monduli (14,201 sq. kms)	140,247	145,388	150,717	156,241	165,571	171,984	178,645
Arumeru (2,896 sq. kms.)	397,118	409,212	421,675	434,517	447,750	461,386	475,437
Arusha (82.50 sq. kms.)	179,282	186,785	194,602	202,747	218,319	228,140	238,402
Kiteto (16,305sq. kms)	216,806	233,925	252,397	272,326	171,818	185,385	200,024
Babati (4,969sq. kms)	261,241	270,007	279,066	288,429	308,090	319,384	331,091
Hanang (4,436sq. kms)	142,724	147,513	152,462	157,577	168,328	174,498	180,895
Mbulu (4,352sq. Kms)	322,538	343,008	353,808	364,948	229,745	237,928	246,403
Ngorongoro (14,036sq. kms)	87,677	90,709	93,846	97,092	104,968	109,034	113,257
Simanjiro (18,851sq. kms)	-	-	-	-	122,012	131,646	142,041
Karatu (3,300sq. kms)	-	-	-	-	153,808	158,333	162,992
TOTAL(S)	1757633	1826547	1898573	1973878	2090409	2177718	2269187

Source: Health statistics Abstract 1999, Ministry of Health.

Karatu is a new district. It was created in 1995 following a political decision made by the government prior to the general and presidential elections held in the same year. Formerly the new district was part of Mbulu district. Although Karatu assumed district status in 1995, it took more than three years to build up the necessary facilities such as new government

offices, staff houses, police barracks and mobilization of manpower to serve in the new district. The actual operational running of the district is barely two to three years old, and more construction work remains to be done. Moreover it will take additional time, resources and commitment for the district to establish its own reliable database. Karatu township, situated 120 miles (about 193 kilometres) northwest of Arusha municipality, was elevated to become the new headquarters of Karatu district, and has been so since the year 1995. Karatu, with a population of about 16,000 people, is both the district headquarters and a fast growing commercial centre catering to tourists and the local population.

Karatu district has an average rainfall of between 800–1,000 millimetres per year and an average annual temperature of 21^oc. In short the district enjoys a climate conducive to farming and traditional livestock keeping (Karatu –profile 1997). The area is endowed with rich fertile soil, surrounded by thick natural forests, and bordered by the Ngorongoro Game reserve to the north. The rainy season begins sometime in mid-February and last through the end of April. Short rains are generally expected between December and January each year.

3.2 Population

It has been rather difficult to establish the actual population of Karatu District. This is mainly because, as stated earlier, the district came into being in 1995 following the split of Mbulu into two separate districts, Karatu District and Mbulu District. Therefore the only population count that is known today is that of Mbulu District which was obtained through a census carried out in 1988. The population census that was scheduled for the year 1998 was cancelled on the grounds of lack of funds. However, it is possible to estimate the population through various indicators. One of the indicators is to use projected population statistics given by Government Ministries or public institutions as indicated in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.above.

On the basis of the above explanation, it is not easy to provide demographic variables such as the number of females and number of males, number of adults and children, etc. A more comprehensive and reliable demographic profile for Karatu district will be established after the next population census (dates still unknown). It suffices to say that the population of Karatu District is currently above 160,000 (see estimated population Tables 3.1 and 3.2).

3.3 Ethnic diversity

The dominant indigenous ethnic groups in Karatu District include the Iraqw, Mbulu and Barbaig. Other ethnic groups in small numbers, which have migrated into the area include the Chagga, Pare, Arusha, Rangi and Masai people. The Chagga and Arusha people have moved into the district mainly to tap business opportunities, while the Pare and Rangi are seeking their fortune in the area. The Masai, as traditional livestock keepers, have been drawn to this fertile area in search of green pastures for their cows and goats.

3.4 Health services

The newly formed Karatu District has so far managed to offer health facilities to its population, which conform to the national health policies. In Karatu District, dispensaries have been distributed strategically to ensure that the majority of the people have access to health facilities within a reasonable distance. There are 36 health facilities in total, which include two district hospitals, two health centres and 32 dispensaries/clinics belonging to both the government and religious bodies. The distribution of health facilities is provided in the following table.

Table 3.3: Karatu District health facilities 1999

Facility Type	Managing Agency						Beds
	Government	Parastatal	Voluntary/Religious	Private	Other		
Consultant/Specialized Hospital	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
District Hospital	1 Oldeani (63 Beds)	-	1 ELCT – (Rel) (54 Beds)	-	-	2	17
Health Centres	1 Endabash (21 Beds)	-	1 Endamarariek Rel. (53 Beds)	-	-	2	74
Dispensaries/Clinics	18	-	12 (Religious)	2	-	32	-
Specialized Clinics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nursing Homes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Private Laboratories	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Private X-ray Unit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL(S)	20	-	14	2	-	36	191

Source Field Survey, 2000

Taking into account the population projected figure by the Ministry of Health of (158,333 people for the year 2000) and the figure provided in the Health Facilities table, Karatu district would appear to serve 4,948 people per dispensary, while the two main district hospitals cater to 79,167 people each. The population to hospital/health center bed ratio is, on average, 829 people per bed.

3.5 Economic activities

The economic lives of the people in Karatu District are dependent upon three major activities: agriculture, cattle keeping and commercial activities.

a) Agriculture

The major occupation of most indigenous people is agriculture. Karatu District is located in the agro-economic zone that is commonly known as the Rift Valley Highlands zone where Mbulu, Babati, Hanang and Ngorongoro districts are also found. Dominant food crops grown by the local people comprise beans, maize, wheat and legumes. Important cash crops are barley, wheat and coffee - mostly grown by big farmers.

Karatu and Mbulu districts produce twice their requirements in terms of food crops. Each year Mbulu and Karatu Districts alone produce an average of 60,000 tons of maize. In addition, an average of 10,000 tons of wheat and 4,000 tons of barley are produced in Mbulu and Karatu districts annually. The districts are considered as a breadbasket for the region and the country with respect to grain. However, because of their proximity to Ngorongoro district where famine is common, farmers in Karatu and Mbulu districts every year sell their surplus food crops to Ngorongoro, thus partly creating an artificial famine situation in their own districts. This is often referred to as the Mbulu/Karatu famine syndrome.

Karatu and Mbulu Districts produce about 7,500 tons of beans per year but import one third of their annual bean requirements. Karatu produces between 800 – 1,000 tons of coffee on average yearly. Big farmers on estates or larger scale plantations mainly grow coffee.

b) Livestock and commercial activities

The local people in Karatu also practice dairy and traditional livestock keeping with 256,078 cattle in Mbulu/Karatu owned by small and rich farmers. Others engage themselves in a variety of activities including operating guesthouses, restaurants, hardware stores, local bars, chemist shops (pharmacies) and general trading.

3.6 The key study location

a) Nitin Coffee Estates

Nitin Coffee Estates covers a total area of 2,804 acres out of which 400 acres have been planted with Arabica coffee trees. Mr. John Hunter, a German national, established the farm in 1962, and later sold it to Mr. D.N. Patel in 1965, an Asian businessman based in Arusha. The farm employs 63 permanent workers consisting of 56 men and seven women. Around 100 seasonal workers are engaged to perform various tasks, particularly during bumper harvests. Seasonal workers are recruited from the villages of Endashangwet, Mang'ola, Aelabe and Rotya. The farm's annual production of graded clean coffee ranges between 150 and 180 tons per year.

b) Shah Plantation

A white South African farmer founded Shah Plantation sometime in the early 1950s. The farm was then sold to an Indian businessman in 1959. Still the owner, the businessman is based in Nairobi, Kenya and has appointed another man from Arusha to manage the farm on his behalf.

Shah Plantation has a total area of 1200 acres of which 400 acres have been planted with Arabica coffee.

The plantation employs 22 permanent workers, with a gender breakdown of 21 men and one woman. Currently the farm has 175 temporary workers employed (80 percent are men). According to the Farm Manager, the number of temporary employees may increase or decrease due to the availability of jobs and farm activities involved each year. The plantation's average annual production of clean coffee is around 126.6 tons per year.

c) Tingatinga Coffee Estate

Tingatinga Coffee Estates occupies a total area of 1840 acres. Arabica Coffee is grown on 90 acres of the land while 500 other acres are planted with wheat and beans, and 50 additional acres are allocated to workers to plant seasonal crops.

