

**A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CHILD LABOUR AND HUMAN RESOURCE
DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Martha Kibukamusoke, hereby declare that this submission is my own work and to the best of my knowledge and belief, has never been published before or written by another person. To a substantial extent, this work has not been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of any university or other institute of higher learning. Acknowledgements, however, have been made in various texts of the work.

SIGNATURE.....

DATE.....

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents, Mr William and Kezia Kibukamusoke, for the confidence instilled in me to complete this submission.

To my brothers John, Jeremy, Cyrus, Simeone, Moses and Mervyn and Sisters Helen, Karen, Elizabeth and Nicole, for their inspiration and patience in seeing me through until completion

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ABSTRACT

This study is a critical analysis of child labour and human resource development in Uganda. The study was undertaken because of the growing concern about child-labour practices in African countries, Uganda being an example. The incidence of child labour and the form that it takes are driven by supply-and-demand factors countrywide, but also by the sheer need of children to survive. Child labour is considered to be a fundamental child development problem. Children are involved in a number of child-labour practices such as prostitution in the commercial and tourism sex industry, forced begging on the streets, and forced soldiering. They may be used as camel jockeys, domestic servants, farm labourers/herders, mine labourers, produce porters, roadside sellers/street vendors, sweetshop-industry labourers, cooks and porters for rebels. The persistent exploitation of children involved in hazardous work and conditions has become overwhelming in Uganda.

Poverty as one of the major causes for the growing numbers of child labourers in the agricultural sector in Uganda has caused a number of children to engage in child-labour activities to earn extra income for household survival. Many children have opted for partial attendance in school, eventually dropping out. Parents have also frequently influenced children to work on family farms, thus contributing to the children dropping out of school. Child-labour practices have become entrenched in the social and moral fabric of Ugandan society, and for this reason, research endeavours to uncover ways and methods to reverse this situation.

The main objectives of this research were to establish the impact of poverty on child labour, to assess the effect of the social and cultural setup on child labour, to find out the impact of child-labour legislation enforcement, to determine the

influence of the HIV and AIDS pandemic on child labour, to establish the effect of the educational system and technological advancement on child labour, to establish the level of awareness of human rights in the community, and to establish the impact of human rights activists on the prevention of child labour.

The study was undertaken in Masindi District in Budongo Sub County, in three parishes, Nyabyeya, Nyantonzi and Kasongoire. The respondents used for the study included child labourers, their parents, farmers, and community leaders. The method used to get to the sample was purposive sampling. Data was collected using questionnaires for written answers and a tape recorder for oral answers. Both primary and secondary data was collected, verified, edited, checked, coded, analysed, and then exported to Excel and SPSS.

Collecting the data was a challenging exercise for the researcher. Experiences were varied, in the hospitality and willingness of respondents to learn more about child issues. Although respondents were willing to participate in the data collection exercise, social and cultural values did not permit all of them to share their views with the researcher. To collect data from respondents, the researcher had to ensure that remuneration was in place at the end of the exercise. The respondents filled out the questionnaires only after learning of the availability of a reward for every questionnaire answered. More setbacks were the need to travel long distances, and enduring the poor infrastructure, poor sanitation, and epidemic outbreaks, some of which diluted the quality of data collected. During group interviews, most parents were not entirely truthful about involving their children in child-labour activities. Although most respondents had an idea of what child labour is, their ignorance levels on the topic prevented them from stopping their children from working.

The major findings of the research were that the cultural, social and economic setup of the community in the study area favoured child labour, although the child-labour legislation is against using children as labourers. Various ethnicities

in the study area considered a person between the ages of 5 and 12 years to be a child, yet the Constitution of Uganda dictates the age of childhood to be below 18 years. This causes conflict in the definition of who a child is. Although parents were aware of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) regulation penalties for not taking children to school, they still permitted children to engage in child-labour activities, and little has been done by government to curb the culprits. Awareness of the Sub Counties and Credit Co-operatives (SACCOs) and their implementation has not helped to reduce poverty in the area studied, resulting in an increased school dropout rate among school-going-age children, as well as more child-labour activities.

The major conclusion of the study was that little has been done to increase the awareness levels of the teachers, parents and their children about child labour and its legislation, their knowledge of and involvement in micro-finance institutions in the community, and the availability of vocational training institutions. Little has therefore been done to reduce child-labour activities, improve the economic status of the community, and improve their human resource skills.

The major recommendations of the research to the study are that culture should not override the Constitution as far as the definition of age limit is concerned. The government should carry out stakeholder analyses, and implement a life-skills and sensitisation programme in order to improve child participation in the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme. Government should ensure that the society is given information about basic accounting, project planning and management skills, in order to be effectively involved in the economic programmes of SACCOs.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACRLS	The African Centre for Research and Legal Studies
AFL	Armed forces of Liberia
AFRUCA	Africans Unite against Child Abuse
ALIR	Army of the Liberation of Rwanda
AMREF	African Medical and Research Foundation
ANPPCAN	the African Network for Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect
ARVS	Anti-RetroViral Drugs
BAT	British American Tobacco
BATU	British American Tobacco Uganda
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
COSATU	Congress of South Africa Trade Unions
CPA	Concerned Parents' Association
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSEC	Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
DDRR	Disarmament, Demobilisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECLATU	Elimination of Child Labour on Tobacco farms in Uganda
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children
EMIS	Education Management Information System Data
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
FAA	Angola Armed Forces
FIDA	Association of Uganda Women's Lawyers
FINCA	Foundation for International Community Assistance
FOCA	Friends of Children Association
FUE	Federation of Uganda Employers

GATT	General Agreement for Tariffs and Trade
GUSCO	Gulu Save our Children Organisation
HIV and AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICCPR	International Convention, Civil and Political Rights
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
IDP	Internally Displaced People's Camp
IFAP	International Federation of Agricultural Producers
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
ITGA	International Tobacco Growers Association
JCC	Juvenile Care Council
KURET	Kenya Uganda Rwanda Ethiopia Together
LC	Local Council
LDC	Less Developed Country
LDU	Local Defence Unit
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
LTTE	Liberation Tamil Tiger Ealam
LURD	Liberians United for Reconstruction and Democracy
MAAIF	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
MOES	Ministry of Education and Sports
MORE	Model for Orphan Resettlement and Education
MPCC	Mildmay Paediatric Care Centre
MVF	MV Foundation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
NIF	National Islamic Front
NOTU	National Organisation of Trade Unions
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NRA	National Resistance Army

NRM	National Resistance Movement
NSSF	National Social Security Fund
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAM	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture
PAP	Poverty Alleviation Plan
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PFA	Prosperity for All
PLA	Platform for Labour Action
PLE	Primary Leaving Examinations
RCD	The Congolese Rally for Democracy - Goma
RDSCF	Rural Development Strategy Conceptual Framework
RFS	Rural Finance Strategy
RMFSP	Rural Micro-Finance Support Project
RUDMEC	Rural Development Media Communications
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
RYDA	Rubaga Youth Development Association
SACCO	Sub Counties and Credit Co-operative
SDIP	Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan
SIMPOC	Statistics Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
SODECO	Social Development Consultants Uganda Limited
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
TASO	The Aids Support Organisation
UCRNN	Uganda Child Rights NGO Network
UCOBAC	Uganda Community-Based Association for Child Welfare
UN	United Nations
UNEB	Uganda National Examinations Board
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
ULIMO	United Liberian Movement for Democracy in Liberia
UML	Uganda Micro-Finance Limited

UNITA	National Union for Total Independence of Angola
UPC	Union of Congolese Patriots
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Force
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USA	United States of America
USE	Universal Secondary Education
UTGA	Uganda Tobacco-Growing Association
UVAB	Uganda Veterans' Association Board
WHO	World Trade Organisation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	1
DEDICATION	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
ABSTRACT	4
ABBREVIATIONS	7
TABLE OF CONTENTS	11

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH	17
1.1 Introduction	17
1.2 Background of the research.....	17
1.3 Theoretical explanation of child labour and child work.....	18
1.3.1 What is child labour?	18
1.3.2 What is child work?	22
1.4 MOTIVATION OF THE STUDY	23
1.5 PROBLEM STATEMENT	26
1.6 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	28
1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY	28
1.7.1 Conceptual scope	28
1.7.2 Geographical scope.....	28
1.7.3 Time scope.....	28
1.7.4 Intellectual scope.....	29
1.8 POSSIBLE OUTCOMES OF THE RESEARCH.....	29
1.9 CONCLUSION	

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction	30
2.1 Causes of child labour	31

2.1.1 Poverty and its impact on child labour	32
2.1.1.1 Types and causes of poverty on child labour	36
2.1.2 Establishing the effect of the educational sector on child labour.....	42
2.1.2.1 Education, a human right.....	45
2.1.2.2 Universal Primary Education in Masindi.....	54
2.1.3 Assessing the effect of the social and cultural setup on child labour ..	61
2.1.4 Determining the influence of HIV and AIDS on child labour.....	65
2.1.5 Assessing the effects of technological advancement on child labour..	73
2.1.5.1 Effects of technological advancement on child labour.....	74
2.1.6 Establishing the impact of human rights activists on the prevention of child labour	79
2.1.6.1 The global perspective of the legislation on child labour.....	79
2.1.6.2 Background of child labour conventions	79
2.1.6.2.1 Child rights and the causes of child labour.....	81
2.1.6.2.1.1 Poverty reduction and education attainment: a child labour elimination plan.....	81
2.1.6.2.1.2 Preventive programmes to reduce child labour: HIV and AIDS	89
2.1.6.2.1.3 Preventive measures for Uganda's vulnerable children ..	91
2.1.6.2.1.4 Prevention of child prostitution: policy responses.....	94
2.1.6.2.1.5 Legislation to prevent child trafficking	96
2.1.6.2.1.6 Legislation and children working in commercial agriculture.....	97
2.1.6.3 Outcomes of legislation enforcement	98
2.1.7 Articles of the convention on the rights of the child	100
2.2 Conclusion.....	100

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction	101
3.2 Methodological approaches or meta-theory.....	101
3.2.1 Interpretivism meta-theoretical approach.....	101
3.3 Research approach or research design.....	102
3.3.1 Using the Qualitative and Quantitative research approaches.....	104
3.3.1.1 Qualitative research.....	105
3.3.1.2 Quantitative research	105
3.4 Population and sampling	106
3.4.1 Population.....	108
3.4.2 Sampling frame and techniques	109
3.4.2.1 Sampling frame	109
3.4.2.2 Sampling technique	110
3.4.2.3 Sample size	110
3.5 Research tools	112
3.6 Data management.....	113

3.7 Data analysis procedure.....	113
3.8 Pilot study	114
3.9 Ethical considerations	114
3.10 Limitations and problems of doing research in Africa.....	116
3.11 Dissemination of results	119
3.12 Conclusion.....	120

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

4.1 Introduction	121
4.1.1 Location, ethnic composition and demographic characteristics of the study area.....	121
4.2 Data collection.....	123
4.2.1 Data processing, Coding and Analysis	123
4.3 Biographical Data	124
4.3.1 Children.....	124
4.3.2 Parents.....	126
4.4 Research Findings	128
4.4.1 Theme 1: Poverty and its impact on child labour	128
4.4.1.1 Occupation and income of parents	129
4.4.1.2 Poverty and child labour	130
4.4.1.3 Population increase, poverty and child labour	132
4.4.1.4 Family size and child labour.....	134
4.4.2 Theme 2: Uganda's education system and its effect on child labour.	137
4.4.2.1 Class attended	143
4.4.2.2 Awareness of Universal Primary Education (UPE)	145
4.4.2.3 Education, war and child labour	148
4.4.3 Theme 3: The role of the social and cultural structure on the prevalence of child labour.	149
4.4.3.1 Social or community definition of a child.....	149
4.4.3.2 Gender inequality and culture.....	151
4.4.3.3 Gender, school attendance and child labour.....	153
4.4.3.4 Child labour and culture	155
4.4.3.5 Social structure and working environment for children.....	157
4.4.3.5.1 Location of work.....	157
4.4.3.5.2 Age at which children started working.....	158
4.4.3.5.3 Children's activities after school.....	161
4.4.3.5.4 Hours worked and social pattern	163
4.4.3.5.5 Month of the year worked.....	164
4.4.3.5.6 Children's attitudes towards work	166
4.4.3.5.7 Payment for labour offered	167
4.4.4 Theme 4: The effect of HIV and AIDS on the community and child labour	169
4.4.4.1 Living conditions of children	171

4.4.4.2 HIV and AIDS and child labour	172
4.4.5 Theme 5: The impact of technological advancement on child labour.	176
4.4.5.1 Technological advancement and child labour	176
4.4.6 Theme 6: The effect and the role of human rights activists on child labour.	179
4.4.6.1 Awareness of child labour legislation	180
4.4.6.1.1 Attitudes related to child labour	183
4.4.6.1.2 Awareness of the savings and credit co-operative organisations (SACCOs).....	187
4.4.6.1.3 Source of information regarding SACCOs	189
4.4.6.2 Feedback from community leaders.....	190
4.4.6.2.1 Community leaders' comments on the concept of child labour	190
4.4.6.3 Involvement of children in labour on tobacco farms.....	192
4.4.6.3.1 Leaders' opinions on why children engage in child labour ...	192
4.4.6.4 Major enhancers of child labour	192
4.4.6.5 Attitudes towards child labour issues	194
4.5 Conclusion	198

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction	200
5.2 Conclusions and recommendations	201
5.2.1 Poverty accelerates child labour	201
5.2.2 Uganda's education system tailors the existence of child labour	204
5.2.3 Cultural and social structure increases child labour	206
5.2.4 HIV and AIDS influence the growth of child labour	207
5.2.5 Low technological advancement increases child labour	208
5.2.6 Work by human rights activists increases child labour	209
5.3 Areas of further study.....	210
5.4 Conclusion.....	211

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2a: Enrolment flows in different class grades from 1997- 2006.....	48
Table 2b: Promotion Rate (PR) and Retention Rate (RR) for primary schools since 1998 – 2006.....	49
Table 2c: Drop out percentage rates (1998-2002).....	52

Table 2d: Enrolment, drop out and retention number of pupils in Masindi district.....	55
Table 3a: Respondents participating in the study.....	112
Table 3b: Diagrammatic format of sample size and selection process for the study area.....	112
Table 4a: Location where the child stays.....	125
Table 4b: Reported frequency of school attendance in the last one year (2008) by percent of children.....	139
Table 4c: Age considered being a child.....	150
Table 4d: Age at which child started work.....	159
Table 4e: Tobacco-related activities engaged in by children (Multiple responses).....	162
Table 4f: Number of hours worked by the children by percentage.....	163
Table 4g: Percentage of children who enjoy working on the farms.....	167
Table 4h: Payments received.....	167
Table 4i: Percentage of children who received compensations for their labour on the farms.....	167
Table 4j: Percentage of people children live with.....	171
Table 4k: Injuries suffered by child workers.....	177
Table 4l: Awareness of child labour legislation.....	181
Table 4m: Children's attitudes and opinions on certain aspects of child labour.....	183
Table 4n: Parents' attitudes regarding child labour issues.....	186
Table 4o: Parents' perceptions on child labour law.....	187
Table 4p: Source of information on child labour for parents.....	190
Table: 4q Attitudes of community leaders on child labour issues.....	194
Table 4r: Percentage of parents' and leaders' responses to different child labour issues.....	197

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3a: Map of Uganda showing the study area.....	106
Figure 4a: Age range of child participants.....	124
Figure 4b: Sex of child participants.....	125
Figure 4c: Percentage of parents by gender.....	126
Figure 4d: Present occupation of parents by percentage.....	129
Figure 4e: Awareness of Universal Primary Education (UPE).....	145
Figure 4f: Parents' awareness of SACCOs.....	188
Figure 4g: Parents' membership in SACCOs.....	188

LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph 4a: Age category of parents by percentage.....	126
Graph 4b: Class attended by percentage of children.....	144

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Articles of the convention on the rights of the child.....	247
Appendix 2: Convention concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the forms of child labour.....	250
Appendix 3: Recommendation concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the forms of child labour (recommendation 190).....	254
Appendix 4: Questionnaires as data collection tools.....	259

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	214
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APPENDICES.....	247
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

The following chapter gives a background to the research, explaining the situations through which child labour emerges. Different definitions of "child labour" are discussed. The motivation for the study and the problem statement are also explained. Furthermore, the different possible outcomes and results of the research are outlined, and the scope of the study as well as the aims and objectives are stated.

1.2 Background of the research

There is a growing concern pertaining to child-labour practices in African countries, Uganda being an example. Prior research findings of the 2002 study on child labour in tobacco-growing areas in Uganda by British American Tobacco Uganda (BATU) reveal insights into the socio-economic conditions that contribute to this social problem, as well as into the causes, manifestations, and consequences of child labour in these areas (BATU 2003:34-35). There is a need for drastic intervention into child-labour practices in Uganda, as many children either do not attend school after registration or drop out of school. Further to this, child-labour practices have become entrenched in the social and moral fabric of Ugandan society, and for this reason, there is a dire need for research to uncover ways and means to reverse this situation. There are a number of socio-economic reasons for absenteeism and a high dropout rate in schools. Legislation introduced to curtail this has seemingly had little effect. Therefore, it would seem that while it is necessary to introduce effective

preventative legislative measures, and to implement these effectively, the people of Uganda should be taught the knowledge to realise that continued institutionalisation of child-labour practices will have an adverse effect on Uganda's economic future in terms of human resource development. Other means should be identified to eradicate child labour, and at the same time to establish legitimate avenues to enable this. This calls for a holistic approach to the child-labour problem in Uganda, which would include an assessment of current preventative measures, counteractive measures, and direct child-contact interventions to assure a continued human resource development.

1.3 Theoretical explanation of child labour and child work

There is no globally accepted definition of "child labour" and "child work", but there are varying definitions by authors, organisations, trade unions and interest groups. Although it is known that not all work is bad, excessive work harms the physical, mental and moral life of a child.¹

1.3.1 What is child labour?

Work that exploits the abilities of a child to live as a child is what is known as "child labour". Child labour is also considered to be dehumanising work to a child, such as when a child works for long hours like a slave in a number of activities which include agriculture, trade, brick-making, building, repair works, carpentry and others. In addition, work is termed "child labour" when families, especially poor ones, demand longer hours of work from their children so as to supplement family income. These labour demands from parents, especially in the rural sector, increase the possibility of children performing child labour (Fyfe 1989:72-73). When labour demands deny children their right to play and their right to an education, then this exploitative work can be termed "child labour".

¹ Images of child labour. (2006). Child labour and the global village. Accessed October 18, 2006, from <http://www.childlaborphotoproject.org/childlabor.html>

UNICEF (1986c: 3-4 in Fyfe 1989:18-19) points out that having too much responsibility at too early an age, and performing work that does not facilitate the psychological and social development of a child, is child labour. Sharanjit and Arora in Kannan (2003:147) define child labour as work performed by anyone below the age of 15 years working without a wage on a full-time or part-time basis. The coalition to stop the use of child soldiers defines a child labourer as any person below the age of 18 years engaging in any kind of armed conflict or hostility, and being attached to an armed force (Fox 2005:30). De Silva, Hobbs and Hanks (2001:133) define child labour in the armed conflict as involvement of an immature child in armed conflict without the consent of the child. The child's right to growth and identity is hindered through service in the army. Child labour is therefore determined by the age of the child, the hours taken for the work, and the conditions under which the child carries out these tasks.

Child labour is defined as the action of employing children under a certain age, depending on the country, to do inappropriate and exploitative work that is harmful to the health of the child.² International conventions regard child labour as activities performed by children, such as prostitution, soldiering and others, if the work being performed by the children under the age of 18 years affects them by harming their health and bodies. Child labour is the employment of children under the age that is determined by the law, and many organisations like the United Nations (UN) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) consider such a practice as exploitative.³ The term "child labour" refers to children relating to or involved in work or activities that may be hazardous and dangerous to their health, safety and morals. "Hazardous work" can be defined as excessive work carried out by a child for long hours under harsh conditions that may not be safe. The child labour criterion is determined by the age and sex of the child, hours worked under physical and/or psychological strain, and the toxic agents to which

² Definitions of child labour. (2005). Accessed October 18, 2006, from http://www.google.co.za/search?hl=en&lr=&defl=en&q=define:CHILD+LABOUR&sa=X&oi=glossary_definition&ct=title

³ Child labour from Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia. Accessed October 18, 2006, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Child_labor

the child is exposed. As a result of body strain, a child is likely to suffer poor mental and physical development. Uganda's Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development defines child labour as work that is dangerous and harmful to the mental, physical and social ability of a child, and reduces the child's ability to attend school. In Uganda, a child under the age of 14 is not allowed admission into employment by any person or organisation (The Uganda National Child Labour Policy 2002: 1).

Child labour is described by Eldring, Nyakana and Tshoaedi (2000:15) as "work at the expense of children's education both in cases where children are kept away from school and where children combine work and school in such a way that their school performance suffers". Child labour is defined by the ILO Convention No. 182 (1999) on forms of child labour, as work that is inconsistent with the principles set out under the conventions and recommendations. A child who is below the age of 15 should not be employed for money, or under conditions that can be harmful to his or her health. ILO Convention 138 refers to child labour as "Children prematurely leading adult lives, normally working long hours for low wages under conditions damaging to their health and to their physical and mental development, sometimes separated from their families, frequently deprived of meaningful education training opportunities that could open up for them a better future" (Eldring, Nyakana and Tshoaedi 2000:9). The Uganda National Child Labour Policy (2006:2) defines child labour as hazardous work by its nature, which is performed by a child below 18 years, jeopardising the health, safety and morals of the child. In its extreme forms, child labour involves carrying heavy loads, or being exposed to dangerous chemicals and other risks. Most countries consider the minimum age for a person to start work to be 15 years, which may not be the case for some developing countries. The age of 12 years could be considered as the age of work by some developing countries, and sometimes the age of the child may be hard to tell, as some children do not have birth certificates to prove their age. Children end up working at an earlier age than expected by concerned organisations. The definition of child labour may

therefore differ among countries owing to issues like culture, morals and level of development.

Exploitation of children can be identified and rooted out in areas such as prostitution, pornography, military, farm work and other hazardous situations. The root causes and responses of children working can be associated with economic and social factors that determine the level of demand and supply of child work. Political and cultural factors that include the power of relationships between children and adults also determine the level of demand of child labour. This means that the roles of children with the values attached to them are different from the roles of adults. Considering all these factors, it is hard to give a clear definition of child labour (Elson 1982:494 in Fyfe 1989:4-5).

Although child labour has been defined as hazardous by some authors, others report child labour as producing positive experiences for a child. A senior Indian education officer in Weiner (1995:2) looks at child labour as a positive action, and a necessity for the poor. The officer says that poor parents should not be forced to send children to school if they do not want to do so. Poor parents need the income, however small, to supplement the subsistence work carried out. Sowell (1999:1) says the stringent laws imposed on parents against child labour deny a child's process of maturing. Sowell further states that some wealthy Americans started work at a young age, and because they were left by parents to earn a living, they are now wealthy. Examples of wealthy people are noted, such as Jay Gould, the Wall Street financier in America, and Andrew Carnegie, a steel magnate. Child labour to some extent is considered good for the maturity of children. The cultural aspect of learning through work may positively impact on a child's life. However, even considering the difference child labour makes to the survival of poor families, child labour should still not be used as the only way families with a low income and a large number of children earn an income.

The researcher's definition of child labour is as follows: child labour is the engaging of anyone below the age of 18 years in any form of work that is a danger to his or her life, undertaken for a period of two hours and more a day. The researcher believes that if anyone below 18 years of age carries out work like washing of clothes, digging under the scorching sun and other such activities for more than two hours, he or she could get different ailments like back problems and chest pains.

1.3.2 What is child work?

Child work can slowly degenerate into child labour if the two are not critically identified. Albernethie (1998) defines child work as an enjoyable wholesome activity, and a crucial ingredient of self-discovery, realisation and expression. Children should therefore be allowed to participate in work-related activities, because they develop social and natural skills that help them as they grow into adults. Mwadzingo, Mugeni and Mugambwa (2002: 1) define child work as an activity performed by a child at his or her own will, at home or under close supervision of an adult.

Child work is mainly aimed at mentoring a child, developing his or her physical and intellectual maturity. Such work undertaken by a child should therefore not inflict any physical or emotional pain at all, but only build the confidence and self-esteem of a child. Different people perceive exploitation of children differently.

Fyfe (1989:4) suggests that light work that is properly structured and gradually initiates a child into adulthood, is considered to be child work. The African Centre for Research and Legal Studies (ACRLS) (2005:80-81) adds that work performed by a child is considered productive, creative and satisfying socially, spiritually and materially. Child work in rural areas of developing countries is considered as family work; children help around the household, on farms, cooking, cleaning, performing child-care and other domestic duties, work which is considered unproblematic and part of socialisation. People living in rural settings would

consider child work as a full source of socialising and learning. People living in urban areas, with the availability of educational facilities for children, would term any form of work done by the rural children as exploitative (Fyfe 1989:21).

Mwamadzingo, Mugeni and Mugambwa (2002:1-2) give their definition of child work. They comment that child work is known to be work or activities that a child does at his or her own will, with the aim of mentoring the child for the future. Child work is expected to be interesting and light for the child, unlike child labour, which is known to include harm, exploitation, abuse or deprivation of care and education of the child. Child work should be encouraged in a child's life because it contributes positively to a child's social upbringing. Child work is therefore work that is proportional to a child's age and development.

The researcher defines child work as work carried out by a child at his or her own will for a period of his or her convenience, aiming at the development of the child's psychomotor, physical and intellectual maturity.

1.4 MOTIVATION OF THE STUDY

The focus of this research is an attempt to reduce and eliminate the high prevalence of child labour on tobacco-growing farms in Uganda. From a review of the research, evidence points to the failure of various governments, including Uganda, to enforce their legislation in order to reduce the rate of child labourers who work in unacceptable conditions (Olga 1994:9)⁴, and to the failure of other countries to provide adequate legislation to curtail such practices (Bezuidenhout, 1997). As enforcement of the legislation is ineffective, it remains a challenge to the government of Uganda to reduce child labour. While children in Uganda still work on tobacco farms in large numbers, child-labour practices are also noticeable in other African countries, some of which are Sudan, Rwanda, Kenya, and The Democratic Republic of Congo.

⁴ Olga, N. (1994). *Children's life world, gender, welfare and labour in the developing world*. New York: London

The motivation for this research also stems from the potential consequences of early entry of children into the labour force. This being so, children either receive very little education during their school-going years or do not receive an education at all. Such child-labour practices are at the expense of the child's educational success and future quality of life, as they deny the child opportunities to develop fundamental skills, as well as to develop his or her potential in preparation for life after the formal educational years. Any work that prevents a child from attending school is therefore exploitative of a child, and should be prohibited. Another consequence of the early entry of children into the labour force is that it impacts on the physical, cognitive, psychomotor and social development of the child. Such development is essential, as it is related to a general quality of life and skills development, which is essential for the child's future. An absence of opportunity for optimum holistic development will not only impact on the child for the rest of his or her life, but will also have serious implications for society, especially in less-developed societies. An intervention with the aim to assure school education, prevent children from dropping out from school, and increase awareness of the important issues relating to child labour practices, as well as preventing such practices, is a priority that needs immediate attention. This also applies to Uganda.

In 2002, BATU undertook a study on children and some of its outcomes were not what would be expected. The researcher identified mistakes made by BATU in its exercise. When community leaders, parents and children were being sensitised to the dangers of child labour, BATU did not give parents other tangible options through which to earn money. One of the options available to the farmers was the start-up scheme known as "bonabagagawale", which aimed at possible elimination of poverty in Masindi. This scheme, that provided a start-up capital for farmers and parents, was expected to yield fruits in household development, but unfortunately did not. The reason why the scheme failed was that "bonabagagawale" focused only on business owners, not household farmers, which eventually could not work for small-scale farmers. *The New Vision*

confirmed this (August 28th 2007: 33), stating that the Minister of Micro Finance, Salim Saleh, said he did not want poor people without businesses to be given start-up loans from the scheme. The inability of the poor to access loans cannot in any way improve the lives of people in the rural areas. Children were and are still driven back to work and eventually to drop out of school because of the disqualification of the farmers from the scheme. The researcher believes that if the parents are sensitised and given the option of other loan-providing companies like Sub Counties and Credit Co-operative (SACCOs), who are willing and able to help non-business owners, child labour will definitely decrease among the households, as family farm holders will be able to provide for their families all year round.

While various reasons can be given for child-labour practices in Uganda, and its consequences outlined in terms of the quality of life of the child, its nature is multi-dimensional, as its roots are ingrained in the fabric of the society. The use of child labourers in Uganda's roots is in the nature of the society's social institutions, thus accentuating the premise that to eradicate such practices will require a willing and motivated government to bring about change that would enable this, while at the same time supporting the initiatives of individuals and organisations to assist them. The research rationale is therefore embedded in the contribution that must be made towards a growing body of knowledge pertaining to child labour in Africa, and more specifically to Uganda.

By undertaking this research, opportunity will be given for a holistic understanding of the nature of the child-labour problem in Uganda, and what needs to be done to prevent its continuance. At the same time, the researcher will need to identify and suggest measures to ensure that dropping out from school is prevented. The scarcity of research pertaining to insightful understanding of the child-labour phenomenon in Uganda in itself indicates a need for this proposed research, and also for a contribution towards enabling new and further knowledge and the application thereof. The study therefore

endeavours to find a way in which human rights activists could play a better role towards elimination of child labour.

1.5 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The phenomenon of children involved in a variety of work-related activities is quite complex. The children of both the urban and rural poor engage in work, which is not accepted by the ILO. The global mobilisation to reduce and prevent all forms of child labour has led to the adoption of various international and regional instruments as well as pronouncements. One of the most recent adoptions of the ILO Convention was Convention No. 182 by the International Labour Conference (1999) in Geneva. This instrument outlaws all forms of child labour and calls for immediate action to prohibit it (Goulart and Bedi 2005:4). Acknowledging that there is growing evidence that child labour is a threatening problem to the socio-economic development of Uganda, a modernised Uganda would thrive on investing in children who are the country's potential future human resource. The government of Uganda has enacted a number of provisions in the Children's Statute (1996) part 2, section 9, to provide protection of children's rights and the establishment of the National Council of Children, as well as the Employment Decree No. 4 of 1975 in sections 49 to 56 to prevent employment of children below the age of 12 and regulate employment of children under the age of 18 (The Uganda National Child Labour Policy 2002:10).

According to a survey and a revised estimate by the ILO's Bureau of Statistics 2006, the number of working children between ages 5 and 14 is at least 250 million worldwide, 40% of whom experience serious injuries, illnesses or loss of body parts, and 60% are exposed to hazardous conditions. The National Social Service (NSS) estimates the highest number of working children in Asia as at least 44.6 million and in Africa 23.6 million working full-time (Admassie 2002:252). In Uganda it is estimated that over 40 000 children below the age of 10 work as labourers in Western Uganda and at least 200 000 work full-time,

being deprived of education (*Monitor News Paper* May 29 2006:11). According to the Uganda National Household survey (1999), of the 11 million people engaged in agriculture, 30% are children, and it was assumed that this number will rise with the diversification of agriculture in the country, thereby aggravating the use of children on agricultural farms (Admassie 2002:254-258).

In 2000, ILO worked with the government of Uganda to find out the causes, magnitude and extent to which child labour was affecting children in Uganda. ILO's findings showed poverty and HIV and AIDS as some of the reasons why children worked and missed out on school. ILO estimated that of the 47 million children who started primary school, only 3% completed Primary 7. The reasons given for the high school dropout rates were poverty and loss of parents to HIV and AIDS, forcing children to engage in labour as child parents, or to complement their parents' income (Kannan 2003:58).

The great majority of Uganda's children are enrolled in school, but there is a daily average number of children reported frequently absent from school to attend to tobacco farms. Some of these children eventually drop out of school because of continued absenteeism and retention rates at various class levels. Some of the children of primary-school-going age in Masindi district do not go to school although they are enrolled on the free Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme.

This issue is compounded by the fact that these families have tobacco as the main source of income. Whether children are in or out of school, the main activity is working on tobacco farms, especially in peak seasons. It is therefore considered prudent and justifiable to construct a study aimed at providing alternatives that will enable children to live successful lives in the future, one part of which includes education attainment. The linking of a number of tobacco-growing families in Uganda to existing poverty alleviation programmes will go a

long way to alleviating poverty in these families, thus allowing children enough time to concentrate on formal education and develop their human-resource skills.

1.6 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

In order to meet the study's goals, the following were the objectives:

1. To establish the impact of poverty on child labour
2. To assess the effect of the social and cultural setup on child labour
3. To find out the impact of the child-labour legislation on child labour
4. To determine the influence of the HIV and AIDS pandemic on child labour
5. To establish the effect of the educational system on child labour
6. To assess the impact of technological advancement on child labour
7. To establish the level of awareness of human rights in the community
8. To establish the impact of human rights activists on the prevention of child labour.

1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1.7.1 Conceptual scope

The study was a critical analysis of child labour and human-resource development in Uganda.

1.7.2 Geographical scope

The study was undertaken in Uganda, Masindi district, Budongo Sub County in the Parishes of Nyabyeya, Kasongore and Nyantonzi.

1.7.3 Time scope

The study analysed child labour between 2003 and 2007.

1.7.4 Intellectual scope

The study covered all levels of intellectual capacity.

1.8 POSSIBLE OUTCOMES OF THE RESEARCH

Before the research was carried out, the researcher had pre-emptive answers to the objectives, which were the following:

1. Poverty contributes to the increasing number of child labourers.
2. The local culture encourages child labour.
3. Social activities of the community encourage child labour.
4. Proper enforcement of the child labour legislation reduces child labour.
5. The HIV and AIDS pandemic positively influences child labour.
6. Uganda's education system decreases child labour.
7. Technological advancement reduces child labour.
8. The community has little knowledge of human rights.
9. The human rights activists prevent the child labour activities.

1.9 CONCLUSION

The chapter has given a background to the research, explaining the situations through which child labour emerges. With the help of scholars, authors, organisations and trade unions, the positive and negative outcomes of the thesis, as well as the different definitions of child labour, have been outlined. The motivation for the study, the problem statement, and the aims and objectives of the study are also stated in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This study is a critical analysis of child labour and human-resource development in Uganda. The objectives of the study are: to establish the impact of poverty on child labour, to assess the effect of the social and cultural setup on child labour, to find out the impact of child labour legislation enforcement on child labour, to determine the influence of the HIV and AIDS pandemic on child labour, to establish the effect of the educational system on child labour, to assess the effects of technological advancement on child labour, to establish the level of awareness about human rights in the community, and to establish the impact of human rights activists on the prevention of child labour.

A common reason given by writers for why children join the labour market is failure to raise enough household income for all household members. Becchetti and Giovanni (2005: 241) explain that most mothers with a poor educational background, many children and low wages, have a strong preference to send their children to work rather than attend school. There are a number of theories and arguments that support or refute the different causes of child labour. Poverty itself is to blame for child labour although its nature, as well as the economic development of a country, determines the extent to which children are involved in work. Through poverty, other causes like lack of education and insufficient scholastic materials force children to work. Child labour is known to be a global problem that concerns the rights of children both in the rural and urban settings of countries worldwide. The rapid rural-urban migration which is caused by the biting poverty in villages forces families to leave their homes in search of economic opportunities for a livelihood, through opportunities that in most cases do not exist.

Barker and Knaul (1991) estimate that in 1950, 17% of the population of developing countries lived in urban areas. It was also estimated by the UN in 1998 that this population would increase to 40% in the year 2000 and to 57% in the year 2025. The increase in urban population reduces opportunities for work, especially when the economic growth rates are lower than the migration rates. Such economies force children and their parents into abject poverty. Children are forced into looking for various kinds of jobs to make a living, and these circumstances perpetuate child labour. As a complex global problem, child labour is embodied in cultural, social and economic structures of society (Admassie 2002:252).

Children's participation in work that does not affect their health and personal development is regarded as a positive thing that contributes to the child's development. However, whether or not some forms of work can be called child labour depends on the child's age, the type of work being done, and the conditions under which it is being performed (Bey 2003: 287). Environmental features, which include poverty, as well as pressure from families to make decisions for their children to work, persuade a child to work. The learning ability in schools is reduced for children if they have to work as labourers in different forms of labour, which include child trafficking, prostitution and working on streets, farms and mines.

2.1 Causes of child labour

As explained below, the causes of child labour are similar on a global scale. These include poverty as undoubtedly the dominant cause, lack of easy access to quality education, social acceptance, lack of awareness of the legislation on human rights, cultural traditions, HIV and AIDS, and the poorly developed agricultural sector.

2.1.1 Poverty and its impact on child labour

Poverty brings a feeling of powerlessness that influences things around one. It has been debated on a global scale whether child labour is the cause of poverty or if it is poverty that pushes children into work. Dr. Bura in SIMPOC (2004: 28) states that when children work full-time at the cost of their education, then poverty is the cause of their work because children who start work early remain unskilled, illiterate and unable to demand their rights as workers in terms of equal wages. Poverty manifests itself in a number of ways and affects people in households and societies in different ways. At the micro level, which is referred to as “household level”, children work because their families are poor. These children provide work as a form of insurance to avoid having their families face starvation. More family members are therefore driven to working to diversify income sources and provide themselves with insurance against economic shocks.

