



ADAMA SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

**CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF CHILD LABOUR ABUSE IN SOUTH WEST
SHOA: THE CASE OF WONCHI DISTRICT, WONCHI**

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JULY, 2016

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SHOA: THE CASE OF WONCHI DISTRICT, WONCHI**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE COLLEGE OF GRADUATE STUDIES ADAMA
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APPROVED BY EXAMINING BOARD:

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DECLARATION

First, I declare that this thesis entitled as “Causes and consequences of child labour abuse in South West Shoa: The case of Wonchi District” is my own work and that all sources of materials used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged. I solemnly declare that this thesis is not submitted to any other institution anywhere for the award of any academic degree, diploma or certificate.

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ACRONYMS AND ABRIVATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANPPCAN	African Network for the Prevention and Protection Against Child Abuse and Neglect
AU	African Union
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSA	Central Statistical Authority
EAMAT	East African Multidisciplinary Advisory Team
EC	Ethiopian Calendar
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
KA	Kebelle Administration
MOLSA	Ministry Of Labour and Social Affairs
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
RWG-CL	Regional Work Group on Child Labour
SIMPOC	Statistical Information and Monitoring Program on Child Labour
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.
USDOL	United States Department Of Labour

ABSTRACT

This study aims at assessing child labour abuse at Wonchi district of South West Shoa Zone. The study looks at the factors for the involvement of children in the exploitative works; the living and working conditions of child labourers; the impacts of child labour on the working children; the perceptions of child labour from the perspectives of working children, employers and members of the society and the challenges and abusive practices child labourers face. To undertake this study the researcher employed qualitative research method as the sole technique of data collection. The researcher gathered information pertinent to the study through structured and unstructured interviews, observation, case study and focus group discussion. Theories of child labour such as the 'labour market', the 'human capital', the 'social responsibility' and the 'children-centered' were reviewed and used in order to flash light on the issue of child labour abuse in the study area. Child labour is not exhaustively studied in the country in general and in Wonchi district in particular. Findings from this study show that poverty, migration, child trafficking, parental unemployment, unfavorable educational system (i.e., absence of night schooling), and parental death and family breakdown are the major causes of child labour in the study areas. It also shows the impacts of child labour on the working children including the interface between child labour and education. It also puts impact on the holistic personality development of the child. It has physical, health and psychosocial impacts on the working children. Child labour and education are inversely related. Child labour affects the school enrollment and participation of children. High participation of children in school reduces the number of working children. Different people may have different perceptions towards child labour. Children may see child labour from different angle than employers and members of the society. Some children view 'work' as useful for their survival. Some others perceive it as something detrimental to their holistic development. Employers have different views and stressed that they employ children to help them meet their basic needs and shape their future. Members of the society perceive 'child labour' something 'useful' and 'harmful', and hold moderate attitude. The other most important finding of this study is the challenges working children face when they try to escape from labour exploitation. Some of these are poverty, inability to afford transportation cost, violent employers, intimidation by employers, etc. They also encounter physical, verbal and psychological abuses from employers, 'parents' or 'relatives', elder coworkers and customers. In short, this study ignites green light for further studies, and provide fertile ground for possible intervention policy makers on the problem of child labour abuse in the study area and the country at large.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Child labor remains to be a serious problem in the world today. Many people, organizations and economies all over the world are concerned about child labor. The main concern is basically the kind of work children are doing, some of which is harmful, and may cause physical and psychological damages or may even threaten the child's life. Children are engaged in child labor for a variety of reasons, among which poverty, parental unemployment parental health problems and disability to work in order to accommodate families are some of them (Nardos Chuta, 2006).

The thesis discusses the issue of child labour abuse in the domestic sector which is believed to be the main problem of children in developing countries like Ethiopia and rural areas like Wonchi District. This study was carried out in Wonchi district with particular emphasis on five rural KAs and one urban KA. The rural KAs include: Meti Walga, Haro Beseka, Woldo Telfam, Sonkole Kake and Dulele Bilacha; the urban KA being Chitu. The main aim of this study is to better understand the feature of child labour in these KAs through qualitative research technique which characterizes the field of social science and to assess the causes and impacts of child labour, challenges and abusive practices facing child labourers as well as the perceptions of child workers, employers and the society towards child labour.

Child labour is an important aspect of social and economic reality that surrounds us, although it is sometimes unnoticed. Many people, organizations and economies all over the world are concerned about child labour.

The definition of child labour is a controversial issue. The concept is not as simple and straightforward as it may appear. But the United Nations, as highlighted by Nkurlu, defines child labour as "all forms of economic exploitation of a child or, any work that is likely to be hazardous or interfere with child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development"(Nkurlu, 2000:1). Furthermore, in its recent global estimates of child labour, the International Labour Organization (ILO/IPEC, 2002:32) defines child labour as consisting of "all children under 15 years of age who are economically active excluding (i) those who are under 5 years old and (ii) those between 12-14 years old who spend less than 14 hours a week on their jobs, unless their activities or occupations are hazardous by nature or circumstance. Added to this

are 15-17 years old children in the worst forms of child labour.” Again, Alyson E. (2011) defined child labour as work that deprives children of their childhood, potential and dignity; work that is harmful to their physical and mental development because it is physically, socially, mentally or morally dangerous to children. It deprives them of the opportunity to attend school, obliges them to leave prematurely, or requires them to combine school attendance with long and heavy work. All the definitions are highly reflected in this study. In the study areas there are many children who toil for more than 10 hours not per week rather per day and they are between the ages of 6 and 17.

International Conventions of the rights of the child and recommendations upon which different definitions of child labour are based have long been put in place, and many countries have in fact ratified them. Ideally, all ratifying countries including Ethiopia need to apply these conventions and recommendations as part of their respective national laws, so as to define and deal with child labour. Ethiopia, as a member state of the ILO and United Nations Organization, has ratified and incorporated these documents as part of the law of the land as clearly enshrined in the FDRE Constitution Article 9 sub-article 4. And it has also an article in its constitution on the rights of children, i.e., Article 36.