The farm was established in the late 1950s by a Greek farmer who, in 1970, went into joint partnership with an Indian businessman after selling part of his shares to Mr. R.K. Shah of Nairobi. Tingatinga Estates employs 22 permanent workers of whom one is a woman and the rest are men. Also 80 temporary workers consisting of 60 men and 20 women were working on the farm. The farm's annual production of graded clean coffee ranges between 25 and 50 tons per year. Production figures for the last five years are found in Table 3.4.

d) Kiran Coffee Estate

Kiran Coffee Estate has a total area of 850 acres. Some 350 acres grow Arabica Coffee, while 70 acres are made up of arable land and the rest consist of valleys.

The history of the farm goes back to mid-1930s when a German farmer established it. The farm exchanged hands in 1940s when it was sold to a white British national who managed it until the year 1971 when the farm was confiscated by the National Bank of Commerce due to failure to settle a loan. The bank as the liquidator sold the farm through auction to Mr. Vipin Patel in order to recover a long overdue outstanding loan. The farm employs 31 permanent workers, composed of 29 men and two women, as well as 70 male and 50 female temporary workers. Coffee production ranges between 34-190 tons per year (refer to production figures in the table below).

Table 3.4: Coffee production trend in tons - selected plantations - Karatu District 1996-2000

LOCATION	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Oldeani – Karatu District					
NITIN Coffee Estate	180	150	160	180	95
SHAH plantation	187	97	132	167	90
TINGATINGA Coffee Estate	25	30	25	35	50
KIRAN Coffee Estate	190	84	34	37	89

Source: Study Findings December 2000

All four researched coffee farms: Nitin, Shah, Tingatinga and Kiran are located in Oldeani Area where more than 30 farms are found. The distance is about 15 kilometres northwest of Karatu town.

Interviews with coffee farm managers and in-depth discussions held with some of the owners in Arusha revealed that the main reason behind the establishment of coffee farms in Oldeani was the desire to invest in the agriculture sector. In addition, good climate, fertile soil, adequate rainfall, good altitude and abundant cheap labour motivated the farmers to consider Oldeani as the most suitable area to grow Arabica coffee.

As reported by the managers, coffee farming is characterized by the following activities: planting of new or young coffee trees in the nursery, weeding, pruning, spraying of coffee trees with agro-chemicals using both hand and boom spray, fertilizing using both organic and industrial fertilizer, and coffee picking (harvesting). Later tasks include coffee processing, drying in the sun, grading and packing in bags ready for sale to the Tanzania Coffee Board (TCB).

3.6.1 Social-economic infrastructure

The study area was mainly accessible through gravel murrum and mud roads, which are easily passable during the dry season. A murrum road has heavy layers of soil mixed with small stones. During the rainy season movement is limited.

The most reliable means of communication with the outside districts and regions is through cellular phones, radio call and postal services offered at Oldeani town. In brief, Karatu district has more than 85 telephone lines, one full post office at Karatu town, and a sub-post office at Oldeani. The table below on the status of roads in Karatu district is self-explanatory.

Table 3.5: Status of roads in Karatu District

Roads	Kilometres
Tarmac	Nil
Gravel	103
Earth	278
Total	381
Road density Kms/Kms ²	0.12

Source: Arusha Region Socio – Economic profile, Planning Commission (1996)

All of the four coffee farms visited have tap water, which serve both farm managers and workers. There are two primary schools, Gyetighi and Oldeani, which cater to the entire population of the study area. Medical services are dispensed by two reliable hospitals, Oldeani District hospital located at Oldeani town and a mission hospital built on the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) coffee farm.

The people of this area belong to two dominant religious groups – Christianity and Islam. A big church and mosque are found at Oldeani. The researchers, however, noted that Christians of Kiran Estate and the neighbouring farms also used Gyetighi Primary School on Sunday for prayers. Local government functions at the ward level are located at Oldeani.

3.7 Education

Education is of paramount importance to a nation, and remains a vital tool for the development and progress of a locality, district, region or country. A country that denies its population access to education is considered a weak nation. Below is the description of the education system in Karatu District.

3.7.1 Primary education

In 1999 Karatu had 64 Primary Schools with a total enrolment of 25,210 pupils and 464 teachers. The progress of primary education in Karatu District between 1997 and 1999 is one of positive growth as can be seen from Table 3.6. The table reveals that over the last three years the number of pupils per stream has stagnated at 43. Other indicators have shown positive development as highlighted below:

- Over the same period there was an increase in the number of schools. Six new schools were built in Karatu - an increase of 9%.
- The number of streams rose from 531 in 1997 to 592 in 1999, an increase of about 10%.
- Pupil enrolment has shot up by 13% (Arusha profile 1997).

On the other hand some indicators seem to have deteriorated over the years. For example, the pupils per school and population per school indicators reflect that not enough schools are being built in Karatu District to keep pace with the

population increase. The teacher/pupil ratio is also higher than the agreed national average of 45 pupils per teacher. This suggests that there is a shortage of teachers in the district that overburdens the available teaching staff (see Table 3.6).

Table 3.6: Progress of primary education Karatu District, 1997– 1999

Indicator(s)	1997	1998	1999
Number of Primary Schools	58	63	64
Total Enrolment Boys	10,655	12,878	12,448
Total Enrolment Girls	11,728	13,089	12,762
Total Enrolment	22,383	25,967	25,210
Population of Karatu District	N/A	N/A	153,808
Population per School	-	-	1,403
Pupils per School	386	412	394
Streams	531	581	592
Pupils per Stream	43	45	43
Enrolment Sex Ratio (Std.I)	105	115	105
Total Number of Teachers	439	459	464
Pupils per Teacher	51	57	54

* Population project by the Ministry of Health (Table 3.2)

Source: Field Data, 2000.

3.7.2 Vacant places in schools

Vacant places mean the number of unfilled places in primary schools, as shown for Karatu District in Table 3.7 below. For the period 1997 – 1999 the trend shows that the total number of vacancies was 1,908 in 1999. This could be attributed to truancy and pregnancies and early marriages for upper classes, grades IV – VII. For the lower classes this could be caused by factors such as the low level of awareness on the importance of education, and the economic strength of the family, particularly if there are many school-going-age children within a household. In view of cost sharing, some parents with a weak economic base were reluctant to register their eligible children thus creating vacancies in schools.

Table 3.7: Vacant places distribution for pupils in primary schools in Karatu District 1997 – 1999

Year	Std. I	Std.II	Std. III	Std.IV	Std.V	Std.VI	Std.VII	Total
1997	59	65	97	161	204	258	273	1,117
1998	87	49	63	91	155	160	293	898
1999	271	114	142	143	430	433	375	1,908

Source: Ministry of Education and Culture 1999

Table 3.8: Drop out due to truancy distribution by gender in Karatu District 1997 – 1999

Year	Std. I			Std. II			Std. III			Std. IV			Std. V			Std. VI			Std. VII			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1997	2	2	4	7	4	11	7	10	17	15	10	25	26	24	50	38	22	60	33	24	57	128	96	224
1998	3	4	7	7	6	13	18	3	21	24	30	54	22	21	43	33	20	53	38	24	62	145	108	253
1999	9	3	12	11	10	21	35	23	58	61	43	104	37	25	62	42	35	77	69	47	116	195	186	381

Source: Ministry of Education and Culture, 1999

3.7.3 Primary school dropouts

From Table 3.7 we realise that the number of primary school dropouts has been increasing yearly. In 1997 there were 224 pupils in total who dropped out, but the figure rose to 253 in 1998 and 381 in 1999 respectively. The main cause is truancy which mainly involves boys who abandon school in order to join those who migrate to urban areas to do petty trade, work on big plantations as child labourers, or are withdrawn by their parents to tend traditional livestock.

3.7.4 Secondary education

Karatu District has one public secondary school with a limited number of places and one private vocational training school which caters to only 56 students of both sex. The centre is owned by the Lutheran church and offers a two-year training programme in different vocational skills.