Bura asserts that Bolivia’s poor urban children contribute 21% of family income, while India’s children contribute 40% of family income. Children contribute a great deal to the survival of their poor families. Parents, however, are ignorant, and jeopardise the lives of their offspring by sending more children to work. This is because their future opportunities for productivity may not be good without child help.⁵ Admassie (2003:260) reports that in 1997, a survey was conducted in Egypt by the International Food policy Research Institute (IFPRI). The survey reported 2 500 households involving their children in work. Parents say their children help with doing odd jobs like selling small goods for long hours to earn as much as they can to help to support the family⁶. In 1992, Ghana’s rural areas were known to have 72% of its people living in poverty, though not below the poverty line. Although Ghana’s poor are farmers, their produce may not help a lot

⁵ Dr. Bura, N. (1997). Causes of Children’s work. New Delhi: India. Accessed October 20, 2006, from <http://www.undp.org.in/hdrc/childrenandpoverty/CHILDPOV/CAUSESC.HTM>

⁶ Human Rights Watch January. (2001). underage and unprotected: child labour in Egypt’s cotton fields, IV. Child labor and rural poverty, (13) E. Accessed February 16, 2007 <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/egypt/Egypt01-03.htm#TopOfPage>

in fighting poverty because of the over-cultivation of land that yields poor produce and low productivity. The probability of child labour from children belonging to families experiencing poverty may be high. Just like Egypt, Ghana's children are told to work by their parents. Unfortunately, Ghana's children are malnourished and at high risk of low IQ, low iron deficiency and becoming anaemic. Children with deficiencies at a younger age are most likely to grow up as poor people with no educational attainment and with low-paying jobs. The general performance of the children may significantly reduce their inner ability to strive for and achieve the best in life.

Like those of Egypt and Ghana, Senegal's working children were reported to have increased in number by 2000 because of the fate that poverty brings to their lives. Children go to the streets and beg, and others pick and feed out of rubbish bins, while others sell petty goods to earn a living. Children go out and work because their families cannot fulfil their basic needs like shelter, food, education and clothing.⁷

The researcher's view is that not all children living in poverty should be forced to work. Some children work because they admire children from other families working and earning. Because of peer pressure and the ability to provide their own needs for themselves, which may include inessentials like drinking alcohol, children work on a full-time basis and abandon education. The researcher has found that poor, large families with low education levels often cannot be maintained, and this perpetuates child labour. Lack of education in parents and later in children is associated with a lack of awareness of human rights.

Human Rights Watch 1996 in Mitesh (2004) estimates that the main cause of more than 300 000 children working in the carpet industry of India is poverty. In the cases where the poor qualify, parents acquire loans, and in exchange offer

⁷ Yemti, H. N. (2006). Poverty: The cause of child labour. Accessed October 20, 2006
http://english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?no=302519&rel_no=1

their children to work for the moneylenders until the loan is fully paid. It is difficult and still is hard for the parents of these child labourers to come up with the money to pay back the loan because of the ever-increasing interest rates. Children then end up bonded in labour because of the poverty they face on a daily basis.⁸ An example in India where poverty increases child labour is the loans that the government, banks and other credit sources give. In most cases, the poor do not qualify because they do not have any form of asset to present to the organisations so as to qualify for a loan.

Asep, Agus and Sumarto (2005:352) have studied Indonesia's economy and note that as soon as the Indonesian economy moved to the lowest economic growth for decades, low household incomes forced parents to withdraw children from school to work on the streets selling newspapers, candies and drinks as well as in rural agricultural fields, increasing by 4% each year. Most of the families headed by females were known to have most of their children working. Similarly, families with lower education levels had a higher incidence of child labour. The incidence of child labour in Indonesia was thus known to be prevalent among families with a low income, or living in poverty.

The present research supports these findings of Asep, Agus and Sumarto in that most female-headed families in Masindi had more children working on agricultural farms for up to 8 hours a day. The families were among the poorest and had little control over their children. Children under female heads were more liable to be involved in child labour than in male-headed households. The household heads with low levels of education had moved from urban to rural areas to practise agriculture. Asep, Angus and Sumarto (2005: 357-360) have similarly found that 85% of Indonesia's rural people with low education levels had most of their children working as labourers. The working children contributed 40% of the total household income to their families. The reason Asep, Agus and

⁸ Mitesh, B. (2004). Child labour in India. Accessed October 20, 2006
<http://www.geocities.com/CollegePark/Library/9175/inquiry1.htm>

Sumarto gave for a child contributing to family income was that poor parents could not qualify for loans and later repay them because of the increasing interest rates, so children ended up in labour because of the poverty they faced on a daily basis.⁹

Bracken (2006: 23-24) declares that 70% of parents in Pakistan and 76% in India, cannot provide their families with basic needs unless the children combine efforts to survive. Haiti's parents sell their 5-17-year-old children in desperate need for money through middlemen, to work as domestics or on the streets, in the belief that their economic and environmental situation can change.

In Uganda, children are not directly sold, as in Pakistan. There is a kind of loan system used where a child is given to someone to work as a maid, and the money is given to the parents. In Masindi, children are forced into early marriage to boost the income of their parents in the form of bride-price. At times, even after the child is returned to the parents, the child is given to somebody else who can pay the parent; and the cycle thus continues. The researcher therefore disagrees with the parents' thinking that the economic situation of the family could easily change just because they had sold some of their children. Selling children off rather increases child labour. Reducing and eventually eliminating poverty would be the best solution for the rural population and would provide better living standards for people, although this is obviously difficult to achieve. It should be noted that, for as long as children do not attend school, the poverty cycle will never end.

In 1997, a household survey was carried out in Uganda, and it was reported that 44% of Ugandans could not meet their basic needs and 25% did not have a meal every day, thus living below the poverty line. The Uganda National Child Labour Policy (2006: 5) estimated 38% of Uganda's population living in absolute poverty

⁹ Mitesh, B. (2004). Child labour in India. Accessed October 20, 2006, from <http://www.geocities.com/CollegePark/Library/9175/inquiry1.htm>

earning less than a dollar a day. People in such conditions, especially the rural poor, involve their children in work for the survival of the family. Although over 85% of the Ugandans, who live in rural areas, live in abject poverty, they send their children off to families in the urban centres to work as house-helpers. The parent and employer come to an understanding where income earned is sent to the family for over 10 years without pay. The child therefore remains illiterate.

From Bura's assertion, the theory he brought forward could be true in the sense that the children could remain illiterate with no skills if they were not in school. The present research has shown that skills are not obtained from school alone. It confirms that some of the children who joined motor garages a few years ago in Masindi as cleaners and spanner boys are now highly skilled motor-vehicle mechanics. This counters Bura's theory that children who start working early remain unskilled throughout their lives. It is also not true that these children are permanently illiterate. The researcher also found that in Uganda, there are adult literacy programmes available for anyone of any age to join. The children who started as cleaners in garages could save income which they later used for paying their school fees and thus became literate. The researcher therefore says poverty cannot be entirely an automatic cause of child labour. The research in this study has shown that there are other poverty-related causes that influence child labour, such as laziness among parents.

2.1.1.1 Types and causes of poverty on child labour

Dumba (2004:501-502) defines poverty as the inability to attain a minimum standard of living. Poverty implies the denial of choices and opportunities most important to human development. Dumba further states that poverty is hunger, lack of shelter, being sick and not being able to see a doctor, inability to attend school and not being able to read, not having a job, and fear of the future.

According to the researcher, poverty is a reflection of lack of basic needs which include food, shelter and clothing. The present research has found that most of

the children who are compelled to work as child labourers lack the basic needs and therefore work in order to obtain them. However, there are various types of poverty, which include the following: human poverty, income poverty, absolute and relative poverty.

Human poverty

Human poverty takes into account factors like life expectancy, infant malnutrition, illiteracy and lack of food. However, human poverty goes beyond these factors. A person needs more to be able to survive in society through employment and participation in society. If one is denied choices and opportunities like basic education, basic needs and freedom, then one is facing human poverty. The present research illustrates human poverty among children, most of whom lack food, education and clothing. The lack of these needs forces children into child labour.

Income poverty

Income poverty means having less money than the defined poverty line of the country. Uganda's per capita is \$2.94. If a Ugandan citizen has less than \$2.94 and cannot buy essentials like food, then he or she is experiencing income poverty. Income poverty seems to be the type of poverty that forces children into child labour because their parents do not have enough income to cater for their basic needs such as education. The children work to back up the income of the parents.

Absolute poverty

Absolute poverty is defined according to a minimum standard called the poverty line, and is used to indicate a fixed set of basic resources that individuals need in order to sustain life. The UN's measure is in terms of income level and is US \$1 per day. Anyone below the poverty line is considered absolutely poor. However, the present researcher found that it was difficult to define the poverty line in Uganda because people on all levels of income were capable of living a

comfortable life. Someone with 100 000 Uganda shillings (30 Rand) could have the same meal as one with 5 000 shillings (17 Rand) in different places.

Relative poverty

Relative poverty varies with per capita income and differs from country to country. Developed countries have higher poverty lines than poor countries. The researcher's view is that it would have been better for the poverty line to be the same worldwide.

At the beginning of the 21st century, it was noted that over 300 million people living in Africa survived with efforts from their children through work, because of seasonal and natural causes like drought, famine, floods and plagues like locusts and caterpillars. Admassie (2003:260) comments that in 1997, a survey was conducted in Egypt by the International Food policy Research Institute (IFPRI). The survey reported 2 500 households facing abject poverty who were involving their children in work like selling small goods for long hours to earn as much as they could and help to support the family.¹⁰ In 1992, 31% of Ghana's rural population was reported to be living below the poverty line, but surviving through farming. In 2000, 80% of Senegal's unskilled sector was comprised of working children begging and selling petty goods to earn a living on the streets.

Because children in African countries are forced into child labour to combat economic hardships, families do survive, but the children belonging to such families are probably malnourished, with high risks of a low IQ, iron deficiency and anaemia. Children with these deficiencies are most likely to grow up as poor people with little or no education and low-paying jobs. The causes of poverty as explained below include the high cost of education, size of the family, epidemics, unemployment, and gender imbalance.

¹⁰ Human Rights Watch January. (2001). underage and unprotected: child labour in Egypt's cotton fields, IV. Child labor and rural poverty, (13) E. Accessed February 16, 2007, from <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/egypt/Egypt01-03.htm#TopOfPage>

High cost of education

Bonnet (1993 in BAT 2002:20) claims that over 5.7 million children in Uganda live in low-income households and face abject poverty. Although UPE was initiated, 37% of households did not see any use in taking children to school, because they could not earn extra income to support the children. This mentality caused many children to drop out of school, which explains why 73% of Uganda's working children are school dropouts (UNICEF 2005:128). SIMPOC (2007:29) adds that children under such conditions suffer a high risk of dropping out of school and opting for full-time employment.

The high cost of education in Uganda has resulted in poverty. High school fees are a big burden to households. Many are unable to afford the high cost of education and hence cause children to leave school. This consequently limits their possibilities and accessibilities to equal employment opportunities. The researcher has found this to be true. Furthermore, the present research suggests that in Uganda, a vocational tailored educational system is the way forward to try and reduce the prevalence of child labour, because the present educational systems, UPE and USE, seem to be cheap but are still costly. If the system was cheap, parents could afford to send all their children to school, and thus reduce child labour.

Family size

Dumba (2004: 508) contends that the size of the family has a direct bearing on poverty because total resources which are available for the wellbeing of the family decrease with an increasing number of family members. The present research suggests that, although poverty increases as the size of the family grows bigger, there is no direct link. Larger families always have more resources to dispose of in comparison to smaller families. In urban areas, people usually have only one source of income, namely wages, which are distributed among all family members. Children in such families usually do not involve themselves in child labour, and attend school regularly. In rural areas, people practise

agriculture on large pieces of land which provide plenty of food that is at times sold to the urban areas. The pricing system lets the rural farmers down because it accelerates poverty, as food is bought at low prices. However, in the rural setting, families with many members are always the ones that have their children practising child labour because there is a substantial amount of child neglect and lack of parental control.

Taracena (2003:303) contends that owing to neglect, the older children in households are forced to work alone and independently to make their own money. To some parents, the burden of taking care of children who are able to make some money is reduced, if not completely eliminated. Children then become productive parts of the family, and their income helps to sustain the family by paying for a number of expenses like medical bills, clothing and food.

The researcher's observation on this matter is that some of the children who work independently slowly exclude themselves from working as a family. The children automatically drop out of school and live alone, thus fully taking care of themselves. Kempe (2005:23) confirms this by identifying almost 50% of the population in Ethiopia, Mali, Malawi and Uganda having children under the age of 15 years working and living alone. The only explanation could be that girls either get married at an early age or fertility rates are high, so that each woman can bear more than seven children. High fertility rates cause larger numbers of dependants on a family head, which puts such families at a higher risk of living in poverty.

Epidemic and endemic diseases

HIV and AIDS have affected most of the households in Uganda, particularly the young people. Treatment of the symptoms of the pandemic is very expensive, thus causing a financial burden to families. The researcher found that there were a fair number of families that had lost their breadwinners, leaving as family heads only children who later would turn into labourers in order to survive.

Other causes of poverty include:

- a. Market and macro-economic instability, which includes limited access to markets and transportation. In 1997, a household survey was carried out in Uganda and it was reported that 44% of Ugandans could not meet their basic needs and 25% did not have a meal every day, thus living below the poverty line. Although over 85% of Ugandans live in rural areas, they are still poor because of the lack of social support, which means poor farmers lack the access to markets to sell their produce, leaving them poorer with only food security. Crop pests and diseases limit the produce of those farmers who are able to find a market for the crops they have grown. Productivity is lowered and thus all household members, children inclusive, are diverted to alternative activities like fishing and stone-quarrying. Working under such conditions makes both rural women and children lag behind in terms of economic opportunities owing to their societal roles, thus enabling children to miss out on school (MAAIF 2007:7-10).
- b. Low agricultural productivity and poor marketing of produce.
- c. Cost of social services like drugs, and the absence of child health services.
- d. Lack of information on markets, productivity and various services.
- e. Inadequate roads for farmers to take their goods to markets, children to schools, and sick people to hospitals.
- f. Gender imbalance, which includes lack of ownership and control over productive assets by females.
- g. Insecurity through cattle rustling, rape, robbery, physical injury and banditry.
- h. Unemployment and low wages both in urban and rural areas.
- i. Environmental change, to which deforestation, over-grazing and wetland degradation contribute.

- j. Land scarcity which denies people in the rural areas the ability to accumulate assets and generate income.
- k. Population growth, which leads to a shortage of land and also environmental degradation among communities.

The study has established that poverty has increased child labour in Uganda.

2.1.2 Establishing the effect of the educational sector on child labour

Education is a social right that everybody should have, despite the fact that the poor may be disadvantaged by direct and indirect costs of schooling, which include costs of uniforms, meals and books. IPEC Uganda (2002:7) states that ILO's worldwide research has raised concern about the high numbers of children out of school. The biggest number of children out of school was found to be girls, 60% of whom were involved in agricultural work and domestic servitude instead of attending school. It was noticed that parents invested more in boys' education, believing that education for males is more fruitful than that for females. This attitude leaves the girl-child at a higher security risk of being unable to provide for herself with an independent lifestyle. In the agricultural sector children, especially girls, work extra hours during the peak seasons.

The American Sociology Review (1993:163-170) reports that right from 1910, children in North and South Carolina worked in the textile industries alongside parents. Education attainment was a problem for Carolina's children because only a few of them attended, and not all completed one year in school. Owing to the policy of segregation in those days, black children suffered the most because educational opportunities for them were minimal. White children had easier access to education and a better infrastructure, while black children usually worked with their parents. A total of 72% of white children aged 6-18 years went to school, unlike the 55% of black children of the same age. Children's attendance in school was also influenced by parental literacy. If a parent had been to school, the child would probably enrol in school, unlike children whose

parents had never attended school. Children from white families enrolled in school more often than the children from black families because most white family-heads had a good level of literacy

Children who do not attend school are most probably known to come from countries and families with low income. UNICEF (2006:19 and Dayioglu 2005: 195) claims that more than 77% of children out of primary school are more likely to come from 60% of the poorest households in developing countries. Dayioglu adds that 4.5% of the child population below 14 years are engaged in child labour in Turkey.

The Human Rights Watch (2002:14) reports that in 2001 in Pakistan, 74% of the population was found to be illiterate, so acquiring an education was not priority to residents even though the government of Pakistan had tried to promote education through project creation. Thirty-eight per cent of Ecuador's bonded child labourers who work on banana plantations miss out on school every year. A total of 42% begin work while they attend school, but eventually drop out and work full-time. Children under 15 years have to work in order to survive and contribute to family income.¹¹ India's state of education is also low, with a literacy rate of 40%, China's at 72.6% and Sri Lanka's at 86.1%. The World Bank (1995:113 in Mitesh 1998:5) estimated India's school dropouts of 6-11 years to be 35% of males and 39% of females in 1995. In 1995, Wahamiu (1995:2-3) reported that India's illiteracy rate had increased over a decade from 314 million to 335 million by 1991. The high rate at which illiteracy increased made India the world's highest producer of illiterates. India's 1991 population census confirmed 40% of each of India's states produced illiterate women. The reason for the high illiteracy rates was that most of India's residents lacked education and could not afford to pay for it.

¹¹ Human Rights Watch. (2002b). Backgrounder: child labour in agriculture. Accessed February 16, 2007 <http://hrw.org/backgrounder/crp/back0610.htm>

The Daily Monitor October 15 (2007: 13) confirms that child labour has been identified as the major cause of high-school dropouts in different districts in Uganda. Children provide different services which include digging in fields during school time. Some children who claimed to earn 3 000 shillings (30 Rand) a day for levelling murram were questioned by the local council chairperson in Yumbe District. Most of these children were sent to work by parents as part-timers, but eventually dropped out of school because they worked full-time.

Originally, Uganda was operating under a centralised education system in which the government had control of all educational activities right from primary to university level. With privatisation, the education system changed, and moved away from government control to individual investors' control. However, this has not been good for Uganda as the quality of education has dropped tremendously. In 1997 when the government of Uganda initiated UPE, one of its objectives was to halve the illiteracy levels by 50% by 2015. The education system was supposed to have all school-going-age children in school.

The researcher, however, found that enrolment was high in the initial years of UPE inception but as years passed; children started dropping out of school at all levels in primary schools. The reasons the researcher suggests for UPE's inability to achieve its goals are that proper stakeholder analysis was not done, and most schools did not have proper classrooms in which to teach children. Children were taught under trees. The researcher further claims that the UPE influx initially reduced the number of children practising child labour, but later increased the number as a result of the increased dropout rates as seen in Table 2b. More children continued to drop out because the UPE policy expected parents to give their children scholastic materials and lunch, which they were unable to do. Children therefore worked for lunch and stationery, and eventually dropped out of school to work full-time. The new government policy of automatic promotion of pupils in all classes, as well as the policy of not punishing pupils, has led to children not valuing school. Children feel and act like the bosses of

their teachers, which has forced the teachers to care less about the children. The result has been that most children end up leaving school to work, thus increasing child labour. Although UPE was supposed to reduce child labour, it is still increasing.

2.1.2.1 Education, a human right

The World Education Forum 2000 Expanded Commentary (par.19 in Brink 2001: 79) reported that a number of studies were carried out in countries participating in world-wide education for all. Globally, primary enrolment was 82 million pupils in 1990. By 1998, 44 million more girls had enrolled, although 113 million pupils were still not able to access primary education. Enrolment in India increased to 94% and the number of primary schools increased from 29 979 to 30 796. Drop-out rates in the primary level decreased in 1991 to 18% for boys and 23% for girls.

In 1995, the World Bank (1995:113 in Mitesh 1998: 5) estimated an increase in drop-out rates in India. Estimates of 35% of males and 39% of females were recorded. Steele (2002:7-9) contends that owing to the high numbers of children out of school, illiteracy shot up. In 1981, illiterates in India were 314 million in number and this figure increased to 335 million by 1991. The high rate at which illiteracy increased made India the world's producer of the highest number of illiterates. India's 1991 population census confirmed 40% of each of India's states producing illiterate women. The reason for these high illiteracy rates was and still is that most of India's residents lack education that they cannot afford to pay for.

The government of Tamil Nadu took the education of every child more seriously by considering making primary and secondary school education available to all, and considering investment to curb the problem of child labour (Steele 2002:7-9). Although enrolment was on the rise worldwide, gender discrimination continued to be one of the main reasons why more girls stayed out of school than boys.

Mitesh (1998: 6-7) observed that the Sri Lankan government made education compulsory in 1984, and school enrolment rose from 58% to 74%. Children of 10-14 years did not drop out of school, because education was free. Efforts to reduce the number of children in the labour force through provision of education were evidently witnessed by the number of children who enrolled in primary schools.

Muhumuza (1997:6) reports that many children in Uganda have been affected by war, especially those in the North. Schools are usually intermittently closed, causing a high number of school dropouts. Many of the children do not complete Primary 7 (P 7), and those who continue to secondary school do not complete in order to continue to higher institutions of learning. In 1986 when Yoweri Museveni took over power as Uganda's President, statistics showed only 43% of the children who completed P 7 continuing to secondary schools. Only 27% of the children who joined secondary school continued to higher learning levels. The government of Uganda therefore introduced Universal Primary Education (UPE) to allow children of school-going age to obtain an education. With the help of projects like the Enhancement of Universal Primary Education in Kampala (EUPEK) project, UPE promoted the child-centred and participatory method that aimed at creating a desirable atmosphere for a child to learn in. The participatory method was intended to reach out to children who were not in school, through a community-empowering mechanism that helped the vulnerable children.

Ministry of Education and Sports (MOES) (2001:11-12) further diversified and expanded the demand for UPE enrolment. By waiving tuition fees and development charges, MOES provided sponsorship of identified candidates at primary level, and resources were allocated to UPE schools to meet daily school running costs. MOES maintained the same for the Post Primary and Tertiary Education and Training (PPET). The main aim of PPET was to increase the number of young children completing P 7. By maintaining PPET, secondary schools were constructed to enhance learning processes in schools. With PPET,

a number of Uganda's children both from rural and urban areas enrolled in primary school through UPE (MOES 2004:3-5). Since 1997 when Uganda began UPE, enrolment of both boys and girls in schools has steadily increased. As seen in Table 2a below, in 1997 provisional figures for enrolment in primary schools were 5 303 564 pupils, and by the end of 2006, pupil enrolment had increased to over 7 092 518 pupils.

The New Vision November 29 (2007: 1-2) and January 18 (2008:3) state that the 2007 UN report has confirmed that Uganda is the leader in educational enrolment in East Africa. Enrolment in primary, secondary and tertiary level in Uganda was reported to be 63%, 60% in Kenya, and 50% in Tanzania. Enrolment of pupils in primary school has so far tripled. Out of the 7.41 million pupils who enrolled in 2007, 50% enrolment was entirely female pupils. Table 2a below shows information given by the Ministry of Education and Sports: Uganda on the enrolment flows from 1997-2006 in different class grades countrywide.

Table 2a: Enrolment flows in different class grades from 1997- 2006.

Class grade	1997	1998	1999	2000	Year and Enrolment No.	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
P 1	2,159 850	1,655 126	1,610 008	1,63 651	1,704 766	1,847 180	1,914 893	1,837 277	1,712 420	1,694 276	
P 2	820 545	1,312 593	1,205 347	1,157 547	1,157 982	1,203 983	1,244 801	1,194 477	1,175 032	1,152 289	
P 3	725 786	863 148	1,128 216	1,125 285	1,128 770	1,159 871	1,178 890	1,150 525	1,162 462	1,156 063	
P 4	565 238	704 163	813 320	962 052	1,019 362	1,070 119	1,089 884	1,045 814	1,019 290	1,016 668	
P 5	449 281	545 151	654 951	723 132	832 855	910 690	958 458	923 709	915 504	884 693	
P 6	340 048	428 564	514 556	568 943	629 177	702 201	760 685	752 008	759 220	736 721	
P 7	242 816	297 640	361 841	384 403	428 004	460 109	485 703	473 482	479 951	451 808	
TOT AL	5,303 564	5,806 385	6,288 239	6,959 015	6,900 916	7,354 153	7,633 314	7,377 292	7,223 879	7,092 518	

Source: Byamugisha (October 2006) Ministry of Education and Sports. The 2006 enrolment figures are provisional.

According to estimates in Table 2a, not all pupils were always promoted to the next class every year. Some pupils, whose academic performance was in doubt, were forced to repeat a class. It was believed that the performance levels for individual schools were not distorted when academically weak pupils repeated a

class. Table 2b below shows the promotion and retention rates of pupils from P1 to P7 from 1998-2006 in percentage form in Uganda.

Table 2b: Promotion Rate (PR) and Retention Rate (RR) for primary schools from 1998-2006.

Class grade						Year and PR and RR percentage rates				
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
P 2	61	73	72	71	71	67	62	64	67	PR
	61	73	72	54	56	58	72	54	53	RR
P 3		86	93	98	100	98	92	97	98	PR
		52	68	70	95	55	70	54	54	RR
P 4			85	91	66	94	89	89	87	PR
			45	62	89	50	63	47	47	RR
P 5				87	55	90	85	88	87	PR
				39	84	60	56	42	41	RR
P 6					33	84	78	82	80	PR
						46	47	35	34	RR
P 7	88	84	75	75	73	69	62	64	60	PR
						22	29	30	28	RR

PR- Promotion rate (Proportion of pupils who pass the academic year).

RR- Retention Rate (Proportion of pupils who repeat a class).

Source: Byamugisha (October 2006) Ministry of Education and Sports

The researcher points out that since the government of Uganda instituted free (UPE) in 1997, some children still study up to the P 7 level and then drop out, as

seen in Table 2c. Some do not complete the primary level of education. As noted in Table 2c, there are high dropout rates in primary schools and the Ministry of Education and Sports in Uganda has reported that only 22% of the children who enrolled in P 1 in 1997 managed to complete P 7. In 1998, 29% of the children who enrolled in P 1 completed P 7. In addition, in 1999, 47% of pupils who enrolled in P 1 reached P 7, and in 2004, 30% of those who enrolled in P 1 reached P 7.

The statistics in 2a, 2b and 2c clearly show that from 2000 to 2001, the number of pupils enrolling in school kept decreasing by 15%, and dropout rates increased by 5%. Statistics abstracts from Uganda's Ministry of Education and Sports (2001-2006) confirm that 80% of pupils who registered for P 1 were not able to make it through to P 7. *The New Vision* January 18 (2008: 3) states that out of the number of pupils enrolled in 2001, only 444 019 (49%) were able to complete through to P 7, which means approximately 444 978 pupils either dropped out of school or repeated classes.

The Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB) estimates a decline of 2.5% of candidates who sat for the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE) from 2005 to 2006. UNEB declares that the number of students who enrol in P 7 is less than those who sit for the final exams. The reason the Uganda's annual performance report of the education sector for the high dropout and retention rates was early marriages, engagement in petty trade, lack of lunch in schools, and poor supervision by parents, mainly in rural districts. In 2006, 434 580 pupils enrolled in P7 but only 392 173 sat for PLE exams. These statistics mean that 42 407 pupils did not sit for PLE. A total of 34,000 pupils were estimated as being unable to sit for PLE every year. In 2005, 445 615 pupils registered for PLE 410 363 sat for PLE, leaving 35 252 registered pupils not sitting for PLE (Byamugisha 2006:1-9). *The Monitor News Paper* January 24, 2007 reports that PLE was instituted in Uganda prisons in 2000. In 2004, all 12 candidates who sat passed PLE exams.

Over 22 prisoners who sat for 2006 PLE exams passed well, and 7 passed, but with low grades.

Although it seemed that the government of Uganda had tried its best to enrol as many pupils as possible into the UPE programme, the researcher's view is that the children would not be able to complete through to P 7. Parents of enrolled children were expected to provide school lunches, uniforms and stationery for their children. This researcher found that because parents could not afford what was expected of the children at school, children dropped out of school each year.

The Uganda Bureau of Statistics carried out a survey in December 2006 to find the reasons why pupils drop out of school. The survey findings indicated that 40% of pupils found extra costs of school too expensive, 4.5% had to help with home chores, 3.4% had poor academic grades, and 21.3% felt indifferent to education. Apart from the cost that was found too expensive to cope with, a problem was the long distance to school. In rural areas, children as young as 10 years old had to walk for more than 18 kilometres to and from school every day (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2005/2006:23-24).

Uganda's Ministry of Education and Sports estimated an increase in the dropout rates from 1998-2005 among primary school children. In 1998, the dropout rate was estimated to be 6%, and from 1999-2008, the dropout rate has been at a constant 5% among pupils (see Table 2c). Ministry of Education and Sports Statistics Abstract (2002:124) shows a total of 4 454 students having dropped out of school in over 17 districts, some of which were Kampala, Sembabule, Nebbi, Arua, Bushenyi and Mukono. Nebbi was reported to have the highest number of girls dropping out of school in comparison to boys. Out of the children enrolled in UPE, 76% were boys and 44% girls. Twenty-two per cent of Uganda's children, who enrolled in school, did not complete primary education owing to lack of interest, sickness and lack of school meals.

The researcher found that parents of the children ended up preferring children to go and work in fields, rear cattle and grow bananas instead of "wasting time" repeating classes or dropping out of school. Although Uganda's President banned schools from charging lunch fees, only 13% of rural schools provide lunch, hence the continuous dropout rates (*Weekly Observer* April 17-23 2006:1) Most pupils are enrolled into primary at a young age of 6 years and by the time they get to a higher class, the children are considered too young for a particular class. Because of this repetition of classes, most pupils drop out of school.

When children are told to repeat a class, the number of children enrolling in lower classes then increases. Most of the children drop out because their parents feel it is a waste of time and resources. The government of Uganda came up with the automatic promotion policy in 2004 of not allowing children below 7 years of age to enrol in school, especially in P 1, hoping to reduce the dropout rates in schools. EMIS in Byamugisha (2006:9) reports that children kept dropping out of school despite the rule. Table 2c below shows the percentage of dropout rates of pupils in primary school from 1998-2002 in Uganda.

Table 2c: Dropout percentage rates (1998-2002).

Class grade	Year and drop out rates				
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
P 1	4	5	5	5	5
P 2	7	4	4	5	4
P 3	6	5	4	4	4
P 4	6	5	4	4	4
P 5	7	6	5	5	5
P 6	8	7	6	6	6
P 7	9	8	7	8	7
TOTAL	6	5	5	5	5

Source: Education Management Information System data of Ministry of Education and Sports

One of the reasons why children are retained in the same class for another year is that some join school at a later age while others join at an early age. Although the recommended age for a child to start school is six years, parents start their children in school at either 4 or 8 years. Early and late school enrolment affects a child's ability to complete the cycle of education, thus dropping out. UNICEF October (2005: 105-107) notes that many factors contribute to the dropout rates in schools, and the poor quality of teaching-learning processes and environment is one of them. The curriculum used in primary schools is reported to be content-based rather than skills-orientated, which is not a motivator for children working in rural areas. Children as well as their parents prefer children going to school to learn skills that they can use in future to earn a living. Another factor could be that a child's right to an education is not realised. In addition, the schools being attended should have good water and sanitation facilities so that children, especially girls, will attend. Gender bias in homes and at school lowers the educational aspirations of girls, thus undermining their achievement levels and eventually provoking their premature exit from the education system.

During the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting held in Kampala in November 2007, concern arose regarding the high dropout rates in primary schools in Uganda. It was also noted that the high enrolment rates masked problems of high dropouts, low learning achievement and serious inequality in accessing opportunities for different social groups, schools and districts. The Ugandan government was urged to rectify the named setbacks so as to achieve the millennium development goals by 2015. The Ugandan government therefore recommended aggressive efforts to improve the quality of education at all levels and suggested the automatic promotion of pupils in all primary classes in an effort to decongest classrooms and get space for more pupils (*The New Vision* January 18 2008: 3).

The researcher had mixed reactions about the government's decision of automatic promotion of pupils, questioning the quality of education. Children going through the policy as they study could complete primary school unable to write proper English because special attention is not given to them. Teachers themselves are not persuaded to put in a lot of effort for the weak pupils because the pupils will be promoted with or without good grades. However, Uganda's education consultant, Mr Hamid Kaheru, agrees with the automatic promotion policy, based on the fact that there is no child who goes to school intending to repeat a class. A child feels that repeating is a punishment, thus does not try hard to succeed. The researcher feels that the success of automatic promotion as a target, as well as gender parity in primary and secondary schooling is not certain because it failed to be achieved by 2005. Uganda seems unlikely to achieve the target of school for all by 2015.

The President of Uganda, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, has said that although the government of Uganda has a plan to provide meals in schools, some head-teachers charge pupils for food, examinations and coaching fees, which discourages children from attending school. The President insisted that such teachers should be punished by prosecution and imprisonment, as reported by *The Daily Monitor News Paper* May 1 (2008: 15).

2.1.2.2 Universal Primary Education in Masindi

Masindi District has most of its schools registered under the UPE programme. Buliisa Sub County has 24 UPE schools, Buruli 59 and Kibanda 62 registered government schools. Bujenje Sub County has 38 schools in each of its parishes. Budongo Parish, the area under study, has 13 schools, Bwijanga 25 and Bujenje has none. In total, Masindi has at least 183 government primary schools under UPE. Since the inception of the UPE programme in 1997, Masindi District has enrolled a total of 119 531 pupils from P 1 to P 7 to the year 2002. Table 2d below explains the pupil enrolment rates in detail from 1997 to 2005. A total of

104 867 students enrolled with a gross enrolment ratio of 93.86% and a gross intake ratio of 102.18% in 2002 respectively (MOES 2002:34: 62: 68).

Table 2d: Enrolment, dropout and retention number of pupils in Masindi District

YEAR		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
	ENROLMENT			
1997		48 037	40 082	88 119
1998		42 608	35 766	78 374
1999		126 704	127 801	254 505
2000		70 275	71 904	142 179
2001		56 867	50 259	107 126
2002		59 732	54 077	113 809
2003		67 031	60 178	127 209
2004		66 781	61 449	128 230
2005		63 086	58 932	122 018
	DROP OUTS			
1998		2 823	2 461	5 284
2000		2 229	2 384	4 613
2001		2 626	2 662	5 288
2002		2 635	2 659	5 294
2003		2 966	2 978	5 948
	RETENTION			
1998		3 764	3 102	6 866
2000		7 553	6 713	14 266
2001		7 482	6 781	14 263
2002		10 169	9 156	19 325
2003		11 927	11 095	23 022
2004		11 990	11 007	22 997
2005		11 677	10 775	22 452

Source: Ministry of Education and Sports: Uganda Education Statistics abstracts 2002-2005.

NB: In 1997, enrolment of UPE pupils was 88 119 and this apparently increased in 1999 to over 120 000 pupils. Enrolment of pupils dropped again by more than 60 000 pupils in 2004. The number of retentions and dropouts was not known for 1997 because MOES had a head count of only enrolled pupils then. MOES stopped computing information on the number of dropouts from 2003, thus no information was available from 2003.

It is hard to obtain education in the rural areas of Budongo. Although the government of Uganda has instituted free Primary Education, children must walk long distances to get to school and they hardly get all the necessities at school. To be able to have school necessities, children work in fields, especially during harvesting seasons. During the peak seasons, there is a lot of work to be done and this discourages some children from going to school, thus eventually falling out of the school system. Although UPE was made compulsory in 2007, some parents believe that a child involved in work is learning by doing, and can be more valuable to the community than the child attending school. The government of Uganda has therefore taken measures to keep children in school by making provision to arrest parents who fail to take their children to school, with the help of local council leaders, as reported by *The New Vision* February 6 (2008: 25). Similarly, *The New Vision* April 22 (2008: 8) reports that according to the Pre-primary, Primary and Post-primary Bill that was passed by Uganda's Ministry of Education and Sports, any person or parent who refuses to enrol or prevent a child from enrolling for UPE commits an offence and is liable to a fine or a jail sentence or imprisonment for a period of not less than one year.

In the area studied, work is part of a child's social life and it is a form of experiencing and learning the traditional way of life. Girls clean, cook, and milk the cattle while boys gather wood, and look after the sheep and goats. The kind of work these children perform is not taught at school. Children learn the Western and urban-based curricula which make parents wonder whether attending school

is time-wasting and irrelevant for the rural child. Parents therefore do not persuade children to access education, and eventually they perpetuate child labour. Parents do not send their children to school because they do not believe in development through education, and children end up lacking the interest to study. Other parents do not have anyone left to take care of some family duties like herding cattle, so children end up going to school in turns. Different children go to school on different days; when one goes to school, the other stays home looking after the cattle. This kind of arrangement increases the rate of absenteeism and later leads to children dropping out of school. Fyfe (1989: 16-17) shares this view.

UNICEF (2004 in International Conference out of Work into School: India 2004:6-7) states that investing in children's education, especially for girl-children, could yield fruitful returns in fighting the vicious cycle of poverty. Since girls' enrolment rates in schools are low, and dropout rates high, this evidently shows that girls may be the most affected by the various forms of child labour. Cultural norms that give the girl-child the role of housewife also consider educating a girl as wasting resources. Considering the named setbacks, concentrating on girl-child education could possibly reduce the rate of poverty in the world. India organised the MV Foundation (MVF) aiming at retaining girls in school, where they learn the basic knowledge and skills to improve their livelihoods and health. Although girls were reported to be the most difficult group to reach, MVF has always tried to focus its efforts on reaching the girl-child. Like India, Uganda should be able to adopt the MVF in order to keep its girl-children in the newly established and subsidised USE. Although, as explained above, MOES achieved the main goals of ensuring that most of Uganda's children have access to free education, it has faced a number of challenges.