However, in Ethiopia more intensive and countrywide study has not been done and there is lack of information to estimate the exact number of working children. In the domestic sector, which is an emerging sector, children constitute a good proportion of the labour force. The working condition or the working place, and the nature of work and the associated risks that affect physical, intellectual, emotional and social development of the working child is open for intensive studies. Thus, this study tries to shed a psychosocial light on the subject child labour in the domestic sectors and it is the first attempt in its kind.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Child labour abuse is a social predicament and an incident obstructing the normal and holistic growth of the child. This thought was realized especially following the involvement of the child in the labour market (Zerihun, 1996:89). Several studies show that the types of work children engage in are diverse. These works have exploitative nature and are hazardous to the children's lives in many ways (Nardos, 2006: 48; UNICEF, 2001). The situation is too serious for employed working children than those who are working with their relatives or families (Lomi,

2002: 60). Today child labour is virtually invisible to most people, but child workers are available everywhere in the world. Sold or exchanged as cheap merchandise, many children cannot escape bonded labour or prostitution. Others suffer, and may only barely survive, the long hours of work, the heavy burdens, the dangerous tools, the poisonous chemicals. The strongest will go on, bearing the physical and emotional scars of permanent labour. At a time when they should be at school and preparing for a productive adulthood, young boys and girls are losing their childhood and, with it, the promise of a better future (ILO/IPEC, 1999:1). To reinforce this argument the former Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, said:

Child labour has serious consequences that stay with the individual and with society for far longer than the years of childhood. Young workers not only face dangerous working conditions. They face long-term physical, intellectual and emotional stress. They face an adulthood of unemployment and illiteracy (<http://www.antislavery.org/homepage/campaign/childlabourcamp.htm>)

Today, child labour is viewed as a serious issue throughout the world. Particularly in Africa, Asia and Latin America the problem is very solemn. It is a critical human rights problem because it denies the child's time to take part in activities that are useful for the 'normal' growth of the child like time to go to school and time to play. Many children work in occupations and industries which are plainly precarious and harmful (Mendelievich, 1999: 46). Child labour is one of the most prevalent causes and forms of child exploitation and abuse. Its negative effect is observed in the physical, intellectual and social development of the working children (Weston, 2005; Myers, 1991).

Currently, millions of children toil in non-schooling type of work mostly under hardship and hazardous conditions which are detrimental to their health and wellbeing. According to UNICEF (1998: 48-49), the majority of out-of-school children are likely to be working. Work prevents many children from going to or benefiting from education. But equally to blame is the state of the education systems which fail to take into account the special circumstances of working children.

In rural areas of underdeveloped nations like Wonchi district, Ethiopia, "where child labour has increased steadily due to extreme poverty; working children are mostly found in the agriculture sector and to a lesser extent in the other sectors like hotels" (Zerihun, 1996: 89). There is evidence showing that the worst forms of child labour have increased in the country. There are a

growing number of working children in many rural areas in Ethiopia and an increase in child labour abuse, a large number of them are also working in the domestic sector and agricultural activities. Many young girls are employed as domestic servants; working long hours for little or no pay and have no access to education (Forum on Child Labour in Ethiopia, 2000:5). Children are usually employed in different types of job and employment relations governing their work vary accordingly. The employment may be full-time or part-time. (Zerihun, 1996:89). Children in wonchi district are not exempted, they are rented to work as cattle herders, shoe shiners, work in agriculture, etc.

Child labour is a complicated issue in a country like Ethiopia. As in many developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, child labour is a widespread problem in Ethiopia (ILO/EAMAT, 1996: 5). Almost 48 percent of Ethiopia's population is under 15 years of age (CSA, 2005:16). According to the 2010 National Child Labour Survey Report, around 28,354,687 of the estimated 87.1 million total population were children between the ages of 5 and 17. The survey result shows that about 85 percent of the country's children were engaged in some kind of activity, that is, productive activity or housekeeping activity. Overall, 45,379,100 children (52.1 percent of the total children) were reported to have worked productive activities during the reference period (CSA, 2010: xiii). Ethiopia is currently facing this problem in different parts of the country like in other developing countries where children's labour covers a significant share in the total economy (Mengesha, 1998: 1). For example, according to the Wonchi District Labour and Social Affairs office in the District 1,430 children were engaged in exploitative works in the domestic sector.

According to the 2005 National Labour Force Survey, out of the total 222,239 children between the age of 10 and 14 3972 are working in the domestic sector in Wonchi District (Wonchi district Social and Labour Affairs Office, 2016). The type of exploitation, in general, include low wages, long working hours, denying the child's right to education, denial of the rights of the child for constructive leisure, etc. (Dyorough, 1984: 51 as cited in Mengesha, 1998).

Review of some of the literatures show that children of the least developed nations are vulnerable to exploitation and abuses. The fact that Ethiopia is one of the least developed countries characterized by poverty and lack of social opportunity places it in the category of countries whose children are suffering from work related hazards. One can observe the

seriousness of the problem in the informal sectors of the study areas. The real feature of the problem is well explained by Rodgers and Standing (1981: 31-32) as follows:

The informal sector activities are characterized by their casual, low income, basically unproductive nature, typically not contributing to accumulation and often described as survival activities of a lumpen proletariat. As such they comprise both legitimate and illegitimate activities – the one often leading to the other among children and adolescents.

The problem of child labour cannot be redressed legally because often the informal sector is not recognized by governments. This is the case in many developing countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa. In this connection, Mendelievich (1979: 43) had the following to say:

In the informal sector virtually none of the legal provisions relating to the minimum age for employment and to the protection of children in general are observed, and relationships between employers and workers are usually governed not by legislation but by tradition and custom. In fact, a very large number of employers and workers in this sector are quite unaware of the existence of the relevant legislation.

In Ethiopia, there are a large number of working children in the informal sector mostly in rural parts of the country including Wonchi district where such sectors exist. As it might be expected majority of the Ethiopia's rural population live in a vicious circle of poverty. This shows that most of the families could not earn sufficient income to meet the minimum needs of the child. This creates strong push factors; pushing families to force their children to work and supplement the meager family income (ILO/EAMAT, 1995: 76). In other words, children must work if their families and themselves are to survive. Hence, child labour is mainly the outcome of poverty. According to Poluha (2004), there are children who are working and attending school in order to assist their families' insufficient income. In this regard, Darge (1996:13) argued:

In Ethiopian context generally the factors that are correlated with child abuse [including child labour] and neglect include grinding poverty, illiteracy, recurring famine and drought, internal conflicts, wars, high rate of population growth and unworkable and sometimes downright adventurous socioeconomic policies.

The participation of children in the informal labour market is not yet studied. So far there is no a single study dealing with child labour in the informal sector in the district of Wonchi. But the

sector accommodates a large number of working children mainly from poor families and is well appreciated by the existing demographic and economic studies as the main harbor of child labour. However, the information gap is still in existence and urges more studies to be conducted.

However, still the issue of child labour is a wide subject and needs extensive study. Thus, the gaps and the questions raised in this study will open the gate for further social studies on child labour.

1.3. Research Questions

This study aimed at answering the following main questions. On the basis of these questions the researcher raised several questions to informants in the course of interviewing and focus group discussions.

1. Why do children work?
2. What are the impacts of child labour on the working children?
3. How working children express their perception about child labour?
4. What are the challenges faced by working children while trying to escape from labour exploitation and other forms of?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

This study comprises of general and specific objectives. Both general and specific objectives are the core of this study.