3.7.5 Schools covered by this study

Two schools were covered by this study: Gyetighi Primary School and Oldeani Primary School. These two schools were designated for the entire village community in the four key study locations: Kiran, Tingatinga, Nitin and Shah Coffee Plantations. The state of infrastructure of Gyetighi and Oldeani Primary schools are as indicated in the table below:

Table 3.9: School infrastructure Gyetighi and Oldeani Primary Schools

Infrastructure	Required		Available	
	Oldeani	Gyetighi	Oldeani	Gyetighi
Classrooms	14	17	10	8
Desks	202	172	200	169
Teachers	16	10	7 Fe	(3 male 4 fem.)
Staff Houses	16	10	8	7
Catuiues	20	19	20	10
Chairs	18	14	11	8
Libraries	1	NIL	1	NIL
Play Ground	3	3	NIL	3 Soccer, Netball and Volleyball

Source: Field Survey December 2000

There were 580 pupils at Oldeani Primary School, including 278 boys and 302 girls. The school had a maximum capacity of 450 pupils, which meant the school's student population has surpassed its capacity by 22.4%. The Headteacher pointed out that the school has the capacity to accommodate 45 pupils per class - the national average figure. But the school has an average of 58 pupils per class - an excess of 13 pupils per class. The dropout rate is insignificant as it stands at 1% of the entire pupil population. The Headteacher attributed the low dropout rate to the fact that parents largely understood the importance of education. The dropouts that did take place were attributed to parents who do not understand the value of school, as well as to accidental pregnancies.

The school has a total of seven teachers; all of them female, although the school should have eight male teachers including five Grade A and three Grade B, and eight female teachers, also five of Grade A and three Grade B. Among the existing teachers, three were Grade A and four were Grade C. A Grade A teacher is an 'O' level secondary school leaver who has undertaken a two year training at a teachers college. A Grade C teacher is a primary seven leaver who attended a two year teaching course, and a Grade B is a Grade C teacher who has been upgraded through training. The current teacher to pupil ratio at Oldeani is 1:82.

Oldeani Primary School did not provide regular meals to pupils except during the days when they worked on their school farm, which is only on Saturdays. All the produce from the school farm is consumed by the children themselves. The meal for school children is "makande" (a mixture of beans and maize cooked together). The majority of the pupils come from the surrounding areas close to the school. Like pupils in other schools, those at Oldeani have to pay TShs 2, 000/= as school fees and TShs 1, 000/- as a contribution for sports.

As pointed out earlier, all school children above the age of 12 years were engaged in wage labour on the coffee estates during weekends and vacations. Children of Oldeani and Gyetithi Primary Schools were not an exception.

This fact was testified to by the head teachers of two schools under study and the interviewed working and non-working children, amongst whom only six out of 70 were not schooling. The enrolment rate of Oldeani Primary School is as indicated in Table 3.10 below.

Table 3.10: Pupil enrolment trend, Oldeani Primary School, Karatu District 1993 – 2000

Years	1993		1994		1995		1996		1997		1998		1999		2000	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
No.	17	14	25	19	36	26	72	65	60	50	52	41	56	54	36	24

Source: Field Survey 2000.

*As we are concluding writing this report school fees for primary schools has been waived.

The graduate and dropout rates at Oldeani Primary School stand at 99% and 1% respectively. For pupils selected to join Form One (the first year of secondary school), see the table below.

Table 3.11: Pupils selected to join Form One, Oldeani Primary School, Karatu District 1996 – 1999

YEAR	1996		1997		1998		1999	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Number	-	2	1	4	-	1	-	2

Source: Field Survey.

The above table shows that a total of 10 pupils were selected to join Form One from Oldeani Primary School from 1996 to 1999 including one girl and nine boys.

The school established two streams for each class effective beginning in 1996 when registration shot up from 31 pupils including 17 girls and 14 boys in 1993, to 137 pupils including 72 girls and 65 boys in 1996. Given the big number of pupils in each class, records clearly show that academic performance of Oldeani Primary School was indeed very poor. The study revealed that the two schools (i.e. Gyetighi and Oldeani) produced a total of 15 pupils who joined secondary school (form one) from 1996 to 1999. Oldeani primary school produced 10 (16.7%) pupils including 9 male and 1 female, while Gyetighi produced 5 (33.3%) pupils including three female and two male.

The difference in the number of children selected to join secondary school between the two schools was mainly a function of the socio-economic status of the people living in the two locations. The majority of children attending Gyetighi primary school are children of farm labourers while children schooling at Oldeai are sons and daughters of well to do parents including doctors, nurses, and businessmen. The Karatu District Hospital is located in Oldeani.

Gyetighi Primary School had a total of 433 pupils including 229 boys and 204 girls. The School had a total of six teachers including three male and three female and a shortage of four teachers (two male and two female). The teacher to pupil ratio was 1:54. The poor academic performance of the school can partly be attributed to the lack of qualified teaching staff. For pupils selected to join Form One over the last five years see the table below.

Table 3.12: Pupils selected to join Form One, Gyetighi Primary School, Karatu District 1996 – 2000

1996		1997		1998		1999		2000	
F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	-	-

Source: Field Survey December 2000.

Besides a lack of qualified teachers, the Headteacher said pupils did not have enough time to concentrate on their studies. The majority of pupils spent a good part of their time doing work on the coffee farms in order to earn an income. The Headteacher said that most parents do not seem to be concerned with the education of their children. This also accounted for the poor academic performance of the school. In order to promote academic excellence at Gyetighi and Oldeani Primary Schools both the parents and the pupils have to be sensitized regarding the importance of education.

The majority of the pupils at Gyetighi were sons and daughters of the coffee farm workers who lived in the camps situated within the coffee farms premises (see appendix A and B). A few pupils were sons and daughters of petty businessmen who owned shops and bars within the vicinity of the study area. The school provided lunch to the pupils, which was mainly 'makande.'

The school was only capable of providing this type of meal from January to June each year. The meal was provided by the produce of the school harvest. When the harvested stock of food was finished, the provision of meals at the school ceased. At Gyetighi school attendance is excellent with a dropout rate of less than 1%. The good school attendance could

not be attributed to the provision of meals at school, rather it was a function of effective enforcement mechanisms employed by local government authorities. The enforcement mechanisms included strict regulations forbidding children to work on the coffee plantations during the weekdays. The enrolment trend is generally very good (see table below).

Table 3.13: Pupils enrolment trend at Gyetighi Primary School, 1994 – 2000

Years	1994		1995		1996		1997		1998		1999		2000	
Sex	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
No.	24	21	28	37	42	36	26	26	30	21	16	36	40	52

Source: Field Survey 2000.

Gyetighi has single stream classes from primary one to primary seven. The designated capacity of each class is 45 pupils (i.e. the national average figure). The school, however, has an average of 54 pupils per class. This means the school has an excess of nine pupils per class or 4.05%. The Headteacher of the school acknowledged that school children do work on coffee farms. Contributions made by parents at Gyetighi Primary School were the same as those paid by parents at Oldeani Primary School (i.e. school fees at TShs.2, 000/= and sports contributions at TShs.1, 000/-).

The Headteacher noted that those who failed to pay school fees are forced to pay by the local government authority through forced deductions made by employers; a list of defaulters is sent to the ward executive officer. This method compels all parents to pay school fees. Light penalties are comprised of a warning or a fine to be determined by the local government authorities. The parents who breach the regulations and who are found out to have sanctioned their children's involvement in child labour activities at the expense of schooling are also charged a fine of Tshs 500/= for every day that a child has been absent from school.

4. NATURE AND EXTENT OF CHILD LABOUR ON COFFE PLANTATIONS

The study was aimed at finding the nature, incidences and extent of child labour on coffee plantations. In attempt to realise this end, several variables were examined. These included demographics, level of education, family status, and activities performed by children on the coffee farms. This chapter is divided into four main parts accordingly. The first part presents the demographic factors of working children; the second part presents and discusses the education levels of different working children on the coffee plantations; the third and fourth parts discuss the family status and activities done by children on the plantations respectively.

4.1 Age and gender distribution

The age of working children varies from one sector to another. In this study we were interested to find out the age distribution of working children on selected coffee plantations. Within this context, children were asked to reveal their ages. Further to this, the researchers wanted to establish the distribution of working children by sex. The findings, which are summarised in Table 4.1, indicate that the majority of working children ranged from 10 –13 years (72%) and 28% were fourteen years and above. There were no children aged between six and nine years.

The majority of the working children were also school going children. A few who had completed primary school continued with wage labour on the coffee plantations whereas a few others migrated to Karatu town and others went as far as Arusha to seek employment opportunities.

As far as gender distribution is concerned, the table indicates that there were more female respondents (60%) compared to boys who constituted only 40%.