The gender imbalance in enrolment, whereby boys enrol in larger numbers than girls, as well as the larger numbers of children enrolling, makes it hard for teachers to cope. One of the main reasons pointed out for the low number of

teachers is lack of sufficient funds to run the programme. A number of districts are given funds to run the UPE programme, but instead they divert the income to other projects. The Ministry of Education and Sports identified 50 districts diverting UPE cash to district activities like road repairs and maintenance. An estimate of over 300 000 pupils stand to be affected by the fund's diversion.

The researcher's view on this matter is that the challenges faced affect the quality of UPE education in Uganda, and a number of interventions that have been suggested to rectify the problem should be initiated. To try and improve the quality of UPE, the Ministry of Education and Sports has commissioned investigations to try and find out the culprits responsible for the diversion of funds. Teachers have been involved in academic training and the planning process, and provided with psychosocial skills (MOES 2004:14-15).

In 2000, SODECO reported its findings regarding a survey it had carried out in tobacco-growing areas in Uganda. SODECO noted that parents and farmers needed a subsidised system of education to continue to make use of free secondary education from UPE. The main aim of this proposal was to significantly impact on the reduction of child labour. On January 6 2007, Uganda's leading paper, *The New Vision*, reported that the government through the Ministry of Education and Sports was to start free Universal Secondary Education (USE) in Uganda by February 2007. The government aided a number of secondary schools with 7.3 million Uganda shillings each for the facilitation of free USE (*The New Vision* January 6 2007:1). Unfortunately, it later decided to channel some of the funds into other sectors connected to child labour. *The New Vision*, on November 27 2006, also reported a total of 4 309 710 Uganda shillings released as a fund for adult literacy. These funds were released to Ugandans in Masindi District by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development to subsidise school fees. It is unfortunate that before the funds could be used, the Ugandan government decreased the USE grant from 7.3

million shillings to 5 million per school. One wonders if free schooling will ever take off, at the rate the government diverts funds to other sectors.

USE-participating schools like Kololo High School and Kololo Secondary School were reported to have a double enrolment in Senior 1 (S 1) from 300 to 600 students. St. Joseph College, Layibi, in Gulu, also registered 300 extra students in February 2007. The Japanese government has shown support to Uganda by donating \$460 000 to six local organisations with the aim of improving the education sector. Masindi District received \$89 799, St. Timothy Bunyere Primary School \$53 882, Ndejje High School \$83 717, and St. Raphael's Blind Primary School \$75 852. The different heads of schools assembled at the Japanese Embassy on 23 February to sign for the donations. One hopes that the funds will be used for their rightful purpose so that children do not end up dropping out of school. The government of Uganda has recruited an additional 2 500 teachers, both skilled and non-skilled, as manpower for the overwhelming enrolment of USE students, and it has promised to construct over 300 more classrooms countrywide. A needs assessment was carried out in 63 districts, expected to cover approximately 265 schools. The construction of laboratories, teachers' housing units and other facilities is expected to be initiated as soon as the assessment is finalised (*The New Vision* January 8 2008: 5).

The Daily Monitor March 26 (2008:16) reports the estimated secondary school enrolment to have increased from 170 000 in 2006 to 250 000 in 2007. The entry points to USE schools have been graded quite high, with the aim of keeping the quality of the programme up to standard. Pupils are encouraged to work hard to be able to join USE schools on merit. With this kind of achievement, children are kept in school, and at least USE hopes to decrease the prevalence of child labour in Uganda. By the time an adolescent is through the secondary school system in Uganda, he or she is above 18 years, thus reducing child labour. Fortunately, USE schools are reported to be recruiting more students than private secondary schools. It is feared that most of the private secondary schools

in Bushenyi District in western Uganda will need to close in the coming years as they have failed to recruit S 1 students in their institutions because it is getting harder to sustain them. Although some private schools offer better education standards and reportedly pay better salaries, parents, especially in the rural areas, prefer taking their children to USE schools, which are cheaper despite the low standards of education. If the Ugandan government improves the quality of USE to a good standard, children can be encouraged to pursue dreams they never thought of attaining.

Although USE has been introduced, it seems that not all Uganda's poor will be able to benefit, because only a small number of girls have so far joined USE in comparison to boys (*The New Vision* February 8 2007:3, February 20 2007:1 and February 23 2007:6). Although USE was aimed at secondary education for all, the government is considering further reducing USE funding from the under-subscribed schools to better-subscribed ones. Schools like Kololo Secondary School, for example, whose enrolment has drastically increased, are expected to receive more funding. According to a report by the Ministry of Education and Sports, schools with higher enrolment will therefore have more funds directed to USE than those with low enrolment (*The New Vision* May 28 2007: 29). Schools whose USE promotional funds are reduced will end up closing down for lack of financial support. The researcher therefore urges the government of Uganda to try to stabilise and stick to the schools whose tuition is subsidised for scholars.

The lack of educational action to enforce children's rights and create an environment for children and their parents to understand the dangers that come with child labour is evident. Child labourers and farmers may not know the value of education to the life of a child unless they are told how a poor education negatively affects a child. Some parents may not be aware of the evils of child labour and may be in position to be partly responsible for its existence, for example domestic exploitation of the girl-child as supported by Liebel (2002: 268-269). Children may also not be aware of their right to education, thus

perpetuating child labour. There is a need to work with families and local communities to sensitise and create awareness about child labour, addressing societal attitudes to legal rights and employment.

2.1.3 Assessing the effect of the social and cultural setup on child labour

Myths and cultural attitudes held by people, especially those in rural communities, have always had a strong generic influence on society and child-labour practices. As a societal norm, children are taught to do house chores and other work in the agricultural fields. Children learn personal responsibility and self-discipline from a positive kind of work. Learning how to work is meant to initiate children into adulthood and introduce them to patterns of economic life; this undoubtedly graduates into child labour. Labourers, both children and adults, are caught between the desire to conserve traditions and cultures, and the need to belong to the ways of the changing world. Some countries, especially those in Africa, submit children to light work, which gradually pushes the children to become full-time workers. The more time a child spends working in the belief that working enhances his or her physical, emotional, mental, social and spiritual development, the more child work evolves into child labour. Many of the people in Budongo Parish are interested in preserving their forms of socialising, community work and the role of women and girls in the community, where girls are not expected to attain a high educational level because their role as young women is to prepare for marriage and learn the customs of what is expected of girls as wives. Even as wives, women are not expected to have rights like owning property and obtaining loans (Taracena 2003:305).

The inability of women to attain certain privileges lowers the status of these women, who try to develop through working hard on the farms to produce enough for sale. The ability of these women to send children to school becomes lower because they need their children to help with farm work. Traditional attitudes towards women, especially married women, do not permit them to work

or to be employed. Both women as housewives and children as dependants end up looking up to their husbands and fathers as the family's breadwinner, putting a strain on the family because the income to be shared among all members is small (Bakirci 2002:59).

Parents believe that early in life a child must learn skills appropriate to his or her class and background; for rural families, these skills include crafts and weaving. Tucker (1996:12-13) asserts that some parents in rural areas give boys a higher priority than girls. Boys are taken to school, leaving girls at home to work on the fields, in the belief that they must learn how to work at an earlier age than boys. Girls as young as 14 years of age are forced into marriage in order to secure wealth through a bride-price from the boy's family. *The New Vision News Paper* December 27 (2006:16) reports an incident of a 14-year-old girl in Uganda who was forced into marriage by her parents to a 17-year-old boy. The boy was a school dropout who paid 5 cows as a bride-price to the family of his wife-to-be. Another 13-year-old girl in Kampala was recently forced to marry a 23-year-old trader who also paid a bride-price of a few head of cattle.

Although the legislation against early child marriage is in place in Uganda, many parents still lure their children into early marriages. The girls end up feeling insecure, and suffer psychosocial distress because the environment they are living in practises gender inequality. Kempe (2005:30) and Kis-Kates and Sculze (2005:25) point out that some families have a large number of children to look after, so when girls are married off early, the family gets income and help from the husband of their young daughter.

Another cause of child labour is that a high fertility produces large families. Dimeji, Togunde and Newman (2005:8-9) state that parents find it prestigious to have a large number of children, in the belief that this helps financial stability. The researcher reports that the attitude parents have towards having many children is likely to perpetuate child labour, thus influencing the rate of fertility

among families. Large families in rural areas tend to share responsibilities with the older children. Children who are older than the rest are usually expected to work with their parents to help in the upkeep and education of their siblings. The birth order of a child, whether male or female, influences one to work so long as one is older than the rest. An investigation by Fafchamps and Wahba (2006: 394) was done on birth order in India, and the results showed that a decrease in work participation was noticed with the descending birth order. Despite the fact that the younger children performed fewer duties than the older ones in the family, child labour was evident and is still practised. The bigger the numbers of children in a household, the more the older children tend to work, in comparison to the younger ones. Older children serve as substitutes for adult labour in times of food shortage and in the case of the illness of an adult. Children, especially those who live in and around urban centres, spend more than half of their time working instead of going to school.

In 2001, UNICEF carried out a survey in Pakistan, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand, to determine the magnitude of child labour in home-based manufacturing activities. Although statistics on home-based manufacturing are scarce, UNICEF generally noted that India and Pakistan, whose economic growth is slow, have a habit of using the older children to work, compared to countries whose economies grow faster. Each child born in an economy with a slow growth has a burden to carry from birth. Most of the children have an equal responsibility to that of an adult, and have to contribute to the family income. The experience of children born to contribute to family income can be passed on from generation to generation, with parents determining and influencing the work a child does (Mehrotha and Biggeri 2002:4). Buchmann (2000:1350) describes how the birth order in a family determines the educational success of a child. In most African societies like Kenya, tradition demands duties performed by a child as compulsory and thus part of development. At the same time, kinship networks are supposed to be strengthened through working together as children, which lowers the chances of educational inequality among children. Older children in

comparison to younger ones are expected to work and contribute to the family income instead of "wasting time" attending school.

In August 2002, a survey was undertaken in Abeokuta, Nigeria, by Dimeji, Neuman and Togunde (2005: 5-13) with the aim of finding out if high fertility rates were linked to child labour. It was noted that of an average of four children of 7-12 years in a household, two were engaged in full-time work, sometimes earning about 2000 Naira a week. The survey also reported that 62.8% of the parents wanted financial assistance in business from their daughters and 44.7% from their sons. About 90% of parents admitted that children's work helped to improve the financial status of the home, while 60% of children confirmed their earnings were for catering for family needs, a crucial part of household survival.

The researcher therefore disagrees with the reason why parents want more children. Although the money taken home puts a smile on the faces of parents, the child is given a wrong mentality that working is a good thing. It is absurd that the economic realities in Nigeria reinforce the utilisation of children into labour. Parents need to be sensitised as a step forward to try and keep children in school and stop them from working.

The researcher found that although culture is in existence, it is a system embedded in myths only. Considering the fact that there are a lot of intermarriages in Uganda now, this has not helped in the reduction of child labour, but has only polarised its existence. Although the cross-sectional culture still exists in the study area, it is determined by the male dominance of particular tribes. The researcher found that each tribe in the study area has its own definition of what age one is considered to be a child. The Banyoro consider one to be a child at age 1-5, Luo at age of 1-11, and all the other tribes at 1-5 years. The Banyoro initiate a girl into marriage at the age of 9 years and the Alur at 12 years. Girls therefore attend school for only a few years, unlike boys. This encourages child labour.

Culture has ignored that boys also face forced child labour. Some boys begin at 5 years of age. Boys of up to 11 years are expected to look after cattle, either at family level or at community level. For the Alur, boys are supposed to work, and start living alone at the age of 11 years to show that they are men. The boy-child is expected to construct his own hut or house and is encouraged to look after himself. Children in such a position end up involving themselves in full-time work, thus promoting child labour. It is unfortunate that the government of Uganda is aware of such cultural norms but little is done to try and rectify the problem. The government enacts legislation that says a child is a person under 18 years and is not supposed to work or live alone, but it does not do much to discourage the actions that disregard this law.

The social system in Uganda is characterised by the economic power of a group. This has encouraged child labour because parents who are low-income earners work for those with a high income. Dumba (2004:88) notes that poor parents worked for rich parents during the liberalisation process in Uganda, and are still doing the same thing. Parents with little income associate with others of low income who force their children into labour, in comparison to those children whose parents earn high wages. The researcher found that this was also true in the study area. Parents with low economic status force their children into labour and early marriages to collect as much income as possible. In conclusion, the cultural and social setup has a direct link with, and effect on, child labour.

2.1.4 Determining the influence of HIV and AIDS on child labour

Because the HIV and AIDS pandemic have orphaned so many children, taking up household responsibilities is the only choice left for children to survive. Willis and Levy (2002:1420) reported that over 600 000 children worldwide are infected with HIV and AIDS every year. In 2001 Bhalotra estimated 34 million children were orphaned in sub-Saharan Africa, a third of whose parents died of HIV and

AIDS. Estimates approximated an increase in the number of orphans to reach 42 million by 2010, 20 million of whom are in Africa (Bhalotra 2003:19-20). Although the International Conference Out of Work into School: India (2004:9-15) agrees with Bhalotra about the increasing number of orphans, it was estimated that the number of orphaned children would double if dramatic intervention was not made. Although many orphaned children in Africa live with grandparents who may not be able to provide all needs like education, orphaned children may end up as street children either selling goods or in prostitution. India's MVF helps children in such situations, especially girls, by providing them with an education to maintain a sense of stability and normalcy for them. UNICEF (2006:16) remarks that approximately 15 million children have lost one or both their parents to HIV and AIDS. Of the 15 million, over 12 million are living in Africa. The protracted illness forces the affected children to work sometimes before their parents eventually die. UNICEF reports that a child below the age of 15 years dies every minute of an AIDS-related illness all over the world. Although sub-Saharan Africa has been known as the region worst hit by HIV and AIDS, Asia is presumed to have the highest number of HIV infections by 2010.

Kempe (2005: 53) notes that in 2003 there were about 23 million children orphaned by HIV and AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, 58% of whom were surviving as street children in Zambia and 50% in Congo. The number of child-headed households was 30% in Zambia. Willis and Levy (2002:1418) reported figures of six different countries that had young children involved in the sex trade, living at risk of acquiring HIV and AIDS. The reason for the children being involved in the sex trade is that they had probably lost their parents and had to find a way to survive. Over 176 children in prostitution were HIV-positive in Vietnam and Thailand. In some countries in Asia, 86% of sex workers were found to have HIV and AIDS and other STDs. Considering Cambodia's child sex workers, 36% of them were infected with HIV and AIDS. In China 78% and in Thailand 38% were also found to be infected (Kempe 2005:53).

Child sexual workers do not only suffer STD infections but also fall pregnant. Ninety percent of child prostitutes are estimated to fall pregnant within one year of prostituting themselves. Since these girls get pregnant at an early age of 15 years, most of them are bound to have unsafe births. Some of the girls, approximately 80,000 in number, have unsafe abortions in America every year. Willis and Levy (2002:1419) similarly report that America's child prostitutes then end up facing emotional and stress-related illnesses, which lead to mental illness. Sixty-one per cent of pregnant child prostitutes face mental illness as a result of substance abuse. Substances like tobacco, alcohol and other health-risk substances are used. Taking these substances pushes children into violence, and an estimated 73% of these children are physically assaulted through prostitution (Willis and Levy 2002:1419).

Swaziland, followed by South Africa, has Africa's worst HIV and AIDS prevalence. Out of South Africa's population, 47 million people, especially those of 15-24 years of age, are HIV-positive. It was reported that in 2005, a national household survey was carried out in Zimbabwe. It was found that about 32% of pregnant women were HIV-positive and one in five could pass it on to the unborn child (*The New Vision*, December 1 2006:40). Most families that are poor are known to have quite a number of children. Family members can total up to 10 in number, living in a two-roomed house, which is considered over-populated. Over-population in Less Developed Countries (LDCs) like Kenya increases by 4% or more every year. Unfortunately, families this big also have a high infant mortality rate of 100 children dying out of every 1 000 live births. These children die because of poor sanitation, poor nutrition and HIV and AIDS. The researcher noticed in the study area, a particular family consisting of 15 people, two of whom were the parents and the rest their biological children, living in a two-roomed house. The parents could have had more than 13 children but they said some of their children were born but died before they reached the age of 4 years.

The HIV and AIDS epidemic is one of the main causes of high infant mortality worldwide. As far back as 1998, Wei (1998:4) stated that statistics from Angola's national institute of statistics showed that almost 250 out of 1 000 children died by the age of 5 years of HIV and AIDS. Human Rights Watch: Tate & Michael (2003:22) report that in Uganda, 20 of the children born each year are orphaned by the age of 5 years. John Hopkins University has estimated that about 1.7 million children are orphaned by HIV and AIDS in Uganda. In addition, 50% of children living with HIV and AIDS have been recorded as having got it from their mothers either at birth or through breast-feeding. Although Uganda's Ministry of Health has been advocating the prevention of mother-to-child transmission, *The New Vision* October 15 (2007: 28) reports more than 110 000 children living with AIDS and another 25 000 born each year with HIV and AIDS. Children may also be exposed to HIV infection through contact with HIV-infected blood and unsterilised equipment.

SODECO (2002:11) reported over 2 million parents dying of the HIV and AIDS epidemic in Uganda in 1999. With these statistics, children are left with the financial strain of looking after themselves and their younger ones. In 1992, Uganda's young people of 14-30 years had a high HIV and AIDS infection rate and Uganda was reported to be one of the countries with the highest infection rate, more pregnancies, and a higher birth rate. The HIV and AIDS epidemic is fuelled by unemployment, poor health care, poor feeding, and lack of clean water, as well as poor education. In Gulu, girls as young as 14 years are known to have engaged in sexual activities in early marriages, and some have already contracted HIV and AIDS from rape (Muhumuza 1997:11). Statistics from the Ugandan Ministry of Health indicate that 10% of the adult population in Uganda is HIV-infected, with a serious adverse impact on the quality of life of the whole population. It is estimated that HIV and AIDS are responsible for up to about 12% of the annual deaths, and are the leading cause of death among individuals aged 15-49 years. The researcher adds that the immediate impact of death in the age bracket of 15-49 years contributes to the growing number of orphans in

communities and the loss of income caused by illness and death among the household members. Children therefore take on more responsibility to earn an income in order to survive.

The poverty that orphaned children experience is determined by socio-economic circumstances rather than by their economic choice to enter the labour market early. A bad situation is then exacerbated by the fact that many of the children wind up in forms of child labour. Tumushabe (2003) reports that most working orphans complained of a whole complex of problems, among which were going without food, forced initiation, commercial sex, and failure to receive wages. The low farm produce in the agricultural sector reflects labour shortages in both farm and domestic work. Since HIV and AIDS are mainly considered health issues, their impact on production in the agricultural sector is minimal. Areas like fisheries, livestock and crop farming can drop in sales because of loss of lives among farmers. When parents succumb to HIV and AIDS, children tend to take over the agricultural sectors the parents worked on. Children in such situations usually live with step-parents or under the care of elderly people who at times are grandparents who want the extra income from them. UNICEF (2005:126) reports over 1.8 million orphaned children in Uganda living with a parent and 40% living with a grandparent. Children living with grandparents have probably been orphaned by HIV and AIDS and are at risk of increased poverty as well as social and economic deprivation. ILO's 1991 survey estimated that 63% of Uganda's working children were orphans with no help from family members. *The Monday Monitor*, April 16 (2007: 5) estimated that over 950 000 children, especially girls, dropped out of school because of the loss of their parents to HIV and AIDS. Fathers have been reported as abandoning more than 180 children in Jinja District, after the death of their mothers from HIV and AIDS.

The researcher's view is that, as poverty continues to cripple the social and economic welfare of orphaned children, Uganda's government still has a long way to go on issues regarding HIV and AIDS in relation to poverty. Single

parents and grandparents should try to consider the fact that children's lives are at stake when asked to supplement family income, however difficult life may be.

ILO undertook a similar survey in June 2004 and it was noted that 11% of children who lived with their mothers were recorded as having a higher participation level in work than those who lived with fathers. Those children who lived alone were reported to be 10.3%. Although 20% of the children did not know what either parent had died of, the survey found that out of 8 children, HIV and AIDS had orphaned 6 in Kampala and 7 out of 8 in Jinja districts. A total of 417 children were found to be infected, and only 220 of these were in school. A total of 116 children found it hard to continue with school owing to recurring illnesses, thus dropping out. Ninety-five percent of the 417 HIV-infected children, totalling 398, were working, mainly in domestic chores. Thirty-six per cent of the children were reported to be helping in household enterprises and a total of 9.5% working for survival because both parents were sick with HIV and AIDS. Fifty per cent of the children who worked for over 16 hours were paid in kind, through provision of clothing and food, while 38% were paid in cash. Twelve per cent were not paid at all.

The main cause of this exploitation is that, by the time children get into the workforce, they are vulnerable and unable to negotiate their terms of employment. Employers use their employment of children to either pay less or not pay them at all for duties performed. A number of children suffer various injuries and complications related to illnesses as they work, for example, a total of 37.6% had deep cuts, 11.5% had back-aches, 1.8% suffered respiratory problems and 36.7% had bad coughs. Other injuries included fractures, swollen feet, eye problems and genital discomfort.

ILO/IPEC June (2004a: 3-5) reported that many of the working children complained of the complications they picked up at work, for example, 22.7% complained of fatigue, and 14.1% worked with dangerous tools, 13.4% carried

heavy loads and 7.6% complained of being beaten during work. The statistics given above show that the prevalence levels of child labour are evidently high among families infected with HIV and AIDS. Child labour and the HIV and AIDS pandemic are thus related, and child labour is a result of poverty attributed to loss or death of parents. According to *The Monitor News Paper*, June 27 (2005:6), out of the 23 million people counted in 2002 in Uganda; 1.2 million were reported to be HIV-positive. The high numbers of infected people meant an increasing number of orphans in Uganda, to 14% of all children less than 18 years of age. Children were reported heading 969 families in Rakai District in Uganda in 2003, and the number increased to 700 in 2005. Out of the child-headed households, 85.3% had dropped out and only 14.7% attended school on a part-time basis. Although the child household-heads dropped out of school for various reasons, the ILO/IPEC 2004 survey reported 88.9% willing to go back to school if they had the chance, while 37.2% had lost interest in studying, and 44% considered themselves too old for school. *The New Vision* June 11 (2007: 6) reported a rise in child-headed homes in Kampala, Busia, Kabarole, Iganga and Masindi Districts. Over 4 000 children orphaned to HIV and AIDS headed a number of households.

The researcher found that in Masindi, the nearest option for the orphans to take was to work in the tobacco fields after the death of their parents. The little money earned was mainly used to purchase basic needs for the family, especially food, and to support their siblings. It is important to note that HIV and AIDS force children into child labour, which makes them vulnerable to HIV infection, and they often work under conditions where physical threats and harassment are common. The government of Uganda should be in position to provide a suitable solution, for instance implementing a tangible policy to protect Uganda's vulnerable children.

Children who work to survive on their own are easily exploited. The children are usually employed on a part-time basis when seasons require extra labour, and a

great number of them are not paid but are given food and clothes as an incentive. Children are therefore known to be providers of cheap labour as compared with unskilled adults. Even when children are as productive as adults, their remuneration is less because employers easily manipulate them. Employers would prefer the cheap labour offered by children and if possible do away with adult employment because children are submissive. The preference of child workers over adult workers is found in some industries to enlarge the profits and reduce the capital expenses, which include salaries. If child labour in industries is removed, many of these businesses will suffer and some will definitely close down. The use of children in work can therefore have a negative impact on adult employment, wage rate and business growth to some extent, as suggested by Galli (2001:14-16).

The researcher feels that children can easily be exploited because there is no legislation concerning work that can protect working children. Properly enforced legislation to protect vulnerable children against exploitation is necessary so as to preserve the human rights of Uganda's children. The Ugandan government should begin with representing workers' rights by enforcing a policy on a minimum wage and an age limit for anyone working. By enforcing the policy on workers' rights, older able-bodied people could then get a chance to earn without competing with the cheap labour that children provide.

HIV and AIDS have affected the productive age, which is 15-55 years in Uganda. Since the 1980's when HIV and AIDS were first diagnosed in Uganda, the workforce has been devastated because so many adults, both male and female, lost their lives. The researcher found that 45% of the child labourers had lost one or both parents to the pandemic. This forced the children to be in charge of their families with nobody to help. A number of organisations have tried to help the orphaned children but have unfortunately failed to fully cater for them because of the embezzlement of funds, such as the recent Global Fund embezzlement by

government officials in Uganda's Cabinet. This, however, shows that the effects of HIV and AIDS influence child labour.

2.1.5 Assessing the effects of technological advancement on child labour

Cademus (1996:42) contended that by 1980, Uganda was still characterised by labour-intensive equipment like hoes, pangas, axes and slashers, which were used on the farms. The older people were the only ones entitled to work on farms, so there was little or no use of child labourers. Unfortunately, from the 1990's when Uganda was going through economic reforms through liberalisation, there was a shift to some use of mechanical equipment like tractors on farms. The change from labour-intensive to capital-intensive mechanisms of work led to the paradigm of the labour structure in Uganda. Rural-to-urban migrations increased, and changed the labour structure from the heavier equipment to lighter equipment and the change from using older people to younger people as workers on farms. The change in workers and equipment encouraged the use of child labourers.

ILO, UNICEF and World Bank (August 2008: 5-8) report that in the 1990's; Uganda's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was entirely dependent on the produce and growth of the agricultural sector. The growth was driven by economic reforms from the boom in coffee, which was known to be the main growth determinant of Uganda's growing economy. GDP growth at agricultural market prices was 51% and child labour was not as intensive as it later became in 2003. BY 2000, Uganda's economy had moved away from subsistence agriculture to a mix of commercial agriculture, industry and services. Agriculture then contributed 39% of GDP despite the fact that Uganda has a natural competitive advantage of fertile lands and a good climate. Residents mainly in the rural areas then employed 69% more child workers to be able to catch up with any losses.

By 2003, children were seen to be working more and attending school less. The GDP agricultural contribution to Uganda's economy increased by 2%. More children joined the workforce, working on coffee, tobacco and sugarcane plantations for small incentives like food and clothing, an advantage to employers because less was spent on wages. The Uganda National Household Survey (UNHS) 2005/06 then reported approximately 2.5 million children 7-14 years old, engaged in child labour in 2005, 38% of whom worked on farms. The rate at which children worked as labourers increased as the years passed. More children later involved themselves in paid and self-employment, working longer hours for money, food and clothing. Children spent less time in school, and most eventually dropped out.

Although the diversifying economy of Uganda increased the number of working children, the researcher argues that the level of education of parents also contributes to increased child labour. Children, whose parents, especially fathers, have a high level of education, are more likely to stay in school until completion, than those whose parents have little or no education.

2.1.5.1 Effects of technological advancement on child labour

Technological advancement (TA) initially led to a massive loss of jobs and employment opportunities, and as a result, people moved to the rural areas, thus becoming poorer to the extent of failing to meet the basic needs of their children. Since the children could not go to school, the parents resorted to child labour as a source of income to meet the economic imbalances.

TA led to the automation of some equipment; for example, slashers were replaced by heavy-duty tractors, causing a decrease in the number of parents who worked on fields. The researcher found that most of the people operating the electronic machines in the formal sector were children below 18 years of age.

TA led to the improvement of quality services like proper storing of tobacco in warehouses. This was supposed to have been done by people above 18 years of age, but the researcher found that most of the workers in the warehouses were children. When asked why they were working under such conditions, they gave various reasons, all linked to economic viability.

TA has created the informal sector in Uganda where many people are claiming to be self-employed, under the umbrella that they are trying to eliminate poverty. This could be true, but the researcher found that most of the workers in the formal sector were children.

TA has linked the human rights activists and trade unions to child labour because though children are employed in various fields of work, the activists and trade unions only hold expensive seminars talking about child abuse, but do not take serious action against the practice of child labour. The activists use sophisticated media like TV, radio, and newspapers, but the recipients in the study area have no access to these media of exchange of information. Good information is rendered useless.

Workers' rights are usually represented through unions, which aim at pointing out the major concerns for workers, as well as balancing both their social and economic interests. In Uganda, the National Organisation of Trade Unions (NOTU) was and still is one of the organisations that have undertaken to try and eliminate child labour in organisations. Through various rapid assessment surveys, NOTU has come up with a number of ideas to eliminate child labour in organisations through the ILO Conventions. Mwamadzingo and Saleshando (2003:108-110) report that although NOTU opposed the refusal of trade unions, the President of Uganda, Yoweri Museveni, refused wage increments to workers, saying wage demands could scare off investors in all sectors of the economy, especially the agricultural sector. Since the agricultural export sector is the foundation of Uganda's economy, the government of Uganda deliberately

rejected a comprehensive employment policy for fear of losing market share among international traders.

A number of employers insist on employing their workers on temporary or casual terms in factories and on agricultural farms in Uganda. The primary reason for this is that workers are employed when there is work that needs to be done during the peak seasons like harvesting time. *The Monitor* newspaper August 1 (2006:1) reports that part-time working deprives the workers of the right to form unions. Examples of companies that have denied workers the right to form unions include Nytil Picfare, a fabric, textile and stationery industry, and the leather industries in Uganda. Hotel owner and private investor Karim Hirji, once stifled efforts by his workers to form unions, claiming that the International Union of Food and Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering and Allied workers Association does not affect his company as he does not break labour union laws. The Human Resource manager of Hotel Africana Uganda, Mohamed Kasule, and Stevenson Katwalo, the communications and marketing manager of Golf Course Holdings Uganda Limited, admitted that there is a big problem with Uganda's employment force if unions are not allowed.

Because some employers dismiss any workers found to belong to a union, this creates fear among employees and discourages the development of unions. Although the Uganda Constitution allows freedom of association and makes it compulsory for employers to recognise unions, employers do not observe this right. One of the requirements for employees to form a union is that employees are at least 1,000 in number, and then can be represented by 51% of the workforce. The private sector has behaved in the same way, and this has made it hard for the inspection agencies to monitor the labour industry, thus giving employers a chance to employ child labourers.

The researcher suggests that if the formation of unions was able to lobby and demand better working conditions, workers would be able to fight for their rights

with the support of the Trade Unions Act CAP 223.¹² The Act provides employees with the right to establish unions of their choice so long as the members are not fewer than 1,000 people in the same type of employment. Section 20(1) (a) and (b) recognise workers' rights and give minors equal rights with other members, although a minor cannot be a member of the executive (ILO/IPEC 2004e: 36). The government of Uganda should also enact the Trade Unions Act by initialising a minimum wage.

Like Uganda, Tanzania has failed to recognise trade unions. Although a number of NGOs with the help of the World Bank and the ILO office in Dar es Salaam has tried to steer a committee through workshops to initiate trade unions, Tanzanians did not welcome them. A number of workshops were put in place to further suggest trade unions but were either ignored or rejected. Unlike Tanzania, Ghana has involved trade unions in various poverty-alleviation programmes. Trade unions play a role in formulating, implementing, monitoring and evaluating social programmes that may affect workers. The trade unions in Ghana aim at securing social, political and economic justice, and also ensure the ratification and application of Conventions that harmonise with world labour practices (Mwamadzingo and Saleshando 2003:142).

South Africa has successfully used trade unions with strong representations in work places. Their largest trade union movement, Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU), has established a number of national social dialogue structures in formal sector employment. Through COSATU, all public service unions in South Africa have seen a changing and positive pattern of union membership in the mining, manufacturing, transport and construction sectors. The researcher contends that if Uganda were to adopt the strategies Ghana, Zambia and South Africa have adopted to improve on the unionisation of workers, Uganda's economy would probably be much better than it is today.

¹² International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) .(2001). Internationally recognized core labour standards in Uganda: Report for the WTO general council review of trade policies of Uganda. Geneva. Accessed October 20, 2006, from <http://uil.it/internazionale/uganda.htm>

Uganda should also be able to enact Ecuador's domestic law to exercise the right to organise and form unions. Under the domestic law in 1991, Ecuador managed to involve at least 50% of its workforce in company committees. Organisations in Ecuador have been keen on forming unions that may contribute to the elimination of all forms of child labour.¹³

Technological advancement (TA) has improved the means of communication in Uganda, whereby the transport system has improved, but with a very poor road network. Owing to the poor road structure, it is always the children who try to improve the road system by digging and patching up the already potholed roads that the ministry concerned fails to repair. The children then beg road users for an incentive. This has resulted in many children doing labour as casuals for road maintenance companies, which in turn affect the growth and development of child labour.

TA has led to the improved distribution of water as a source of life in the rural sector. However, even where the water system has been improved, there is always poor maintenance, which results in blockages. To solve this problem, it is always children who are used to maintain these water sources or wells by unblocking them. This water maintenance sector has also become a promoter of child labour. However, it is not the duty of the children to maintain this water source; it is the people or companies responsible that should be able to rectify any maintenance problems as soon as they are detected. The researcher found that it was mostly children from Nyabyeya, one of the study areas, who were employed to temporarily work on the blockages.

The research therefore showed that TA increases and encourages the use of child labour instead of reducing it.

¹³ Child labour on the increase. African business (March 1998) InfoTrac Online. Thomas Gale. University of Port Elizabeth. Accessed October 18, 2006 <http://find.galegroup.com/itx/infomark.do?&contentSet=IAC-Documents&type=retrieve&tabID=T003&prodId=ITOF&docId=A62534048&source=gale&srcprod=ITOF&userGroupName=uniport&version=1.0>

2.1.6 Establishing the impact of human rights activists on the prevention of child labour

2.1.6.1 The global perspective of the legislation on child labour

The campaign against child labour has aimed and still aims at making the public aware of the existence of the use of children involved in hazardous work, and suggesting alternatives to try and reduce its existence. Juan Somavia, ILO's director general, believes the forms of child labour can be eliminated 10 years from 2006. A 2002 report from ILO shows that 11% of child labourers worldwide were taken out of the workforce from 2000-2004. The number of working children then dropped from 246 million to 218 million. The new 2006 ILO report shows a promising decline in child labour, and aims at adopting time-bound plans by 2008. So far, more than 30 countries have set time-bound targets to eliminate child labour by 2016.¹⁴

2.1.6.2 Background of child labour Conventions

Fyfe (1989: 41-65) reported that in 1984, children in Britain of less than 6 years of age were employed to work in mines for over 15 hours a day. Exhaustion and problems with the spine and bones were the appalling conditions experienced by these children. A total of 15 000 children were reported to have been involved in cross-border trade in Belgrade, and out of 67 children working in Europe, 13 were reported to be earning very small wages. In 1910, 7 000 boys under the age of 16 years in New Jersey were employed in glass factories and often worked through the nights from 5pm to 3am in the morning. California used over 30 000 migrant children under the age of 6 years to work on sugar and cucumber plantations. Children who worked on agrarian farms were exposed to chemicals which were a hazard to the health of all the children. Examining the brutally poor

¹⁴ International Labour Organisation. (Thursday 2006, May 4). Department of communication: New ILO Report shows marked decline in child labour worldwide. Believes its worst forms can be eliminated in 10 years. Accessed February 16, 2007, from <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/inf/pr/2006/15.htm>

and hazardous working conditions the vulnerable children were experiencing, concern arose among individuals and organisations about what steps to take to try and reduce the rate at which working children were being exploited¹⁵.

Narayan (1997:3) stated that ILO as the main international agency concerned with trying to eliminate the incidence of child labour passed the first child-work convention in 1919. The convention set the minimum age for anyone to start work at 14 years. The convention No.5 was then re-visited and the minimum age for work was changed to 15 years in 1937. From 1920 to 1965, the conventions kept changing in various sectors. In the agricultural sector, convention No.10 in 1921 set the minimum age for anyone to start work at 14 years except for children out of school. The mining sector convention No.123 in 1965 was set to the minimum age of 16 years. In 1973, ILO replaced all the above-mentioned conventions with Convention 138 concerning economic activities and child labour.

Convention 138 considered the minimum age for admission to employment, and Article 3 of the Convention specified that the minimum age for admitting any type of employment or work which by its nature was likely to jeopardise the health, safety or morals of young persons, was not to be less than 18 years of age. By 1988, 36 countries had ratified and implemented provisions regarding the reduction and elimination of child labour worldwide. Even though different countries focused differently on child labour elimination, over 100 countries had ratified more than one child-labour convention by 1979. UNICEF, UN, and a number of NGOs and other support agencies advocated the progressive abolition of the different forms of child labour and their underlying causes in 1986. UNICEF (1986a in Fyfe 1989:136) insisted that emphasis be put on trying to respond to the special needs of children, their parents and communities through programme implementation. Programmes worldwide aiming at helping and

¹⁵ <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/inf/pr/2006/15.htm>

protecting vulnerable children were initiated by 12 000 voluntary organisations formed in India and 6,000 in Bangladesh.

Through the programmes, the Declaration of the Rights of the Child was adopted by the League of Nations. The declaration consisted of Article 77 of the fourth Geneva Convention, which specifically mentioned that children should be prohibited from involvement in armed conflict. In 1990, the Declaration was fully revised and it was put into force with the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The African charter was then formed, as well as Article 22(3) to protect children especially those below 15 years serving in the army, ensuring that all feasible measures undertaken to protect the vulnerable child. The African Charter still protects and ensures that the rights and welfare of a child are of importance to the development of the child.