1.4.1. General Objective

To assess the causes and consequences of different forms of child labor abuses existing in Wonchi district and provide a foundational knowledge for any concerned body so that intervention shall be considered to end the problem.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

The study has the following specific objectives:

- To investigate the causes for child labour in the district of Wonchi;

- To describe the social, economic, health, educational and psychological impacts of child labour on the working children;
- To explore the perceptions of child labourers, their employers and the society, toward child labour;
- To assess the challenges and abusive practices that these working children face; and

1.5. Scope of the Study

The research deals with the topic of child labour abuse and its impact on the working children in Wonchi District, South West Shoa Zone. It focused on six KAs as research sites in Wonchi district 125 KMs, in the south west of the country's Capital Addis Ababa. These sites are *Meti Walga, Haro Beseka, Woldo Telfam, Sonkole Kake, Dulele Bilacha and Chitu 01* KAs. Both working boys and girls in different domestic productive activities such as those who were working in as cattle herders, beggars, maids, farmers, water fetchers, servitudes, waiters/waitress, shoe shiners, porters, firewood collectors, injera¹ bakers and related activities were incorporated in the study. In addition to this, some members of the local community, concerned governmental and nongovernmental organizations were also contacted for the purpose of this study.

1.6. Theoretical Approaches

According to Myers and Ennew (1991), there are four main approaches to child. These theoretical approaches are significant and relevant to this study. They also serve as stepping ground to this study. Some of these approaches reflect the position of international organizations like ILO and UN. These theories are:

1. The “labour market” discourse focuses on legal measures meant to limit children's participation in the labour market (Pantea, 2007: 25). According to Ennew, Myers and Plateau (2005:28), this perspective considers work and schooling as incompatible and insists that children should not be allowed to work until they have finished their basic education. In this discourse, children are regarded as unaware of their own best interest, highly vulnerable to workplace exploitation, and completely dependent on adults for protection, especially through the actions of the state. It demands that children under the legal minimum age not be

¹ A flat and round shape locally prepared pancake.

economically active at all, it refuses such children both the right to work and join or form trade unions.

Hence, the “labour market” discourse has much to do with this study. This study clearly shows the tradeoff between work and education. When there is high **primary** school participation there would be low incidence of child labour. This means work has its own **impact** on the school participation and performance of the child. Therefore, the incompatibility of children’s work and education is discussed in chapter four of this study. This study also clearly shows the impact of unsafe working conditions on the perpetrators. To maintain the health, social and intellectual status of children from poor families’, children under the legal minimum age (14 in the Ethiopian Context) should be protected by the legal instruments of the country and banned from engaging in productive activities.

2. The “human capital” discourse aims to equip children with educational skills presumably able to increase their labour standards later on (Pantea, 2007: 25; Ennew, Myers and Plateau, 2005:28) in adulthood. According to this perspective, child labour is seen as the result of underdevelopment and defined as work and/or working conditions that undermine development of health status, knowledge and skills that children will require to contribute in adult life to both national economic development and their own prosperity. In this discourse, there is no fundamental objection to children being economically active, as long as their “human capital” is not threatened and is not poorly nurtured (through apprenticeship, for example). Thus children are viewed as human potential that must be prepared for productive adulthood, and childhood as a period of economic investment that produces future return through taxes paid, increased productivity, and an expanded economy. The human capital discourse places great importance on education, at least in so far as this focused on schooling and skill training, and supports programs that ensure access by all children, including working children (Pantea, 2007: 25; Ennew, Myers and Plateau, 2005:28).

The “human capital” discourse is more relevant to this study since poverty or economic slowdown is one of the major causes of child labour in the study areas. It also reveals that work in general and the working conditions in particular are detrimental to the physical and mental health of the child and it would also affect the holistic personality development of the child. And such involvement of children in the labour market at their early age would have its own positive

impact on their future economic status if it is properly handled. These issues are described in detail in chapter three and four of this study.

3. The “social responsibility” discourse sees child labour as a consequence of “social exclusion” which prevents children from benefiting from society’s protection (Pantea, 2007: 25; Ennew, Myers and Plateau, 2005:29). In short, this discourse is concerned with the separation of children from mechanisms of social protection, participation and opportunity; and conceptualizes child labour as a problem of social exclusion leading to work that exploits and oppresses children often because they are socially excluded in the first place. Therefore, according to this approach, the problem of child labour is explained as the result of social breakdown of family, community or nation (Ennew, Myers and Plateau, 2005:30).

In the study areas, there are children who engaged in productive activities in the informal sector due to family disintegration which is caused either by HIV/AIDS or other sociocultural reasons. This theory was serving as a stepping ground for me when I investigate the causes of child labour.

4. The “children-centered” discourse is given by CRC (Convention on the Rights of Children) (Pantea, 2007: 25; Ennew, Myers and Plateau, 2005:28) and focuses on children’s own views on work (Pantea, 2007: 25). On the basis of this perspective, I identified two different attitudes of working children towards child labour. As Ennew, Myers and Plateau (2005:28) put it organizations with this perspective assess children’s work according to the effects it has on children, so that child labour is defined as work that is harmful to them. However, as this study revealed in the context of the study areas, the participation of children in the labour market has its own contribution for the survival of poor families. Occasionally drawing on recent sociological and philosophical work on childhood, the children-centered discourse proposes that children are resilient, capable and knowledgeable in some ways while vulnerable and dependent in others (Ennew, Myers and Plateau, 2005:28). This approach is relevant to this study. This is due to the fact that the perceptions or the views of child labourers are important to understand the state of their work and ultimately to seek solutions for their problems. The views of working children are also incorporated in chapter five of this study.

1.7. Significance of the Study

The findings of the research highlight the problems facing child labourers in Wonchi District, South West Shoa. This has ethical implications because accurate information on the circumstances under which such people engage in work, the conditions of their current work and the impact of their work will help governments (i.e. both Federal and Regional Governments), nongovernmental organizations and civil societies to adopt strategies that can mitigate the problem of children in difficult situations, such as child laborers. Understanding the causes, trends and consequences of child labor will help in planning intervention strategies aimed at preventing or at least minimizing the harsh effects of child labour and the number of children in the informal sector and other economic areas of child labour exploitation. For example, strategies to raise community awareness that would target employers in the community will reduce the negative impacts that child labour represents. This study will also further contribute in the development of baseline information on children in difficult circumstances not only in Wonchi district but also in the country at large.

Thus, the issue of child labour abuse in the domestic sector, its impacts on the working children, the living and working conditions, challenges working children face and the perceptions of child labourers, employers and members of the society assessed in this study. The result of the study is hoped to help policy makers, NGOs, civic societies and the public at large to design appropriate intervention policies and strategies to mitigate the problem of child labour in Ethiopia.