Table 4.1: Distribution of working children by sex and age on coffee plantations in selected study areas in Karatu District

AGE GROUP	SEX		TOTAL
	F	M	
6 – 9 years	-	-	-
10 – 13 years	23(46%)	13(26%)	36 (72%)
14 – 17	7 (14%)	7(14 %)	14 (28%)
Total	30 (60%)	20 (40%)	50 (100%)

Source: Field Survey, 2000.

Information on age and gender for non-working children was also collected for comparison purposes. Table 4.2 shows how those children were distributed according to their age and gender.

Table 4.2: Distribution of non-working children by sex and age on coffee plantations in selected study areas in Karatu District

AGE GROUP	SEX		TOTAL
	F	M	
6 – 9 years	-	-	-
10 – 13 years	23(46%)	13(26%)	36 (72%)
14 – 17	7 (14%)	7(14 %)	14 (28%)
Total	30 (60%)	20 (40%)	50 (100%)

Source: Field Survey, 2000.

Table 4.2 indicates that there were more female non-working children who were interviewed than male. Furthermore, the table shows that there was no non-working child below nine years and the majority (75%) were in the age group of 10 – 13.

4.2 Education levels

Education is one of the most important aspects of determining the future of children. According to Bequele and Myers (1995) “the development of intellectual skills is the most substantial investment that modern societies make in their young children, so to deny this investment to children by virtue of their having to work is to marginalize them for life and to impoverish the future of their country” (p.119).

Within this context, the researchers were interested in finding out to what extent children were denied education by involving themselves in child labour activities on coffee plantations. The findings summarized below indicate that most of the working children were also attending primary school.

Table 4.3 reveals that most of the working children were enrolled in Primary five and Primary six, 34 and 26 percent respectively. Among these working children, the majority were in the age group of 10 – 13 years. It is also obvious from the table that, the lower the age the less the participation of children on the coffee plantations. This is explained by the fact that the nature of activities performed on the coffee plantations required older children who could endure long hours of work and adverse weather conditions.

The problem of child labour on Karatu coffee plantations was unusual in the sense that working children were simultaneously attending school. By undergoing both activities concurrently, working children's school performance was highly affected as explained in chapter three.

Table 4.3: Distribution of working children by standard and age on coffee plantations in selected study areas in Karatu District

Standard	Age Group		Total
	10 – 13 years	14 + years	
1	-	-	-
2	-	-	-
3	2 (4%)	-	2 (4%)
4	8 (16%)	-	8 (16%)
5	12 (24%)	5 (10%)	17 (34%)
6	10 (20%)	3 (6%)	13 (26%)
7	4 (8%)	6 (12%)	10 (20%)
Total	36 (72%)	14 (28%)	50 (100%)

Source: Field Survey, December 2000.

As in the case of working children, similar information with regard to education status and age was collected for non-working children.

Table 4.4: Distribution of non-working children by standard and age on coffee plantations in selected study areas in Karatu District

Standard	Age Group		Total
	10 – 13 years	14 + years	
1	-	-	-
2	-	-	-
3	2 (10%)	-	2 (10%)
4	4 (20%)	-	4 (20%)
5	2 (10%)	-	2 (10%)
6	6 (30%)	-	6 (30%)
7	1 (5%)	5 (25%)	6 (30%)
Total	15 (75%)	5 (25%)	50 (100%)

Source: Field Survey, December 2000.

Table 4.4 shows that more than half (60 percent) of all non- working children interviewed were in standard either six or seven. Likewise non-was in standard either one or two. Older children were purposefully selected to hear their views on child labour in the focused group discussions

4.3 Origin

The majority of the working children belonged to the Iraqw and Mbulu ethnic groups. Originally these ethnic groups were inhabitants of the same district (i.e. Mbulu district). The latter was split into two districts in 1995 to form the districts of Karatu and Mbulu. The key location of this study was part of Karatu district. In this respect, all the working children were indigenous inhabitants.

In the case of non-working children, half of them were migrants from both neighbouring or far distant regions. They either migrated with their parents or guardians or they came to stay with their relatives so that they would be able to go to school regularly.

4.4 Family status

Family status was another important factor in analyzing the cause of child labour on coffee plantation. In an attempt to establish the extent to which the nature of family status influenced children's involvement in child labour activities, both working and non-working children were asked to reveal whom they lived with. Their responses are summarized in Table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5: Distribution of working and non-working children by family status and gender

Family Status	Working Children			Non-Working Children		
	F	M	T	F	M	T
Living with both parents	22 (44%)	12 (24%)	34 (68%)	10 (50%)	3 (15%)	13 (65%)
Living with mother only	4 (8%)	2 (4%)	6 (10%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)
Living with father only	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	3 (6%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)
Living with relatives	3 (6%)	4 (8%)	7 (14%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	3 (15%)
Total	30 (60%)	20 (40%)	50 (100%)	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	20 (100%)

Source: Field Survey, December 2000.

The table above shows that the majority, at least two thirds of both categories of children, reside with both parents. The remaining live either with relatives or a single parent.

4.5 Family size

Through the questionnaires, researchers sought to determine the family size of different households with both working and non-working children. The findings, which are summarized below, reveal that for both categories of children the majority came from families of six to eight members. Further analysis shows that the smaller the number of household members, the smaller the number of working children. Likewise, the data shows that the larger the number of household members (i.e. from ten to eleven) the smaller the number of children involved in child labour activities on coffee plantations. The interpretation that can be made from these findings is that a large family can have a division of labour, some members working on household enterprise farms while others work away from the household. Division of labour increases household income. A big family means more mouths to feed but also a potential source of family labour on the coffee plantations.

Table 4.6: Distribution of working children on coffee plantations in Karatu by family size and sex

Number of Members	Working Children			Non-Working Children		
	F	M	T	F	M	T
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	1 (5%)	-	1 (5%)
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	1 (2%)	3 (6%)	4 (8%)	-	-	-
5	4 (8%)	-	4 (8%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	3 (15%)
6	4 (8%)	2 (4%)	6 (12%)	5 (25%)	4 (20%)	9 (45%)
7	4 (8%)	5 (10%)	9 (18%)	2 (20%)	-	2 (20%)
8	6 (12%)	4 (8%)	10 (20%)	4 (20%)	1 (5%)	5 (25%)
9	2 (4%)	3 (6%)	5 (10%)	-	-	-
10	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	4 (8%)	-	-	-
11	4 (8%)	-	4 (8%)	-	-	-
12	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	3 (6%)	-	-	-
Total	30 (60%)	20 (40%)	50 (100%)	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	20 (100%)

Source: Field Survey, 2000.

4.6 Housing

The study took place in coffee estates where workers were provided with accommodation. The kind of accommodation given to low cadre workers was different from that of high cadre workers (administrators). Therefore there was a clear-cut division between the two types of accommodation. The majority of the working children were living with their parents who lived in workers' camps located within the coffee estates. These houses were made of red burned bricks and thatched by corrugated iron sheets. Non-working children lived with their parents in staff quarters which were made of burned bricks but these were much more spacious and pretty.

These findings implied that the social status of workers (from low cadre workers to administrators) determined children's involvement in child labour activities on coffee plantations. This explains why children from administrators' families were not working in coffee estates. As we shall see below, this confirms the hypothesis that the poorer the family the more its children were prone to child labour activities.

4.7 Family income

The level of family income naturally determines the nature and mode of life of a particular family. Family income can be reflected through the following variables; number of meals per day, nature and quality of housing, type of property or assets owned by a family, the physical feature of the home environment and many others. The distribution of income levels of the parents of working children is indicated in Table 4.7 below.

Table 4.7: Distribution of income levels of parents of working children in the key location in Karatu District

Income Levels TShs	Frequency	Percent
25,000 – 50,000	22	44
51,000 – 100,000	12	24
101,000 – 150,000	10	20
151,000 – 200,000	06	12
Total	50	100

Source: Field Survey, 2000

The table indicates that most of the respondents earned between 25,000/= Tshs to 50,000/= Tshs per annum (i.e. 44 percent), while 21 percent earned income ranging from 151,000/= to 200,000/= Tshs per annum. The above incomes were mainly derived from monthly salaries and selling food items obtained from the family farm. The peasant household, according to estimates given by Karatu coffee labourers, required at least Tshs 3,000/= for daily requirements which is the equivalent of Tshs 90,000/= per month or Tshs 1,080,000/= per annum. The Arusha Region Socio-Economic Profile (ARSP) of 1997 indicated that the average income of an individual person in Arusha Region by 1994 was Tshs 91,028 which was the equivalent of 165 U.S Dollars. By the year 2000 (when this study was carried out) the regional GDP per capita was around Tshs 120,000 which was the equivalent of 150 American Dollars. This implies that the average income of individuals in Arusha decreased by 9% in six years (i.e. from US \$165 in 1994 to US \$150 in 2000).