2.1.6.2.1 Child rights and the causes of child labour

In order to reduce the prevalence of child labour, global institution reforms and international policies have been addressed to grant a political voice to working children and to improve their social conditions. This has been done partly by putting in place legislation that addresses the problem of child labour in various ways. Over the past years, there have been several initiatives to mitigate child labour and its causes. Efforts to promote the initiatives have been based on the fact that children do have rights, and these rights as well as children's development, are linked in needing protection.

2.1.6.2.1.1 Poverty reduction and education attainment: a child labour elimination plan

The right of all children to have basic needs like food, clothing and shelter, stems from the fact that children need to be taken care of by their parents, relatives and governments. The ILO Convention 182 Article 3 spells out a number of the forms of child labour that are a result of poverty, which include bonded labour, child

prostitution, drug trafficking and slavery. The convention requires the removal of children from abusive child labour worldwide, and the provision of access to free basic education and vocational training. It urges countries to try and prevent children from working, by raising the number of years children are supposed to attend school, thus learning skills on which to base their future¹⁶. The rights of all children to education stress the fact that children do have rights. The areas mainly focused on are children whose geographical areas have poor performance indicators for primary schools, those who are affected by conflict, and those in remote rural areas (UNICEF 2006-2010: 22-23). Articles 28 and 29 of the United Nations Convention on the rights of the child recognise the right of a child to education, to develop the child's personality, talents, and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential (Manzo 2005:265).

Ecuador's Ministry of Labour aimed to enforce labour code provisions that limit the tasks children may perform. The code was to ensure that children had access to good and clean water, with better sanitation facilities. Unfortunately the labour code that was enacted did not produce fruitful outcomes. Ecuador's Ministry of Labour failed to enforce the code, which was to include inspection by members of the Convention. Labour inspectors were supposed to carry out their duties, making sure children were not used as labourers, but this was not carried out. Child labourers continued to be used, mainly in the agricultural sector. In 1991, the Convention was amended and the number of workers in an enterprise was reduced. Fewer employees made it easier for the government of Ecuador to monitor the situation.¹⁷

In 1999, the Child Labour Deterrence Act was introduced, which aimed at curbing poverty, the main cause of child labour, by removing children from abusive working conditions. The Act was to encourage as many children as possible to

¹⁶ Worst forms of child labour Convention, 199(No 182). Accessed October 18, 2006, from <http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/childlabour.htm>

¹⁷ Human Rights Watch (2002). Tainted Harvest: specific recommendations on child labour and obstacles on Ecuador's banana plantations. Accessed March 3, 2007, <http://hrw.org/reports/2002/ecuador/ecuad0402-08.htm#TopOfPage>

attend school for an education that economically contributed to the eradication of poverty. The Act still prohibits importing of goods produced partially or fully by children below 15 years (Harkin 1999:1-2). The Indian government enshrined the Child Labour Act 1986, which prohibited work hazardous to children's lives. India also enshrined the bonded labour system Act, Article 21 that prohibited all forms of bonded labour for any person of any age. Owing to this Act, a number of industries released 13 450 children into rehabilitation centres in 2000, and another 37 082 bonded labourers were released by 2002. Although a few of the children were released to the Indian police, it was noted that the police took these children back to their masters later on. This form of corruption made it hard for children to be completely free from bonded labour. Sometimes when the inspectors were sent by government to go and inspect, the industries that employed child labourers would send children home and bribe the inspectors. It became very difficult for the government to protect bonded children from labour.

India still committed itself to fight against child labour by coming up with the Indian government policy on child labour. Article 24 prohibited any child below 14 years of age from being employed in a factory or mine. Article 39 similarly suggested that children should not be abused by forcing them to take part in economic activities that might harm and abuse their health as children. Mitesh (1998:5) stated that because of India's commitment, Bangladesh came up with four provisions to try and reduce the number of children involved in child labour. The first provision was to remove all under-age workers below 14 years of age from all forms of employment. The second provision was to take the children away from work and into appropriate educational programmes with a monthly stipend to families. Provision No.3 was to offer to qualified adults the jobs children had been performing, and lastly, Provision 4 prohibited the employment of children in the workforce (Wei 1998:5-6).

In 1999, former US President Bill Clinton visited Bangladesh and pledged \$8.6 million to try and stop the incidence of child labour. Over 10 000 children were

taken out of the garment industry into schools. The programme not only sent children to school but also paid families of the children involved a total of \$7 a month (Ryan and Missy 2000:1-2). In the same year, 1999, Clinton, on behalf of the Constitution of the United States of America, ordered Act 29 of the fair labour standards to take appropriate action to enforce the laws prohibiting the manufacture or importing of goods, articles and merchandise produced wholly or in part by forced or indentured child labour. Within 120 days of passing the order, proposed rules were supposed to be implemented for the protection of children. The rules included certifying a contracting officer to ensure that forced or indentured children were not used as labourers, by means of product branding confirming that children were not used during manufacturing (Clinton 1999: 1105-1107). Countries like Pakistan, Nepal and Benin have adopted a code of conduct that requires the branding of their products. Hand-knotted rugs, especially those from India, are labelled with indicators that confirm that children are not employed to weave the rugs.

Bachma (2006: 1-2) states that in 2005, cocoa-growing countries in West Africa were taken to court by human rights activists if they were found to be not living up to the codes of conduct. The USA further imposed a July 1st 2008 deadline on Ivory Coast, a cocoa-growing country, to stop the use of child labour on its farms. Although West African cocoa-growing farmers, especially those from Ivory Coast, strongly believe working on farms helps and teaches children how to work, the USA still insists on the deadline. Today, the effective implementation of these codes remains a challenge to countries worldwide. Burkina Faso also took action on child labour, using the obligations under Convention 182 to protect the best interests of children. Civil society organisations undertook a comprehensive study of child labour in gold mines, and it was concluded that the conditions in the mines were harmful to the health, development and morals of children. The outcomes therefore ensured the enforcement of Convention 182 in gold mines. As the Convention was implemented, children were directly involved as research and advocacy partners, with the hope of effective implementation of the

Convention. Although the children took part in interviewing other children, they did not look interested in the exercise. It is clear that more effort needs to be made to find better ways of eliminating child labour.

The government of Tanzania, through its Ministry of Labour, Youth and Sports, prepared a child development policy in 1990 to facilitate a conducive environment for the development of children and the realisation of their rights, using provisions of the CRC. As an integral part of eliminating child labour, the education sector was looked into by abolishing payment of school fees for primary school children. In many low-developing countries, poverty has been the underlying cause of a number of different problems right from corruption in top government offices to child labour among citizens. Uganda has tried and is still trying to curb and possibly eliminate poverty in different areas.

Under the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), Uganda aims at reducing the percentage of people living under the poverty line from the current 35% to 10% by 2017. Poverty studies have witnessed fewer people living below the poverty line, which was 56% in 1992 to 35% in 2001. According to the Uganda Human Development Report, the poverty level in Uganda was 38% in 2002-2003 and has improved to 31% in 2005-2006. People living in rural areas are still reported the highest in number living in poverty in comparison to those living in urban areas. *The New Vision* November 29 (2007: 1-2) refers to the 2006 UN report remarking on how the fall in poverty has helped Uganda to achieve one of the Millennium Development Goals, which is to halve the number of people without safe water. Although the reduction in the poverty percentage was noticed among urban dwellers, Uganda still has 85% of people living in the rural areas facing abject poverty.

One of the projects Uganda's government has come up with to reduce poverty is improving the quality of life by addressing the constraints in the education, health and water sectors of the country. Education, as one of the key solutions in

eliminating child labour, has been initiated in Uganda. Children are acquiring knowledge with the help of basic education and skills for better chances in the labour market after completion of school. It was hoped that introducing free primary and secondary education in Uganda would eliminate all working children from exploitative and hazardous work and help them to find better alternatives to create a comfortable life.

As free education is introduced among the poor, children in school need to be helped with the indirect and opportunity costs like school meals and health care. The aim of offering these free costs is to avoid the high dropout rates Uganda's schools are facing today, and lessen the financial burden on parents. Vocational training and other social support services for former working children are successfully preventing the increasing prevalence of child labour. An institute like Kyema Vocational Institute in Masindi District has been able to successfully change the lives of child labourers for the better. Kyema enrolls 120 students quarterly in a year, and trains them in carpentry, brick laying, tailoring and agricultural practices. Twenty former child labourers were reported to have successfully completed the training at Kyema in different fields. Over \$600 000 has been used so far to help former child labourers in starting a better life as of June 25 2007. Kyema Vocational Institute has so far enrolled 65 boys and 47 girls in different areas of study.

Part of the various education schemes introduced to Uganda's poor are programmes aimed at empowering the poor, like income-earning opportunities. Poverty alleviation schemes that lead to employment creation, small enterprise development, credit systems and minimum wage systems have been addressed. The main aim of these schemes is to encourage the employment of adults instead of child employment. The Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan (SDIP) opened in 2003 and expected to close in 2008. It was put in place to articulate interventions and strategies that could improve on the lives of the poor. SDIP's main aim was and still is to increase community

empowerment as well as equity and respect for the rights of the poor and of vulnerable children. SDIP identifies vulnerable groups, including children, and protects them by drawing attention to existing laws and policies aimed at supporting children. An enabling environment that creates employment opportunities is thus created, giving the poor a chance to develop as new skills are being acquired. SDIP's efforts are therefore considered an important government support of the Millennium Development Goal of Eradication of Extreme Poverty as confirmed by ILO/IPEC (2004e: 24-25).

Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PAM), a Ugandan government organisation, began with President Museveni's Manifesto of 1996, in which he committed the government of Uganda to eradicating poverty with the modernisation of agriculture. In 1998, the planning process began, including a wide consultation with farmers, guided by technical committees aiming at eradicating poverty in Uganda. PAM concentrates on trying to change the perspectives of Uganda's people living in the rural agricultural areas by transforming subsistence agriculture into commercial agriculture. Most of Uganda's subsistence farmers use children as labourers, as they produce for household consumption rather than being farmers who produce for commercial purposes. It is presumed that commercial farmers usually use skilled labour to operate large machines and are therefore less likely to use child labourers. PAM hopes that through increasing incomes of the poor, and improving the health and education of children and households, poverty may be eradicated. With the efforts of the local government, the private sector and civil society, PAM promotes sustainable delivery of agriculture-related services that exclude child workers. PAM's poverty-eradication plan aims at essentially making markets available to farmers once they produce on a commercial level without the use of children working on the farms (MAAIF 2007:48-50).

PAM believes that the main determinant of poverty eradication, especially among the rural poor, is the focus on modernising agriculture and trying to transform the

production of farmers to the market instead of producing for household use. To achieve the aim of food security without degrading the environment, and to create higher incomes to meet other basic household needs like education for children, PAM needs to transform farmers into competitive, modernised, export-orientated and effective utilisers of resources like land, water and forests. PAM's strategy to realise the transformation is to increase and sustain agricultural production with increased total factor productivity that will effectively contribute to poverty eradication among the rural poor. It is believed that farmers will then reduce and eventually stop the use of children in labour-related activities (Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture 1999: 24-25).

The National Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children Policy protects other child labourers like orphans and street children. The policy, which is part of the poverty-eradication action plan in Uganda, aims at contributing to the improvement of the quality of life of children. With the hope that the children benefit from this policy, Uganda is on the right path to eradicate poverty (ILO/IPEC 2004e: 28). The researcher's view on this is that although Uganda's vulnerable children may seem to benefit from the National Orphans policy, the country may not have a clear and tangible employment policy that can prevent children from working. Uganda therefore needs a strong and clear employment policy that will be used in conjunction with the National policy to eradicate poverty. It is hoped that the government will continue to put effort into trying to eliminate child labour in Masindi through capacity building, so that Uganda will be free of child labourers.

The ILO Convention No 138 specifies the age above which a person is allowed to participate in economic activities, and states that this work should not interfere with the education of the child. The Uganda Children's Statute No. 6 of 1996 prohibits the employment of children less than 18 years old in work that may be harmful to their health, education, and mental, physical and moral development. The 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda states that children under 16

years have the right to be protected from social and economic exploitation, and should not be employed in hazardous work. Unfortunately, even when the Convention 138, the Uganda Children's Statute No. 6 and other existing codes of conduct are put in place, they are violated. For example, in Masindi it is difficult to monitor all stages of tobacco production, from planting and weeding to harvesting. Sometimes farmers need extra part-time labour at a particular stage such as harvesting, which allows them to exploit the children as they provide cheap labour.

Although the labour legislation in Uganda provides the framework for the enforcement of the laws on child labour, the legislation is still weak. A number of factors have been identified as the source of poor enforcement of the child labour laws and the ILO conventions, which were ratified by the government. The factors include inadequate staff, lack of sufficient logistical support for inspectors, and inadequate expertise in child-labour inspection. The environment which children should have according to the ILO's 1993 Convention, is not yet observed in Uganda. The 1993 Convention defines a working environment for children as one that provides protection from any form of exploitation. Strict enforcement of the child labour legislation is essential in addressing child-labour problems, but this enforcement needs to be coupled with effective policies, programmes and mechanisms that will be implemented and monitored, in order to reduce the incidence of child labour in Uganda. The failure of the Ugandan government to monitor the use of children as child labourers makes it possible for employers to recruit children into the labour force because they are aware of the inefficient monitoring system of labour by the government.

2.1.6.2.1.2 Preventive programmes to reduce child labour: HIV and AIDS

Countries worldwide are reported to have an HIV-infection rate of one every 8 seconds; 11 000 people are infected. A number of strategies have been deployed in Uganda to increase awareness of HIV and AIDS among the youth.

The anti-HIV and AIDS campaign called Youth Alive has been implemented in almost 36 districts countrywide. Other African countries like Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe have adopted Uganda's HIV and AIDS campaign. The campaign targets youth whose parents have died in the epidemic and have no hope of a good life. Children in this situation are taken to care homes and are taught survival skills. Although still slow, the Tanzanian government is stepping up efforts to contain the spread as well as minimise the consequences of HIV and AIDS. Tanzania is trying its best to combat child labour, but a number of constraints have slowed down the realisation of children's rights in the country, which include poverty and HIV and AIDS (Burns 2005:179-181). (Ouma, *the New Vision* December 1 2006:38). Although the 2006 UN report (in *The New Vision*, December 4 2006:22) disappointingly said that the HIV infection rate in Uganda was rising, Uganda is determined to lower the rate of infection through strategies like free condom distribution. A total of 16 million Ugandan shillings has recently been offered by the Social Action Fund in Loro Township to combat HIV and AIDS in Uganda. The main aim of this project is to benefit people, especially women, child mothers and school dropouts, through provision of vocational skills to improve their lives (*The New Vision* February 2 2007:9)

In 2000, a purpose-built day-care centre was constructed to provide rehabilitation and terminal care to children living with and affected by HIV and AIDS. Mildmay Paediatric Care Centre (MPCC), a medical and nursing centre, provides help to over 10,000 children each year, and an average of 80 children a day have been able to access the hospital. Many children slowly regain hope for a positive life when they join MPCC in the day-care, residential services, and emergency clinic or through the community outreach programmes in more than 10 districts countrywide. MPCC operates 14 community outreach programmes to economically empower children and their families, providing physiotherapy, nutrition and counselling education. The MPCC is the only one of its kind in Uganda and cannot in any way cater for all the patients in the country. Funding may not be sufficient to contract good professional staff for more than a one-year

contract, as planning for services becomes difficult. The government of Uganda is therefore advised to look into diverting more funds for the care of HIV- and AIDS-infected children.

2.1.6.2.1.3 Preventive measures for Uganda's vulnerable children

As supported by Mwamadzingo, Mugeni and Mugambwa (2002: 13), Uganda does not have a clearly defined and written policy on the employment of children in the labour force. Nevertheless, it has ratified a number of ILO conventions for the protection of children. These include: worst forms of child labour convention, 1999 (No 182), articles of the convention on the rights of the child (see Appendix 1), the convention concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the forms of child labour, (see Appendix 2), recommendation concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the forms of child labour (recommendation 190) (see Appendix 3), the Minimum age (industry) Convention, 1919 (No. 5) and the minimum age (Underground work) Convention, 1965 (No. 123). The Uganda Constitution (1995) provides the framework for the enforcement and observance of the laws on child labour. Chapter 1, Article 34(4) of the Constitution states that: *“Children are entitled to be protected from social or economic exploitation and shall not be employed in or required to perform work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with their education or to be harmful to their health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.”* Labour legislation and other legislative measures that have a bearing on child labour include the Employment Act, Chapter 219 of the laws of Uganda, sections 49-55, which prevents the employment of young persons below the age of 12, and regulates the employment of young persons below the age of 18. The occupational safety and health bill has proposed revisions of certain provisions, which have a bearing on child labour in commercial agriculture.

The Employment Act Chapter 32(2) 2006 on the employment of children by the laws of Uganda states that: *“A child under the age of fourteen years shall not be employed in any business, undertaking or work place, except for light work carried out under supervision of an adult aged over eighteen years, and which does not affect the child’s education.”* In addition, the laws of Uganda have also amended the Employment Act Chapter 37(1) on migrant workers. The Act states: *“No person shall organise the illicit or clandestine movement of migrants for employment for purposes of departing from, passing through or arriving in Uganda, or give assistance to any organisation for that purpose.”* Furthermore, the section of the Employment Act (Cap.219 (15) in the laws of Uganda (2000:4719) states that: *“No person may employ a person of or under the apparent age of twelve years except on such light work as the Minister may, from time to time by statutory order, prescribe.”*

The Employment Decree 1975 Part IV limits the employment of children under the age of 18 years and prohibits children under the age of 12 years from working (IPEC 2000/2001:5). The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 Article 32 states that a child has a guaranteed right to basic human rights which include development, survival and protection, to ensure the individual growth and wellbeing of the child. Children have a right to be protected from economic exploitation and work that is considered harmful to their health, physical, mental or social development and interference with education attainment (IPEC 2000/2001:12). The Draft Employment Bill (2001), in addition, states that any child under 14 years of age shall not be employed in any business or even undertake any work unless the work is light and under supervision of an adult. The Employment Bill continues by prohibiting the employment of any child in any form of work that is harmful or dangerous or otherwise unsuitable for a child (ILO/IPEC June 2004c: 9).

Article 15 of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the child 1999 ensures protection of children from all forms of economic exploitation that are

likely to be hazardous to the physical, mental and social development of a child. The ILO Convention 184 appeals to member states to ensure adequate and appropriate systems of inspection for places of work in the agricultural sector. However, member states are permitted to lower to 16 years the age of anyone to engage in work (ILO/IPEC 2004e: 17-21).

The 1995 National Constitution of the Republic of Uganda provides that children are entitled to be protected from social or economic exploitation and all work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with their education or work and is likely to harm their health, physical, mental or social development. The Children's Act (1996) Part 11 Rights of the Child, section 9 provides that children should not be engaged in work that is likely to cause injury to their health, education, mental, physical or moral development (The Uganda National Child Labour Policy 2002).

The Children's Statute 1996 Clause 16 provides protection, maintenance and care to children by establishing a children and family court. Clause 9 prohibits the employment of children in any activity that may harm the health and mental, physical and moral development of a child (SODECO 2002:9). The Children Act 2004 ratified in Uganda in 2004 aims at establishing and consolidating all laws relating to child protection and maintenance to be fully enacted. The main reason for ratifying this Act was that Uganda remained one of the main African countries that violate children's rights (Lubandi, *The New Vision* December 4 2006:11).

The Federation of Uganda Employers (FUE) conducted an awareness workshop on 5 July 2005 in Kampala regarding the elimination of child labour in the coffee sector. FUE recommended a number of possible solutions that could reduce the number of children working in coffee plantations. Sustainable increase in the family income of the families of children involved in work was suggested. Affordable school fees to be paid by parents were recommended. With these recommendations, FUE expected a growing awareness among people on how to

combat child labour not only in the coffee sector but also in all areas involved.¹⁸ On May 1 2007, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Ethiopia Together (KURET), an organisation that aims at fighting child labour and its causes in four countries, officially launched a national child labour policy through the government of Uganda. The policy that was passed on November 1 2006 aims at a society free of exploitative child labour, in which all working children enjoy their right to childhood, education, dignity and the full development of their potential (*Monitor* May 1 2007: 3).

2.1.6.2.1.4 Prevention of child prostitution: policy responses

In 1990, the CRC was recognised in West Africa, and countries ratified the Convention. West African countries like Nigeria universalised a childhood model which defined the responsibilities of a child as being play and school attendance. Article 1 of CRC defined a child as anyone below 18 years of age and Article 3 protects children from being exploited through work. A number of suggestions concerning child trafficking in West Africa were made in 1998 with the help of UNICEF. Child prostitution as a form of child trafficking was considered to need attention. The 1964 Convention on consent to marriage, minimum age of marriage and registration to marriage, was ratified purposely to protect children from forced marriage. The Convention states that a marriage shall not be considered legal without full consent of both parties. It was hoped that child marriage and prostitution would decrease (Louis 2002:46-47). Interventions regarding the reduction and possible protection of children from sexual exploitation continue to be ratified worldwide. The UN Convention on the rights of the Child Articles 34 and 39 try to promote the protection of children by government through extending measures that promote recovery and integration to sexually exploited children (Willis and Levy 2002:1418).

¹⁸ Federation of Uganda Employers. (2003). Accessed February 16, 2007, from <http://www.employers.co.ug/news15.php>

Many Interventions aimed to enforce and criticise the sex trade have been enforced at a minimal level in order to bring the attention of governments to addressing the issue of child sexual exploitation with more concern. Health professionals must be strong, as well as having strategies aimed at reinitiating children in schools for basic education and vocational training. The organisation called End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of children for sexual purposes (ECPAT) has put in a lot of effort to assist health practitioners in providing courses that help with successful training programmes. These programmes include vocational training and psychosocial therapy (Willis and Levy 2002:1420-1421). In 2004, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) was one of the organisations in Bolivia that helped to ratify the Inter-American Convention on International Trafficking in Minors. This Convention aimed at protecting children from being trafficked to countries like America. Children who would end up in debt bondage were also protected by the Convention. Although children have been banned from seeking employment in other countries, poverty will still remain prevalent among the people of Bolivia, which puts the children in a worse situation of exploitation and abuse in their own country (Tanja 2005:62).

Bonded child labour, which includes debt bondage, has caused many of the world's children to lose the right to be a child. Conventions to try and protect vulnerable children have been ratified worldwide. India, the highest country in the world experiencing bonded child labour, legally complied with a number of Conventions to protect its children, with the help of ILO. The Forced Labour Convention 1930 suppresses the use of forced and compulsory labour and protects the children on the part of the family, society and state. Article 23 of the Constitution of India prohibits the practice of debt bondage and any other forms of slavery both modern and ancient. Article 24 of the same constitution prohibits children below 14 years from being employed in any factory or mine, or engaging in any hazardous employment (Tucker 1997:17-20).

2.1.6.2.1.5 Legislation to prevent child trafficking

Gabon, Nigeria, Benin and Cote d'Ivoire are some of the West African countries that have decided to initiate programmes to prevent trafficking in children. In 2002, Gabon provided a shelter, protective services, legal and medical assistance to trafficked returnees. The aim was to reintegrate them into society. Togo also proposed using the anti-trafficking provision under the UN Trafficking protocol which provides a 5-10-year prison sentence to anyone found harbouring a child for the purposes of sexual, forced labour or slavery (*Human Rights Watch* 2003a: 40-41).

The Pan African employers' confederation in Uganda remarks that Uganda does not have a tangible and clearly defined written policy that protects the vulnerable child from employment. Fortunately, Uganda has ratified a number of treaties related to the welfare of children and child labour; these include the UN Convention on the Right of the Child (1989) and the OAU charter on the Rights of the Child (1991). The Ugandan government has also ratified the key ILO Convention No 138 (1973) on minimum age admission to employment, and the ILO Convention No 182 (1999) on the forms of child labour.¹⁹ The Ugandan government has also ratified the ILO Convention NO 29 and the ILO Convention No 105 on issues concerning child labour. Both conventions relate to the abolition of forced labour, which includes prison labour, a serious problem that Uganda's children face. Although information on prison labour is not easily accessible, it is known that females are used to make handicrafts for sale, but their profits are not given back.²⁰

¹⁹ Convention 182. Convention concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. Accessed October 18, 2006, from <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc87/com-chic.htm>

²⁰ Human Rights Watch (2002). Tainted harvest: Child labour and obstacles to organizing on Ecuador's banana plantations. Accessed February 16, 2007, <http://hrw.org/reports/2002/ecuador/ecuad0402-04.htm#TopOfPage>

2.1.6.2.1.6 Legislation and children working in commercial agriculture

Although Uganda has ratified some conventions to prevent children working in the agricultural sector, more conventions need to be ratified in order to protect the children. The ILO Conventions 184, 110 and 141 as described below need to be ratified. ILO Convention 184, Safety and Health in Agriculture Convention, 2001 ensures that there are appropriate systems in place to inspect agricultural workplaces. The aim of the inspection is to ensure that all workers, both permanent and seasonal, work in safe environments and are all above 18 years of age. ILO Convention 110, Plantation Convention, 1958 spells out conditions of employment for workers. The Convention provides that member states ensure that workers are paid their due wages, as well as their right to weekends and public holidays. The freedom of association, medical care and housing of workers are also recognised. The rural workers Convention 141 of 1975 gives rural workers who are either self-employed or wage earners a right to join any organisation of their choice without authorisation of a superior. Persons below 18 years of age are not mentioned in detail in the above conventions. The researcher therefore urges the government of Uganda to try and ratify conventions that protect all persons, especially those below 18 years of age, as a starting point in eliminating child labour in the agricultural sector.

Although the government of Uganda has not yet ratified ILO Conventions 184, 110 and 141, a number of policies have been adopted to try and eliminate child labour in commercial agriculture. The Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), the Social Development Sector Investment Plan (SDIP), Orphans and Vulnerable Children Policy and the Gender Policy are some of the policies the government of Uganda has put in place to fight the use of children in the labour force. The PEAP is a guide towards a modernised economy by 2017 and is based on transforming the economy through private investment and industrialisation. The

SDIP aims at making a difference in the lives of the poor by promoting their participation towards a high rate of economic, social, cultural and civic rights, as well as improving the livelihoods of people in Uganda. The National Orphans and other vulnerable children Policy through the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development recognises and contributes to the improvement of the quality of life of children under exploitative conditions of labour such as armed conflict. The guiding principles of the above-named include focusing on vulnerable children in communities, trying to ensure that human rights among communities are recognised, and ensuring that vulnerable children and their families are involved in strengthening partnerships that focus on reducing community discrimination and stigmatisation (ILO/IPEC 2004e: 21-30).

2.1.6.3 Outcomes of legislation enforcement

ILO's new report shows that there is a considerable decline of child labour worldwide. According to the report, Latin America and the Caribbean have noticed a 5% decline of children working since 2002. Brazil's 5-9-year-old child labourers have decreased by 61% from 1992-2004, and those of 10-17 years have dropped to 36%. Mexico, Asia and the Pacific have noticed a decline in child labourers after the ratification of a number of legislations.²¹ In America in 2003, a number of arrests were made and 543 prostitutes were taken in for questioning. The prostitutes said they started work on the streets at the age of 14 years, forced by a gentleman called Spears. A 14-member task force investigated, and confirmed that Spears travelled with children as young as 12 years to different states, forcing them to have sex with people for money. Over 800 000 children were tracked down dealing with the problem of sex exploitation.

The government of Chicago has set the sentence for sex trafficking at life imprisonment because innocent children were being psychologically tortured

²¹ . Human Rights Watch (2002). Tainted Harvest: specific recommendations on child labour and obstacles on Ecuador's banana plantations. Accessed March 3, 2007, <http://hrw.org/reports/2002/ecuador/ecuad0402-08.htm#TopOfPage>

(*USA Today* July 2006:1-2). In America, (Cullen 1999: 6) reports the use of mechanisms to enforce and promote human rights, especially core labour standards, in 1983. Laws instituting trade mechanisms were implemented in a number of countries to enforce labour standards like the minimum age legislation. Implementing the laws has encouraged respect for core labour standards, disqualifying countries that do not respect minimum-age rules. Social labelling was encouraged, whereby rugs that guarantee a product free of forced child labour are labelled for the protection of child workers.

Enforcement of legislation remains a challenge in the world despite the ratification of a number of conventions and enactment of a number of legislations to protect vulnerable children. These Acts and their enforcement do not satisfactorily protect children, and the actual system for enforcing the legislation is rather weak in countries which include Kenya, Malawi and Uganda. Although a number of laws have been ratified regarding child employment, Uganda has not clearly defined a law protecting child domestic workers. For example, the Workers Compensation Act that compensates all employees who may be injured during working hours does not include child domestic workers (SODECO 2002:8). Kenya's government has failed to cover children working in commercial plantations under any collective agreements between trade unions. Children below 15 years are therefore exploited most in the agricultural sector of Kenya. Malawi's government also lacks a clear policy to try and protect children working in commercial agriculture, so child labour is prevalent, and hours worked by children are noticed to be increasing each time (ILO Geneva 1999:13-14).

The researcher found that many children are aware of the existence of the child labour legislation but are not aware of its importance. The human rights activists are supposed to enlighten the community on child labour and child abuse through sensitisation programmes and seminars. Although they clearly talk about and emphasise the prevention of child labour, they should try to implement their theories in a practical way.

The researcher therefore points out that, although all the above variables that include poverty, social and cultural setup, technological advancement and HIV and AIDS are supposed to lead to the reduction of child labour, the way of their application has instead increased child labour in Uganda.

2.1.7 Articles of the convention on the Rights of the Child

The Convention was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 20 November 1989 and came into force on September 2 1990 in Sudan and Uganda. (See Appendix 1 for details).

CONVENTION CONCERNING THE PROHIBITION AND IMMEDIATE ACTION FOR THE ELIMINATION OF THE FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR

Convention 182

Convention 182 is usually called the worst form of child labour Convention, 2000. Over 132 countries had ratified the Convention by October 2002. (See Appendix 2 for details).

Recommendation concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the forms of child labour.

Adopted in the 87th Geneva session 17 June 1999, recommendation 190 outlines the removal of children from hazardous work. (See Appendix 3 for details)

2.2 Conclusion

This chapter has identified the different causes of child labour. It has described the different preventive interventions and policy responses that different countries

around the world have initiated to try and reduce the prevalence of child labour in different sectors.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe the methodological approaches/meta-theory to the study. The different research methods used to collect and critically analyse data are described in detail in this section. The chapter further discusses the population and the sample chosen. In addition, the ethical considerations as well as the limitations of the research are discussed and explained. The chapter further describes the pilot study and how it was undertaken, as well as the steps taken to ensure that the respondents were treated in the correct ethical manner.

3.2 Methodological approaches or meta-theory

3.2.1 Interpretivism meta-theoretical approach

The methodological approach or meta-theory identified for this research design was the interpretivism method theory. Interpretivism means the viewing of cultures by studying people's thoughts, ideas and meanings considered important to them, as well as the way they interact.²² The fact that the research aimed at only describing and understanding identified social situations is the reason for the interpretivism methodological approach. Attempting to interpret but not explain or predict the human behaviour and perspective among respondents gives the approach its characteristic to collect information. Information was collected about what the respondents experienced, understood and interpreted in relation to the study topic.²³

²² Interpretivism. (2008). Accessed May 23, 2008, from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interpretivism>

²³ Babbie, E and Mouton, J. (2002). *The Practise of Social Research*. OUP, UK.

Interpretivism further describes an interpretation of phenomena related to how respondents perceived, understood, discovered and made sense of their actions and people around them. For the researcher to understand the ways of the respondents, she had to be situated in the social context in which the respondents carried out their daily lives. For this characteristic, the researcher was able to study respondents giving an insight into their behaviours in relation to the study topic, child labour.²⁴

Interpretivism as a qualitative research paradigm or approach enables the discovering of meanings and the gaining of insights by exploring the depth and richness of the phenomenon of child labour. Through phenomenology, qualitative research is able to describe the experiences as they present themselves to consciousness without any assumptions.²⁵ As a qualitative research approach, phenomenology reveals how human awareness is implicated in social situations. The way people participated in the study area and took certain things for granted, in this case the use of children in labour activities and denying them the development of their human resource skills, showed how phenomenology was vital in this study.²⁶ Through the qualitative research paradigm, the ability to learn what respondents thought about and acted upon when faced with particular experiences in relation to the study topic, was explored. The perceptions of respondents and their interpretations of the study topic were explored as well.

3.3 Research approach or research design

Different types of research, namely descriptive and analytical research, were used for the study. The main aim of using these types of research was to be able to investigate, understand and make practical recommendations about the study

²⁴ Interpretivism (Social Science). (2008). Accessed May 23, 2008, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interpretivism_%28social_science%29

²⁵ James, Neil. (2008). Analysis of professional literature class 6: Qualitative Research 1. Accessed May 24, 2008, from <http://wilderdom.com/OEcourses/PROFLIT/Class6Qualitative1.htm>

²⁶ Myran, Orleans. (2008). Phenomenology. Accessed May 24, 2008, from <http://hss.fullerton.edu/sociology/orleans/phenomenology.htm>

topic, which is a critical analysis of child labour and human resource development in Uganda. The descriptive and analytical types of research were a measure of status rather than a form of prediction, which means that they only reported what, was on ground.²⁷

The **applied approach** was adopted for the study to be able to give the researcher a basis on which to recommend a solution to the identified problem. The recommendations could be adapted by the government of Uganda, various development organisations and NGOs for positive change. The **descriptive design and approach** was also used for the study to be able to extract as much detailed information as possible from respondents. For the researcher to collect information in detail, she had to develop good communication and an understanding with the respondents.²⁸

- Descriptive research

The descriptive type of research is explained by Reaves (1992:8) as the type that reports only what is on the ground, and does not change or attempt to predict anything. Descriptive research was therefore used to observe and discuss the nature of child labour in the study area. According to Reaves (1992:9), Sommer, Estabrook and Horobin (1988) claimed that descriptive research aims only at giving the true picture of what the area of study, in this case Masindi, is like.²⁹ Descriptive research therefore seeks to describe the current or past situations accurately and address problems related to the topic.³⁰

Descriptive research in the current research involved collecting quantitative and qualitative information, which described the patterns of interaction in the study area. Descriptive research therefore enabled the researcher to explain the

²⁷ Descriptive research. (2007). Accessed February 10, 2008, from http://www.cwu.edu/~jefferis/PEHL557/pehl557_descript.html

²⁸ Laws, S., Harper, C., and Marcus, R. (2003). *Research for Development*. Sage. London

²⁹ Allison S. (2004). Accessed February 13, 2008, from http://sitemaker.umich.edu/allison.caruthers/files/caruthers_sample_course_materials_um.pdf

³⁰ UCD Centre for Teaching and Learning. (2008). Accessed April 23, 2008, from http://www.ucd.ie/teaching/t&lresearchMethodologies_sub/descriptive_research.html

attitudes and life experiences of leaders, parents and their children towards child labour.

- Analytical research

Analytical research is the type of research that takes descriptive research a step further by trying to explain the reasons why certain occurrences take place. Analytical research helped the researcher find out a number of factors and reasons why child labour is prevalent. The factors that could have accounted for the high dropout rates of children from schools in the study area were identified.³¹ Analytical research uses evidence collected using descriptive research, to analyse a number of facets of an issue, in this case, child labour issues in the study area. In order to understand a problem like child labour, analytical research helped to break down the root causes of the problem, and enabled the researcher to understand the causes to make sense of the topic. At this stage the researcher carried out research with an open mind, not being able to make any kind of conclusions.³²

3.3.1 Using the Qualitative and Quantitative research approaches

The methods that were chosen to investigate the issue of child labour were both qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative approach helped the researcher gather data from the participants, who were child labourers, their parents or farmers (the terms are used interchangeably) and community leaders, and the necessary interpretations from the collected data were made. The quantitative approach was used to quantify the results obtained from the data, to come up with conclusions and recommendations. A combination of both the qualitative and quantitative methods was recommended by a number of scholars such as Bryman (2001:175) and Ragin (1994: 92), and the methods are discussed below.

³¹ UCD Centre for Teaching and Learning. (2008). Accessed April 23, 2008, from http://www.ucd.ie/teaching/t&lresearchMethodologies_sub/analytical_research.html

³² Writing a research paper. (2008). Accessed April 22, 2008, from <http://owl.english.purdue.edu/workshops/hypertext/ResearchW/types.html>

3.3.1.1 Qualitative research

Qualitative research is defined as a multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the subject matter, meaning that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the use and collection of a variety of personal experiences, life histories, interviews, observations, case studies, and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in people's lives (Lincoln 1994:2). Some researchers consider qualitative research as narrative-orientated study whose goal is to generate hypotheses to be tested quantitatively (Bryman 2001:168). Glesne and Peshkin (1992:1) state that qualitative research uses context analysis methods on selected areas of the context being studied, making sense of personal stories and the ways in which they interact. Qualitative research also provides the opportunity to develop a descriptive understanding of individuals' attitudes, perceptions, beliefs and motivations (Bryman 1989:137).

Qualitative research was adopted to describe and ensure an understanding of human behaviour in a social and natural setting. The researcher was able to study, understand and learn the reasons why people in the study area behaved the way they did.

3.3.1.2 Quantitative research

Quantitative research is defined as research with the aim of helping the understanding of social actions in terms of specific contexts, rather than generalising about a theoretical population. It is therefore the kind of research that helps to explain, predict, control and make conclusions about a research topic (Babbie and Mouton 2001:3). Quantitative research is the data-analysing method that was used to explain the different responses given by the community

under study. Quantitative research was used to study a sample of the respondents who were involved in child labour in the study area, as shown in Table 3a below. The characteristic of being able to statistically analyse, summarise and record data gave the researcher sound reason to use quantitative research.