In addition, this research will add to the limited knowledge we have on working children in South West Shoa or Wonchi District in particular and Ethiopia, in general. And as much as possible it will provide deep insight into child labour and its health, social, economic, educational and psychological impacts on the working children.

1.8. Organization of the paper

This study incorporates six chapters including research method and Review of relevant literature parts. The last three chapters including the conclusion deal with the findings of the study in detail.

CHAPTER TWO

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Conceptual Framework

2.1.1. The Concept of Child, Childhood and Child Labour

2.1.1.1 The Child and Childhood

The term “child” is not easy to define. The biological, legal and cultural considerations or variations in the meaning of the word “child” contribute to this theoretical complexity. Childhood can be defined in terms of age. But different communities may have different thresholds to distinguish childhood from adulthood (Fyfe, 1993:6). In some communities, age may not be an adequate ground for explaining “childhood”. The fulfillment of certain social rites and traditional obligations may well be significant requirements in defining childhood and adulthood. The integration of children into the socio-economic life of their community may begin so early and the transition from childhood to adulthood may be almost indistinguishable (Fyfe, 1993:6).

In short, the term “child” does not have a universally acceptable definition because it is subject to various factors such as biological, legal and cultural. Since Ethiopia is a cultural and social mosaic state, as might be expected, there would be different thresholds or social rites to put a distinction between childhood and adulthood.

Different literatures, international organizations and conventions, national laws and nongovernmental organizations define the term “child” in different ways. For example, according to the Oxford Dictionary, the term “child” means a young human being who has not reached the age of discretion, that is, the age at which one is fit to manage one’s own affairs. Moreover, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) defines the term “child” as “every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child majority is attained earlier” (UNCRC, 1989: Article 1).

In the context of child labour, under ILO Convention No. 138 Concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment, 1973, a child is a person who is below the general limit of fifteen years or in special circumstances fourteen years (ILO Convention No. 138, 1973). The Convention, however, sets the minimum age for hazardous work at eighteen years (Ibid, Article

3(1)). In the convention a minimum age of twelve or thirteen is set for the purpose of light work (Ibid, Article 7). Likewise, the latest ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999, Article 2) defines a child to be a person who is below the age of eighteen years.

The Revised Family Code (2000: Article 215) of Ethiopia, on its part, employed the term “minor” in place of the word “child”. It defines a minor as a person of either sex who has not attained the age of eighteen years. As far as my study is concerned, the above definitions, especially the definition of ILO Convention No.138 Concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment 1973, are relevant. I employed the threshold fifteen as a benchmark in this study but in the case of hazardous occupations the threshold eighteen is used.

As Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2004: 5) point out “children can be classified into four non-overlapping activity categories – those that work, those that attend school, those that work and attend school, and those that do neither [idle children]”. For the purpose of this study, I will focus on working children and those that combine work and school.

2.1.1.2 Child Labour

One major difficulty with respect to the understanding of “child labour” is its definition (ILO/EAMAT, 1995:75). This is because of the fact that, the concept of child labour is notoriously hard to define and culturally bounded (Pantea, 2007: 7). Consequently, it may be understood differently in different cultures (White, 1999 as cited in Pantea, 2007). Generally, the concept is not as easy and direct as it may come into view. Therefore, answering the question “what is child labour?” is vital (ILO/EAMAT, 1995: 75) not only to explain the issue of “child labour” but also to formulate intervention policies that would mitigate the problem.

The International Labour Organization (ILO, 1998a), on one hand, considers child labour to be “simply the single most important source of child exploitation and child abuse in the world today”. On the other hand, Anti-Slavery International USDOL (2002: 7), and Rogers and Swinnerton (2002:4) suggest that some types of work make useful contribution to a child’s development. Work can help children to learn about responsibility and develop particular skills that will benefit them, their families and the rest of the society. This kind of argument is important for this study in order to consider the pros and cons of child labour. So, it helps to try to see the positive contribution of children’s work and its detrimental impacts on the holistic development of child workers.

The definition of child labour is now becoming controversial and debatable issue. That is why different scholars and organizations define it differently. For instance, the UN (as cited by Nkurlu, 2000:1) defines child labour as “all forms of economic exploitation, any work that is likely to be hazardous or interfere with the child’s physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development”. Furthermore, in its recent global estimates of child labour, the ILO/IPEC (2002:32) defines child labour as consisting of

all children under 15 years of age who are economically active excluding (i) those who are under 5 years old and (ii) those between 12-14 years old who spend less than 14 hours a week on their jobs, unless their activities or occupations are hazardous by nature or circumstance. Added to this are 15-17 years old children in the worst forms of child labour.

Anti-slavery International and UNICEF (1999:24) claims that child labour is exploitative if it involves any of the following:

- Full-time work at too early an age;
- Too many hours spent working;
- Work that exerts undue physical, social or psychological stress;
- Work and life on the street in bad conditions;
- Inadequate pay;
- Too much responsibility,
- Work that hampers access to education;
- Work that undermines children’s dignity and self-esteem, such as slavery or bonded labour and sexual exploitation;
- Work that is detrimental to full social and psychological development.

2.2. ‘Child Labour’ verses ‘Child Work’

There have been simultaneous debates in underdeveloped nations on what make up ‘child labour’ and ‘child work’ and how to deal with them. Different frameworks have been proposed for defining child labour. Some literatures define child labour on the basis of the patterns of children’s activities. Others define it based on the detrimental effects of work on children’s physical, mental, social and moral development as well as deprivation from education opportunities (Lieten, 2000; Anker and Melkas, 1996; Fyfe, 1993). Yet the difference between

work and labour is made in different ways by different agencies (Regional Work Group on Child Labour, 2001:16).

As the ILO/IPEC (1995: 1) points out the phrase ‘child labour’ being employed to explain the more pejorative part of children’s work, whereas “child work” in itself could comprise performing light domestic tasks and can really have some learning importance. According to Anker and Melkas (1996: 49), child labour includes mostly the issue of children’s work in early age, long working hours, hazardous working conditions and insufficient access, attendance or progress in school.

However, Rahman (2004) in his recent work argues that there is no consistent and an established view on the question “what child labour is and how it should be tackled”. Any clear distinction between children’s work, i.e. “child labour” and “child work” is a subjective process. Several literatures on the topic under discussion (Boyden, Ling and Myers, 1998; Assefa and Boyden, 1988; Rodgers and Standing, 1981) focus on the nature of the work and its negative effect on children.

It is also argued that child activity considered as “child labour” when it takes place outside the child’s family undertakings and under dangerous circumstances on the basis of payment or wage. Therefore, a task that takes place in family environment is viewed as harmless, i.e., “child work”. However, this idea seems to be misleading, because “it hides the fact that children’s work under the protection of family may equally be considered as child labour depending on the nature of the work and children’s lack of access to education” (Rahman, 2004).