The current national average income of a Tanzanian is Tshs 198,000 p.a., the equivalent of US \$220 (ARSP 1997). These figures simply mean that the majority of Tanzanians (let alone the Karatu coffee labourers) can not obtain the basic requirements of their families. Their survival is problematic given the meagre levels of family incomes, and naturally members of the household are obliged to seek alternative sources of income.

Apparently, the common sources of income for the majority of households included monthly wages and crop harvests from the family farms, both of which were inadequate to enable the family to lead a comfortable life throughout the year. Therefore, the only other alternative source of income is through the deployment of child labour on the coffee plantations. The control group (non-working children) whose parents had relatively higher levels of income and various sources from which to generate income as indicated below testified to these views.

Table 4.8: Distribution of income levels of parents of non-working children on coffee plantations in Karatu District

Income Levels T.Shs	Frequency	Percentage
150,000 – 200,000	08	40
201,000 – 250,000	06	30
251,000 – 350,000	03	15
351,000 – 450,000	02	10
Above 500,000	01	05
Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey December 2000.

The levels of income indicated above were obtained monthly, the majority of the respondents earning between 150,000/= Tshs to 250,000/= Tshs. The picture, which emerges from the two tables is that there was a remarkable difference in income levels between parents of non-working and parents of working children. The parents of the non-working children had higher incomes vis-à-vis parents of the working children. This could be explained by a number of factors namely:

- Parents of the non-working children had various sources of income including those who were employed by TEC and by the Oldeani government hospital who received higher salaries compared to parents of working children.
- Higher incomes were earned through family enterprises e.g. farming, livestock and poultry.
- Some children belonged to self-employed parents e.g. engaged in commercial activities including farming and shop keeping.
- There were a number of factors that accounted for social differentiation among parents of working and non-working children.
- Some parents had grown-up children working outside Karatu who sent financial assistance to their parents regularly. Some of these parents were able to deploy extra resources to diversify their sources of income e.g. expanding acreage, keeping livestock, building personal houses at Oldeani etc. Such parents were those earning between T.Shs.150, 000 – 300,000 per month. They also occupied better paying positions on the coffee farms, and at TEC.

Another distinguishing factor between the two categories of parents relates to levels of education and skills, for while parents of non-working children occupy the technical and managerial positions, on the contrary parents of the working children work as labourers on the coffee estates since they neither had higher education or technical skills to deploy.

The distribution of income levels manifests itself in the mode of life of the people, the nature of houses people live in, the nature of the home environment, the nature of property they own, the health status of the members of their families, and

the nature of activities they perform. It is through these factors that one can clearly identify the attributes of the poor people in rural Tanzania and conclude what pushed children to join child labour.

4.8 Living conditions

Obviously there is a correlation between nature of work and living conditions. The living conditions of the farm workers in the study left much to be desired. They lived in the camp houses which were old, worn out, and dilapidated. The houses had not been repaired for the last ten to fifteen years. Worse still, the accommodation provided per household was inadequate. Each family lived in a one-room house irrespective of the number of family members. The practice of accommodating the entire family in one room is not only unhealthy and inhuman but it is uncultured according to African norms and traditions.

As far as non-working children were concerned, these children lived with their parents in good modern houses within their parents' work places. Their houses were spacious and well ventilated, and in a well cared for environment. As mentioned previously, a cross section of these parents indicates that they were comprised of medical doctors, farm managers, farm supervisors and businessmen. Coupled with good housing, the employed in this category of parents received adequate wages contrary to farm labourers whose total earnings including children's earnings were far from being adequate.

The unhealthy and miserable living conditions of the labouring men and women on the coffee farms, and their inappropriate accommodation rendered them vulnerable to a host of diseases including malaria, diarrhoea, pneumonia, skin diseases, tuberculosis, intestinal diseases to name a few.

4.9 Activities

The major activities involved in coffee farming include: weeding, pruning, stumping, spraying, fertilizing, picking, pulping, drying, grading, packaging and marketing. As far as the working children were concerned their main activities by gender are as shown below.

Table 4.9: Distribution of working children on coffee plantations in the key location in Karatu District by tasks and sex

Activity	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Picking	20 (40%)	7 (14%)	27 (54%)
Pruning	-	4 (8%)	4 (8%)
Spraying	-	3 (6%)	3 (6%)
Weeding	10 (20%)	6 (12%)	16 (32%)
Total	30 (60%)	20 (40%)	50 (100%)

Source: Field Survey December, 2000.

Table 4.9 indicates that overall working children performed four major tasks i.e. picking, pruning, spraying and weeding. Among these activities, more than half (54 percent) of all working children who were interviewed were found picking coffee as compared to only 32 percent who were weeding, 8 percent who were pruning coffee trees and 6 percent who were spraying coffee trees. No female children performed the tasks of pruning and spraying.

Picking and weeding were common activities to both male and females; picking was a seasonal activity, which required a number of working children. The picking season was from July to September; during this period working children worked alongside their parents. The picking activity was relatively easier to perform as compared to other tasks which demanded more muscular power and the ability to endure longer hours of work. Similarly, weeding tended to be a common activity for both sexes because it was relatively easier to perform as compared to other activities. Children carried out the weeding at their own pace in the areas of work assigned to them. This activity was common during January and March. Pruning and spraying were difficult activities, mainly performed by male children. Pruning was performed in December and January, and spraying was undertaken during April and May.

4.10 Estimating the number of working children

It was not easy to establish the actual number of working children on the coffee plantations. The number of working children varied from one plantation to another, depending on the size of each farm. Also, there were fluctuations in the number of working children depending on the season (e.g. planting season employed few children, and picking season employed a high number of working children). However, according to the managers of Nitin, Shah, and Tingatinga, the number of working children was estimated to range from 30–40 during the harvesting season. According to the manager of Kiran Coffee Plantation, the number of child workers at Kiran was between 40–50 for the picking season. It should be

noted, however, that during the picking season the owner employed many temporary workers including children. The number provided should be considered a conservative figure. To that effect, on average, it is estimated that, the number of working children was between 35-40 per plantation. This implies that the four plantations employed a range of between 140–160 child workers each picking season. The number could well be higher, and is unlikely to be smaller.

This chapter discussed the nature and extent of child labour on the coffee plantations. To summarize, the study revealed that the working children fall into two age groups, i.e. 36 children including 23 female and 13 male in the 10 – 13 age group, and 14 children including seven female and seven male in the 14+ age group. All the sampled working children were attending school. The study also revealed that the drop out rate in the two schools that were visited was very insignificant.

It was discovered that the average family size of the workers' households was eight; a big family by African standards, and above the Tanzania average of five members per family. Coupled with the problem of large families, farm employees did not earn major incomes, and thus could not meet the cost of family requirements.

Income levels of the parents of the non-working children were much higher than the incomes of the parents of the working children. This implies that working children were forced by circumstances to work on coffee plantations. The social gap between the working and non-working children manifests itself in the nature of property including housing infrastructure that their parents own. While farm workers lived on plantation quarters which were uniform both in shape and size, the parents of the non-working children, the majority of whom were middle and higher level administrators and technical cadres, own nice modern and spacious houses. These parents had adequate income which helped them to satisfy their family requirements including maintaining their children. This explains why children of the middle and higher level administrative cadres are non-working.

5. WORKING CONDITIONS

This chapter examines the working conditions of children on the coffee plantations. It is divided into five main parts: the first part examines the working hours; the second part deals with working days; the third part explains the tools used by working children; the fourth part shows the risks children are exposed to; and the last part looks at the uses of earnings.

5.1 Working hours

The official working hours of the working child respondents were from 7.30 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. (eight hours). Since working children were paid against the amount of work done, measured on a piece rate basis and not in hours, the work duration was meaningless in terms of compensation. Payment was not determined by how long one worked on the farm, but rather on how many tins (20kilogrammes each) of ripe, red coffee berries had been picked. There were thus children who could complete their work in less than eight hours, while there were others who could not complete their work within this official working time (see table below). Regardless, the long hours speak to the conditions the children endure.