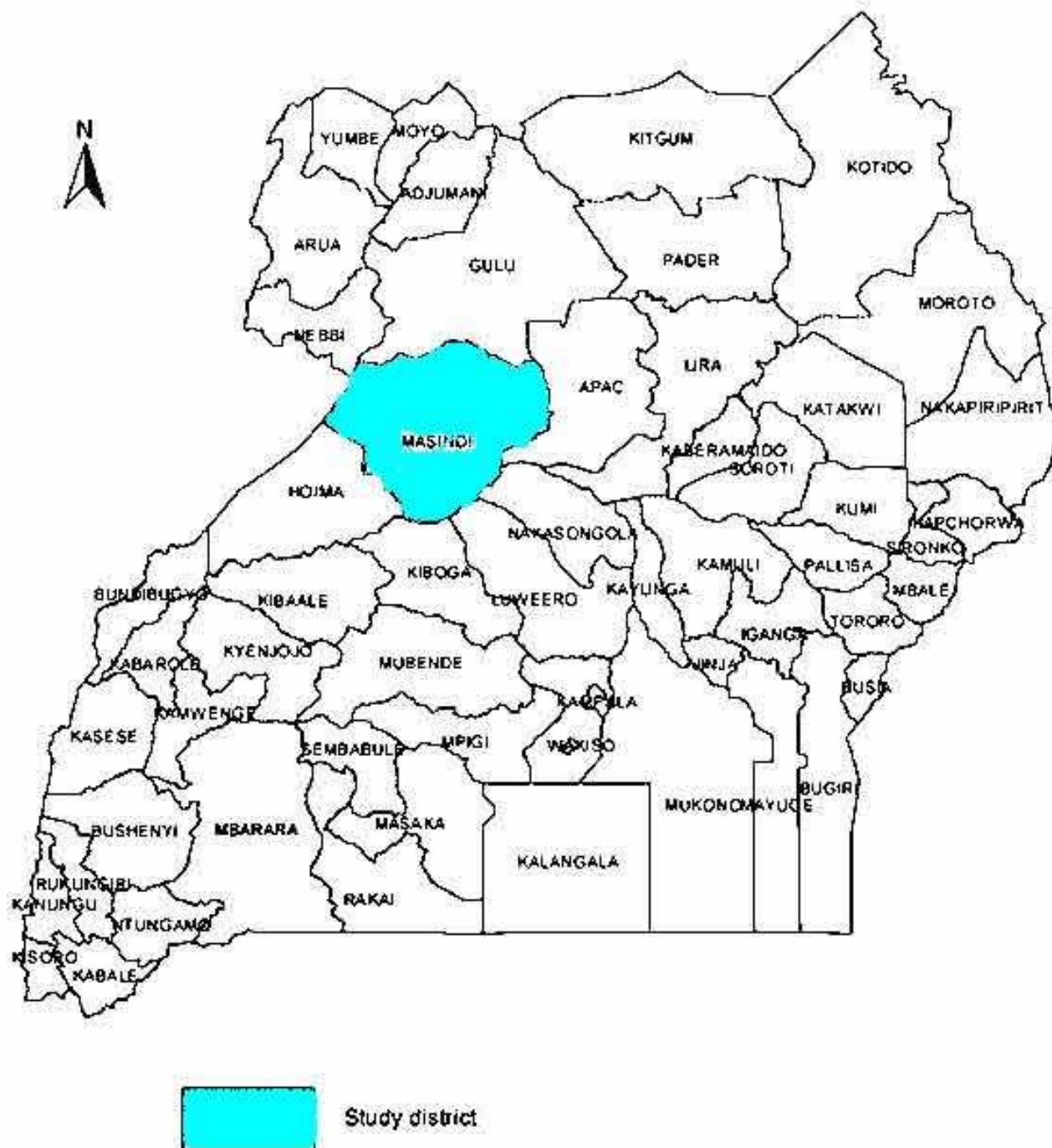
Reaves (1992: 16) and Denscombe (2003: 236-238) state that findings can be presented in the form of graphs and tables to make sense of the research objective. Interpreting the findings of the research was done using nominal and discrete data by counting and placing responses into categories. In the study area, parents, their children and community leaders were categorised differently, based on their group. Discrete data was used in counting the number of respondents belonging to each group of parents, children or community leaders as whole numbers of 1, 2, 3 and so on.

3.4 Population and sampling

The following section will describe the area of study, illustrated by a map, which is shown below in Figure 3a. The section further describes the area, the population under study and the methods used by the researcher to decide on the particular area and the respondents used for the study. The process through which the area under study, as well as the respondents were chosen, is also described.

Figure 3a: Map of Uganda showing the study area

MAP OF UGANDA SHOWING STUDY DISTRICT



Source: <http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/005/AC912E/ac912e03.htm#TopOfPage>

3.4.1 Population

Masindi District, one of the tobacco-growing districts in mid-western Uganda, was chosen as the area of study. With a total area of 9 326 square kilometres, Masindi District is endowed with a number of tribes from other parts of Uganda, Rwanda, Congo, Kenya and Sudan, who are permanently settled there. Budongo Sub County in Masindi, comprising three parishes Nyabyeya, Nyantonzi and Kasongore, was chosen for the study.

At the time of the study, the population of Budongo Sub County contained 14 168 males and 12 480 females. For the study, child labourers, parents and community leaders were used. The child labourers were used because they were the people experiencing hazardous work at a young age.³³ Parents of child labourers who might also be farmers were included in the study. Parents are one of the main influences of child labour, and poverty is a factor that influences them to send their children out to work. Community leaders were used because their participation in reducing child labour is essential through enforcing legislation against child labour and making residents more aware of community development.

The children and parents depend on the savings of household members, so this helped the researcher to define the population of child labourers and their parents as consisting of households. The population of community leaders as enforcing elements of the legislation against child labour was defined as that of individuals, because different community leaders have different roles to play in the field of child labour. The general population defined for the study therefore consists of both households and individuals (Sudman 1976:11-12). The type of population used for the study and the reasons why the particular respondents were chosen has been explained. After identifying the population, the researcher was able to identify the sample for the study, which is described below.

³³ Masindi district profile. Accessed October 25, 2006, from <http://www.ugandadish.org/masindi.doc>

3.4.2 Sampling frame and techniques

3.4.2.1 Sampling frame

Masindi District was chosen from other tobacco-growing areas in Uganda because it is easily accessible in terms of infrastructure and geographical location in comparison to others. Unlike many rural areas in Uganda, Masindi's mode of communication is fairly good, and one can use a phone and Internet services. Budongo Sub County under Bujenje County in Masindi District was chosen as the area of study because it is very involved in growing tobacco and it is also rural. Budongo also had high poverty levels and a high incidence of child labour at the time the study was undertaken.

According to an ECLT survey done in 2002 reported by Vision Eastern Africa December 2003, children in Masindi worked on the tobacco farms instead of attending school. In Masindi, the high number of children missing out on acquiring education and dropping out of school was due to the poverty that drives children to work. Even though the free Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme was introduced and Masindi had 210 primary schools, of which 182 were government-aided, 37 secondary schools and 6 tertiary institutions, children, especially girls, dropped out of school to go into child labour practices.³⁴

Masindi was also chosen because the technological advancement in the area was low. Child labourers and farmers reported that the machines used for farming activities were mainly hoes. The researcher chose Masindi as the area for study because the respondents were not aware of in-depth information on human rights, so they were involved in child labour activities out of ignorance. The prevalence of HIV and AIDS as one of the major causes of child labour was another reason why Masindi was chosen for the study.

³⁴Masindi district profile. Accessed October 25, 2006, from <http://www.ugandadish.org/masindi.doc>

3.4.2.2 Sampling technique

Purposive sampling was used to select Masindi District, and stratified sampling was used in selecting the area of study as Budongo Sub County. Sampling at this point required subdividing the area into sub-units or subdivisions. These sub-units were those of individuals and those of households, and identifying these sub-units helped to give the researcher a clear definition of the research, as suggested by Thomas and Gordon (1970:95). The researcher created a list of all households of Budongo Sub County in the parishes of Kasongoire, Nyabyeya and Nyantozi, as suggested by De Vaus (1986:59), and chose them using the simple random sampling method. Parents, leaders and child labourers were purposively chosen because purposive sampling was less time-consuming and helped the researcher use as few resources as possible.

3.4.2.3 Sample size

The researcher selected a total of 225 respondents who included child labourers, their parents and community leaders, and the variance in population was illustrated (see Table 3a) as described by Pamela and Robert (1995:70). Nardi (2006:116) suggests that equal numbers of respondents in relation to sex should be chosen from each household for the study despite the fact that it could be possible that there would be more females than males and vice versa in any household. One male and one female parent or guardian was chosen for the study. Households in Kasongoire, Nyabyeya and Nyantozi parishes were polygamous and contained a large number of children, all of whom might be involved in child labour. People in the study area lived as extended and polygamous families. Children were therefore present in large numbers. The number of children taking part in the study was greater than the number of parents and leaders.

David remarks in his book *Surveys in Social Research* (1995:74) that a sample selected for a study to represent the proportion of the rest of a bigger group should be in the same proportion as that of the population. The child labourers, who were the primary respondents of the study, were chosen from a population of 10 households. A minimum of 5 children per household for each of the three parishes under study were chosen. Fifty children from each parish and a total of 150 children were used for the whole study.

The parents of the child labourers, who were known to be one of the main influences on child labour, were also chosen from a population of 10 households and a minimum of 2 parents per household for each of the 3 parishes under study were identified. Twenty parents from each parish and two from each household were chosen, taking one male and one female household representative even if it was possible that one household had more than one parent of either sex. A total of 60 parents were used for the whole study. Local council leaders or chiefs were another group of respondents that took part in the study. The leaders that were chosen were able to participate in the study because the researcher thought their job descriptions would fit the aim of the study. Leaders in charge of child affairs were chosen to participate, as well as leaders in charge of youth affairs. A maximum of 5 leaders per parish were chosen and a total of 15 leaders participated in the study.

Nyabyeya had a population of 222 respondents, from whom 100 respondents were selected. Nyantonzi had a population of 111 respondents, 50 of whom were selected for the data collection exercise, and Kasongoire had 167 respondents, 75 of whom were selected by simple random sampling. The total population of respondents was 500 but 225 were selected for the study Table 3a below summarises the number of respondents who participated in the study, and Table 3b summarises the sampling process that was used for the study.

Table 3.a: Respondents participating in the study

Stratum	Population	Sample size
Nyabyeya	222	100
Nyantanzi	111	50
Kasongoire	167	75
Total	500	225

Table 3.b: Diagrammatic format of sample size and selection process for the study area

SAMPLE SELECTION

		Number needed for one parish	Number needed for three parishes
	Population	10 households	30 households
SAMPLE SIZE	Sample	5 children per household totalling 50 children per parish	150 children
		2 parents per household totalling 20 parents per parish	60 parents
		5 community leaders per parish	15 leaders

3.5 Research tools

To be able to collect data qualitatively, the researcher needs tools that help one to collect relevant information. Both primary and secondary data were collected for the study. In order to strengthen the findings, secondary data was also

collected from various organisations such as Human Rights Initiative Uganda (HRI), International Labour Organisation (ILO), Save the Children UK, and the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD).

The data-collection tools used included questionnaires, interviews and a tape-recorder. The researcher set the questionnaires using both open-ended and close-ended questions. The questionnaires were both structured and semi-structured, and were self-administered to 225 respondents to be filled out. The researcher collected data on sensitive issues as confirmed by Floyd (2002:75).

The respondents were residents of Masindi District in Budongo Sub County and they included child labourers, their parents and community leaders who were selected from three parishes, Nyabyeya, Nyantonzi and Kasongoire. A maximum of 75 respondents per parish were chosen to fill out the questionnaires.

Group interviews were used to collect data from the respondents as well. To be able to capture as much information as possible, a tape-recorder was used. Being able to air their views gave the respondents a feeling of belonging and being a part of the development of their respective parishes.

3.6 Data management

Data management involved collecting data using questionnaires, and verifying it to see if all respondents filled out and returned all the questionnaires. Data files were thereafter made and the data checked for accuracy and reliability, and to see if the data was realistic with regard to the objectives of the study. Data was then entered using the Epi-Data software, documented, and later exported to SPSS and Excel.

3.7 Data analysis procedure

Data was coded and analysed using Epi-Data and SPSS software. Frequency distributions of variables were run and cross tabulations done in order to find associations between variables. For some responses, a separate variable for

each category of the question was created, using the coding multiple response method. The different responses that the respondents gave were categorised into two or more separate variables. One variable, for example, coded the negative responses and the other variable positive responses. The total number of each category was coded according to the respective variables for both open-ended and close-ended responses as supported by De Vaus (1995:153-154).³⁵ Findings were presented in the form of graphs, tables and pie charts, to make sense of the research objective, as suggested by Reaves (1992:16) and Descombe (2003: 236-238). Interpreting the findings of the research was done using the nominal and discrete data by counting and placing things in categories.

3.8 Pilot study

Baker (2005: 182-183) defines a “pilot study” as a trial or pre-test of a particular instrument of research. Polit et al. (2001: 467) refer to a pilot study as a feasibility study done on a small scale in preparation for the main research. For the pilot study, a small number of people who were not part of the selected group were given the questionnaires to fill out. The main aim of the exercise was to test if all questions could be easily understood and answered by respondents. The length of time taken to fill out the questionnaires was noted, as Punch (2003: 33-35) suggested. Questionnaires were composed, improved upon and tried out a number of times until the researcher was certain that they could accomplish the aim of extracting as much information as possible from respondents, as suggested by Oppenheim (1992: 47).

3.9 Ethical considerations

In order to ensure that the findings of the research were valid and ethical, the researcher made sure the following were considered.

1. A written letter was sent to the respondents explaining the aims and objectives of the study. The main aim of the letter was to introduce the researcher to the respondents, explaining where she came from and the

³⁵ De Vaus, D. (1995). *Surveys in Social Research* 5th ed. Routledge London and New York

reason why the respondents should willingly respond to her. The letter further pointed out the primary objectives of the study, emphasising that the research was being done only for study purposes.

2. The researcher had the full consent of the local council leaders or chiefs as well as other respondents, permitting her to carry out research in the area. The consent was in the form of a letter, a copy of which each leader received from the sub county chief. The Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) of Masindi District, the Local Council II chairperson of Budongo Sub County and the Local Council III chairperson Budongo Sub County were the leaders who received a copy of the letter. The letter was addressed to the researcher, confirming permission to carry out the research in the sub county and indicating the relevant areas for the study, namely Nyabyeya, Nyantonzi and Kasongire.
3. To gain the trust and confidence of the respondents, the researcher visited each of the three parishes to explain the aims and objectives of the research with the permission of the Budongo Sub County chief prior to the data collection process. The aim of the visit was to explain to each of the selected households and local leaders what the study was about. The dates for data collection were then communicated to all respondents, and reconfirmation by respondents to be present for the study was obtained.
4. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, the researcher promised the respondents both verbally and in writing that their names were not to be asked or written down for any purpose during the data collection exercise. A letter to confirm the anonymity and confidentiality of respondents was therefore attached to each of the questionnaires handed out.
5. To avoid deception that could cause people to believe what was not true, the researcher ensured the presence of a qualified social worker at all times during the course of the interviews. The results of the data collection exercise would be available to any interested respondents to look through to confirm that the results were true and not forged in any way.
6. Any government official or interested party was free to use any information from the researcher by getting contact details of the researcher from the

Budongo Sub County chief. Information was available in case there were questions that needed to be clarified after reading through the report that was left at the offices of Budongo Sub County.

Mcneill (2005: 14) sums up, saying that the researcher should handle issues concerning ethics carefully, because without the trust and co-operation of the respondents, the researcher might find it hard to ensure validity of data collected and might not know the true feelings of the respondents.

3.10 Limitations and problems of doing research in Africa

When doing research in any field, a researcher is expected to have information in a number of areas concerning the country. In the case of the present study, political conditions had to be taken into consideration, and it needed patience, tact and persuasiveness to be able to carry out research in Masindi. The researcher was prepared for misunderstandings and was able to deal with them as the study was being carried out. When the respondents were first approached, they thought the researcher was a spy tracking their movements. It was not until she presented an identification card and an introductory letter from the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) that the respondents welcomed her and acted in a positive way.

Cultural factors which include gender relations and the ability of certain groups to participate in research processes were kept in mind, as Pratt and Loizos (1992:13-17) suggest. The area under study contained different ethnic groups, some of which could not permit females to participate in the study. The researcher was left with no option but to follow the different cultural rules to be able to collect data. The cultural constraints made it impossible to get an equal number of males and females to participate in the study. If a male filled out a questionnaire, a female was not allowed to do the same, so the information about some households was one-sided. In addition to cultural norms, the respondents

could not work with the researcher because of her dress code. According to the culture of respondents, females do not address people in a public gathering wearing trousers, but are only listened to when wearing long skirts and shirts or blouses with sleeves. The researcher therefore had to dress according to the conditions dictated by the culture in the study area.

The researcher encountered a problem of trustworthiness among respondents in that some of the parents who filled out the questionnaires were not as truthful and as honest as expected when certain questions were being answered. For example, when asked if all the children living under their roof were in school on a full-time basis, some parents responded that all their children attended school every day. When the children from the same household were asked the same question, most of them said they did not attend school on a daily basis, as they had to work on family farms. This showed that parents knew that child labour is bad, but they intentionally ignored the dangers it caused to the lives of their children.

Although parents, child labourers and leaders had an idea of what child labour is, they could not differentiate between child labour and child work. Explaining to parents that child labour is not good for the health of a child, made the parents think that they were being discouraged from involving their children in child work. Parents then thought that they were not supposed to let their children carry out regulated and supervised activities. Ignorance about the subject forced the researcher to differentiate between child labour and child work before respondents could fill out the questionnaires. This shows that the government of Uganda has a lot of work to do in terms of sensitising people in rural areas to the difference between child labour and child work.

The fact that respondents expected a reward for filling out questionnaires was another problem. Although the researcher found it unethical to pay for information, every single respondent expected and was given remuneration in

form of a small snack and a soft drink in exchange for information given. The researcher initially told the respondents that they should not expect any form of payment for information given, and respondents were hesitant. They only welcomed the researcher once they knew they would get some form of payment for the information, but they were very unenthusiastic about filling in questionnaires. Researchers should therefore consider the fact that information in some areas of Africa may not be given if respondents are told prior to the data collection exercise that they will not get a compensation for information given. Kjell. E, and Rae. R, (1992:201) believe that respondents should be told in advance whether compensation is offered or not, to avoid hesitation in giving information to the researcher. The attitude in the African setting shows that information is acquired at a price.

Although the respondents expected a reward, the researcher noticed that the reward was expected only during the first visit to the study area. The respondents invited and welcomed the researcher on other visits, because they wanted her to talk more about child labour. The researcher concluded that this showed that they had very little or no information on the topic and were willing to learn. The researcher urges the government of Uganda to increase the awareness levels of respondents regarding child labour, by carrying out as many sensitisation programmes as possible in the area.

The researcher also had to travel long distances, enduring the poor infrastructure, to be able to get to the respondents. Some of the roads leading to the study area were not accessible by car so she had to hire a bicycle to get to the respondents. Travelling a distance of over 500 miles to carry out the data-collection exercise was tiring, and the fact that the roads were at times very dry and dusty or very wet and slippery prolonged the period of time needed to carry out the study.

Apart from such illnesses as influenza and a cough from travelling on dusty roads, the researcher also faced the possibility of being infected with jiggers because of the poor hygiene in some parts of the study area. Jiggers can cause death if not treated early. The researcher had to live in the same conditions as the respondents because there were no hotels in the study area. She was bitten by bed bugs for the nights she spent collecting data. The bed bugs' bites cause a long-lasting irritating itch on the parts of the body affected.

Although respondents were co-operative, the researcher could not stay in the study area for the length of time initially aimed at, which was three weeks, one week for each parish. She had to leave the area after only six days, as an outbreak of Ebola had been detected in districts bordering Masindi. Many residents near the border of Congo and Uganda had died and been buried. *The New Vision* (December 7 2007:1 –2) confirmed that approximately 350 people who had been in contact with Ebola victims were at risk of contracting this viral disease. The researcher therefore could not continue with the research as planned, but decided to ask respondents to fill out questionnaires as soon as possible, and then left the study area.

During the process of carrying out group interviews, the researcher faced the problem of a language barrier. Not all respondents could speak English, so an interpreter had to be hired to create proper communication. If the problems mentioned above are not looked into, the quality of the research report cannot be of a good standard. If the government of Uganda, members of parliament and concerned citizens worked together to try and rectify some of the constraints faced by researchers, for instance poor infrastructure, Uganda would be among the countries that have the potential to develop faster.

3.11 Dissemination of results

The researcher ensured that the findings of the research were left with the local council leaders or chiefs in every parish taking part in the study, for easy access

to any interested respondent. The results of the research report were also submitted to the NMMU examinations office.

3.12 Conclusion

This chapter has described the research methodology of the study and elaborated on the different research methods used to collect data. The various tools used when collecting data have also been discussed. The population used for the study, how it was selected, as well as the criteria and procedure used have been described in detail. In addition, the undertaking of the pilot study, data analysis methods and ethical considerations have been looked into. Dissemination of the results from the study has been explained as well as problems faced when doing the research.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

The study is a pre-intervention assessment of the prevalence levels of child labour, human rights and human-resource development in Masindi district. The study aims at recommending subjective solutions to the continuous dropping out of school of children, ensuring the development of human-resource skills, and increasing community and individual awareness of the important issues relating to child labour practices. In addition, the study aims at preventing child labour practices in the study areas of Masindi district and eventually Uganda.

4.1.1 Location, ethnic composition and demographic characteristics of the study area

Uganda is a land-locked country located in East Africa. Estimates from the 2000 population census state that Uganda has 21 941 400 people in its 77 districts.³⁶ Uganda is favoured by an equatorial climate, making agriculture a suitable activity to practise. More than 3 million households farm on small-scale pieces of land less than 2 hectares wide.³⁷ A number of crops are grown – both food crops such as maize, cassava, sorghum and wheat, and cash crops like tobacco, cotton, coffee and tea. The study is based on tobacco-growing areas in Uganda, which include Apac with an estimated population of 405 522 people, Arua with 413 113, Rukungiri with 308 696, and Masindi district with 405 042 people.³⁸

³⁶ The World Fact Book .(2006, October 17). Accessed October 24, 2006, from <https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ug.htm>

³⁷ FAO Corporate document report: The impact of HIV/AIDS on agricultural production and mainstreaming HIV/AIDS. Originated by Sustainable Development Department. Accessed February 16, 2007, from <http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/005/AC912E/ac912e03.htm#TopOfPage>

³⁸ Wikipedia the free encyclopedia, Districts of Uganda (2006 October 23). Accessed October 25, 2006, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Districts_of_Uganda

Recent estimates by SODECO (2002:8) report a rise in population; Arua has a total of 776 600 people, Apac 532 801 people, and Rukungiri, 507 100 people.

SODECO's recent survey reports Masindi's population to have increased to a total of 469 865 people, of whom 235 199 are males and 234 660 females. The number of households in Masindi was given as 97 706, 90 866 of which 93% of the total population live in rural areas (SODECO 2002:8 and 34). Masindi district, the area of study, is located in mid-western Uganda, with Gulu bordering Masindi in the north, Apac in the east, Nakasongola in the south, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the west. Masindi is an ethnically rich district with 56 ethnic groups. The largest and most dominant tribe comprises the Bagungu, who form 59.9% of the population of the district. The Alur, who are also known as Jon or Aringa, form 5.3% and Baruli form 4.5% of the district's population. Masindi also has a number of tribes from other parts of Uganda, Rwanda, DRC, Kenya and Sudan, who have settled there permanently. Migrants from Rwanda have settled in Kimengo Sub County, those from Kenya in Kiryadongo Sub County, and people from Sudan, the DRC and Zaire, have settled in Mutunda and Budongo Sub Counties. The people who originated from Somali have settled in Kigumba Sub County.

Masindi district comprises a total area of 9 326 square kilometres, of which 8 087 square kilometres is land area, 2 843 square kilometres is wild-life-protected, 1 031 forest reserves, and 814.4 square kilometres under water. Bullisa, Kibanda, Bujenje and Buruli counties make up the Masindi district with, 14 sub counties, 43 parishes, 156 villages and 96 706 households.³⁹ Bujenje, the county under study, comprises 2 sub counties, namely Budongo and Bwijanga Sub Counties. Budongo is made up of 6 parishes, 61 villages and 4 207

³⁹Background and information on Masindi, Kabarole and Hoima districts. Prepared by SCRIP (IFPRI, Kampala) for PRIME-WEST. Pg 1-11, Accessed October 24, 2006, from http://www.foodnet.cgiar.org/SCRIP/docs&databases/scrip_II_outputs2001/pdfs/Masindi,%20Kabarole%20and%20Hoima%20district%20summary.pdf

households. The population of Budongo Sub County comprises 14 168 males and 12 480 females.⁴⁰

4.2 Data collection

Data for this study was collected through the use of questionnaires with both structured and semi-structured questions. All selected respondents were expected to fill out and return the questionnaires to the researcher. The questions included both open- and close-ended questions. Group interviews were used to supplement the questionnaire. The instrument used during the group interviews was the tape-recorder, to help the researcher capture as much data as possible. Substantially relevant information was obtained from both data collection tools.

4.2.1 Data processing, Coding and Analysis

The researcher collected data using three different questionnaires completed by children, parents, and community leaders respectively. The questionnaires contained both closed- and open-ended questions. A total of 225 questionnaires were handed out to be completed and returned to the researcher; all were returned. Processing of the questionnaires began shortly after completion, by the researcher checking for errors in data collection and overall completeness of the questionnaires. The codes, and where applicable, the open-ended responses registered under respective variables in the questionnaire, were then entered using the statistical package Epi-Data, then exported to SPSS 14.

All open-ended questionnaire items were exported to MS Excel for post-coding. The researcher developed a codebook, which she used as a guide to post-code the open-ended questionnaire items. The post-coded items were then posted back into the SPSS dataset for analysis. Data was summarised using

⁴⁰ Masindi district profile. Accessed October 25, 2006, from <http://www.ugandadish.org/masindi.doc>

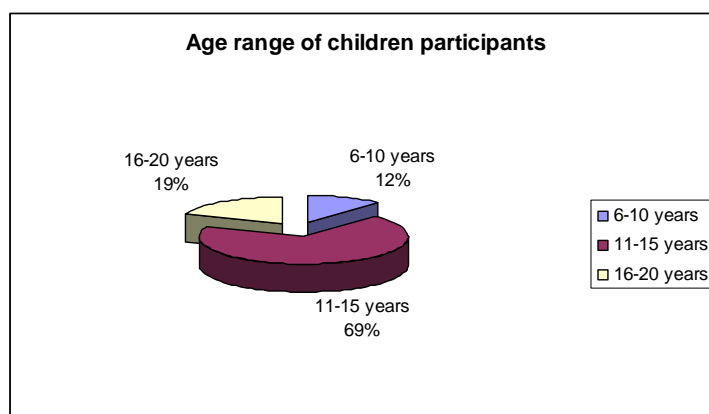
frequencies, and presented in the form of graphs, charts, and tables. The researcher provided a description of discernable findings, and made a comparison across gender, age of participants, and other biographical parameters related to the aim of the study. Specifically, the results were categorised and presented in participant segments, namely children, parents, and community leaders, and underpinned by critical reflection against the research objectives.

4.3 Biographical Data

4.3.1 Children

A total of 152 children participated in the study. Figure 4a depicts the average age of the children. The study showed that 69% of the children were 11-15 years old and 19% were 16-20 years old. Figure 4b below shows that 55% of the children were males and 45% females, confirming that the researcher had tried to balance the gender of respondents.

Figure 4a: Age range of child participants



Nardi (2003:116) states that when choosing respondents for any study, equal numbers of respondents in relation to sex should be chosen despite the fact that males may outnumber females and vice versa. The researcher tried to balance the genders in order to capture different views of both males and females without bias. Davis remarks in his book *Surveys in Social Research* (1995:74) that a

sample selected for a research study to represent the proportion of the rest of the bigger group should be of the same proportion as that of the population. This means that the population of males was greater than that of females in Masindi district, as seen in Figure 4b.

Figure 4b: Sex of child participants

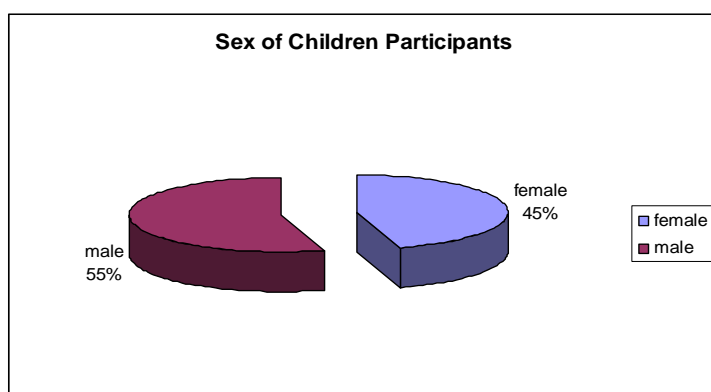


Table 4a below shows the distribution of children who participated in the study by geographical location.

Table 4a: Location where the child stayed

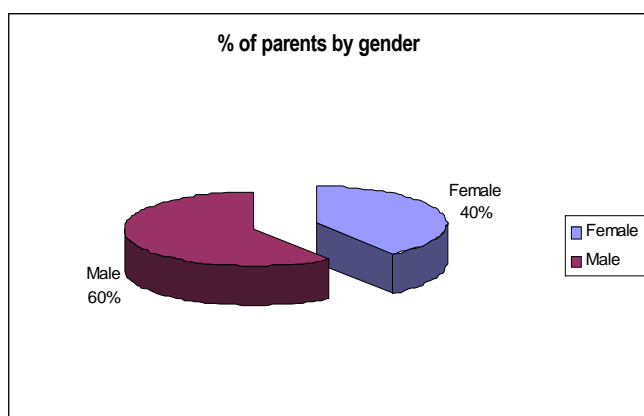
	Frequency	Per cent (%)
Nyantozzi	50	32.9
Nyabyeya	50	32.9
Kasongoire	52	34.2
Total	152	100.0

The researcher tried to use an equal number of respondents from each of the three areas of study, as seen in Table 4a above.

4.3.2 Parents

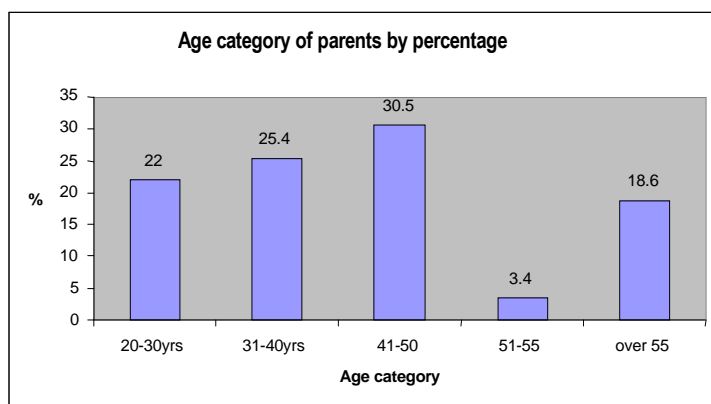
The researcher ensured that in the case of parents, both males and females participated in the study. Sixty per cent of parents were male and 4% female. Figure 4c below is a summary of the percentage of parents according to gender.

Figure 4c: Percentage of parents by gender



As seen in Graph 4a, 22% of the parents were 20-30 years old, 2.5% were 31-40 years, and 30.5% were 41-50 years old. Parents who were 51-55 years constituted 3.4% and over 55 years 18.6%. Graph 4a below shows that most (78%) of the parents who participated in this study were below the age of 50.

Graph 4a: Age category of parents by percentage



The largest number of parents fell into the age category of 41-50 years. These parents were elderly and could not perform as fast as they used to when they were younger. The parents therefore included their children in their work to balance the output and be able to measure up as before. Togunde and Newman (2005:5-13) report that 90% of most parents above 40 years in Nigeria admitted that children's work helped to improve the financial status of the home, while 60% of their children confirmed that their earnings were for catering for family needs, a crucial part of household survival. The study found that as parents grow older, they tend to work more slowly, thus encouraging their children to work and supplement their income.

The findings showed that out of the 60 participating parents, 24 were living together and 36 were single parents. Of the 24 parents living together, 15 had children who were involved in child labour activities, while 9 of the parents fully catered for the needs of their children. Of the 36 single parents, 30 had their children involved in child labour activities, while 6 of the single parents took full responsibility for their children. During the group interviews, it was noted that the children living with single parents tended to be more involved in child labour activities for the following reasons:

- a) Lack of all basic needs
- b) Lack of parental control
- c) Parents leaving children alone and unattended while in bars either drinking alcohol or being engaged in prostitution.

ILO/IPEC June (2004a:19) adds and reinforces the fact that children who live with one parent, especially those with mothers, had a higher participation level in work in comparison with those who lived with both parents. Children who were living with one parent dropped out of school more often and earlier than those living with both parents.

4.4 Research Findings

The researcher analysed the information received from the group interviews, using narrative analysis for stories, recounting, opinions, attitudes, activities and experiences of respondents. The data was analysed according to the themes, in line with the research objectives. The themes as discussed in detail below include:

- Poverty and its impact on child labour
- Uganda's education system and its effect on child development
- The role of the social and cultural structure on the prevalence of child labour
- The effect of HIV and AIDS on the community and child labour
- The impact of technological advancement on child labour
- The effect and the role of human rights activists on child labour.

4.4.1 Theme 1: Poverty and its impact on child labour

The following were the responses as participants considered Theme 1, which have been presented collectively below.

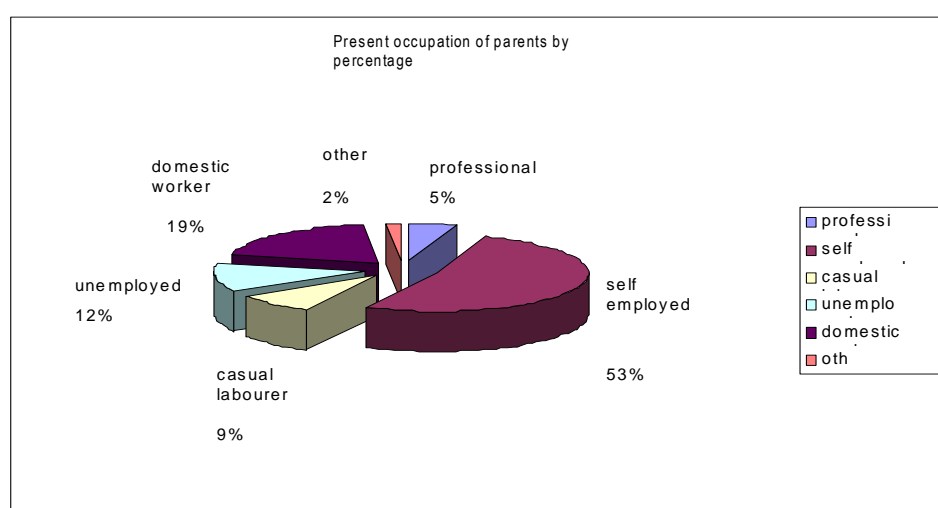
During group interviews, 48 parents and 17 leaders defined poverty as the lack of enough money to purchase essential items to meet basic needs. Poverty in the study area had forced members to initiate their children into income-generating activities to help meet the basic needs of the family. Parents and leaders did not consider the act of a child working to be wrong, but rather saw it as child development that taught self-reliance. Respondents therefore believed that for a child to develop, one should involve him/her in working on the family plantations, and participating in the labour of other family members.

4.4.1.1 Occupation and income of parents

The findings of the research showed that 53% of parents were self-employed, 12% unemployed, 5% employed according to their professional qualifications, 9% casual workers, 19% domestic workers and 2% belonged to the group of other professionals (see Figure 4d).

Figure 4d shows the percentage of parents by type of occupation.

Figure 4d: Present occupation of parents by percentage



The 53% self-employed parents and 19% domestic workers said that the income they made could not fully sustain their families. Children therefore were expected to work and supplement the family income. The 5% of parents who survived through other professions (not disclosed to the researcher) said that their children were expected to work because the parents' earnings were not sufficient for family survival. The study therefore agrees with the Uganda National Child Labour Policy (2006: 5) which estimates that 38% of Uganda's population survives on the benefits earned from either self-employed parents or those working only on odd jobs. The income earned was less than a dollar a day.

People in such conditions, especially the rural poor, involved their children in work for family survival.

Through interactive group interviews, the study further found that 12% of parents who were unemployed said they spent their time drinking locally brewed alcohol with friends. One parent in Nyabyeya said, "My children work in the family plantations, sell the sugarcane and bring home the money." A case such as this, where a family-head asks children to work, shows that the family income is not enough to sustain the family.

Parents were further asked about their monthly earnings and the following facts emerged. A total of 53.2% earned less than 10 000 shillings per month, which means that the respondents lived in absolute poverty⁴¹. A total of 17% earned from 10 000-50 000, 19.8% 50 000-100 000, and 10% above 150 000 shillings per month. The fact that 90% of the people in the study area earned less than 51 dollars a month shows that they could not meet the needs of the entire family. The study area, as already stated, consisted of families who were small-scale farmers, who worked with their children on the family farms during peak seasons. Consequently these children were often absent from school.