As various studies reveal child work can be regarded as useful to acquire knowledge and experience and “natural” or “beneficial” for children. Harmless child work can sometimes be valuable for children and their growth if it does not affect their school performance adversely. There is also a view that work may give children the chance to break the adult control over them. In right circumstances, child work can really help children prepare for productive adult life through skill training and building self-reliance, self-confidence and self-esteem (Burra, 2003:83; Anker, 2000:257; Lieta, 2000; Nieuwenhuys, 1994; Fyfe, 1989:21).

However, Santha Sinha (2000: 152-3) criticizes the differentiation between “child labour” and “child work” as there is nothing to hamper children moving from one category to the other. And “any work done by a child is child labour and ... children out of school are, by definition child labourers”.

2.3. Perspective from the Global South: Working Children as Change Makers

There are different positions one may take with reference to children's work. From the extreme protectionist discourse considering work as "a pathology of childhood" to a more liberal approach viewing work as a right that cannot be denied of children (Pantae, 2007:8). For example, conventional approach to child labour is premised a labour market ideology that aims primarily to keep children away from the labour market and confined to school (Karunan, 2005: 295).

Many children and adolescents in Europe and North America also work, and the percentages that work may in some cases not differ very much from many developing countries. However, their reasons for working and their working hours and conditions differ greatly from those of working children in developing countries (Boyden, Ling and Myers, 1998:23).

In the Global North, children have been banned by law from the labour market, and their economic contribution to the society is not accounted for in national budgets despite the fact that many of them are workers (Karunan, 2005:299). The implication is that they are working for pocket money or seeking to learn good work habits. Various literatures note that this perception is wholly inappropriate for many Southern contexts in which children have economic and other responsibilities to fulfill within families and communities (Karunan, 2005: 299; Rahman, 2004). From a Southern child's perspective, work is learning, where the attitudes, knowledge, skills and behaviour relative to living and interacting in society are nurtured and developed, closely tied with the family and community. If work is learning, then it becomes an integral part of the educational and developmental process of the child and of the family's obligation toward child rearing and upbringing (Karunan, 2005:299-300).

As Myers (1991: 11) put it, it is useful to think about who defines child labour as a problem. For governments and international agencies it may be a problem because it is against the law and contrary to international standards. For parents and children it may be a problem if there is no enough work, or the pay is not good enough. Some children may enjoy work and not see it as a problem at all. For others work is so hard, so dull, and so boring that the whole of their childhood is a problem because of it.

As Karunan (2005:301) argues, work, in the Global South, is part of the family lifestyle, they are valued for it, and they are initiated at a very early age; work is an important part of many children's self-respect – "we are helping our parents' work even though we are young. We are

not just another mouth to feed. We are helping the family survive”; child workers are very sensitive about being segmented for their work; children value many aspects of school and would like to combine work with school; and faced with new regulations preventing them from working, most groups would defy or evade the law. Since this research has much to do with the perception of working children, this idea seems more relevant to this study.

Policies may aim at abolishing child work. But this may not be the best option. Children often need to work and are proud of their independence and the contribution they make to their own, and their families’ upkeep (Myers, 1991:11). Likewise, O’Donnel, Van Doorslaer and Rosati (2002:3) points out that if a large ban on child work was to happen, it is likely to have limited effectiveness by virtue of the problem of controlling the informal sector. And it might not be in the best interest of the children from the poor families. Hoehn (2004) also disagrees with the ban on child labour and argued that experiences in other countries have clearly shown that a ban on certain activities made the children resort to even more uncontrollable and more inhuman activities.

Children who work hard, long hours and take a good deal of responsibility are not seen as capable human beings, but pitied because they are not having a ‘childhood’ (Myers, 1991:11). Generally, according to Crawford (2001:539), conceptualizing children as helpless and dependent on adults in times of crisis is not necessarily the most effective way of supporting children’s coping mechanisms and resilience. It is to point out that children are not merely the products of adult beliefs, training, investment and intervention but are social agents in their own rights.

Karunan (2005: 310), to reinforce the argument of Crawford, says that a child-centered approach to child labour values the positive contribution of children to their family, community and society, and their resilience and capacity to change. It is no longer tenable to view children as “just innocent, vulnerable and susceptible,” but as “active as social actors who can make a positive contribution as children to social development.”

Ethiopia is part and parcel of the Global South. The researcher believes that most of the preceded arguments work here in Ethiopia in general and the study area in particular. The attempt here is to show the relevance of these arguments with the findings of this study. The researcher treated issues regarding the perceptions of working children and their parents.

2.4. Gender and Child Labour

Child sex may matter due to the physical characteristics of the child (strength, etc) or due to the cultural and social outlooks (Bhalotra, 2003:51). In many societies, boys and girls are assigned different societal roles and therefore experience different perspectives of life as a result of their being male and female (ILO, 2004: 142). In African society for example, at about seven years of age, sexual differentiation is confirmed (Rodgers and Standing, 1981:119).

Most of the time parents expect their girl children to offer assistance in performing difficult works at their early age than their male counterparts. Evidently girls bear relatively more difficult tasks as compared to their male age mates, and this appears to be especially true between the ages of 10 and 13 (Bhalotra, 2003:51; Darge, 1996: 43-44). This clearly shows the prevalence of gender bias and gender based division of labour among child labourers.

As Black (1996: 53) and CSA (2001: 43) point out girls, in particular, are susceptible to terminate their schooling so as to carry out economic activities and assume family responsibilities in place of working parents. Illiterate parents believe that sending female children to attend school is to make them deviate from the existing norm of the society. Girls are better prepared for adult life by sending them to work than by investing in their education. In relation to this, Bhalotra (2003: 14) suggests

Most countries exhibit large gender differentials in total child labour force participation. Even more often, the distribution of girls and boys across different types of work is different. A rough generalization is that the proportions in work and out of school are larger for girls than boys in Asia, the proportion in work but not necessarily the proportion out of school is larger for boys than for girls in Latin America, and the proportions of boys and girls in work and school is roughly similar in most parts of Africa, though there is gender segmentation in occupations.

According to the ILO (2004: 143), gender can be crucial in determining whether a boy or a girl is employed and the type of work in which they are engaged in. Hence, female and male children tend to be concentrated in different kinds of economic activity. In an international overview, Ashagrie (1998 as cited by World Bank, 2005) finds that boys are more concentrated in manufacturing, trade, restaurants, hotels and transport, while girls more concentrated in agriculture and personal services. In line with this Nardos (2006), Edmonds (2003:29) and many other studies assert the predominance of girls in domestic activities (Nardos, 2006; Edmonds,

2003: 29; USDOL, 2002:96; CSA, 2001:41). On the other side, Edmonds (2003:29), Lomi (2002) and CSA (2001:41) clearly reveal that boys occupy the central position in the informal economic activities.