Table 5.1: Distribution of average working hours per day by age for working children in the key locations in Karatu District

Activity	Age Group				Total
	6 <=	7 - 9	10 - 13	14 - 17	
Pruning	-	-	8	7	7.5
Picking	-	-	8	6	7.0
Spraying	-	-	3	3	3.0
Weeding	-	-	8	7	7.5
Total	-	-	7	6	6.5

Source: Field Survey, 2000.

The findings revealed that children of the age groups 10-13 years and 14-17 years, used to prune for an average of 7.5 hours while children of the same age groups used to pick for an average of seven hours. Spraying took these children an average of three hours and weeding occupied them for an average of seven and a half hours.

Children in the age group of 10-13 worked for more hours (seven) compared to children aged 14-17 years who worked six hours. Logically this disparity can be explained by the fact that the latter group had more working stamina than their younger brothers and sisters. The picture that is presented from these findings is that young children were exposed to tough and strenuous activities irrespective of their age. These activities inflicted physical and psychological pain on the working children. These children must contend with the fact that they have to work for long hours alongside their parents while other children of their age do not work. They are exposed to difficult conditions at a time when they were supposed to be under the total care of their parents. The heavy workload, including picking coffee for long hours and using tools which are heavy and which were meant for adults, inflicts physical body pain on the children.

5.2 Working days

The number of days a child works was crucial in determining how children utilized their time. In the course of this study therefore, children were asked to explain how often they worked on the coffee plantations. Table 5.2 summarizes their responses.

Table 5.2: Distribution of working children by activity and regularity on coffee plantations in the key locations in Karatu District

Activity	Regularity			Total
	Every Day	Some Days of the Week	Every Weekend	
Picking	2(4%)	5(10%)	20(40%)	27(54%)
Pruning	2(4%)	-	2(4%)	4(8%)
Spraying	-	1(2%)	2(4%)	3(6%)
Weeding	5(10%)	1(2%)	10(20%)	16(32%)
Total	9(18%)	7(14%)	34(68%)	50(100%)

Source: Field Survey, 2000

The table indicates that the majority (68%) of all interviewed working children worked during the weekend, whereas a few children (14%) worked during some days of the week and 18 percent worked every day. The activity performed by the majority of the children was picking which occupied 54 percent of all working children. Weeding was second with a total of 32 percent of all working children participating in it. Activities that drew very few children were pruning (8%) and spraying (6%). Most of the children are involved in picking because it is an activity that is easier than other activities, requiring fewer skills and muscular power. Again, many children worked on the weekends because it was an ideal time for two reasons: first, children engaged in school activities during the week, and secondly, they were acting in compliance with strict regulations that forbid children from working on the farms during weekdays.

5.3 Working tools

A number of tools were used on the coffee farms. Such tools were hand-hoes, spray pumps, scissors and bush knives (pangas). Children used all these tools at different times of the year. The hand-hoe was mainly used for weeding, while the panga and scissors were mainly used for pruning. The spray pump was used for spraying chemicals (insecticide) to protect the coffee trees from disease and infections.

The nature of the tools used had some effects on the working children. For example, the hand-hoe was not necessarily made for the purpose of being used by children. Hence, child workers tended to find it laborious to use. Occasionally, a good number (about 20%) of the working children indicated that they had cut their legs with the hand hoe while working this year.

Similarly, the pangas and scissors were not meant for the children since they were too heavy to be handled by them. Children complained of getting tired working with these oversized tools. The risk of cutting their legs or arms was also a concern.

The spray pump was not only heavy but also risky to handle for a working child. The chemicals that they sprayed were very dangerous to their health. A suggestion by employers regarding children undertaking this task was that they should desist from using children for spraying. Instead they should give them less risky and lighter activities.

5.4 Risks

Children engaged in wage labour on the coffee plantations were exposed to a host of risks. The risks, as testified by the children themselves, comprise the following:

- Snake and insects bites
- Wounds and cuts
- Attacks by wild animals
- Skin diseases.

The working children were exposed to the danger of snakebites because they were not provided with gumboots to protect their legs. They also stated the danger of being attacked by wild animals because the Ngorongoro National Park to the north bordered the coffee plantations. When wild animals were in need of green pasture or water they moved into the plantations. Both children and the plantation managers have testified to incidences of animals' encroachment onto the coffee plantations. No children have so far lost their lives as a result of being attacked by wild animals, but this still must be taken into account when working to protect child workers. Furthermore, insect bites could be avoided by providing children with gloves, gum boots, and hats and plastic overcoats.

5.5 Payment

Assessment of payment was necessary in order to analyse the relationship between the nature of activities and the payment that children received. Table 5.3 presents the responses of working children regarding their mode of payment.

Table 5.3: Distribution of working children by activity and mode of payment on selected coffee plantations in Karatu District

Activity	Mode of Payment		Total
	Monetary	In Kind	
Picking	23 (46%)	4 (8%)	27 (54%)
Pruning	4 (8%)	-	4 (8%)
Spraying	3 (6%)	-	3 (6%)
Weeding	12 (24%)	4	16 (32%)
Total	42 (84%)	8	50 (100%)

Source: Field Survey 2000

The dominant mode of payment was monetary; 84% percent of all working children were paid through this system. Another mode of payment encompassing the remaining working children was payment in kind. Payment in kind refers to circumstances whereby a labourer may receive food items instead of monetary payment. Also when some workers have finished their food stock, they can also borrow some food items such as maize floor and beans from the Farm Manager and can later pay in kind. That is to say they will perform work which is of equal value to the food that they borrowed.

Except for the permanent employees the adults, temporary workers, and the working children were paid on a daily basis after completing their share of work. Adults and working children were paid the same wage i.e. TShs 250/= per filled tin of ripe, red coffee berries. The wages for the working children were paid to the parents. The opinion of the parents was that children could not make good and rational use of the wages. They argued that they had a lot of responsibilities including family maintenance, i.e. providing good shelter and clothes, and paying school fees for the children.

5.6 Use of wages

The wages of the working children were paid to their parents due to a number of reasons. A reason provided by the Farm Managers was that it reduced the number of people who wait for payment and facilitates a quick payment process. Secondly, it allows children to go home early to perform domestic activities. The children, however, revealed that the management of the farm did not allow them to stand in the queues for payment because the owners were worried that government officials might suddenly arrive and discover the child labourers. The majority of the children acknowledged their desire to use their wages to buy personal requirements, but the situation did not allow them to do so. Responsible parents used the money to buy essential requirements for the families including school fees, clothes, food etc.

Generally, the working children contributed a lot to the survival of their respective families. They were living under hardship conditions due to problems often created by their parents. The wages that the parents received, including the wages of their children, were not adequate to meet the costs of the basic necessities of life. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the workers had no other activities that could enable them to earn extra income. Children thus constituted a form of family labour that could be deployed on the plantations in order to earn extra income for the family. For an outline of uses of working children's earning see Table 5.4 below

Table 5.4: Uses of earnings by parents of working children in the key location – Karatu District

Use of Earning	Responses	
	No.	%
Supplementing meagre family income to buy basic necessities e.g. food	19	45%
Buying school uniform	04	10%
Paying school fees	02	5%
Allowing children to buy personal effects (clothes, shoes)	10	23%
Buying a radio and bicycle	02	5%
Make savings	04	10%
Spending the money the way parents want	01	2%
Total	42	100%

Source: Field Survey 2000

All working children were operating within the same socio-cultural environment and no doubt their views and perceptions were to some extent shaped by their outlook towards obtaining material conditions within the environment in which they lived. The table clearly show that some parents were very responsible, while others were irresponsible. The responsible parents included the 45 percent who spent the working children's earnings to buy basic necessities including food. Two parents bought a radio/bicycle for the family, one parent saved some money for future use, and five parents allowed children to purchase their own personal effects such as clothes, shoes and bed-sheets.

The irresponsible parents can be depicted as the one parent who controlled the children's money and spent it the way he/she wanted to, and not on necessities nor with the consent of the owners.

Since the parents were the ones who receive their children's wages as explained by the Farm Managers and testified to by the children themselves, the implication is that the parents were fully aware of when their children worked on the coffee farms instead of going to school.

The picture that is presented here is that the parents themselves were partly perpetuating the practice of child labour. Therefore, all efforts geared towards the elimination of child labour must at the same time address the issue of poverty among coffee plantation adult employees.

In summary, working children performed four main activities on the coffee plantations. These activities are picking coffee berries, weeding, pruning, and spraying. The working children fell under two age groups, i.e. 10-13 years and 14-17 years.