4.4.1.2 Poverty and child labour

Poverty manifests itself in a number of ways and affects people in households and societies in different ways. At the micro household level, children work because their families are poor. The children studied here worked as a form of insurance against starvation.

Similar to the findings of the study, SIMPOC (2004:28) found that Bolivia's poor urban children contributed 21% of family income while India's children contributed 40% of family income. Parents let their children work to ensure that

⁴¹ By the 4th November 2009; a dollar was 1950 Uganda shillings.

their productivity levels remained high. The number of children in the workplace increased as the level of those in school decreased. Families with low levels of education, and often the largest families, lived in poverty, hence the need for children to become part of the labour force to improve the family income. The lack of awareness of the rights of children (in particular with regard to child labour) can be connected to the lack of education of the parents. In the Philippines, the regions noted to have the highest child labour were the regions most affected by poverty. The area where most people were casually employed had a higher incidence of child workers than an area where the people were employed full-time.⁴²

The researcher agreed with SIMPOC. Nyabyeya, one of the areas under study, had the highest number of child workers as well as the deepest poverty levels. In-depth investigation into the subject found that poverty had forced children into work. The inability to pay for proper medical care, buy clothes and pay school fees was singled out as one of the causes for the existence of child labour. Children became involved in labour to assist in meeting some of the essential requirements at home. Females believed that poverty reduction at the household level should not be left only to the man, but should be shared with wives and women. The joint Income of a man and woman could be combined to run projects which could lead to financial growth in families. All 60 parents and 17 leaders believed that this would lead to a reduction of child labour at the local and eventually at the national level. On many occasions, the government had promised respondents to provide user-friendly poverty-alleviation programmes, but nothing had been forthcoming.

Parents and leaders would have preferred to participate in eradicating poverty through growing crops for sale, such as beans, maize, cassava, greens and bananas. Unfortunately, they lacked the capital to initiate this. If the capital had

⁴² Dr. Bura, N. (1997). Causes of Children's work. New Delhi: India Accessed October 20, 2006
<http://www.undp.org.in/hdrc/childrenandpoverty/CHILDPOV/CAUSEESC.HTM>

been available, they would have been able to sell their produce to companies in their vicinity, such as Kinyara Sugar Works and Masindi Seed Project. Parents and leaders believed that this would improve their financial capacity, which in turn would reduce the rate at which they sent their children to work. Although the government of Uganda created financial schemes that offered loans, most of the community members deliberately did not involve themselves. The main reason given for their non-participation was that the schemes had high interest rates that their earnings could not service.

This group pointed out that poverty was not the only cause of child labour, but many other factors had contributed to the phenomenon, such as divorce, lack of medical care, inability to send children to school, and failure to build permanent homes. Parents felt guilty that their children were not in school. Although families worked together, they looked miserable, impoverished and malnourished. Considering the opinions expressed by the parents and leaders in this group, the communities were willing to fight poverty from the household level. The availability of user-friendly financial lending schemes by the government could serve as a foundation for poverty eradication at this level.

4.4.1.3 Population increase, poverty and child labour

The study found that Nyabyeya had 43% of child workers from large families with a higher school dropout rate than Nyantonzi's 39% and Kasongore's 32%. It further found that Nyabyeya had a higher population of both children and adults living in poverty, which is likely to increase in future, than a study published in the *Monthly Labour Review* of May (2005: 57). Population growth was given as one of the causes of increased child labour around the world. The higher and faster the population grows, the greater the number of children in households living in poverty. Hotchkiss, in her article in *The Economic Review*, noted that when unemployment increases, population increase is a major factor, as mothers (who are not employed) become redundant. The few employed people find it

expensive to look after the many unemployed. The Uganda National Child Labour Policy (2006: 5) adds that the total fertility rate in Uganda is estimated to be 7 children per woman before the age of 50. With this high fertility rate, resulting in large families, the demands for basic needs increase, so more children have to work. More than five households in the study area had 5-10 children in a family.

Bonnet (1993 in BAT 2002:20) claims that 5.7 million children in Uganda live in low-income households and in abject poverty. The lack of basic needs means children need to work, however hazardous it may be. ILO reported that although Universal Primary Education (UPE) had been initiated, 37% of households did not see any use in taking children to school when they could earn extra income to support the family. Such an attitude explains why 73% of Uganda's working children were school dropouts. UNICEF (2005:128) adds that although countries worldwide provide free primary education, parents still send their children to work because they cannot afford the indirect costs like buying uniforms, tutoring, and unofficial payments to teachers. Parents opt for sending their children to work where income is to be made, rather than to school. Children under such conditions suffer a high risk of dropping out of school and opting for full-time employment.

Child labourers are some of the most vulnerable people living in poverty. Both rural women and children lag behind in terms of economic opportunities because of their societal roles. Parents end up working with children. Children miss out on both primary and secondary school. The children, who continue with school, work to cover the costs of school expenses, but most end up dropping out because of the strain of school and work in the fields. The study found that 73% of the parents living in the study area lived below the poverty line. In Uganda, the poverty line is when one is earning below the taxable income of 130 000 shillings set by the government. Ninety per cent of the parents in the study said that they were sometimes paid according to how much work they did. Hence during the harvesting season workers were employed on a part-time basis and wanted to

make as much money as possible, so parents brought their older children along to help increase the bulk of their pick and harvest.

The present study agrees with Taracena (2003:303) who finds that children who accompany their parents to work, especially the older ones, end up working alone and independently to make their own money. To some parents, the burden of taking care of such children, who are able to earn, is reduced if not eliminated. Children then become productive parts of the family and their income can help to sustain the family by paying for a number of expenses like medical bills, clothing and food. In many poor countries like Uganda, Mali, Malawi and Ethiopia, children under the age of 15 comprise almost 50% of the population. This indicates that either the girls are married at an early age or fertility rates are high, meaning that each woman can bear more than 7 children. These high fertility rates mean more dependants for the head of the family to support, thus increasing the chance of living in poverty as reported by Kempe (2005:23). It is therefore justifiable to conclude that poverty is one of the accelerators of child labour.

4.4.1.4 Family Size and Child Labour

The study found that 60% of the children came from polygamous families of 5-10 children. Only one third of the children came from families with between 1 and 4 children.

The children from large families in the study areas were at a higher risk of being involved in child labour practices than those from smaller families. Nyabyeya was reported to have larger families (43%) in comparison to Kasongoire (32%) and Nyantonzi (39%). The older children of polygamous families in Nyabyeya tended to engage in full-time work to supplement the income used to take younger siblings to school.

Fafchamps and Wahba (2006:394) adds that the larger the numbers of children in a household, the more the older children tend to work in comparison to the younger ones. Older children serve as substitutes for adult labour in times of food shortage and the illness of an adult. Children, especially those who live in and around urban centres, spend more than half of their time working instead of going to school.

The study showed that out of the 30 households sampled, 6 had between 11 and 20 children each. Twelve families had 5-10 children, 8 had 1-4 children and 4 did not have any children. It was found that in the case of 18 families with more than 5 children, the children were involved in child labour. The families with fewer than 4 children had fewer children involved in child labour. The study further found that in the 12 families with 5-10 children, 1-2 children were attending school and the rest were involved in work. The 6 families that had more than 10 children, had 2-3 children involved in work-related activities, and the rest were at school. This suggests that families with a bigger number of children fail to provide all the needs of the family, thus forcing these children to go out and work.

The parents' responses showed that most families in Masindi were large, from 5-12 children, some of whom worked for up to 8 hours each day. Although children were involved in work, all 60 parents said they did not enjoy having their children missing school. The parents said the children had to help in maintaining the homes in order to survive. One parent from Nyabyeya with 13 children said, "I can't afford to feed all my children and take them to school with the little I make. The older ones should study up to primary 4 and then work full-time to help with feeding and educating the siblings." One parent from Nyantonzi said, "Although I want all my children to study, they can't because they have to help me with work on the farm so that the family survives."

During group interviews, parents were asked if they had children who worked and what their hours were. All 60 parents said that their older children worked

and for longer hours than the younger ones. First-born children worked full-time and did not attend school at all because they were responsible for their siblings. Similarly, during group interviews, children who worked for longer hours said they came from families of more than 6 children and were of low economic status.

Fafchamps and Wahba (2006: 394-395) contend that children who are older than the rest are usually expected to work and help in the upkeep and education of their siblings. If a child is older than the rest, whether male or female, he/she is expected to work. Fafchamps and Wahba carried out an investigation into the order of birth and the results showed that a decrease in work participation was noticed with the descending birth order. Despite the fact that the younger children performed fewer duties than the older ones in the family, child labour was evident and was still practised. The more children in a household, the more the older children tended to work in comparison to the younger ones.

In addition, Mehrotha and Biggeri (2002:4) report that UNICEF carried out a survey in India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand to determine the magnitude of child labour in home-based manufacturing activities. Although in most of the named countries, statistics on home-based manufacturing were scarce, UNICEF generally noted that India and Pakistan, whose economic growth was slow, had a higher incidence of child labour than countries with faster-growing economies. Each child born in economies with a slow growth had a burden to carry from birth. Most of the children had the same responsibility as an adult and had to contribute to the family income. The experience of children born to contribute to family income can be passed on from generation to generation, with parents determining and influencing the work a child does. In the study area during group interviews, all 30 parents agreed that they preferred to have as many children as possible because children looked after them financially when they grew old.

Mehrotha and Biggeri (2002:4) state that in India and Pakistan, statistics showed that children born in large families had a burden to carry from birth. The study therefore agrees with Mehrotha and Biggeri.

Togunde and Newman (2005:5-13) also find that parents desire more children if a child who works longer hours is given a good amount of money to take home. The money taken home puts a smile on the faces of parents, giving the child a wrong impression that working and gaining experience is a better thing than school attendance. It is absurd that the economic realities among the poor reinforce the utilisation of child labour.

4.4.2 Theme 2: Uganda's education system and its effect on child labour.

After independence in 1962, the Ugandan education system was very good. Anybody who attended school, worked hard, and left at whatever level, was assured of a job. As an incentive to keep people in school, the government of Uganda paid tuition for those who excelled academically at all levels. All scholastic materials such as books and pens, were given to students who excelled, and this encouraged other students to work hard and acquire the privileges. Jobs were not a problem as all who studied were absorbed by the government. The reason why the government could afford to cater for all the children was that it gained a lot in foreign exchange by exporting coffee, tea, cotton and copper. Child development was therefore possible and easy. The population of Uganda in 1971 was only 6.5 million people.

As time passed, education became more and more expensive for parents. The number of sponsored students dropped as the number of those who enrolled increased. Jobs became scarcer and the population increased. The burden of catering for children in school was shifted to parents. The overwhelming expenses did not allow parents to provide all necessities for family members. More children therefore involved themselves in work and attended school

irregularly. Export earnings also dropped owing to the increased population. This eventually caused the sale of state parastatals under liberalisation. The Ugandan government also liberalised the educational system, increasing the number of students enrolling, and decreasing the jobs available. Jobs were therefore fewer than the students graduating from institutions. Teachers and lecturers started teaching with the aim to earn more income by working as many jobs as possible to increase earnings. This therefore became Uganda's current education system.

The system prepares children for only white-collar jobs, which are few. Instead of preparing children to become job creators, children are prepared for job-seeking. Parents and leaders believe that the education system should prepare all children to become job creators by taking them through vocational schools after certain levels in schools, like Primary 7 and Senior 4. Thereafter, one can continue to university where, even if a child does not get a job, he or she can still find work through job creation.

Findings from the interviews with children showed that 90% of the children who participated attended school. However, an in-depth exploration of the pattern of school attendance showed that 82% of the children who participated did not attend school regularly. The irregular attendance in school is a serious indicator of so many children dropping out of school (see Table 4b below).

Table 4b: Reported frequency of school attendance in the last one year (2008) by percent of children.

school attendance	Frequency	Percent (%)
Everyday	28	18.4
At least three days in a week	22	14.5
Less than three days in a week	29	19.1
In most cases one day in week	73	48.0
Total	152	100.0

In the last year (2008), a total of 14.5% of the children attended school at least three days in a week, 19.1% attended school less than three days in a week, and 48% attended school only once a week. In addition, parents were asked which children in their families worked for longer hours, and 60% of them said that the first-born children in families worked more because they were older and were the ones who attended school irregularly. These children eventually drop out of school.

The birth order in a family determined the level of education of a child in the study area. Buchmann (2000:1350) eloquently describes how this determines the educational success of a child. In Kenya, tradition regards duties performed by a first-born child as compulsory and thus part of development. At the same time, kinship networks were supposed to be strengthened through working together as children, which lowered the possibilities of educational quality among children. Older children in comparison to younger ones were expected to work and contribute to family income instead of “wasting time” attending school.

Parents who were first- or second-born in their families used the same reasoning when they had children of their own. They expected their children to have low education levels as they themselves had as children. *The American Sociology Review* (1993:163-170) adds that the level of parental literacy also contributes to child labour. In South Carolina, children from white families enrolled in school more than the children from black families because most white family-heads had a good level of literacy and education. It was also noticed that the children from black families came from low-income homes because of the low education they had acquired.

The study found that, during group interviews, 7 parents from Nyabyeya, 3 from Nyantonzi and 2 from Kasongoire said that most of the large farm owners, some of whom were local council leaders, had a good level of education (ordinary level) and their children did not work at all, but attended school regularly. Parents further said that they took their children to work on the large farms with the permission of the owners. Unfortunately, when asked about the use of children on their farms, the owners denied using children.

As confirmed by the Ministry of Education and Sports statistics abstract (2002:124), the study also found that the major reasons (mentioned in equal proportions) given by the children for not being in school full-time were as follows. Seventy children said, "My parents can't afford it"; 30 children said, "No one cares if I go to school or not" and 52 children said, "There is no money". The reasons given by children gave the researcher the insight that there was a great lack of knowledge about poverty reduction, human rights awareness, especially child rights, and the development of human-resource skills among local council leaders, parents, and their children.

The study found that the educational system in Uganda was not liked by parents or children. On further scrutiny, the researcher found that the parents did not find anything developmental about Uganda's education system. Parents preferred to send their children to work instead of "wasting money" buying school necessities. Children also believed that they could acquire better skills out of school, and get better experience on the farms.

The Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2006) and Admassie (2003:262) assert that it is hard to attain education in the rural areas of Budongo Sub County. Although the government of Uganda had instituted free UPE, children walked long distances to get to school and hardly got all the necessities needed at school, such as scholastic materials and school uniforms. The fact that these children went without lunch, led to child labour. When asked during group interviews about distances to school and availability of scholastic materials, 94 children said that they woke up as early as 5 am and walked long distances to school. When in school, they did not have books to write in, and were not given lunch. The children said that they preferred working in the fields to attending school. During the harvesting season when there were a number of cash crops, there was a lot of work to be done and this discouraged other children from going to school, and eventually falling out of the school system. School attendance is one of the most important ways to reduce child labour; the less a child works the more the child attends school. Since UPE was not compulsory, some parents believed that a child involved in work was learning by doing, and could be more valuable to the community than a child attending school. Three parents from Nyabyeya said that any child above the age of 8 years was expected to work in order to learn. This kind of mentality encourages children to work and drop out of school.

The Daily Monitor News Paper Monday October 15 (2007: 13) reports how school dropouts in Uganda were involved in child labour. Children provided different services like carrying out odd jobs, which included digging in the fields during school time. Some children who claimed they earned 3 000 shillings (30

Rands) a day for levelling murrum, were questioned by the local council chairperson in Yumbe district. Most of these children were and still are sent to work by parents as part-timers who eventually work full-time, thus dropping out of school.

The reason given by the children and their parents for preferring work to school was that the educational system was considered a very long process that needed one to stay in school for over 14 years, and a job was not guaranteed after completion. The system was known as one that does not consider the needs of each individual and does not assess whether a child is capable of continuing to the next level.

The study agrees with Mitesh (1998:6-7), who says that efforts by the Pakistan government to eliminate children from the labour force through provision of education were evidently successful as witnessed by the number of children who enrolled in primary schools. More than 30 000 primary school teachers and 35 000 high school teachers were trained to provide quality education. Unfortunately, in countries like Brazil, some parents did not want to send their children to school; they preferred to work with their children for long hours on sisal plantations. The parents said they did not have time or money to look after children after school hours.

Budongo Sub County has an overall literacy rate of 52.2%, made up of 67.4% males and 38.3% females. In the primary education sector, Masindi district has 176 primary schools, of which 161 are government-aided and 15 belong to the private sector. Masindi has 1 505 teachers serving all 176 primary schools. The sub county has 13 primary schools, in which 78 teachers work.

Out of the 1 505 primary school teachers in Masindi, 940 are reported to be qualified while 565 are not qualified.⁴³ The fact that the number of qualified

⁴³ Masindi district profile. Accessed November 5, 2009, Page 15-16 from <http://www.ugandadish.org/masindi.doc>

teachers in Masindi is low in comparison to the pupils attending class explains the possibility of high dropout rates. Five community leaders from Nyabyeya, 2 from Nyantonzi and 3 from Kasongoire, said that there were few teachers available in the schools. The teachers spread their time across almost all the schools in Masindi district, which is difficult. Children at times went to school and found that teachers were not available. One leader in Nyabyeya said, "Teachers work in as many schools as possible to earn as much as they can." The economic constraints faced by the teachers forced them to teach in many schools. Teachers therefore did not take an interest in the pupils' performance because they were rushing through work to be able to teach in the next school.

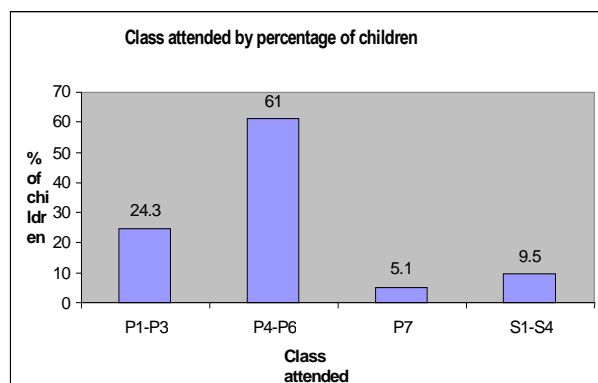
Similarly, children walked long distances to school but were discouraged when no teachers were available. Once this had happened, it became easier and easier for the child to stay away and eventually drop out altogether. The study found that 20 parents and 48 children from Nyabyeya said that the schools children attended did not have school clinics or any health attendants. In addition, the children said that the schools did not have enough classrooms, so they were taught under the trees. During the rainy seasons 70% of the children in Nyabyeya said they did not bother going to school because they did not have classrooms in which they could study.

As reported by *The New Vision Newspaper* Monday November 16 (2009:1), the government of Uganda promised to spend \$150million on constructing 6 000 classrooms for UPE schools. It is hoped that when the classrooms are delivered, the children in rural areas will attend school regularly.

4.4.2.1 Class attended

The study found that, of the children who went to school (n=137), 60% attended middle-upper primary classes, which are P 4 – P 6 , and 24% were in the lower primary classes, which are P 1 – P 3 (See Graph 4b).

Graph 4b: Class attended by percentage of children



Only 5.1% of the children attended P 7. According to the statistics, most pupils in the study area had dropped out of primary school in P 6. Reports from 60% of the parents showed that most of their regular school-going children were in P 1 P 2 or P 3. The older children who attended school irregularly did so in order to help parents with farm-related activities.

Canagrajan and Coulomben (in SODECO 2002:13) report that a survey was carried out in Ghana's tobacco-growing sector and it was noted that 20% of boys and 17% of girls were working and attending school. Ninety per cent of the children were involved in household duties after school and 93% in farming activities to help their parents. It was reported that the reasons for the high numbers of children working in Ghana were related to low family incomes, large families, and under-employment.

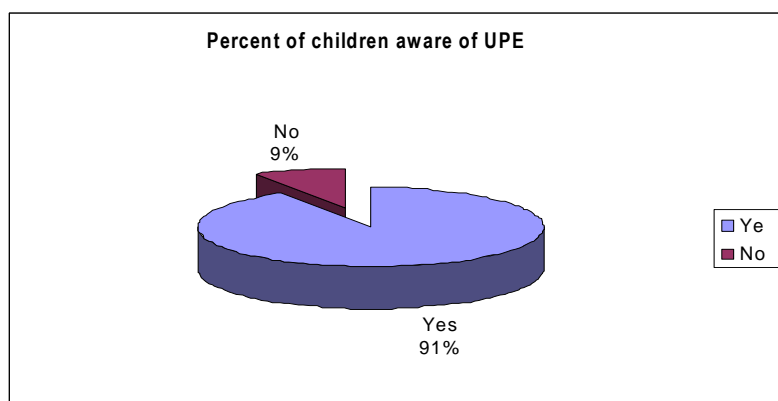
When parents and leaders were asked why children dropped out in P 6, 42 parents said that, at P 6 level, children were taught to cram in order to pass exams rather than read to understand. A student would not remember what was read after exams were done. Parents and leaders therefore preferred to have their children out of school and either working or learning technical skills. Leaders also commented that there were too many children for the classrooms, and the

congestion meant the children could not concentrate. Insufficient classrooms meant that some of the children had to study outside. Qualified teachers were few and salaries low. Overcrowding of classrooms meant that teachers did not have time to assist the academically weak children. Since the education system says no child should repeat a class and no child should be beaten, children did not study hard enough, and became unruly and undisciplined both at school and at home. Most children watched movies in public places instead of going to school during the day. Instead of trying to develop a child, the education system under-developed the child.

4.4.2.2 Awareness of Universal Primary Education (UPE)

In an attempt to eradicate illiteracy, the government of Uganda introduced the Universal Primary Education (UPE) system where children would study at subsidised rates. Since the inception of UPE in 1996, the study found that the learning capability of Uganda's children had improved. Through UPE, each child was expected to attend school and acquire basic education from levels 1-7. The number of children enrolling for UPE had increased from 88 119 pupils in 1997 to 122 018 in 2005. Ninety-one per cent of the children in the study indicated that they were aware of the UPE Government Programme, while 9% were not (see Figure 4e).

Figure 4e: Awareness of Universal Primary Education (UPE)



Although the study wanted to find out how many children were aware of UPE, the children were not the enforcers of the programme, but the beneficiaries. The children should know of the existence of UPE and try to attend school regularly. The research showed that the children started P 1 in large numbers, but as they continued studying in higher classes, the numbers decreased to P 6, a sign of children dropping out of school (see Table 2d). Thirty-two children from Nyabyeya, 18 from Nyantonzi and 40 from Kasongoire said that when they attended the UPE programme, they did not find it helpful in terms of skills development, so they preferred the labour market where one learned through working.

Universal Primary Education (UPE) was the solution. Children were expected to attend school at a subsidised price. The World Education Forum 2000 Expanded Commentary (par.19 in Brink 2001: 79) reported how a number of studies had been carried out in countries participating in World Wide Education for All. Globally, enrolment at primary level was 82 million pupils in 1990. By 1998, 44 million more girls had enrolled, although 113 million pupils were still not able to access primary education. School enrolment in Sri Lanka rose from 58% to 74% in 1984. More children enrolled in schools, and the number of hours children worked as labourers decreased. Dropout rates in school decreased.

Through group interviews, the study established a number of reasons why children irregularly attended school and later dropped out. The reasons are as follows:

- a) Children's lack of interest in studying, thus preferring to work
- b) Lack of full parental control to guide children to prefer school to labour
- c) Broken families
- d) Lack of appropriate disciplinary action by school authorities to ensure children attended school full-time
- e) Lack of proper infrastructure in which children could study

- f) Government failure to provide adequate scholastic materials for UPE sustainability
- g) Government failure to carry out stakeholder analysis before UPE implementation.

The above-mentioned reasons have led to children eventually dropping out and thus increasing the prevalence of child labour in Uganda.

In late 2008, the automatic promotion policy was passed by the government of Uganda, in which, whether a child had passed a level or not, he or she was automatically promoted to the next level. The reason for the automatic promotion was to keep children in school. One of the outcomes of the policy is that the level and quality of education was lowered and teachers did not put in a lot of effort to ensure children understood concepts in class. The success of automatic promotion as a target, as well as gender parity in primary and secondary schooling is not assured as it failed to be achieved by 2005. Uganda seems unlikely to achieve the target of school for all by 2015. This further confirms that the Ugandan education system accelerates child labour.

In order for UPE to succeed in developing a child, respondents believed there ought to be stake-holder analyses where the teachers, government, parents, and school authorities are involved in decision-making regarding a proper education system. Better and more classrooms should be provided, laws guiding UPE should be revised, and teachers should be well remunerated so that they could help in instilling discipline in children who misbehave at school. Periodic monitoring and evaluation of UPE in order to ascertain its success should be implemented. Parents and leaders believed that these would lead to child development and the reduction of child labour.

4.4.2.3 Education, war and child labour

Research by Muhumuza (1997:6) has found that many children in Uganda had been affected by war, especially those in Northern Uganda. Schools were usually intermittently closed, causing a high number of school dropouts. Many of the children did not complete Primary 7 even though UPE exists. *The New Vision Newspaper* Wednesday May 21 (2008:9) reports that from 1872 until today, children are still being abducted from homes, farms and schools by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), a rebel group operating in Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan and the Central African Republic. Approximately 200 000 children were abducted in 2000, 66 000 of whom were forced to brutally kill innocent people. *Human Rights Watch* (2003: 12-13) adds that a number of community-based organisations like Gulu Save our Children Organisation (GUSCO) were co-ordinated with the government of Uganda and the Ministry of Education and Sports (MOES) to stop children from participating in armed conflict. Since the inception of GUSCO and other organisations, over 50 000 abductees have been placed in reintegration programmes which offer education.

Angela and Aki (2003:42-48) add that by 2002, over 50 000 returnees had been re-settled back home and taken back to school through the UPE programme. Unfortunately, since the public was rejecting them and blaming them for their dead and lost relatives, living among and studying with other children was not easy. The returnees were also older than their classmates. The segregation and age difference gradually caused the dropout of the returnees from UPE schools. The government of Uganda realised the stigma the returnees faced, and decided to sensitise communities on how to embrace returnees. The government further introduced vocational training institutes

The New Vision Newspaper Wednesday February (2007:23) reports that the government of Uganda, through the Uganda Veteran's Assistance Board (UVAB), has offered vocational and skills training to the returnees in the fields of carpentry, pig-rearing, pottery and welding metal fabrics. A total of 42 000 people enrolled and acquired the skills within one year of enrolment. The introduction of vocational skills training institutes prevented former child soldiers from becoming street children and engaging in child-labour activities. The study agrees with the government of Uganda's option of offering skills training as a way of reducing child labour. If the government had continued to take returnees through UPE schools, more dropout rates would have occurred.

4.4.3 Theme 3: The role of the social and cultural structure on the prevalence of child labour.

The responses to Theme 3 are presented collectively as follows.

According to the culture, there is no such thing as child labour. A child is trained to work in order to be able to take up his or her role as an adult. A boy is expected to work so that he maintains a home as well as looking after his wife and children. A girl is expected to learn household chores, as well as looking after her husband and children. Although the culture trains children to be hard-working citizens, it introduces children to working for money at an early age. Children therefore are compelled to search for petty jobs that can earn them money or food and clothing. Children eventually leave school to work permanently, which then becomes child labour. The cultural structure definitely perpetuates child labour.

4.4.3.1 Social or community definition of a child

The social or community structure in the study area is a mixture of many tribes. The tribes are involved in inter-marriages which force girls to get married at an

early age. When both boys and girls get married, they all work as child labourers to survive. The study found that the parents and leaders had different definitions of a child and at what age one is considered a child. During group interviews, people living in one community who belong to different ethnicities had different definitions of childhood. As a community, 60 parents and 17 leaders said, “One is a child when one is 5 years and below.” When the same parents and leaders, in groups of their cultural ethnicities, were asked who a child is they gave different responses. The community definition of a child was different from the cultural definition. A woman belonging to the Banyoro ethnicity said, “In Nyabyeya, we consider children to be 5 years, but my culture says a child is one who is 8 years old” (see Table 4c below.)

According to the community definition of a child, the Banyoro, Luo and other ethnic groups living in the study area consider one to be a child at the age of 5 years. In the cultural context, the Banyoro consider one as a child until the age of 8 years, the Luo until the age of 11 years, and other ethnicities culturally consider one as a child until the age of 5 years. However, the constitution of Uganda considers one to be a child when one is 18 years and below. Table 4c below shows the different ages at which different tribal groups consider one to be a child.

Table 4c: Age considered being a child

Ethnic group	Community interpretation	Cultural interpretation
Banyoro	5 years	8 years
Luo	5 years	11 years
Other ethnicities	5 years	5 years

One hundred and fifty-two children were asked the identical question and their responses included the following. According to the study, 44% of the children indicated that one is considered a child in their communities when one is below 5 years of age. Anyone above 5 years of age is not considered a child. Thirty percent of the children (n=45) indicated that a child is one who is 5 years and less, and anyone above 5 years is allowed to work, although tasks vary as one grows older. Children were also asked up to what age one is still considered a child and 82% indicated that a child is anyone below 15 years of age.

The research showed that children above 5 years carry out different child-labour-related activities for a number of reasons, which include cultural beliefs. It is evident that by the time a person is 18 years old, he or she has already started work, therefore enabling a child to be a labourer before 18 years of age. Children are more vulnerable to becoming full-time labourers, thus missing out on developing their human-resource skills in school.

The Daily Monitor Wednesday June 13 (2007: 8) reports the findings of International Federation of Agricultural Producers (IFAP) in relation to child labour in the agricultural sector in the world. IFAP estimated that 218 million child labourers were working, 70% of whom as young as 5 years of age being employed in the agricultural sector. Twenty per cent were 10-14 years old, working full-time in Africa. The report further stated that some ethnicities in the world took children of 6 years and above to work, saying that they were grownup enough to start work.

4.4.3.2 Gender inequality and culture

Gender inequity is experienced in almost all institutions in society. In the Middle East, Guatemala and Africa, for example, girls work for more than 40 hours a week on household chores. These girls have little or no education, lack empowerment and thus are very vulnerable. The lack of education lowers the

social status of females. *The Women's International News Network* (1997:1-2) reports in its study that gender discrimination empowers boys more than girls. Unlike girls, boys acquire self-confidence, skills, knowledge and attitudes in school. UNICEF (2005:126) says that Uganda's children, especially girls, are considered as young women whose role is to reproduce and prepare food for the whole family, and not to be involved in the family's decision-making. Girls are expected to spend more time carrying out domestic chores than boys.

In the study area, although girls were expected to learn and work with household chores, they were not denied an education. Girls were allowed to study, but not as extensively as the boys. Ten per cent of the households with large families removed their girls from school and married them off. Ninety per cent of the polygamous families had their children, irrespective of gender, dropping out of school because of their age. Both boys and girls dropped out of school to supplement the family income. *The New Vision Newspaper* Monday June 29 (2009: 6) adds that from 2006 to 2008, the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) reported an increase in the number of school dropouts from 1.5 million in 2006 to 1.76 million in 2008. Most of the dropouts, both male and female, were from large families where girls got married and boys worked full-time. Girls in such situations ended up in early marriages, compared to boys who devoted all their energies to work. UNICEF (2005:126) adds that over 32% of 15-19-year-old girls in Uganda were married or cohabiting with a male.

Cultural attitudes, beliefs and a lack of understanding of the dangers of child labour have aggravated the situation. Some cultural practices and irresponsible parental behaviour have exposed children to exploitation and abuse. UNICEF (2005:127) asserts that there seem to be different perspectives of what constitutes appropriate work and normal family obligations. The inability of parents to differentiate gives rise to the exploitation and abuse of children.

In the study area, the Banyoro and Luo said that children's participation in work was part of child development, regardless of age and the nature of work. Girls in particular have been victims in this regard. Most of the time girls were expected to take on heavy responsibilities and were substitute adults in their homes, which could be detrimental to school attendance. Early unwanted pregnancies and motherhood prevented the girls from completing their education.

The Uganda National Child Labour Policy (2002:4-5) estimates that 51% of the girls in the country got pregnant between 13 and 18 years of age. Emphasis on these traditional practices resulted in ignoring the extent of the child-labour problem. The Child labour policy further says that the importance of societies and families becoming educated is underscored and the reluctant illiterate parents and their children contribute to the high illiteracy rates which are estimated to stand at a figure of 35% in Uganda.

4.4.3.3 Gender, school attendance and child labour

The study found that there was no discernable disparity in school attendance across the gender divide. Forty-five per cent of females and 56% of the male children who participated went to school. The study showed that there were more boys than girls attending school. In group interviews, parents said they preferred their male children to attend school more often than their female children. Parents further emphasised that a girl child learnt her duties from home, not school. The culture tended to choose school-going in favour of boys rather than girls, although girl-child education was trying to change the culture. An organisation called The Human Rights Initiative Uganda, was trying to encourage girl-child education, and thus the percentage gap between boys and girls attending school was not big.

A similar situation existed in the study area. Das and Mishra (2005: 9) add that in India, education of the girl child is associated with factors such as religion, family size and kinship pattern. The girl child is not expected to receive much

schooling because as a bride and perfect housewife, a girl is only expected to cook and tend to household chores. Only the education of the boy is considered as an investment to the family. If the female children attend school, a large number are expected to drop out.

Estimates by *African Business* (1998:6) showed that 3 out of every 5 child labourers were females below the age of 11 years, because of the attitudes towards girl-child education. ILO estimated that 37% of girls in Africa participated in child labour, making Africa the region with the highest incidence of girl-child labourers.⁴⁴ This reflects the general cultural view that girls are well suited for employment in both domestic and farm work.

The study further found that 50% of the parents said they would prefer investing their money in higher education for boys rather than girls. They said that at a young age, they wanted both the boys and girls to attend school. Parents also said that suitors were identified for girls at the age of 5 years, by two consenting families. The children grew up playing and getting acquainted with each other and later got married, at 17 years for boys and 12 years for girls. At 17 years, boys had at least completed primary school, unlike girls, who stayed at home learning how to become good wives. The young couple subsisted by working on farms and carrying out other odd jobs. Children in such a situation conceived children who followed the same pattern of life as the parents. This therefore confirms that culture perpetuates child labour.

Tucker (1996:12-13) reports that children, especially girls, were expected to learn a number of skills, crafts and weaving, in order to start work at an early age. Some parents in rural areas gave boys a higher priority than girls. Parents preferred taking boys to school and leaving the girls at home to work in the fields, with the belief that girls were meant to learn how to work at an earlier age than

⁴⁴ Child labour on the increase. *African business* (March 1998) InfoTrac Online. Thomas Gale. University of Port Elizabeth. Accessed October 18, 2006 <http://find.galegroup.com/itx/infomark.do?&contentSet=IAC-Documents&type=retrieve&tabID=T003&prodId=ITOF&docId=A62534048&source=gale&srcprod=ITOF&userGroupName=uniport&version=1.0>

boys. Girls as young as 14 years were forced into marriage in order to secure wealth through a bride-price from the boy's family. UNICEF (2004 in an International conference Out of Work Into School India 2004:6-7) remarks that investing in children's education, especially the girl child, could yield fruitful returns in fighting the vicious cycle of poverty and low illiteracy levels. This evidently shows that girls could be the most affected in the various forms of child labour. Cultural norms that see the girl child in the role of housewife also consider educating a girl as wasting resources.

4.4.3.4 Child labour and culture

Myths and cultural attitudes held by parents and people in the study area have always had a strong generic influence on society and child-labour practices. As a societal norm, children are taught to do house chores, and others work in the agricultural fields. Children learn personal responsibility and self-discipline that create an understanding of work. This is meant to initiate them into adulthood and introduce them to patterns of economic life; this undoubtedly helps in sustaining child labour. Labourers, both children and adults, are caught between the desire to conserve the traditions and cultures and the need to belong to the ways of the changing world.

In some countries, especially those in Africa, children submit to light work, which gradually forces them to become full-time workers. The belief is that working enhances a child's physical, emotional, mental, social and spiritual development. Many of the people in the study area were interested in preserving their forms of socialising, community work and the role of women and girls in the community, where girls were not expected to attain a high education because their role as young women was to prepare for marriage and learn the customs regarding what was expected of girls as wives. Even as wives, women were not expected to have rights like owning property and obtaining loans.

Taracena (2003:305) asserts that the inability of women to acquire certain privileges like loans lowers their morale. Women do not work hard, and their ability to send children to school lessens. Traditional attitudes towards women, especially the married, do not permit them to work or be employed. Both women as housewives and children as dependants end up looking up to their fathers as the family's breadwinner. This puts a strain on the family because the income to be shared among all members is small.

In the study area, 8 women in Kasongire and 6 in Nyabyeya said that their husbands beat them if they found them working in areas the husbands did not know about. The women are not supposed to be employed unless they have consent from their husbands. Wives are expected to work on family farms, carry out household chores, and teach the young girls how to weave mats and perform other duties when they become wives.

Bakirci (2002:59) reports that parents believe a child must learn skills early in life appropriate for one's class and background. Children are expected to learn a number of skills like crafts and weaving, in order to start work at an early age. *The New Vision Newspaper* Wednesday December 27 (2006:16) reports an incident of a 14-year-old girl in Uganda who was forced by her parents into marriage with a 17-year-old boy. The 17-year-old was a school dropout who paid 5 cows as a bride-price to the family of his wife-to-be. The girl was returned to her parents and the bride-price had to be returned – the reason given was that the girl had not yet learnt her duties as a wife. Another 13-year-old girl in Kampala was recently forced to marry a 23-year-old trader who paid the bride-price of a few head of cattle. Although legislation against early child marriage is in place in Uganda, parents still force their children into early marriages.