The issue of gender is now regarded as an indispensable component in addressing child labour (ILO, 2004: 142). Recognizing such gender differentials in the world of children's work would have a paramount importance to formulate and implement intervention policies and strategies at global and national levels.

2.5. Child Work from the perspective of Socialization

Child labour is a special vehicle of transforming the child and adopting it to the environment, a mechanism of socializing the child (Andvig, 2001: 51). The socialization process of children may to some extent differ from culture to culture and from one part of the country to the other (Kebebew, 1986: 83).

Rodgers and Standing (1981: 117-118) in their study of the developing world argue that since the age of about three years two main stages can be identified: until the age of six or seven, the roles or tasks of the child are concentrated on the life of the household; and from age seven to sixteen, child activities range over the whole area of the village. In the "household phase" the child takes part both in home-based tasks and more specialized works which are aimed at meeting household subsistence. In other words, the child involves in every work for household consumption which make up the economic life of the child's group. In such activities the child is assisted by adults, whose behaviour he or she is expected to imitate.

In this respect, Thorpe (1995:29) said that the attitude that work is beneficial or useful for the child's personality and skill development and the tradition that are expected to follow in their parent's footsteps in particular trade, and to learn and practice that trade at their early age is the cause of child labour particularly in developing countries.

Ethiopia is a land of many nations, nationalities and peoples with different cultural and traditional backgrounds. As a result of this and other social and economic reasons, as it might be expected, there may be differences in the process of child socialization and initiation. For example, in relation to child socialization among the Gurage community of Ethiopia, Kebebew (1986: 85-86) had the following to say:

A boy stays with his mother until he is four years old during which he is breast-fed. Usually after four, the father takes over the instruction of the young boy and assigns him

to activities outside of the home that are exclusively the domain of the men. The father particularly teaches the boy to be skillful and thrifty. Hence, a Gurage father expects his sons to assist him in his work and eventually release him for more respectable commercial tasks. Young boys are also expected to provide their father with cash and industrial products through trade.

One may say child labour among the Gurage Community is very common and not viewed as 'bad'. This reflects the socialization process of this people and the attitude they have towards child labour. It is not hard to observe cultural similarities among Gurage and Wonchi district communities as they share border with each other.

Like the Gurage people, the Amhara and Oromo children of either sex are trained in the acquisition of skills and attitudes appropriate to a society characterized by inflexible gender-based division of labour (Kebebew, 1986:86). Rodgers and Standing argue that the early introduction of children into different economic activities is not the outcome of an intentional decision of parents rather it is the consequence of a socialization process adopted to a way of life and to the functioning of other social institutions (Rodgers and Standing, 1981:118-119). So far this holds true not only in the Gurage, Amhara and Oromo people but also in many other nationalities of Ethiopia.

As we have seen from the above-mentioned literatures, child socialization is one of the causes of child labour. Since one of the objectives of this study is identifying the reasons behind the participation of children in the labour force, this subtopic has its own contribution to this research.

2.6. Types of Child Labour

Identifying the appropriate categories or forms of child labour is crucial to understand the nature and magnitude of the problem. It would also help governmental and nongovernmental organizations to formulate feasible intervention strategies pertinent to each type of child labour.

Though it is difficult to classify the diversified economic activities of children, several literatures on the subject often categorize children's work into: domestic work – which is the most prevalent form of child labour (Tirussew, Hayyalu and Ayalew, 1997: 10). Working children in this category usually perform tasks which are traditionally left for women. As a result of this, the majority of domestic child workers is female (Nardos, 2006; CSA, 2001: 50; Tirussew, Hayyalu

and Ayalew, 1997). The other one is nondomestic or unpaid work – which is mainly prevalent in agricultural societies or subsistence economies (Tirussew, Hayyalu and Ayalew, 1997: 10).

Tied and bonded labour is another form of child labour where parents lend out their children as labourers so as to take loan or repay a debt (Boyden, Ling and Myers, 1998; Tirussew, Hayyalu and Ayalew, 1997: 11). Wage labour is also an important form of child labour in which children receive payment in cash or in kind (Boyden, Ling and Myers, 1998: 26). Moreover, a non-negligible number of children are performing various tasks in the so-called “marginalized economic activities”. According to Tilahun and Tirussew (2000:18), this form of child labour comprises of “activities which are more informal and difficult to identify and measure.”

2.7. Child Labour and the Rural Domestic Activities

Child labour in the informal sector comprises of activities characterized by their irregular and interim nature (ILO/IPEC, 2002:22; Tirussew, Hayyalu and Ayalew, 1997); low income, basically unproductive nature, typically not contributing to the accumulation and often described as survival activities of a “lumpen proletariat”. As such it comprises both legitimate and illegitimate activities (Rodgers and Standing, 1981). Furthermore, according to CSA’s 2001 Child Labour Survey, a large number of (about 25 percent) of children in the urban centers, including Addis Ababa, were involved in “petty trade, repair of vehicle including repair of personal and household goods” (CSA, 2001: 48). In this regard, Mendelievich (1979: 31) points out that in big cities there are more opportunities for children to engage in diverse economic activities like services and handicrafts sectors than in small urban areas and, especially, countryside.

According to the ILO/IPEC (2004:23), working children everywhere, especially those in developing countries, are concentrated in the informal sector of the economy. Their activities are not “official” and as such, there is no government employment agency or tax authority that knows children are working because they are not officially employed. It further points out that children work for people that are not normally registered as employers.

In spite of the several disagreements regarding the feature of the informal sector, there is a consensus on “operational criteria” for identifying the businesses running in the informal economic activity, globally. It comprises various types of works, for example from the simplest services like “washing cars on the streets to manufacturing and transport system” (Tilahun and Tirussew, 2000: 18).

Amarteifo's (1991 as cited in Tilahun and Tirussew, 2000: 18) lists of the characteristics of the informal sector seem to solve the controversies on the nature of this sector. According to this author, some of the characteristics of the domestic sector are:

- a) Ease of entry and exit,
- b) Reliance on indigenous resources,
- c) Family or one person ownership and/or operation,
- d) Small scale of operation,
- e) Long hours of work,
- f) Bad working conditions,
- g) No records kept,
- h) Skills acquired outside the formal system, and
- i) Labour intensive and adaptive technology.

Hence, the domestic sector in Ethiopia in general and in Wonchi district in particular cannot be an exception and it is this conceptualization that will be used in this study.