The former group worked for an average of seven hours per day, while the latter group worked for an average of six hours per day. It was also found that picking was the most common activity that was performed by the majority of the working children.

The common working tools that were used by the working children were the hand hoe, the bush knife (panga), the scissors, the spray pump and tins or plastic buckets. Some children were too young to handle some of the working tools. They were exposed to difficult tasks prematurely, at a time when they should be concentrating on school work.

Children were not paid directly by the coffee plantation employers. The parents receive the wages of the working children. This was mainly due to two reasons: first, they wanted to avoid long queues and second, they did not want the children to be spotted by government officials who might be passing through the plantation areas.

Generally, the parents of the working children spent the wages of their children to buy basic requirements for the family, though a couple parents used the earnings for purchasing useful assets such as radios and bicycles and two invested in savings. Five parents were more liberal and allowed children to purchase their own personal requirements.

In short, the working children had virtually no freedom over the use of their wages. In conclusion, the practice of paying the children through their parents was not a fair deal. It is such a system that partly contributes to the continuation and perpetuation of the system of child labour.

6. CAUSES AND SOLUTIONS

The previous chapter has already established the nature and extent of child labour. This chapter attempts to highlight the major causes of child labour on the coffee plantations in Karatu District. This chapter also recommends measures that can be adopted to alleviate (if not eliminate) the problem of child labour on the coffee plantations in Karatu District. The chapter is organized into three sections: the first section is the introduction, the second section discusses the major causes of child labour, and the third section outlines the solutions to the problem.

6.1 The underlying causes of child labour

Economic factors have been noted as key factors in prompting children to engage in child labour activities on coffee plantations. This conclusion was presented by a number of variables that indicated the level of living of the coffee farm employees. A definition of the level of living (or welfare) comprises a household's command over resources in terms of money, property, health, schooling, work, housing etc. with the help of which individuals can lead their lives and satisfy their needs.

The findings have clearly shown that the standard of living of the parents of the working children was very low. They had very low incomes; not enough to meet the monthly family requirements. In terms of property, working children lived with their parents in workers quarters which were old and worn out. The accommodations offered to families were inadequate. Each family was accommodated in one room irrespective of family size. It was also noted that there was a relationship between level of education of an individual and the nature of the job that he/she performs on the one hand, and the socio-economic status of his/her family on the other. The coffee plantation employees had little education and therefore had no skills to deploy except their labour power. Their remuneration package was poor which had a bearing on the livelihood of their families.

Whenever the earnings of the parents were not enough to satisfy the family's requirements, the family members were naturally affected. They either had to do act in order to raise extra earnings, or to lose in their struggle for survival. The working children were therefore forced by circumstances to work on the coffee plantations.

Lack of education rendered the parents of the working children incapable of initiating any independent source of earning extra income. This also was a factor that obliged the parents to make their children engage in wage labour on the coffee plantations. Therefore, another cause of child labour was the parents themselves. Because the parents themselves were benefiting from their children involvement in coffee plantation activities, they also served as recruitment agents for the plantation owners. Several working children who said that they were influenced by their parents to work on the coffee plantations reported this fact.

Another significant factor was family size. As already noted, the average family had eight members, a number argued to be considerably too big to be managed by a rural married couple. The family size of households in the key location was higher than the national family size average of six members. The findings also revealed that the earnings of both the parents and their children were not adequate to meet the requirements of their families. Therefore, the picture that emerges from the above findings is that the children were made to accept child labour as part of the socialization process. When they completed their primary education they were likely to secure the same employment on the coffee plantations. After completing primary education the working children neither had resources that could enable them to initiate income-generating activities nor skills that they could deploy for better remuneration. The vicious circle of poverty thus continues and this is how the class of labourers reproduces itself.

The situation of the non-working children is quite different. Their parents have resources which they can deploy for the development of their children. They can either engage in self-employment activities or continue with further education in secondary school.

6.2 Solutions

In order to alleviate, and eventually eliminate, the problem of child labour on Karatu coffee plantations the following major recommendations are proposed.

(i) Recommendations to the Central Government

This report notes that the key cause of children's involvement in child labour activities is the poverty of the parents (i.e. poor remuneration of the parents of the working children), therefore the labour department must convene a tripartite body meeting comprising the Regional Labour officer, the leaders of the plantation workers union, and representatives of the Coffee Growers Association to discuss the issue of remuneration of coffee

plantation employees. The labour department must make sure that a consensus is reached that will make employees pay reasonable salaries to their employees.

(ii) Recommendations to the Trade Union Tanzania Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union

The Trade Union Tanzania Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union is the only organization dealing with plantations. It has so far been playing a leading role in the fight against child labour, and can therefore establish a credit and savings society for all plantation employees (including coffee plantation workers). A workers savings and credit co-operative society (WCCDS) can help to lift the economic status of the working men and women on the coffee plantations. TPAWU leaders, through the assistance of the District Co-operative Officers, can initiate this move and enlighten individual members on how they can benefit from its membership.

(iii) Recommendations to Employers

- **Provision of plots of land for employees** - This would contribute to alleviating poverty among their employees. Besides, there is a correlation between compensation of employees and productivity. The suggestion here is that every worker be given three acres of land to cultivate food crops for domestic consumption. The surplus food crop can be sold to enable workers to earn supplementary income. The plantation management must make sure that all employees cultivate the plot allocated to them.
- **Improve housing for low income employees** - Employers must improve housing for coffee plantation employees. At least every employee and family should be given accommodations consisting of two rooms as opposed to the existing one room accommodation.
- **Working hours and demands** - The findings revealed that young children (10 – 13 years) were exposed to tough and strenuous activities irrespective of their age. These activities inflict pain and psychological torture to the working children. It is hereby suggested that employers as well as parents should consider the age of the children before allocating them long and strenuous tasks to perform.
- **Working tools** - The nature of tools used had some effect on the working children. For example the hand hoe, pangas, scissors and the spray pump were too heavy to be handled by children. Employers must not make children handle tools that are not proportional to their age. The spray pump was not only heavy but too risky and dangerous to be handled by children. The chemicals that they sprayed were dangerous to their health. Employers should desist from using children for spraying.
- **Provision of working gear** - Protect children from insect and snakebites and exposure to adverse weather conditions by providing them with gum boots, hats and plastic overcoats.

(iv) Recommendations to UMATI and health workers

UMATI (a family planning NGO), in collaboration with health workers, must educate the coffee plantation employees on the importance of reducing the size of their families as a strategy for alleviating poverty amongst themselves. Without reducing family size the problem of child labour among the households of coffee plantation employees will remain unresolved for a long time to come.

(v) Recommendations to Karatu District Education Officer

Despite the good attendance in the schools covered by this study, the poor academic performance implies that there are some problems in the provision of education in the area. Therefore, in order to improve the provision of education in the coffee plantation areas of Karatu, especially in Oldeani, the following recommendations are proposed:

- Verify that all children of school going age are enrolled in school.
- Provide adequate and competent teachers to fill the gaps at Gyetighi and Oldeani Primary Schools.
- Rehabilitate the school buildings and infrastructure, especially at Oldeani Primary School, where old and worn out buildings badly need repair.

If these recommendations are adopted and implemented there is no doubt the Karatu Coffee Plantation employees (and particularly Oldeani Coffee plantation employees) will make great strides towards alleviating, if not eliminating, the problem of child labour.

7. CONCLUSIONS

This study attempted to examine the causes, activities, characteristics, working conditions, and consequences emanating from children's involvement on coffee plantations, and to suggest interventional measures to combat child labour in the coffee sector.

The study revealed that the majority of the working children were in the age range of 10-13 years and that female children constitute the majority (60%). The working children in Karatu were all natives of the area. They belonged to the Mbulu and Iraqw ethnic groups. The families of farm workers were comprised of an average of eight members - higher than the national average of six members. It was noted that family size was a contributing factor to children's involvement in child labour activities. The workers lived in old and worn out houses. The one room accommodation offered to every worker with his family was considered to be inadequate.

Another aspect was the income of parents of the working children. The income levels were far below the level of subsistence. Parents were thus obliged to deploy the labour of their children to work on the coffee plantations for payment in order to earn extra income. Working on the coffee plantations interfered with the children's schooling. This was reflected by the dismal academic performances at the schools as indicated by the small number of pupils selected to join Form One at Oldeani and Gyetighi Primary Schools. Although poor school performance was not only caused by child labour, it was certainly the dominant contributing factor. It was surprising to note however, that the dropout rate in the two schools was insignificant.