The New Vision Newspaper further states that although the girls feel insecure and suffer psychological distress from forced marriages, they feel that they have to fulfil their cultural obligations as young brides, by working harder. The research

disagrees with the cultural practices that permit early child marriages, because the cultural practices influence the existence of child labour and gender inequality.

Kis-Kates and Sculze (2005:25) say that most African cultures marry off their children at the early age of 10, others at 14, depending on ethnicity. Considering these social norms and differing beliefs across cultures, it is difficult to change different cultural preferences and regulations about child labour and what is considered acceptable.

In the group interviews, 7 households in the study area said that they had large families. When girls are married off early, the family receives income and assistance from the husband of their married daughter. Girls married off early tend to produce many children. Since the children are numerous, the parents believe it is reasonable for children to work to improve the family's financial status. Parents find it prestigious to have a big family because their culture says that the more children a family has, the more financially stable parents are likely to be. Based on the information given by the parents, culture endorses the existence of child labour. This implies that the government needs to channel resources into sensitising different tribal groups on child labour practices.

4.4.3.5 Social structure and working Environment for the Children

4.4.3.5.1 Location of work

Most (64%) of the parents in the study indicated that their children worked on the family farms, 8% said that the children worked for migrant families, and 28% worked as domestic workers and stone crushers. The fact that 64% of the children worked on family farms shows that parents were the main cause of child labour in the study area. The other 30% reported that they worked for people who were not related to the family, either on big estates or on neighbours' farms.

FUE (1999:15-17) declared in its study that in 1997, Uganda's coffee and tobacco sector used to employ more children than any other sector. Forty per cent of working children worked on coffee farms, 17% on tea farms, 3% on sugar plantations and 40% on tobacco farms. Children who worked on both coffee and tobacco farms were working on small family farms whose produce was used for family survival.

IPEC (2004:2) adds that the main source of income for 99% of people living in Masindi was the tobacco and sugarcane crops, which contributed 80% of income to the district. Since tobacco is a labour-intensive crop, demand for more labour forced all members in the household, including children, to get involved in the different activities. In 2000, in Masindi, 69.7% of child labourers worked on family farms; 17.7% were girls and 52% boys. Parents did the allocation of the tasks and determined if a child could earn extra for the family by sending him or her to work on large estates. Children sent to work on estates were the older ones in the family.

4.4.3.5.2 Age at which children started working

A total of 49.1% of the parents indicated that a child in their community usually started work between 4 and 8 years of age, and that the workload increased with age. Although work increased as the child grew older, the researcher believes that by the time a child is 18 years old, he or she would be working for almost a whole day and was missing school. Table 4d below shows the percentage of parents who committed to certain age ranges at which a child in their communities usually started working.

Table 4d: Age at which child started work

		Frequency	Percent (%)
Valid	0-3	3	5.7
	4-8	26	49.1
	9-13	11	20.8
	14-18	13	24.5
	Total	53	100.0

Similar to the study area, Mud (2008:2-3) reports a raid on a Wild Culture farm in Baha that was employing children. Children of 5 to 15 years were found working. When asked the kind of work done, the children said that 5-6-year-olds collected eggs, 7-8-year-olds mucked out stalls, and anyone below 4 years of age fed rabbits and collected apple peelings. Parents of these children allowed them to work because they wanted their children to learn skills to use in their later lives.⁴⁵

In 1912, in America, children started working in the mills at 5 years. Many 8-11-year olds were expected to work up to 10 pm in the early 1990's. Children in Pakistan usually started work at 5 years and their duties varied depending on age. Children younger than 14 years did not work the whole day, unlike those above 14. Many 4-5-year-olds worked on the production lines of big companies like Nike. Nike, having the advantage of manufacturing its products in lesser-developed countries, employed children because their labour was cheap. Parents of the children persuaded the children to work, under the pretext of learning as they worked.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Mud, M. October 28th (2008), Wild Culture. Accessed February 1, 2009 from <http://wildculturecafe.blogspot.com/2008/10/shocking-case-of-child-labour-revealed.html>

⁴⁶ Child labour in Pakistan. Accessed February 2, 2009 from <http://www.american.edu/TED/nike.htm>

In 2002, Dimeji and Newman (2005:6-8) carried out a socio-economic survey on when and at what age children in Nigeria started work. It was noted that on average, children started work at 7 years, hawking food tuffs, carrying out domestic duties, and working in car-washing places. Some of the children were paid a small wage while others worked for free on a weekly basis. Most of the children who worked for a longer time came from polygamous families whose parents had either no education or were school dropouts.

ILO (2004f: 2) reports that in 2001, in Uganda, children started work as early as 4 years in the tea sector, 11 years in the coffee sector, 9 years in the tobacco sector and 11 years in the rice sector. Sixty-four per cent of the children harvested, 34% cleared land, 54% planted, 59% weeded and 42% managed coffee nurseries for over 9 hours. The children performed more than one activity on the farms. Children entered the labour force hoping to raise money for school, but eventually lost interest in schooling and become permanent child workers.

ACRL (2005:82-84) reports that in 1999, FUE conducted a survey in Uganda's tobacco, rice, tea and coffee sectors. The number of 9-year-old children working was estimated to be 21%. The African Centre for research and legal studies (ACRLS) reported that 96% of male and 97% of female children aged 5-7 years were working in the districts of Arua, Kabale and Tororo. ACRLS further reported that the number of working children increased with age in the districts of Arua, Tororo and Kabale in Uganda. The proportion of children working in the age group of 5-9 in Arua district was reported to be 48%, those in the age group of 10-14 years 92.7%, and those of 15-17 years were 92.5% for males. Statistics in the study area had similar figures, (see Table 4i), and the number of children who worked increased with their age. On the other hand, 30% of females in the age group of 5-9 years worked in Arua district, 85.7% for the 10-14 year group, and 95.7% for those of 15-17 years of age. For Tororo district, 54% of males and 34.7% females of the age group of 5-9 years were reported working; 74% males and 74% females were also reported working in the age group of 10-14 years.

Ninety-one percent of males and 91.3% of females were recorded as working under the age of 15-17 years of age. Kabale district was noted to have 56% of males and 64.3% of females at the age of 5-9 years working, and 82.6% males and 82.6% females working in the age group of 10-14 years.

The numbers of children under the age group of 15-17 years were reported to be 93.7% males and 93.7% females respectively (ACRLS 2005:86). Among the children working, 82% males and 85.9% females at the age of 10-14 years were reported to be involved in cultivation activities in Arua district. Sixty-nine per cent males and 65.2% females of 15-17 years of age were working in fields in Tororo district. In Kabale district, children of 15-17 years of age, of whom 78% were males and 90.2% females, were involved in cultivation activities. The proportion of children in Arua, Tororo and Kabale involved in cultivation activities was reported to be higher among the older children of ages 15-17 years in comparison to those of 14 years and below. The older the males became, the less involved they became in domestic work and the more they involved themselves in income-generating work. Females tended to engage themselves more in cultivation and domestic work (ACRLS 2005:86-87). The study agrees with ACRLS that the older the child, the more work he or she does.

In Masindi district, ACRLS (2005:89) similarly observed children below 9 years of age working on tobacco farms. In Budongo and Karujubu, areas well-known for tobacco growing in Masindi, fewer and younger children worked alongside parents weeding crops. The older children were more in number, working independently and for longer hours, harvesting and selling tobacco.

4.4.3.5.3 Children's Activities after school

Approximately 96% of the children in the study indicated that they worked in the tobacco fields and 4% of the children indulged in an activity after school. Twelve percent of the children who went to school dug in the fields after school, 65% did their school-assigned homework, while 15% played with their friends and cleaned

their homes after school. There were no discernable variations between the responses of the children and the parents regarding work after school, as stated below.

Seventeen per cent of the parents said that their children went to the fields after school, 28% did school work, 26% played with friends and 41% helped with housework. Most (94%) of the children who participated in this study (n=142) indicated that they only worked in family fields, which confirms that children were influenced by either their parents or guardians to work. Two per cent of the children worked on big estates. Table 4e below shows the tobacco-related activities engaged in by children and parents in the study areas of Masindi District. Table 4e indicates that parents were less likely to reveal the actual kind of tobacco-related activities their children were engaged in.

Table 4e: Tobacco-related activities engaged in by children (Multiple responses)

Tobacco-related Activity	Per cent (%) - Children	Per cent (%) - Parents
Planting	47	28
Weeding	36	15
Nurseries	26	17
Suckering	12	2
Sorting	14	6
Harvesting	25	15

Narayan and Narvin (1997:2-3) report that children in Turkey leave school to work for some hours because their parents ask them to. When parents were asked why children worked instead of attending school, they said the children wanted to avoid the constant physical beatings when they giggled with each other or when they dozed off in class. Estimates indicated that 23.9% of Turkey's workforce consisted of children working under hazardous conditions. Seventy-

seven per cent of children worked on agricultural farms after school, 7% worked in the service sector, and 5% in the trading sector. Bakirci (2002:55) similarly reports that, just like any other country whose citizens engage children in labour, children in Turkey left school at an early age to join the labour market. One of the main reasons for children engaging in work-related activities was to contribute money to their families because of the high levels of unemployment and a great imbalance in income distribution. Lack of sufficient resources to provide for the children in school coupled with the rising costs of educational materials made parents reluctant to keep their children in school.

4.4.3.5.4 Hours worked and social pattern

The study shows that 7% of the children who participated in this study worked for more than 12 hours a day while 43% of the children worked for 1-4 hours a day. The study showed that 57% of the parents let their children work for 1-4 hours a day. Table 4f shows the average number of hours worked by children in percentages.

Table 4f: Number of hours worked by the children by percentage

Hours worked	Per cent (%) - Children	Per cent (%) - Parents
Less than 4 hours	27.4	38
1-4hrs	43	57
5-8hrs	19.9	4
9-12hrs	2.7	1
more than 12 hrs	7	-
Total	100.0	100.0

The 2.7% of children who worked for 8-12 hours a day, as well as the 7% of the children who worked for over 12 hours, did not go to school at all. The research further found that the children who did not go to school either worked as domestic servants or on big estates. Children in this situation were found to be orphans working for food and clothing, so attending school was not a necessity to them. The children who worked for less than 8 hours lived with one or both of their parents and irregularly attended school. In addition, the study found that the children who were more liable to work for longer hours were orphaned or were step-children. The Pearson internal of 0.570 showed that step-children worked more than other children living with either parent or other family members. However, the Chi-square test indicated that there was no direct correlation between children supported by either parent and those supported by a step-parent.

4.4.3.5.5 Month of the year worked

Thirty-eight per cent of the children who participated in this study indicated that they performed a lot of tobacco-related activities during January-March and again in October-December. The findings showed an equal spread in intensity of work across the year. A total of 71.8% of the children indicated that they enjoyed working on the tobacco farms. A total of 28.2% did not enjoy working on farms but they worked because they earned some form of reward (see Table 4g).

Table 4g: Percentage of children who enjoy working on the farms

	Frequency	Per cent (%)
Yes	102	71.8
No	40	28.2
Total	142	100.0

During peak seasons, particularly the harvesting season, marginalised families, usually those belonging to the same ethnic groups, move from their villages to the agricultural fields to make money on a temporary basis. It is common that children are involved in these movements, and they have no option but to work with family members so as to accumulate the pay that the family is given. In the study area many people moved from Kasongoire to Nyabyeya to work on the sugar plantations during the harvesting season. The families moved to be closer to their places of work. When harvesting is done, the families move back to Kasongoire to meet the older group they left at home.

Taracena (2003:303) adds that the living conditions are not good for the families that migrate to the agricultural fields. There are no schools for children, no safe drinking water, poor hygienic facilities and no electricity. Children below the age of 12 stay in the new homes to tend to house chores and look after babies, while the rest of the family go to work. Children of 12 years and above also go with the family to work.

Bey (2003: 288- 289) describes how the peasant farmers of South-western Mexico move from the mountains into the town to look for work. A total of 43 200 farmers under 50 years of age travelled with children of 15 years and below. Almost half of them were children who carried out all sorts of domestic and productive jobs, which included straw-hat making, a vital source of additional income to the family. It is unfortunate that some parents forged papers for their children so that authorities could permit them to work with their children, who were as young as 8 years.

A United States International programme (1995: 62) similarly reports an approximate 300 000 people, children inclusive, moving into Guatemala to work in the urban areas. Children are told to work as shoe-shiners on streets, and they wash cars. Some parents send their children off to work as slaves in sweat

shops, as prostitutes, and as child domestic workers. Since some children do not want to work; they run away from their parents and become destitutes on streets carrying out informal economic activities. Seventy per cent of Pakistan's population lives in villages where job opportunities are scarce. Families move to the urban industrialised areas where the economy is stronger.

Like children in the study area, 58% of Kenya's children work on coffee plantations full-time in March, which is the harvesting season. Egypt's as well as Cote d' Ivoire's children work on jasmine and rubber plantations with the help of their parents, in February. A number of factors like poverty and demand for cheap labour are the given reasons why the prevalence of child labour in the agricultural sector in Africa is high (Mwamadizingo, Mugeni and Mugambwa 2002:32). Taracena (2003:303) says that sometimes workers are paid according to how much work they do. In Uganda, from February to mid-April, the planting and weeding seasons, workers are employed on a part-time basis on tobacco farms.

4.4.3.5.6 Children's attitudes towards work

A total of 152 children were asked if they thought a child should work. In response 42 said a child should work, while 110 said a child should not work. The children were then asked why they had given this response. Out of the 110 who said a child should not work, 6 said a child should not work because "a child is supposed to play with friends," "a child should revise his or her books," and "a child should rest." Thirty said a child should not work because "one is supposed to be in school on a full-time basis" and 74 said, "a child should not work because one feels tired and sick whenever work is done." The researcher agrees that although children work, they feel it is a burden to their social lives. On the other hand, 6 children said a child should work because one needs food, 13 said one needs to work for school fees, and 23 said one should work to help with the family.

4.4.3.5.7 Payment for labour offered

Eighty-eight per cent of the children indicated that the reason why they worked on farms was that they were always compensated for their labour. Sixty-four per cent of the children worked for food, 16% for school stationery, and 3% worked for a weekly financial allowance. Table 4h and Table 4i below show the compensations received by the children from working on farms, and the percentage of children who received payments for their labour on farms.

Table 4h: Payments received

Payment received	Per cent (%)
Money weekly	3
Money monthly	4
Money daily	10
Food only	64
Clothing only	9
School stationery only	16

Table 4i: Percentage of children who received compensations for their labour on the farms

	Frequency	Per cent (%)
Yes (money, food clothing)	128	87.7
No (nothing)	18	12.3
Total	146	100.0

Table 4h shows that most children worked because they lacked one of the basic needs in life, which is food. The children were not interested in attending school on empty stomachs, which confirms that the families from which the children came were living below the poverty line.

The time spent on fields was motivated by a form of payment, which means children were lured into working against their will just because they were given a chance to earn. The future of an earning child is at risk, as a child gets the attitude that working is better than acquiring an education, thus eventually dropping out of school. SIMPOC (2004:29) says that children without their parents' knowledge walk up to estate owners and come to an understanding and arrangement on how they will carry out tasks given. Children in this setting are given different duties in return for an income, food or clothing. Other children are brought by their parents to estate owners to find work for their children. During group interviews, 60% of the parents in Nyabyeya said they asked large sugarcane estate owners to hire their children for work. Parents said they wanted their children to learn in case they owned estates in the future. Parental attitudes therefore drove children into work. In the study area, 82% of the children and 60% of their parents said that if a child was working, the skills acquired would be better than those acquired by children getting an education. Both parents and children believed that gaining working experience was more valuable than attending school, especially in cases where a child was to inherit family assets and take up the same occupation.

SIMPOC (2004:30) reports that parents sent their children away from home to work for farmers in fields in exchange for clothing, food or money. Children in such conditions did not attend school; they worked for long hours and were sometimes taken as household helpers in homes. Children are known to be providers of cheap labour compared to unskilled adults. Even when children are as productive as adults, the remuneration is less because employers easily manipulate the children.

The researcher therefore says that any child working for a reward is an indication of child labour, which is not good for child development both physically and mentally. The child is therefore deprived of a social life. This shows that the social structure perpetuates child labour.

4.4.4 Theme 4: The effect of HIV and AIDS on the community and child labour

Responses to Theme 4 are collectively presented below.

Sixty parents and 17 leaders said that HIV and AIDS were first noticed among communities in the mid-1980s. Respondents thought they were a form of witchcraft and it was believed that evil spirits had been sent to discipline people who stole property from others. It was not until 1990 that parents and leaders changed their perception of how HIV and AIDS spreads, and said it was a disease of the rich but not the poor. Eventually, parents and leaders said that even the poor in the villages contracted the disease, and families whose loved ones died of HIV and AIDS during that time felt ashamed of disclosing to the public the cause of death. It was not until 1994 that people in the study area knew what HIV and AIDS is and how it is transmitted. Parents and leaders said they were sensitised through listening to songs of a musician called Philly Bongoley Lutaya, who explained how HIV and AIDS are transmitted.

By the time people realised that HIV and AIDS can be prevented, many people had died, leaving behind helpless children. The orphans became household-heads and full-time child labourers. The parents and leaders said that although they got free condoms from the government of Uganda, they did not feel comfortable using them. One man from Nyabyeya said that, "I cannot allow using condoms with my wife because culture and the church do not allow me to.

Condoms are only used by prostitutes.” Another man from Nyabyeya said that if his wife suggested the use of condoms, he would consider her an unfaithful partner. Given the fact that the households under study were polygamous, it was possible for them to get HIV and AIDS if condoms were not used. Deaths related to HIV and AIDS increased and thus perpetuated child labour. All 60 parents said that the Catholic faith did not allow them to use condoms. The church’s refusal to allow the use of condoms also led to the increase of child labour.

During the group interviews 36 parents said that “ARVS are expensive and are found only in the city, Kampala.” In addition, the parents said that they heard rumours that “when blood is drawn from someone for testing and one is found HIV-positive, that person is injected with poison, and that is why people die a few months after testing and knowing their status.” This showed the researcher that respondents did not have the right information about issues related to HIV and AIDS.

Fifty-four parents and 17 leaders said that they “only get to see government people during election time when they make promises if voted to power.” Parents added that “the promises are not kept.” Parents said that they heard on radios how government was to send medicine to villages to try and fight AIDS-related illnesses like tuberculosis. Unfortunately, “the medicine does not get to the people.” Parents also said that they heard on radio that “money meant for fighting HIV and AIDS was swindled and shared among government officials, and investigations are taking place.”

The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria suspended its grants to Uganda in 2005 because of mismanagement of funds. Officials from the health Ministries in government offices, Major Gen Jim Muhwezi, Mike Mukula and Dr. Alex Kamugisha, were among the people implicated in embezzling the money. By November 2009, other government officials who included Teddy Cheeye working in the President’s office and Fred Kavuma, the former production

manager of Uganda Television, had been prosecuted.⁴⁷ Respondents believed that if the money meant for treatment of HIV and AIDS was not swindled by government Ministers, there would be medicine in designated clinics and all hospitals. Free counselling and testing would be available so that people did not infect others. Children would not be orphaned at an early age. This therefore confirms that HIV and AIDS in the study area positively impact on the community and perpetuate child labour.

4.4.4.1 Living conditions of children

The findings of the research showed that 43% of the children in the labour market lived with both parents, while approximately 50% of those who participated resided with either parent. Noticeable proportions of about 7% of the children lived alone, and fended for themselves. As seen in Table 4j, the 43% of the children who lived with both their parents seem to have had a hand in providing the basic needs like food, clothing and shelter for their families, although at regulated times. Children living with both parents were not as involved in child labour activities, thus had a better chance of attending and completing school. Although children who lived with both parents were known to work less, they could work with those who were probably involved in full-time labour activities, and could also work full-time because of peer pressure.

Table 4j: Percentage of people children live with

Percentage of children living with both parents	Percentage of children living with single parents	Percentage of children living alone
43	50	7

The reason for 50% of the children living with either parent could be divorce, death of one parent or separation of parents. Research found that children living

⁴⁷ Uganda losses \$12m Global fund Accessed November 11, 2009, from <http://www.newvision.co.ug/D/8/12/656872>

with one parent were the greatest percentage in the labour market and were more likely to be involved in child-labour activities, suffering from recurring illnesses and dropping out of school, as supported by ILO/IPEC (2000/2001:27). In June 2004, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) undertook a survey in Uganda and it was noted that 72.4% of the children living with either parent said their mothers had died of the HIV and AIDS pandemic. Twenty per cent of the children did not know what either parent had died of. The survey found that out of 8 children, HIV and AIDS had orphaned 6. In addition, a total of 417 children were found to be infected, and only 220 of these were in school. A total of 116 children found it hard to continue with school because they had to work, and some dropped out because of recurring illnesses (ILO/IPEC 2000/2001:27).

Some of the children under the care of a single parent usually worked to help the family income. Single parenthood, which results in little or no parental control, could force children into labour-related activities for reasons which include buying scholastic materials. In addition, the single parent might be weak and unable to support the family alone. Because some of these children attended school irregularly to help the parent, their literacy levels dropped (ILO/IPEC 2004a: 31-32). ILO further reported that children joined the workforce to survive. When they worked, they were exploited by their bosses and made to work under hazardous conditions. This exploitation came about because bosses knew that the children were vulnerable and unable to negotiate their terms of employment. Employers used the fact that children needed to work for their dying relatives, so employers either paid less or did not pay the children at all for duties performed.

4.4.4.2 HIV and AIDS and child labour

The study found that 7% of the children who participated lived on their own. These children lived alone either because their parents were dead or they did not know where they were. In most cases, the children were orphaned and therefore

had to fend for themselves. This forced them to work all day to earn a living, thereby preventing them from attending school.

Children looking after themselves could have lost their parents to HIV and AIDS or any other disaster. A total of 51.4% of parents and leaders agreed that HIV and AIDS contributed to the fact that orphaned children engaged in full-time work. In addition, 30.6% agreed, 9.0% disagreed and 9.0% strongly disagreed that HIV and AIDS left many homes without parents. The research established that, although the government of Uganda offered clothes and food to orphans, the programmes set out to assist the children were not fully implemented. The funds were usually embezzled by the authorities. The study also found that orphaned children suffered more, as they worked for longer hours. A total of 68% of the parents and leaders agreed that orphaned children had members of the extended family who were not interested in helping them with provision of their basic needs. Orphaned children were forced into the labour market and eventually dropped out of school. HIV and AIDS is therefore a major cause of child labour.

UNICEF (2005:126) adds that some of the children orphaned by HIV and AIDS are forced to drop out of school to earn a living. UNICEF further estimates that 63% of Uganda's working children have been orphaned by HIV and AIDS and receive no help from family members.

In 2007, the Uganda National Child Labour Policy (2006: 6) estimated that nearly 2.5 million children had been orphaned by HIV and AIDS and the number of orphans was expected to increase in the future. In addition, 50% of children living with HIV and AIDS were infected by their mothers either at birth or through breast-feeding.

SODECO (2002:11) points out that children are left with the financial strain of looking after themselves and their younger siblings. In order to survive, work is the only option. The HIV and AIDS epidemic is fuelled by unemployment, poor

health care, poor feeding, and poor education. The infection of so many people has a serious adverse impact on the quality of life of the whole population. Ehrhart (2000) estimates that HIV and AIDS are responsible for about 12% of Uganda's annual deaths, and is the leading cause of death among individuals aged 15-49 years in Uganda. The immediate impact of death in this age bracket is the growing number of orphans in the community and the loss of income because of illness and death among the household members. This means children take on more responsibility to earn an income in order to survive. The study therefore agrees with other writers that HIV and AIDS causes an increase in child labour.

Other countries worldwide have been faced with the same problem that Uganda is facing. Many children in Zambia, South Africa, Swaziland and the Democratic Republic of Congo have had many children dropping out of school because their parents have died of HIV and AIDS. Kempe (2005:33) notes that in 2003 there were about 23 million children orphaned by HIV and AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, and 30% of those head households in Zambia. Willis and Levy (2002:1418) report figures of 6 different countries that have young children fending for themselves through the sex trade, living at risk of acquiring HIV and AIDS. A total of 176 children in Vietnam and Thailand were reported working as child prostitutes and were HIV-positive. The children, especially girls who were involved in the sex trade, had lost their parents to HIV and AIDS. Thirty-six percent of Cambodia's child sex workers had lost their parents to HIV and AIDS, China's 78% and Thailand's 38%. The rates at which sex workers get infected with HIV are high.

In addition, *The New Vision Newspaper*, Friday December 1 (2006:40) reported that Swaziland, followed by South Africa, has Africa's worst HIV and AIDS prevalence. Of South Africa's population, 47 million people, especially those of 15-24 years of age, are HIV-positive. Most poor families in Swaziland and South Africa are known to have quite a number of children. Families in this kind of situation have a high infant mortality rate of 100 children dying out of every 1 000

live births. These children die because of poor sanitation, poor nutrition and their parents infecting them and dying of HIV and AIDS as well. The HIV and AIDS pandemic is one of the main causes of the high infant mortality rate. Wei (1998:4) asserts that statistics from Angola's national institute of statistics show almost 250 out of 1 000 children dying by the age of 5 years from the HIV and AIDS pandemic. Because Angola has an inadequate health system, factors suggest there is an increase in HIV and AIDS among its inhabitants, who also die and leave young ones behind to work as the only option to survive.

Andrig (2000) contends that the fact that parents die and leave their children in poverty forces them to work for survival. These orphans are forced by socio-economic circumstances rather than by their economic choices to enter the labour market early. The study therefore agrees that HIV and AIDS have negatively impacted on many lives of people living in both urban and rural communities in Africa.

The study found that of the 50 children who lived with one biological parent, 30 lived with a step-parent. The 30 children said that either one parent had left the family or the parent had died of HIV and AIDS, which is why they had a step-parent. The number of single parents who lost their spouses to HIV and AIDS was reported as increasing in Uganda by *The New Vision Newspaper* Saturday June 16 (2007: 16). Fathers were reported to abandon more than 180 children in Jinja district after the death of the mothers to HIV and AIDS. As poverty continues to cripple the social and economic welfare of orphaned children, Uganda's government still has a long way to go on issues regarding HIV and AIDS and the elimination of child labour.

4.4.5 Theme 5: The impact of technological advancement on child labour.

The following theme explains how low technological advancement influences the existence of child labour.

The results of the findings of the study showed that parents and leaders were concerned about the rise and use of mechanised farming methods. They said that when new machines were brought in, most of them lost jobs. Fewer people were needed on farms, and those with a higher education status were more likely to secure jobs. Although the educated secured jobs, their salaries were decreased. Kinyara Sugar Works, for example, initially had over 200 cane cutters. When 2 tractors were brought in, the number of cutters was decreased to 50 people. For the Masindi Seed Project, all the people who used to scare birds away lost their jobs because scarecrows were then used on the farms. The parents who lost their jobs eventually took their children out of school and into the labour force to supplement the family income. Parents worked with their children on family farms and sold their produce at marketplaces.

4.4.5.1 Technological advancement and child labour

A total of 82.9% of the children who participated in this study were expected to operate and use some tools. However, only 54% of the parents said their children used tools while working. Ninety-eight percent of the children said they used hoes to work on the tobacco farms, while 2% used their hands to either pick or weed on farms. The children who operated using hoes were liable to injuries and falling sick.

The research found that children used hoes because other farming tools like tractors are expensive to hire. Tractors are what children and parents consider as modern technological tools used on farms. Parents therefore said they preferred to use as many children as they could to get work done. Lack of modern technology has resulted in using a larger number of children. Parents and children who use farm tools were asked if they got injured using the tools, and most children (93%) and parents (84%) indicated that children fell sick or were injured as they operated the farm tools. It is evident that the work children performed was harmful to their health in one way or another. This is considered as child labour, as supported by the Uganda National Child Labour Policy (2006:2) which states that child labour is what jeopardises the health and safety of a child. Table 4k below shows the different types of injuries suffered by the children as a result of operating farm tools.

Table 4k: Injuries suffered by child workers

Injuries	Frequency	Percentage (%) children
Slight bruises and cuts	47	47
Burns	4	7.8
Limb injuries	2	3.9
Eye infection	11	21.6
Back problems	6	11.8
Breathing problems	4	7.8
Total	51	100.0

During group interviews, all community leaders in the study indicated that most children fell sick as a result of working on tobacco farms. The leaders noted that the problems faced included chest pain, skin diseases and tuberculosis. The community leaders also said that many children suffered from eye infections

which caused problems while concentrating on their studies at school. As a result, the hard labour performed by children is detrimental to their mental and intellectual development while attending school, thus contributing to dropping out of school.

Similar to the situation in the study area, GAO (1998: 3, 23- 25) estimated over 600 American children working in the agricultural sector and suffering work-related injuries each year. A total of 59 children had lost their lives to leukaemia and other cancerous diseases while working on the fields for over 31 hours a week. The constant exposure to dyes and pumping of gasoline by minors caused partial or permanent deafness and loss of their sight.

Rahel (2003:181) adds that like America, Turkey's 23.9% of the work force is children working under hazardous conditions. Children in India working on hybrid cottonseed production plants are exposed to pesticides, and work without protective equipment. The pesticides affect their health adversely, and children constantly complain of having frequent headaches, dizziness, and skin and eye irritations.

In Uganda, injuries faced by working children include lung diseases, skeletal deformities and immune dysfunctionality. SODECO (2002:46-48) reports that 39% of the children in the rice sector and 54% in the tobacco sector faced physical injuries like cuts during work. Fifty-five per cent of children in the rice sector, and 44% in the sugarcane sector, were exposed to dangerous chemicals.

Human Rights Watch (2003d: 38) adds that many of the children working in Uganda's agricultural sector complain of the complications they got at work. In the sugarcane sector, 22.7% complained of fatigue, and 14.1% worked with dangerous tools, 13.4% carried heavy loads and 7.6% complained of being beaten as they worked. Sixty-eight per cent of the children who worked for longer hours in the coffee sector said they suffered chest pains, wounds and cuts. A

total of 37.6% got deep cuts, 11.5% got back-ache, 1.8% suffered respiratory problems and 36.7% suffered from coughing. Other injuries included fractures, swollen feet, eye problems and genital discomfort.

ILO/IPEC June (2004a: 31-32) shows that Uganda's cotton sector had a total of 37.6% with deep cuts, 11.5% with back-ache, and 48.2% with respiratory problems. The study therefore agrees that children are exposed to many injuries as they work, and their quality of life is therefore damaged.

Technological advancement affects different industries in different ways. In the agricultural sector, the introduction of machinery leads to reduction of manpower, loss of jobs, and the increase of child labour, thus lessening the time work is done. The study has therefore shown that low technological advancement leads to child labour.

4.4.6 Theme 6: The effect and the role of human rights activists on child labour.

The following responses were given as regards theme 6 and are presented collectively as follows.

Parents did not know who human rights activists were. Parents said rights are determined by God through the Ten Commandments and the Koran. Fifteen leaders said that whenever the activists went to the study area, they held conferences in hotels and sent messages through them to tell community members about child rights and the penalties to be incurred if not followed. The activists did not actually reach the villagers to enlighten the respondents on issues as intended. The leaders further said that community members did not actually get to learn what the activists discussed, but only got to hear of penalties passed by them. The penalties included arresting parents who allowed children to dig in fields. Parents then got confused, wondering why they were not allowed to let their children work.

This theme also addresses the doubt among parents regarding the strategies used by the so-called human rights activists to reduce child labour. The leaders said that activists were expected to gather members together and sensitise them on all aspects related to child labour. Activists unfortunately did not gather members of the community, but instead empowered the leaders with the right to talk to the people. The leaders said that they could not explain to the community as well as the qualified human rights activists could. Information could be distorted and thus the message not be passed on. This explains a possible reason as to why most parents did not have any idea of who the activists were.

4.4.6.1 Awareness of Child Labour Legislation

The study showed that 90.1% of the children and 98.2% of parents indicated that they had heard of the law regarding child labour. Knowing the existence of the child labour law does not stop parents from influencing their children into work. The study further found that 52% of farmers were not aware of the child labour law, although 48% knew child labour was illegal. Although 52% of parents did not know about the child labour law, the study reported that 12 leaders said they enforced the law through meetings, while 5 said they sensitised the community on the existence of the law. This shows that by the time of the study, the leaders were not entirely truthful about the enforcement and implementation of the law. If the leaders were truthful, all the 60 parents who participated in the study would have had a lot of knowledge about child labour and the law governing it. This further shows that human rights activists had not been to the study area to sensitise community members on the legislation. Table 4I illustrates the spread of knowledge among the children and parents interviewed.

Table 4I: Awareness of child labour legislation

	Per cent % Children	Per cent % Parents
Yes	90.1	98.2
No	9.9	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Similar to the situation in the study area, the government of India has a number of laws and policies to protect working children. Despite the existence of the laws, children are still involved in work. Ecuador's Ministry of Labour enforced labour-code provisions that were to limit the tasks children performed; with the aim of letting them complete school in good health and safe conditions. Labour inspectors were supposed to carry out inspectorate duties; monitoring onsite duties and making sure children were not used as labourers. Despite the fact that Ecuador's residents were aware of the existence of the Convention; children were still used as labourers in the agricultural sector.⁴⁸

The children in the study had heard about the law against child labour from more than one source. Radio and school were the major sources of information about the law on child labour. Forty-seven per cent of children indicated that they had heard about the law against child labour on radio. Other sources of information regarding the law against child labour mentioned by the children included: social workers (8%), friends (8%), television (10%), school (47%), newspapers (7%) and sensitisation programmes (12%). Just like the children, parents had heard about the law against child labour from more than one source. Radio and sensitisation programmes were the major sources of information. Seventy-three per cent of the parents indicated that they had heard about the law against child labour on radio. It is therefore evident that the government of Uganda and other

⁴⁸ Human Rights watch (2003e). Small change bonded child labour in silk India's industry January, 15(2). Accessed February 16, 2007 http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/india/India0103-05.htm#P960_199942

concerned organisations were trying to broadcast to the country issues relating to the law on child labour. Other sources of information regarding the law against child labour mentioned included: friends (10.7%), newspapers (10.7%), sensitisation programmes (37.5%), social workers (1.8%) and television (1.8%). The results confirmed that respondents had heard of the child labour legislation and knew that child labour is not good for a child.

It is evident there is a lack of educational action to enforce children's rights and create an environment for them and their parents to understand the dangers that come with child labour. People like farmers who use child labour may not know the rights of the child unless they are told how it negatively affects a child. Liebel (2002:268-269) adds that some parents may not be aware of the child labour legislation and may be in a position to be partly responsible for its existence. However, children may also not be aware of their rights, thus perpetuating child labour.

The study showed that 75% of the community leaders indicated that there was someone in charge of child labour issues in their community, and said that child labour legislation was enforced in their area. Furthermore, the leaders indicated that they participated in the enforcement of the child labour legislation. To ensure that all community members acquired the information on child labour, the leaders said they organised community meetings to discuss the issues of child labour, and sensitised the residents about the child labour legislation and the dangers of child labour.

Although the community leaders indicated that they had once participated in a few community programmes to guard against child labour, they said that some of the goals of the programmes had not been accomplished. In reality, there is no enforcement of the child labour legislation as claimed by the leaders. If the legislation was being enforced as claimed by leaders, then children in the study area would not be working as shown in Table 4i.

The research found that although respondents were aware of the existence of the child labour legislation, they did not know what it entailed. Respondents did not know to what extent the legislation could help in protecting the rights of children. The little information received from radios and other sources did not explain in detail the advantages of the law. This also confirms that the human rights activists had not gone to the study area to extensively teach about human rights.

4.4.6.1.1 Attitudes related to child labour

The study found that 66% of the children strongly agreed that a child has to work even if he or she has to go to school because a child has to be able to contribute to the family income and also provide him- or herself with school stationery that a parent or guardian may not be able to readily offer. Approximately 75% of the children strongly agreed that a child below the age of 18 was not supposed to work for long hours under hazardous conditions. The research showed that even if children did not enjoy working, they had to, in order to survive. Table 4m provides a summary of how the children felt about certain aspects of child labour.

Table 4m: Children's attitudes and opinions on certain aspects of child labour.

Attitude	Strongly agree (%)	Agree (%)	Neutral (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly disagree (%)
A child has to work even if one has to go to school	65.9	14.1	5.2	1.5	13.3
A child below the age of 18 is not supposed to work for long hrs under hazardous conditions	75.2	15.3	1.5	1.5	6.6
The issue of household poverty as an influence of child labour is a problem in my area	63.3	25.8	7	1.6	2.3
Programmes targeting tobacco farmers to eliminate child labour should be started	72.5	13.7	1.5	6.1	6.1

The study found that 31 children from Nyabyeya parish, 40 from Kasongoire and 45 from Nyantonzi, knew what child labour was, and its consequences. However, children said that even if they knew the dangers related to child labour, they had to obey their parents who forced them to work and asked them for money when they returned home. Children therefore miss out on school even though 26% in Nyabyeya, 34% in Kasongoire and 40% in Nyantonzi expressed interest in attending class.