2.8. The Prevalence and Nature of Child Labour

The issue of child labour has been a national and international concern for long period of time, particularly following the foundation of ILO in 1919. Following its establishment, several conventions were made to mitigate the problem of working children (ILO/EAMAT, 1995: 75). Throughout the world, children toil, but the activity they usually perform, the reason behind their involvement, and the working environments vary significantly from region to region, especially between developed and underdeveloped nations (Boyden, Ling and Myers, 1998: 23).

According to the latest estimates from the ILO, an estimated 246 million children between 5 and 17 were engaged in productive activities (UNICEF, 2006: 47). Of these, just about 70 percent or 171 million children were toiling in dangerous conditions, such as mines, with chemicals and pesticides in agriculture or with perilous equipment. About 73 million of them were below the age of 10 (UNICEF, 2006: 47). From the international perspective, most of these child labourers are found in the Third World nations, and more than half of the working children are in Asia – the populous region. There is some indication that the proportion of all children who work may be highest in Sub-Saharan Africa – the poorest part of the world (Boyden, Ling and Myers, 1998: 23).

2.8.1. The Prevalence and Nature of Child Labour in Africa

Poverty seems to be the main cause for child labour in Africa. Within this continent higher incidence of child labour depends on the level of economic development of the regions (Andvig, 2001:4-5). As the ILO (1998b) estimates, Africa, with around 41 percent of children between the ages of 5 and 14 involve in productive activity, has the largest incidence of child work in the developing world. In agreement with this, it further argues that the incidence of child labour is higher in Sub-Saharan Africa than any other region in the world.

In Latin America and Asia, a large number of children also toil in the informal sector for wage. This is much less common in Africa, where wage labour markets are often incipient (Bhalotra, 2003: 13). In this respect, Andvig (2001:6) argues that the bulk of the child labour registered in Africa is not wage labour, but performed in the household where the children live. Bhalotra (2003: 14) argues about the relationship between child labour and education in Africa that child labour is not the inverse of school attendance. A non-negligible number of children work and attend school simultaneously and this is especially common when the work they do is on family-run farms or enterprises. It seems more common to combine work and school in Africa and Latin America than Asia.

2.8.2. The Prevalence and Nature of Child Labour in Ethiopia

In the case of Ethiopia, work is the main activity of children as young as four years of age (Cockburn, 1999: 17). The incidence and the nature of child labour are not well appreciated in Ethiopia. The existing data on the size and nature of the problem is incomplete and insufficient (ILO, 1994 as cited in Tirussew et al, 1997: i). However, it is simply believed that a large number of underage children are occupied in economic activities, often deprived of any form of education and other ingredients necessary for their proper growth. A large number of the Ethiopian children find themselves as victims of famine, disease, poverty, civil war, family displacement and social instability, all of which are contributing factors for a high incidence of child labour (Assefa, 2000: 17).

In 1999, the International Labour Organization (ILO) estimated that 53.7 percent (3.9 million) of children between the ages of 10 and 14 were toiling in the country. The 2000's UNICEF report on Ethiopia reveals that children comprises of 50 percent of the population of the country and 20 percent of them live in extremely difficult circumstances. "They are exposed to a lot of dangers, disease and exploitation. These children include orphan victims of armed conflict, abused and

neglected child workers, destitute children with or without families, street children, prostitutes and juvenile delinquents” (Save the Children Denmark, 2003: 6).

In the year 2001, the Central Statistical Authority (CSA) reports that around 18,197,783 of the estimated 55.9 million total population were children between the ages of 5 and 17. The survey result reveals that about 85 percent of the Ethiopian children are involved in some type of work that is productive activity or housekeeping activity. In general, 9,483,611 children (52.1 percent of the total children) were estimated to have engaged in economic activities during the reference period (CSA, 2001: xiii).

The reality of child labour in Ethiopia is different. Children frequently toil under perilous environment, work long hours and are low paid (ILO/EAMAT, 1995: 21). Child labour in Ethiopia may be explained from push and pull factors. Cockburn (1999: 29) in his study, the Determinants of Child Labour in Rural Ethiopia, depicts regional disparities of the incidence of child labour. The incidence of child labour seems to be high in Amhara Region and low in Tigray Region. The participation of children in education appears to be low in Tigray and high in the Amhara and, to a lesser extent, the Oromia Regions.

2.9. Child Labour Law and Enforcement in Ethiopia

Like international organizations (such as the UN, ILO etc), the government of Ethiopia has been trying to do away with the problem of child labour. Its determination can be expressed by the series of actions it has taken so far. Some of these measures include: the ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the 1959 and 1989 Declaration on the Rights of the Child, the Vienna Convention on the Rights of the Child and the 1973 Convention are the major ones to be cited (Tadios, 2004: 19; Save the Children Denmark, 2003: 4). Moreover, Ethiopia has ratified the ILO Convention No. 138 on Minimum Age for Employment on May 27, 1999 (Save the Children Denmark, 2003: 4; USDOL, 2002:99).

The FDRE Constitution under Article 36 (1) (d) states that every child has the right ‘not to be subjected to exploitative practices, neither to be required nor permitted to perform work which may be hazardous or harmful to his or her education, health or well-being’. Furthermore, the Labour Proclamation No. 42/1993² places working children under the category of special kinds of workers, i.e., “young workers”. “Young worker” as per article 89(1) is defined as “a person who has attained the age of fourteen but is not over the age of eighteen years”. Ethiopia’s Labour Proclamation No. 42/1993₂ sets the basic minimum working age at 14 years. Hence, it bans the

involvement of children, under the age of fourteen, in productive activities (the Labour Proclamation No. 42/1993, Article 89(2)). As of children who have attained the age of 14 but are not over the age of 18, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MOLSA) has prescribed the list of activities prohibited to children in this age group pursuant to the power given to it by Article 89 sub-article 4 of the Labour Proclamation Number 42/1993. These activities include:

- a) Work in transportation of passengers and goods by road, railway, air and local water;
- b) Work carried out on dockside and warehouses involving heavy weight lifting, pulling or pushing of heavy items or any other related type of work;
- c) Work connected with electric power generation plants, transformers or transmission lines;
- d) Construction work on high scaffolding;
- e) Working in sewers and digging in tunnels;
- f) Street cleaning, toilet cleaning, separation of dry and liquid waste materials and transportation of waste materials;
- g) Working on production of alcoholic drinks and cigarettes;
- h) Hotels, motels, night clubs and similar service giving activities;
- i) Work involving exposure to extremely high or low temperature or radiation;
- j) Grinding, cutting and welding of iron;
- k) Work involving the operation of electrical machine to cut, split, shape... etc wood;
- l) Felling timber;
- m) Work that involves mixing of chemicals and elements, which are known to be harmful and hazardous to health;
- n) Any other activity which endangers the moral and psychological growth of a child (USDOL, 2002:98; MOLSA, 1997).