The major reason for good attendance in the schools was the strict regulations regarding the deployment of child labour imposed on coffee farms employers by the education authorities in the district. The regulations provided that any employer that used child labour during the week days would face severe punishment including confiscation of the business license by the Government.

The findings also revealed that working children were exposed to difficult conditions, working for long hours and using tools meant for adult employees. The practice of involving children in work alongside their parents creates both physical and psychological torture to the working children.

The findings revealed that the activities performed by the working children were picking coffee berries, pruning coffee trees, weeding and spraying. The majority of the children were engaged in picking (54%). Picking and weeding activities were performed by both male and female working children while pruning and spraying activities were mainly performed by male children. The findings revealed that the children were exposed to tough and strenuous activities irrespective of their age. These activities inflicted both physical and psychological torture on the working children.

The risks that faced the children in the course of their work comprised snake and insect bites, wound cuts, attacks by wild animals, and contracting skin diseases.

The wages of the working children were received by the parents. Payment was made in monetary terms. Children were paid Tshs 250/= for filling one tin of coffee berries. One tin has the carrying capacity of 20 kilogrammes. Children did not have any say over the use of their wages.

Conclusively, on the basis of the findings from Karatu District, child labour on the coffee plantations in this area should be identified as a worst form of child labour. If the situation is not addressed at this stage, and instead left to grow, it will assume new dimensions and become even more difficult to tackle. Measures should be taken immediately to alleviate the situation of these children with respect to their human rights.

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**NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE TRAINING INSTITUTE
THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR
IN COFFEE AND HORTICULTURE SECTORS
(KARATU AND ARUMERU – ARUSHA)
DECEMBER, 2000**

Interview Schedule for both Non and Working children

Religion _____ 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 Do your parents afford to pay school expenses? YES _____ NO _____
If NO, where do you get the funds? _____

- 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) _____

PART C: FAMILY BACKGROUND

- 1.1 Are your parents all alive? YES _____ NO _____
- 1.2 If NO, who is not alive? _____ What is the cause of death
 _____ When _____
- 1.3 All 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? _____
3. What is the level of education of your parents/Guardians?
 (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 bath per day? _____
(a) Do you have toilets at home? YES _____ NO _____
5. If No, why?
(a) _____
(b) _____
(c) _____

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. Whom do you share pleasant information with? _____

PART G: WORKING CHILDREN

(i) Worst Forms of Child Labour

1. How did you get into the job? (who influenced you?)
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
 - (d) _____
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 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) _____
5. Why good earnings 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 parents? _____
- 7.2 How many times? _____
8. What items are bought for personal use?
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
9. What problems so you encounter?
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
10. What is the source of problems?
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
11. What are the consequences of the problems?
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
12. What have you achieved since you joined labour activities?
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____

(iii) Relationship with 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?
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. How is the natural surrounding?
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
 - (d) _____
3. How are the working conditions?
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
 - (d) _____
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? _____

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE SUPERVISORS & WORKERS IN THE
COFFEE AND HORTICULTURE SECTORS**

A. PERSONAL INFORMATION

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

B. DAILY ROUTINE

1. At what time do you start your 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)? _____
5. What are your daily activities in this farm?
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
 - (d) _____
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) _____
 - (c) _____
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) _____
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 so 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) _____
 (ii) _____ (iv) _____
 (b) Children:
 (i) _____ (ii) _____
 (ii) _____ (iv) _____

F: INTERVENTIONS

1. How can we help children under 18, not to work in this dangerous environment?
 (a) _____
 (b) _____
 (c) _____
 (d) _____
2. How can this be done?
 (a) _____
 (b) _____
 (c) _____
 (d) _____
3. What should the government do, to assist the children who work?
 (a) _____
 (b) _____
 (c) _____
 (d) _____

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE TO THE OWNERS OF
COFFEE AND HORTICULTURE SECTORS
(KARATU AND ARUMERU – ARUSHA)**

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. Location_____
2. What is the size of the plantation or farm in hectares?_____
3. When did the coffee and horticulture growing start in this location?

4. What were the factors or reasons behind the establishment of coffee and horticulture farms?
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
 - (d) _____
5. Who did start the coffee and horticulture farms?_____
6. What are the forms of coffee and horticulture growing in this area?
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
 - (d) _____
7. What is the production capacity in tons per year?_____
8. In the recent past five or ten years indicate the production of coffee and Horticulture (in tons per year)_____

B: COFFEE AND HORTICULTURE FARMING

1. What are the characteristic features of coffee and horticulture growing in this area?
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
 - (d) _____
2. How many workers do you have in all coffee and horticulture 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) _____
 - (d) _____
11. Do you have formal contracts with the working children?
 - (a) YES _____ (b) NO _____
12. Can you mention the types of contract?
 - (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 of age, come to ask for employment in your coffee and horticulture farms?
 - (a) _____

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

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

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

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

1. School _____

2. Sex _____

3. What is the state of the primary school infrastructure?

	<i>Equipment</i>	<i>Required</i>	<i>Available</i>
Classrooms			
Desks			
Teachers			
Staff houses			
Latrines			
Chairs			
Libraries			
Playgrounds			

What is the number of school age children who have not been enrolled? _____

4. How many pupils does your school have?

(a) Boys _____ (b) Girls _____

(b)

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 in enrolment rate in your school?

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

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

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

17. What is the graduate rate?

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

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 Standard VII leavers do in the village?

- (a) _____
 (b) _____

21. How many times have the school pupils involved in tobacco farms?

- (a) _____
 (b) _____

22. What are the indicators of worst forms of child labour on tobacco plantations?

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

23. It is quite obvious that there are children who work on tobacco farms in your area. In your opinion what are the reasons that make children under 18 years work on these farms?

- (a) _____

- (b) _____
 - (c) _____
 - (d) _____
24. What school expenses and contributions are supposed to be paid by your parents?
- (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
25. To what extent 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 the village level to alleviate the problem of child labour?
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
2. Which organizations can 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) _____
 - (d) _____

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 this village/ward?
6. Do all children go to school? YES_____ NO_____
7. If NO, why not?
 - (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 are they 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) _____

15. Are there mosques and churches in the tobacco growing areas?

YES _____ NO _____

16. If YES, how many are there?

(a) churches _____

(b) mosques _____

17. Are there any police stations? YES _____ NO _____

18. What are the common crimes in this village?

(a) _____

(b) _____

(c) _____

19. Who mainly commit these crimes?

(a) _____

(b) _____

(c) _____

20. What is the number of people in this village?

Men _____

Women _____

Children _____

Girls _____

Boys _____

Dependants _____

21. Apart from working on tobacco farms what other socio-economic activities are performed in the village?

(a) _____

(b) _____

(c) _____

(d) _____

(e) _____

22. Why do the children work on tobacco farms?

(a) _____

(b) _____

(c) _____

23. What are the indicators of the worst forms of child labour in this area?

(a) _____

(b) _____

(c) _____

24. Since working on tobacco farms for children is very dangerous, what should be done to alleviate child labour in this village?

(a) Village level

(i) _____

(ii) _____

(iii) _____

(iv) _____

(b) District level

(i) _____

(ii) _____

(iii) _____

(iv) _____

(c) The government

(i) _____

(ii) _____

(iii) _____

(iv) _____

25. What are the problems faced by children who work on the tobacco plantations?

(a) _____

(b) _____

(c) _____

**INTERVIEWS FOR PARENTS/GUARDIANS OF NON AND WORKING
CHILDREN IN COFFEE AND HORTICULTURE SECTORS
(KARATU AND ARUMERU-ARUSHA)**

1. Age _____
2. Sex _____
3. Tribe _____
4. Level of Education _____
5. Do you have a 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 _____ 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 on coffee and horticulture 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. I) Why do people get their children employed on coffee and horticulture farms?
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
 - (d) _____

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

(a) _____

(b) _____

(c) _____

(d) _____

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) _____

(d) _____

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 on coffee and horticulture 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 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 on coffee and horticulture farms?

(a) _____

(b) _____

(c) _____

(d) _____

32. How many times (seasons) do children work on coffee and horticulture farms?

(a) _____

(b) _____

(c) _____

33. Who owns the coffee and horticulture 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) _____

(c) _____