The study further found that 67% of the parents strongly agreed that a child should help one's guardian with work. Forty-seven per cent of parents believed that it was the responsibility of the parent to ensure that a child learns how to work. Sixty-one per cent of the parents strongly agreed that a child has to work even if the child has to go to school. Forty-seven per cent of the parents strongly agreed that a child below the age of 18 was not supposed to work for long hours under hazardous conditions.

Twenty parents in Nyabyeya, 20 in Kasongoire and 10 in Nyantonzi agreed to the fact that child labour was practised in the parish. Thirty parents in Nyantonzi, 15 in Kasongoire and 15 in Nyabyeya had a knowledge base on child labour. In addition, 8 parents in Nyabyeya, 22 in Kasongoire and 30 in Nyantonzi blamed community leaders for the prevalence levels of child labour in Nyabyeya, insisting that when community leaders were aware that children were working, they at times ignored the children and let them work without the parents' knowledge. All 60 parents in the study area blamed the inability of the children's irregular attendance in school on the economic situation in Masindi. Although parents wanted their children in school, they believed children gained nothing. Forty-two parents said that they sent their children to school without any lunch. When asked what they had for lunch if parents did not provide, 72 children said they did not reach school but went and worked on farms whose owners gave them lunch. Parents then thought the children were at school but they were not.

The research found that 25 parents in Nyabyeya, 13 in Nyantonzi and 10 in Kasongoire said that owners of big estates found it easier and cheaper to use children to work. All of the households under study were polygamous, thus having many children. Fifty-four parents of the families in the study said that they had so many children to feed and not enough money to send them to school, so they sent the children to work with the aim of teaching them how to survive by making money. Although 12 parents minded, 48 did not mind their children working during peak seasons as, "it is good for the family." Sixty parents said that many of the owners of the big estates were community leaders who also used children as labourers. This showed the researcher that the employers of children on farms could not be apprehended if the employers included leaders who were supposed to arrest culprits.

Fifty parents from Nyabyeya, 20 from Kasongoire and 9 from Nyantonzi said that the reason children were engaged in work was because they did not have any user-friendly loan facilities they could use to invest in small-scale enterprises. The parents said that the money made out of the enterprises could help them keep their children in schools and decrease the rate at which they sent children out to work.

Thirty parents in Nyabyeya, 25 in Kasongoire and 17 in Nyantonzi said that when children were sent to school, they did not get to school. The parents said that employers began slowly by giving the young children small tasks and then rewarding them with incentives which their own parents did not offer when they did housework. Children therefore preferred work to school because they earned money when they worked. Eventually, these working children pressured others into working as well.

Thirty-four parents in Nyabyeya parish said that it was hard for them to send their children to school full-time, as the extra income made by the children was needed. The parents said that the reason they insisted on their children bringing

home the extra income was essential. 16 parents from Kasongire and 8 parents from Nyantonzi aired a concern that they had no option but to use children in tobacco fields. The parents said that since tobacco was an annual crop, children worked all year round. The parents complained about the hiked prices the British American Tobacco Uganda (BATU) had imposed on the tobacco they sold and found it unprofitable. Ever since BATU sales dropped, it had been hard for tobacco farmers to make any profit. Parents therefore sent their children to work on sugarcane plantations.

Similarly, 40.5% of the parents agreed that a child should start work at an early age to be able to learn for his or her future. The other percentage (40%) of parents strongly disagreed with the notion that a child should begin working at the age of 18 years. A total of 56.8% strongly disagreed that a child should work for as many hours as he/she was told, to help earn money for the family. Table 4n below provides a summary of the attitudes of the parents as regards child labour issues.

Table 4n: Parents' attitudes regarding child labour issues

Attitude	Strongly agree (%)	Agree (%)	Neutral (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly disagree (%)
A child should help one's guardian with work	66.7	27.1	4.2		2.1
It is the duty of the guardian to ensure a child learns how to work	46.8	40.4	4.3		8.5
A child should start work at an early age to be able to learn for his/her future	38.1	40.5	11.9	2.4	7.1
A child is supposed to work for as long as she/he wants	29.7	10.8	8.1	37.8	13.5
A child is expected to start work at the age of 18 years	37.5	7.5	5	10	40
A child should work for as many hours as he/she is told, to help earn money for the family	16.2	2.7	24.3		56.8

A substantial proportion (61%) of the parents strongly agreed that a child had to work even if they should go to school. Compared to the children's attitudes, a smaller proportion (47%) of the parents strongly agreed that a child below the age of 18 was not supposed to work for long hours under hazardous conditions. Table 4o provides a summary of how the parents felt about certain aspects of the law regarding child labour.

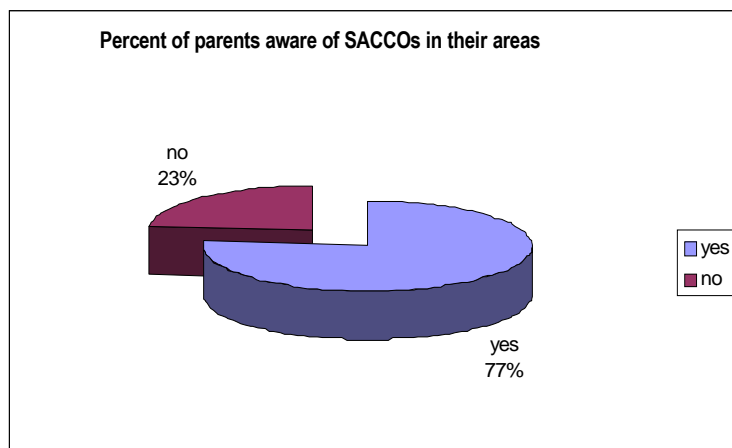
Table 4o: Parents' perceptions on child labour law

Attitude	Strongly agree (%)	Agree (%)	Neutral (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly disagree (%)
A child has to work even if one has to go to school	61.2	2	8.2	12.2	16.3
A child below the age of 18 is not supposed to work for long hrs under hazardous conditions	47.1	35.3	3.9	5.9	7.8
The issue of household poverty as an influence of child labour should be addressed for elimination	44.4	33.3	2.2	4.4	15.6
Programmes targeting tobacco farmers to eliminate child labour should be started	63	13	2.2	6.5	15.2

4.4.6.1.2 Awareness of the savings and credit co-operative organisations (SACCOs)

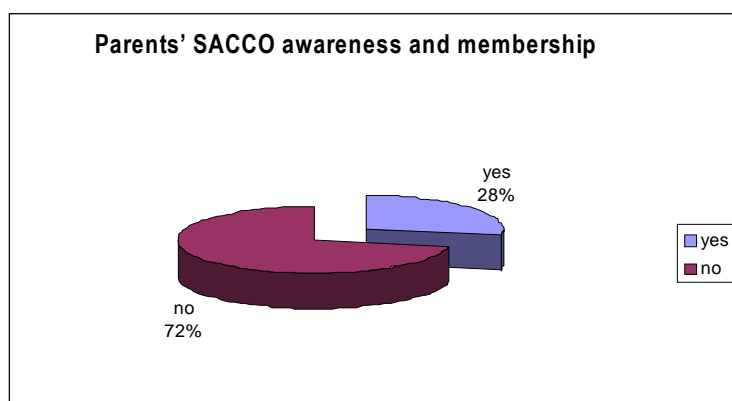
The study showed that 77% of the parents indicated that they were aware of some SACCOs in their areas. The researcher believes that the high percentage of parents aware of the existence of SACCOs shows that there is a higher probability of them using SACCO facilities to improve the economic status of their households. Figure 4f below provides a summary of awareness of SACCOs among the parents.

Figure 4f: Parents' awareness of SACCOs.



Among the parents who were aware of the SACCOs in their areas, only 28% were members, as shown in Figure 4g.

Figure 4g: Parents' membership in SACCOs



Being members means that poverty and child labour could be reduced by parents getting loans that could be used for income-generating activities. Children could therefore have a chance to acquire full-time education and develop their human-resource skills. The advantages of SACCOs to the society are powerful because they not only help in reducing child labour but also

inculcate economic power into the society. If the society could be sensitised about SACCOs, the issue of child labour could be minimised tremendously.

Ninety percent of the community leaders indicated that they had heard about SACCOs and 30% of them were members. Eleven leaders indicated that the best way to ensure that their community members had access the scheme was to sensitise the communities about SACCOs, their advantages to members, and how they could improve on one's life. The community members could attend the available community education programmes that teach people how to use their money profitably.

Three leaders from Nyantonzi said that community members could use the funds from SACCOs to improve on their lives by adopting a culture of investment. Children could therefore have a chance to attend school. Sixty parents were further asked what they would do with the SACCO funds if made available to them. Twenty-two parents said they would use the money to pay school fees for their children, 30 would use the money for investment and 8 would use it to buy a house. The fact that 30 parents would use the money for productive purposes showed the researcher that they were capable of being good investors, and business would be a good start in reducing and eradicating poverty in the study area.

4.4.6.1.3 Source of information regarding SACCOs

The results showed that the major sources of information for the parents regarding SACCOs in the study area were sensitisation programmes. A substantial proportion (20%) of parents indicated that agents on promotional campaigns provided information about SACCOs in their areas, as indicated in Table 4p below.

Table 4p: Source of information on child labour for parents

Source of information	Frequency	Percentage (%)
from agents on a promotional campaign	7	20.0
from a radio	8	22.9
from a sensitisation programme	18	51.4
Not applicable	2	5.7
Total	35	100.0

Although parents were given the information on SACCOs, it was not in-depth enough for them to analyse the advantages and disadvantages of SACCOs. The promoters of SACCOs did not put into place a mechanism for educating and training the society on project-planning and management, basic accounting knowledge like book-keeping and managing of records. Parents' knowledge on whether a project is viable or not, depending on choice and abilities, was not acquired. If promoters trained the parents, the knowledge acquired could be put into practice and therefore lead to a fundamental change in the lives of the members of society, thus reducing child labour and developing human-resource skills.

4.4.6.2 Feedback from Community Leaders

In this section, the study considered opinions of the community leaders about child labour under various headings, which are explained below.

4.4.6.2.1 Community leaders' comments on the concept of child labour

All 15 community leaders in the study areas unanimously agreed that child labour

was engaging children in work that damaged their wellbeing, as well as overworking children beyond their capacities. One community leader from Nyantozzi Parish said that child labour is “over-using children in field work”. Four leaders from Nyantonzi said that child labour was “making a child to over work”.

The five community leaders in Nyabyeya looked at child labour as “involving children below the age of 18 years in work instead of taking them to school”.

Two community leaders from Kasongoire said child labour is “the conditions under which children work and are unfavourable to their well-being.” Three community leaders from Kasongoire said that “any work undertaken by the children associated with tobacco growing is child labour.”

One Nyantonzi leader said that “parents are the main influencers of child labour.” The leader further said that “when I ask parents to reduce the amount of time they send their children to the fields to work and increase the time their children spend at school, they ignore me.”

Five leaders from Nyabyeya said that “parents contribute to the children working instead of going to school.” The leaders complained about the inability of parents to comprehensively provide their children with basic needs. The leaders further said that “Parents spend their income on consuming local brew instead of purchasing scholastic materials for their children.”

The community leaders showed that they knew what child labour was and could define it. Leaders also knew that parents were among the enhancers of child labour.

4.4.6.3 Involvement of children in labour on tobacco farms

Almost all community leaders (82.4%) indicated that there were children in the study areas who were involved in child labour on tobacco farms.

4.4.6.3.1 Leaders' opinions on why children engage in child labour

The community leaders had varying opinions as to why the children in the study area engaged in child labour. Five leaders from Nyantonzi felt that children engaged in child labour because of negligence of the parents. Parents seemingly did not take an active parenting role. Three community leaders from Nyantonzi felt that children engaged in child labour because their parents were poor, and could not afford to buy school needs like books and stationery. Five community leaders from Nyabyeya felt that the children's families just wanted to get extra money by making their children work.

Four community leaders from Nyabyeya said that child labour was one way of increasing the family's labour force, and thus getting better productivity. Two leaders from Kasongoire said that children engaged in child labour because of pressure from their parents, and since the communities were not adequately empowered to fight child labour, the practice was ignored by community members.

4.4.6.4 Major enhancers of child labour

The research showed that all 17 leaders unanimously opined that it was the parents that persuaded children into child labour on tobacco farms. Nyabyeya was the parish that was singled out by the leaders with the highest number of child labourers in the sub county. The leaders also pointed out plausible reasons

as to why children were employed on tobacco farms. Three leaders in Nyabyeya said that parents were ignorant of the dangers of child labour and children's interest in being able to earn their own income.

Forty-two of the children in Nyabyeya, on the other hand, blamed their parents for not providing them with school books and instead asking their children to work in order to provide the books for themselves.

Eight leaders said that many farms lacked manpower, so children were the only readily available and cheap labour in their communities. Two community leaders indicated that the children were employed on tobacco farms to supplement the income of their already working parents.

Like the children in the study area, Eldring, Nakanyane and Tshoaedi (2000: 53-79) reported that owing to the economic conditions children provided for their families in Mozambique and Malawi, parents encouraged and at times forced their children to work. Children eventually enjoyed working because of the reward they got for work done. Children eventually dropped out of school to become full-time workers.

The reasons put forward that enhanced the existence of child labour could be true, but both the parents and the community leaders were not considering the future of the children. Parents and leaders were rather only looking at the income children could bring home. However, the research found that the parents did not have any moral reason to take their children to school since they had not gone to school themselves and had a scanty education, thus lacking the urge to enforce child education. Parents therefore enhanced the existence of child labour. Large farm owners, too, attracted more children into work by offering food and clothing which could not be paid to an adult for work done.

4.4.6.5 Attitudes towards child-labour issues

The research showed that 35.3% of the community leaders strongly agreed that a child had to work even if he or she should go to school, while 29.4% agreed, 11.8% were neutral, and 17.6% disagreed on the matter. Furthermore, 52.9% of the leaders strongly agreed that a child below 18 years should not work under hazardous conditions, 23.5% agreed, 5.9% disagreed and 11.8% strongly disagreed. In addition, 70.6% of community leaders strongly agreed that programmes targeting tobacco farmers to eliminate child labour should be started, while 29.4% agreed on the matter. Table 4q below provides a summary of how the community leaders felt about certain aspects regarding child labour.

Table: 4q Attitudes of community leaders on child labour issues

Attitude	Strongly agree (%)	Agree (%)	Neutral (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly disagree (%)
A child has to work even if one has to go to school	35.3	29.4	11.8	17.6	35.3
A child below the age of 18 is not supposed to work for long hrs under hazardous conditions	52.9	23.5	5.9	5.9	11.8
The issue of household poverty as an influence of child labour is a problem in my area	58.8	29.4	11.8		
Programmes targeting tobacco farmers to eliminate child labour should be started	70.6	29.4			

Although children, parents and leaders seemed to have a negative attitude towards child labour, the reality on the ground is that they would all have liked child labour to continue. The reason is that child labour was a source of income

for families and leaders, some of whom owned large farms that probably employed children because they were cheap.

All the parents and leaders said that “they knew that their area needed developmental help and any help was welcome.” They further said that if they were involved in the decision-making and problem-solving of issues in the area, they would appreciate it. Different meetings with responsible parties who included the government, parents, local council chiefs, child employers and children, could be held. Without meetings held among responsible parties, misunderstandings could also arise. The researcher believes that arguments over roles and responsibilities regarding child labour elimination could arise as well. To ensure co-operation, parents said that the government, NGOs and leaders all had a role in the community to mobilise any funds or donations that could help the community to fight any child-labour-related issues.

Leaders said that confusion among parties usually arose when donations had been made. The government could, for example, hand over to local leaders necessities like bed covers and mosquito nets. Recipients did not know which organisation had donated what item. In addition, not all recipients got these items. Parents said that there was a time when leaders asked them to buy mosquito nets but “it was later discovered that the nets were a donation.” This caused confusion and lack of a follow-up plan.

Parents also said that if they were involved in decision-making meetings for their area, a policy developed out of the meetings in which the community is involved, is likely to work and cause positive change among members. Even after developing the policy, it should be implemented among communities.

There is a broken link between the government in terms of policy making and implementation at community level; that is why child labour still exists. The local leaders have the authority to warn anyone using children as labourers on farms,

but some of the leaders also own large farms on which they employ children. Farm owners find it cheaper to use children. It becomes difficult for leaders to implement a policy that denies them profits. Children, on the other hand, feel content working on farms because they get some form of payment. With this kind of arrangement, it is very hard to implement the child-labour policy. Parents, their children and farm owners want to use children as labourers on farms. This shows that there is discontent with policy development and policy implementation because of the poor relationships and communication between the government and community leaders as well as community members.

Putting into consideration the findings derived from the themes above, there is a willingness expressed by parents and leaders to try and work with the responsible authorities to eradicate poverty. There is also concern among community members to give their children a better future. The community would prefer vocational training for their children to the education system presently available. This implies that the current education system is not positively embraced by members. Table 4r shows a summary of the different responses by parents and leaders regarding the education system, poverty eradication and culture in the study area.

Table 4r: Percentage of parents' and leaders' responses to different child labour issues

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Uganda's education system causes child labour	47.3	25.2	16.7	10.8
Cultural set-up encourages child labour	15.3	41.4	25.2	17.6
Culture favours boys mainly	23	47.3	18	11.7
Social patterns in communities perpetuate child labour	13.1	35.6	33.3	17.6
HIV and AIDS cause child labour	55.4	28.4	8.6	7.7
Government supports orphans in your area	18.9	22.5	35.1	23.4
Modern technology is not used on farms in my community	17.1	41	25.7	16.2
Lack of technological advancement has resulted into child labour	43.2	30.2	14.4	12.2
Tools used on farms injure children	13.1	42.2	28.4	16.2
Human rights activists teach communities about child labour	15.8	20.3	27	36.9
Human rights activists have led to the reduction of child labour	12.6	18	30.2	39.2

Given the different responses to the various issues in Table 4r, a plan by the government to find donor organisations that help orphaned children with issues related to HIV and AIDS management should be initiated in Uganda like the case suggested in South Africa. Johnson, Bartlett, Lynham, Cunningham and Marwitz (2009:22) advise that organisations in South Africa should have a strategic plan to connect funding organisations to AIDS work. Children helped by these organisations can grow up having developed their human-resource skills instead of ending up as child labourers.

A critical programme should be initiated to sensitise respondents about the legislation and age limit for people to start work according to the Constitution. Comparing the strength the legislation holds in eliminating child labour to what culture instils in people to increase child labour, the consequences should be

made clear through sensitising respondents. In addition, there is a need for the government to initiate and implement tangible programmes and policies that not only sensitise people but instil in them the need to eliminate child labour and develop human-resource skills.

4.5 Conclusion

The study was able to determine that child labour is actually prevalent in the study areas of Masindi district. Because child labour is present, many children do not get a chance to complete the cycle of education because of a number of named reasons connected with poverty. The study has been able to explain the findings of the research that was carried out in the study areas of Masindi district, which included Nyabyeya, Nyantonzi and Kasongoire.

Uganda's education system has offered a chance to all children to access free education. However, because the parents cannot provide lunch and scholastic materials for their children, dropout rates in schools increase as children involve themselves in physical labour. Although some children succeed in working and attending school too, most resort to full-time work. The researcher therefore concludes that although Uganda's education system gives a chance for education for all, in fact it perpetuates child labour.

HIV and AIDS have for decades left many families with no adult care. Children are therefore left with no option but to look after each other to survive. Children in such situations carry out petty jobs, eat from garbage bins and even steal from people on streets. It is therefore prudent to conclude that HIV and AIDS increase child labour.

In addition, children who work because of the economic demands of their families work on the farms of large estate owners. The traditional tools used are hoes, slashers, axes and pangas. These tools need more manpower and time to

ensure work is done. Estate owners usually use children whom they can easily exploit by paying lower wages. Although better tools are available, child workers, hoes and slashers are still preferred because they are cheap. Low technological advancement has been proved to cause child labour.

Uganda is fortunate to have legislation on child labour and human-rights activists to implement programmes to enlighten citizens. However, the human-rights activists do not put into practice what is agreed upon in seminar halls. People in rural areas are not well equipped with information on the legislation and how it can be used to eliminate child labour. The research therefore concludes that human-rights activists contribute to the increasing number of child labourers in Uganda.

The government of Uganda should ensure the availability of continuous sensitisation programmes on child-labour issues, especially in rural areas. A better education system, good homes for orphaned children and better farming methods, should be worked on to improve the child-labour situation in Uganda.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The following chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study. The research set out to critically analyse child labour in Uganda in relation to human-resource development, and the following were the objectives the research set out to achieve.

- i. To establish the impact of poverty on child labour
- ii. To assess the effect of the social and cultural setup on child labour.
- iii. To find out the impact of the child-labour legislation on child labour
- iv. To determine the influence of the HIV and AIDS pandemic on child labour
- v. To establish the effect of the educational system on child labour
- vi. To assess the impact of technological advancement on child labour
- vii. To establish the level of awareness of human rights in the community
- viii. To establish the impact of human rights activists on the prevention of child labour.

Kasongoire, Nyabyeya and Nyantonzi parishes in Masindi district were the areas of study. Child labourers, their parents and community leaders were approached for data collection. Questionnaires were given to respondents to fill out and were administered. Group interviews were carried out. Stratified and purposive sampling techniques were used to select respondents and the sample size from each stratum. Both primary and secondary data was collected, verified, edited, checked and coded, then analysed using SPSS. Cross tabulation, regression analysis, and frequency distribution were done as well.

5.2 Conclusions and recommendations

The findings of the study were that: poverty accelerates child labour; Uganda's education system tailors the existence of child labour; the cultural and social structure increases child labour; HIV and AIDS influence the growth of child labour; slow technological advancement increases child labour, and the work of human rights activists increases child labour. The findings are discussed in detail below.

5.2.1 Poverty accelerates child labour

Conclusion

The study established that poverty had a positive impact on child labour. Poverty was experienced among large families with low income earnings and among single parents with many children. Poverty among families with many children forced them to involve the older ones in work. Poverty accelerated child labour because most of the children who were interviewed worked for money to pay school fees, get scholastic materials or cater for their basic needs. Families with low incomes were forced to involve their children in labour to help with supplementing the family income. Most of the children who worked alongside their parents did not enjoy the work they did, but had to work to survive.

The study found that parents in the study area played a big role in influencing children to work. Although children preferred attending school to working, they had to abide by what their parents asked them to do, and working was what was expected. Parents then over-committed these children to long hours of work. Parents believed that when the children worked, they acquired enough skills to get them better-paying jobs that would drive away poverty. Even if parents saw

or suspected anyone of involving children in child labour, they did not report them because they thought working at a young age was eradicating poverty in the future.

Although the researcher's view was that children were only persuaded to work by their parents, the study found that the children were also persuaded to do so by their peers. Most of their peers were orphaned and fended for themselves, living on the streets without parents. Some of these peers loitered around in the late hours of the night hawking goods and offering sexual favours to older men in the pretext of fighting the poverty they faced. Children in such conditions involved themselves in alcohol and drug abuse, putting their lives at risk. Chances of such children attending school were very slim.

The research further found that children under the age of 6 years did not attend school. Children as young as 5 years were slowly lured into work and rewarded with food, sweets and clothing after every task performed. By the time the children were introduced to school, they were only interested in work because they believed working was more profitable and they would not be poor.

Recommendation

The researcher recommends that the government of Uganda should give more attention to the juveniles on the streets by providing them with homes. If street children had homes, other school-going children would not be pressured into opting for child labour and drugs. Children taken into homes could also find hope for a better life.

The government of Uganda should also lower the age at which children start school. Children should start compulsory school at 3 years instead of the stipulated 7 years to avoid early introduction into work. Even if children start work, the government should be able to revise legislation on child labour by

giving special attention to the working children. The legislation should include ensuring that the working children carry out activities for fewer hours in comparison to adults, and have proper meals and resting periods in each day worked.

Ways should be found to prevent parents from persuading children into labour. Parents could, for example, be enlightened on the physical and psychological disadvantages of over-working children. The government of Uganda should teach parents a way to gain skills. New and better agricultural skills should be taught through sensitisation programmes to all rural areas, however remote. Communities should be assisted to grow short-term crops that could supplement family incomes throughout the year.

The researcher also suggests that the government of Uganda should provide free meals at schools, as well as scholastic materials, to avoid adding further stress to poor households. If children are kept in school, chances of them living in poverty are lower than if they are not in school. A mechanism that can allow adults to borrow money with low interest rates should be put in place. The money could enable the people to start new investments that could improve on their income and reduce poverty. This would help to reduce child labour in the country.

The researcher further recommends that the government of Uganda should create a policy whereby each citizen should learn about project planning, basic accounting, and bookkeeping, as well as records management. Information technology as a compulsory module should be introduced into adult education courses. The reason for learning these skills would be to enable parents to have enough knowledge to start projects, which will improve their economic status and thus reduce child labour. This will also help parents to know why, when and how to utilise any loan received. Parents should be encouraged to form co-operative societies. This would decrease poverty and thus eliminate child labour.

5.2.2 Uganda's education system tailors the existence of child labour

Conclusion

Although the researcher was of the view that Uganda's education system reduced child labour, the study established that the education system in Uganda positively accelerates child labour. When Universal Primary Education (UPE) was initiated, parents seemed relieved of the burden of having to pay school fees. Unfortunately, the burden increased because parents had to meet all the school requirements for their children. Parents therefore had no option but to involve their children in part-time work in order to get money to buy the scholastic materials. As children studied in higher classes, the needs increased, as did the dropout rates. The school dropouts instead worked on fields and as housemaids on a permanent basis and abandoned education completely. Some parents intentionally did not take their children to school, saying school is "a waste of time". Parents said children were not taught practical skills that could be used in daily life.

Although some parents tried to ensure that children went to school, the children found UPE boring and not practical. Children sometimes left school without their parents' knowledge and went to work in places they believed taught practical skills better, such as farms. Parents and children considered Uganda's education system a long process that they found time-wasting, as jobs were not guaranteed after school. Children were lured to work considering it a short cut to getting jobs earlier in life.

The study found that many children left home to go to school but do not reach it as they preferred to go to work for food or money. The fact that schools do not provide medical care, free meals or transport facilities made work more attractive than school, . At work, food was often provided for them. It was clear that the

monitoring and supervision of the schools in Uganda's education sector is weak. If the system was strong, children would endeavour to get to school in fear of being punished by teachers if found absent.

There is clearly not a sufficient number of qualified teachers to deal with the overwhelming number of enrolled pupils. This means that the provision of quality education is minimal. Qualified teachers serve more than one school, so pupils may not be taught on a daily basis and in-depth. Children going to school and finding no teacher is very discouraging, and causes children to drop out of school and work as labourers.

Recommendation

The education system in Uganda should be tailored towards the need of the people, but not in its present form. Uganda's present educational system tends to train job-seekers instead of job creators. The government can therefore invest money in more technical and business institutions that train children to acquire direct skills in job creation. When children are turned into entrepreneurs, child labour will definitely decrease in Uganda and the world.

Free meals and transport should be introduced in UPE schools. Government officials should actually go to the schools to monitor both the pupils and teachers to ensure children are in school and teachers are available to teach. The government of Uganda should be able to recruit as many qualified teachers as possible and ensure that the teachers always teach the children the whole syllabus during the school semesters. The availability of qualified teachers is a matter of urgency in all third-world countries for the development of better human-resource skills for children in schools. This would greatly improve Uganda's education system and decrease child labour.

5.2.3 Cultural and social structure increases child labour

Conclusion

The study demonstrated that the cultural and social structure among community members positively accelerated child labour. It was found that culture had a lower age definition of a child in comparison to the Ugandan constitution, which defines a child as one below 18 years. This implies that children are compelled to work at a younger age than that permitted by the constitution. Parents let their children start work as early as 5 years because they believe culture says a child should work to learn his or her duties. Culture teaches girls to learn to work as wives and boys as bread winners. Culture therefore moulds girls only to learn how to carry out household chores, unlike boys who can attend school, thus enhancing gender inequality. Since women are known to carry out their duties as submissive wives, husbands do not allow them to earn. Wives end up involving children in work and using the earnings for family use.

Similarly, owing to pressure by both parents and other child workers in the social surrounding or community, children get involved in work. Most school-going children work after school. The social environment enhances the appeal of labour. Parents admire children who work and earn. As a result, parents encourage their own children to work like the other hard-working children in the society. This means that the cultural and social structure leads to an increase in child labour.

Recommendation

The researcher suggests that the government of Uganda should be in position to hold sensitisation workshops to enlighten communities on what the Constitution does and does not permit in relation to child labour. Community members should

also be enlightened on the disadvantages of involving children in full-time employment, and discourage peer pressure. Although culture is a serious part of the lives of Ugandans, people's thinking should change from the traditional ways to the dynamic environment, in which there is gender balance. The government of Uganda should try to ensure that cultural norms are compatible with the constitution of the country. The compatibility will create harmony and understanding on issues like a universal age linkage agreeable to everybody, on when one is considered to be a child. If the constitution says that a child is below 18 years, all cultures should be able to accept the same system.

The social structure of communities should be a mixture of both the high class and the low class, in which everyone should consider the other as equals. The people of Uganda should not be divided by tribes and clans, because division escalates child labour. For example, different tribal groups in Uganda are fighting over land in central Uganda. The land dispute will eventually involve children unless steps are taken to avoid it. Culture will then not contribute to child labour in Uganda.

5.2.4 HIV and AIDS influence the growth of child labour

Conclusion

The study found out that HIV and AIDS positively influence the increase of child labour. Some children have lost either one or both parents to HIV and AIDS, and have therefore taken over the responsibility of providing for their needs and those of other family members. Some female-headed families were unable to provide all the basic needs for their children thus forcing the children to work in order to supplement the household income. Although knowledge about the spread of HIV and AIDS was understood in the early 90s by respondents, many children had been orphaned and were already child labourers. Respondents spent a number of years without accessing information on how to live longer lives with HIV and

AIDS, thus orphaning many children and leaving them with no option but to work on streets as vendors and prostitutes.

Recommendation

In the researcher's opinion, the government of Uganda should take full control of orphaned children by looking for them in workplaces like farms or on the streets, and then taking them to properly equipped homes that can give them hope for a better future. The homes should identify the needs of the children and be in a position to cater for them until they complete education. If possible, the homes could help in finding employment for the children after completing school to ensure sustainability of human-resource skills. For the children above school-going age, the homes could provide vocational training and start-up kits for them, thus improving the future of the children. HIV and AIDS would then not be one of the causes of child labour.

5.2.5 Low technological advancement increases child labour

Conclusion

The study assessed the advancement of technology in Uganda and it was found that the level of technology advanced mainly in urban areas. Many people in rural areas still used hoes on farms and such tools took a lot of time and manpower. The need for many people to work forced the use of children as labourers on farms, sometimes on a full-time basis during peak seasons, from September to December and including harvesting and planting. The produce obtained from the fields was usually sold at very low prices, causing a loss to farmers.

Technology in rural and urban towns advances all the time. Children are introduced to watching videos in halls and playing games for money. They end up working initially as part timers and later full-time employees on farms so that they get money to pay for games in video halls, thus perpetuating child labour.

Recommendation

The researcher insists that agricultural organisations like the Ministry of Agriculture Uganda should try to introduce better and faster farming tools like tractors to rural farmers at affordable prices. The use of children on farms could decrease because tractors can clear a field in a shorter time in comparison to the larger number of people employed, including children.

The government should enforce laws that limit anyone below 18 years from going to video halls during school hours. Licences of video hall operators should be withdrawn if found entertaining children during school hours. Low technological advancement would cease to perpetuate child labour.

5.2.6 Work by human rights activists increases child labour

Conclusion

Although the researcher was of the view that almost every Ugandan was aware of human rights and what they entail, the study found that very few people were aware of the implications. Even if people were aware of their rights, they proclaimed that that was of no use to them. Children in the study area were particularly unaware of their rights and of child labour legislation though they know that the legislation existed. The study found that although human rights activists existed in Uganda, they did not have a serious positive impact on reducing child labour. The activists spent a lot of money on seminars talking about ways of rectifying human-rights problems, leaving very little or no money at all for programme implementation. Nothing was done to try and reduce the existence of child labour because activists did not get to the rural areas to implement the programmes. This means that child labour legislation had no impact in rural areas.

Recommendation

The researcher urges the government of Uganda to try and put into action a tangible child labour policy. Agents should be deployed in all districts in Uganda to try and curb the culprits who enhance the existence of child labour. A proper monitoring and reporting system should be put in place. The law that exists against child labour should be applied uniformly to all citizens, regardless of age. If anybody is found breaking the law, there should be a mechanism for taking serious actions against that person as an example to the rest. If the person is not taken to court, there should be a serious penalty that applies to all culprits.

Human rights activists should therefore put into action what they talk about during workshops. Human rights activists and community leaders should work together to ensure that the laws on child labour and children's rights are properly communicated to the community and clearly enforced. Leaders should make an effort to try to arrest any parents who persuade children to work as labourers. The work by human rights activists would then have a positive impact on eliminating child labour.

5.3 Areas of further study

The study tackled child labour in the agricultural sector of Masindi district. Other forms of child labour which include child soldiers, child trafficking and child prostitution have not been included. The topic of analysis of child prostitution and human-resource development in Uganda could be material for research. HIV and AIDS which help to cause child prostitution and orphan children, helps to put them onto the streets in order to survive. More emphasis should be put on finding ways through which children orphaned by HIV and AIDS have a better way of life than that offered by the government and responsible NGOs. The suggestion could aim at developing the human-resource skills of the children. A way could

be found to reduce the influences that the different forms of child labour inflict on the lives of children.

5.4 Conclusion

Doing research in Masindi district was a dire and interesting journey for the researcher in collecting information and writing the thesis. To be able to accomplish the study objectives, the researcher had to be prepared for any misunderstandings and overcome them with tact, persuasiveness and patience. Language barriers, expectations by the respondents of receiving a form of remuneration, and cultural norms, were the main hindrances that diluted the quality of the research paper. However, respondents were very hospitable and willing to learn anything related to child labour.

The researcher used questionnaires and group interviews to collect data from respondents. Both research tools were able to give her all the answers she was looking for. Through group interviews, the researcher found it easier to get the most accurate answers. As a group, respondents talked openly with ease. Real-life experiences were aired and opinions given by respondents. The data collected during the group interview exercise improved the quality of the research over that collected from questionnaires. If the researcher could take up the study once again, she would use face-to-face interviews to collect data instead of the group interviews. The reason for this would be to reduce the possibility of some respondents fearing to give information in the presence of others; most especially wives talking while their husbands listened. Face-to-face interviews produce an in-depth exploration of the subject matter.

Considering the findings of Chapter 4 in relation to the study objectives, a number of conclusions and recommendations were mentioned. Because the study concluded that poverty, cultural norms, the social set-up of a community and HIV and AIDS influenced the existence of child labour in Uganda, the

government of Uganda should try and rectify these ongoing problems. Through NGOs, the government should involve the rural communities in its decision-making processes and ensure ample time to sensitise people about poverty reduction and child labour elimination, emphasising working together.

Considering the inabilities of communities to have proper schools, medical centres and good living conditions, the researcher finds that there is a need for the government of Uganda to provide all communities countrywide with equipped hospitals and schools and be able to offer scholastic materials to all school children. Parents would then be relieved of certain obligations and eventually channel their income to poverty reduction. Farmers could, for example, purchase better farming tools that could replace child labourers.

In addition, a UPE syllabus that includes vocational training modules should be put into Uganda's educational system. Including vocational training will enhance children's ability to complete primary and secondary school. Keeping children in school and letting them learn what interests them until they are 18 years old, will probably reduce the numbers of children working as part-time or full-time labourers. Easy-to-reach, free, and with well-equipped medical centres, schools will enhance the children's interest in school. Schools should also have proper and sufficient infrastructures for all school-age children to study. Increasing salaries and allowances of teachers will also encourage teachers to improve their teaching styles and pay more attention to academically weak students. More qualified teachers will therefore work with interest in rural areas. Children's ability to construct better English phrases and become more disciplined will be improved. Although Uganda's education system accelerates child labour, parents also contribute to the rate at which children drop out of school and later become child labourers. Through the implementation of proper monitoring systems in schools and provision of proper meals, child labour is bound to decrease.

Although the government of Uganda has tried its best over the years to prevent the spread of HIV and AIDS, it has concentrated on a particular age group. The spread of HIV was tremendously decreased only among the youth of 12-25 years. By 2009, married couples were reported to be the group most infected with HIV. The government therefore has the challenge of introducing the use of condoms among married couples. The use of condoms will not be an easy task because couples in the study area reflected associating condom use with prostitution and unfaithful partners. The government should try and sensitise community members in rural areas about the advantages of condom use in relation to HIV and AIDS. Members need to be sensitised on the benefits of voluntary counselling, which includes early use of ARVS if people are found to be HIV-positive. Children orphaned by HIV and AIDS should also be provided for by the government through provision of free education to prevent them from resorting to work.

Human rights activists should be sent by the government of Uganda to ensure that farmers are taught about the dangers of using untrained and inexperienced manpower, namely children, to operate on the simple tools. Group or village meetings should be held often so that the progress of members is monitored. Through the meetings, the ministry can adopt a number of strategies suggested by the community towards the development of better agricultural methods that can be used without including children. Child labour will slowly be reduced and eventually eliminated in the agricultural sector. Human rights activists as well as the government of Uganda have not shown the ability to properly implement the legislative measures against child labour. Fortunately, the government of Uganda can still ensure proper sensitisation about child labour legislation. This therefore can be a positive aspect in decreasing child labour.