Moreover, the working hours of children should not exceed seven hours a day; overtime work is prohibited; and children may not work between the hours of 10 p.m. and 6 a.m., during weekly rest days, and on public holidays (USDOL, 2002:98).

The USDOL (2002:98) argues that the Penal Code of Ethiopia (Articles 605 through 613) also incorporates laws particularly dealing with the problems of child trafficking, child sex workers, and bonded child labour. The trafficking of women and children is prohibited in Article 605 of

the Criminal Law of Ethiopia, and is punishable by imprisonment of five years with fines up to 10,000 Ethiopian Birr.³

Though the issue of child labour is a great challenge for Ethiopia, no long-range government policy on the issue has been put in place. There is no clear strategy or policy to protect children from abuse and exploitation and no systematic co-operation and coordination between NGOs and governmental agencies. The problem of child labour is not yet well appreciated nor understood among the society at large. Thus, there is a general information gap on the state of child labour in the country (Assefa, 2000: 42).

Enforcement of child labour laws in Ethiopia is reportedly weak. This is due, in large part, to insufficient number of labour inspectors. Currently, about 50 labour inspectors in the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MOLSA) enforce all the country's labour laws in the formal sector, and the government maintains child labour is not a problem in the formal economy (USDOL, 2002:98). This shows us the existing gap between the law and its enforcement. Hence, in chapter five we will see the legal framework of the country with respect to child labour in general and its role or enforcement to address the problem in the study area, in particular.

CHAPTER THREE

3. RESEARCH METHOD

3.1. Description of the Study Area

Wonchi Woreda is one of the districts found in South West Showa administrative Zone under the political administration of Oromiya Regional State. It is geographically located in the south west direction of the capital, Addis Ababa at 123 km. The latitudinal and longitudinal location of the district is from 37° 04' E_38° 02' E (8° 51' N_8° 01' N). (World Vision Ethiopia Wonchi Area Program Design Document 2014-2018).

Out of the total area of the district 82% is cultivated land, 11.7% grazing land, 8.9% covered by natural forest, 1.03% is water body while others is 18.6%. Agro-ecologically the Woreda is divided into Dega (highland) 40% and Weina dega (midland) 60%. The altitude ranges between 1700-3380 m.a.s.l, and the average annual rainfall also ranges between 1200 mm to 1420 mm. The temperature ranges between 8°C and 25°C. (World Vision Ethiopia Wonchi Area Program Design Document 2014-2018).

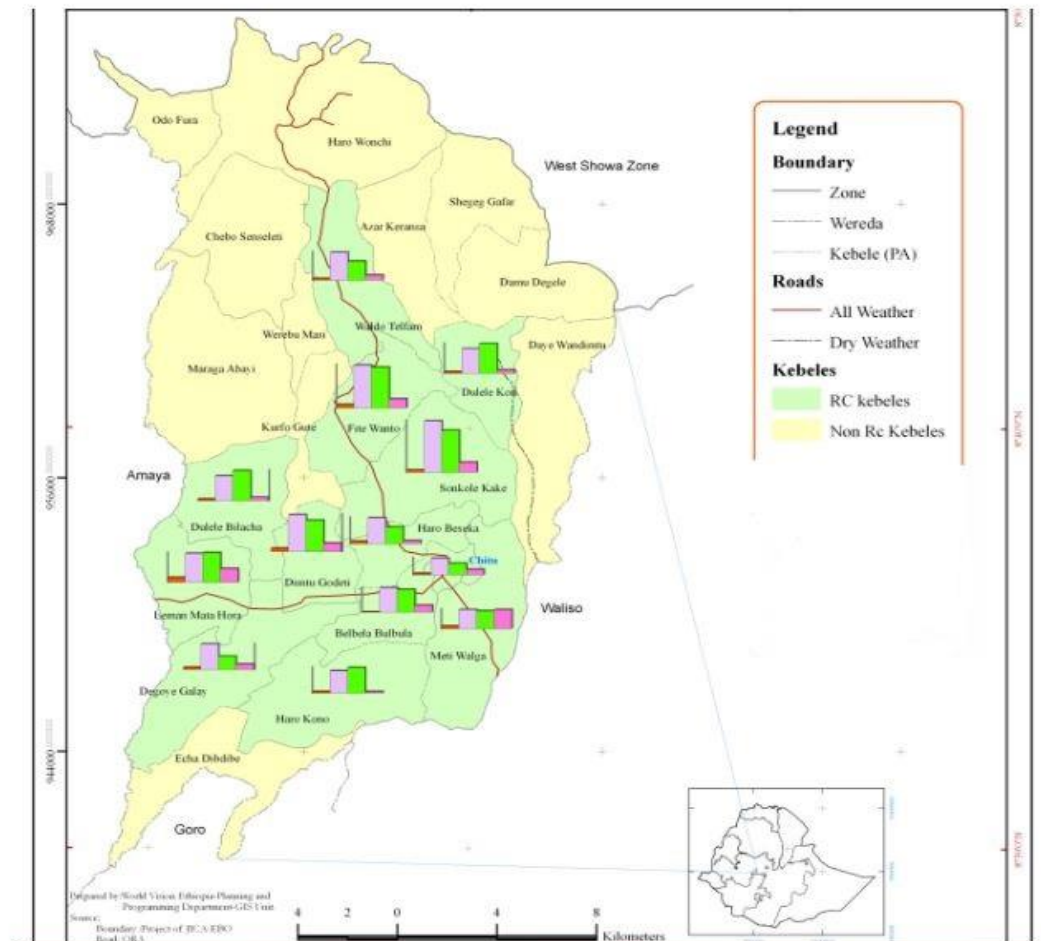
The climate has been suitable for livestock rearing and to grow agricultural crops such as cereals, fruits, vegetables and oil crops. However, according to the trend analysis, the performance of the agricultural sector, which is the major livelihood of the community, could not improve as expected. The production and productivity of major crops is not satisfactory as indicated by the previous phase programme evaluation finding of 2013. As a result, access to diversified food for children could not be ensured as required. According to the base line assessment report less than 37% of the community are able to provide diversified food for their children and it is less than 10% according to district agriculture office report. On the other hand, since majority of the Households live on subsistence agriculture, they could not improve their annual income from sale of agricultural production thereby failing to fulfill needs of children. The baseline assessment also reveals that proportion of households with two or more sources of income is less than 10% of the community that they are dependent on subsistence agricultural production. (World Vision Ethiopia Wonchi Area Program Design Document 2014-2018).

This degradation of environment and loosing fertility of the soil resulting from deforestation, drought, land degradation and warming impacted by the global warming and increase in population against the farm land has contributed to the households' inability to provide for their children. According to the district agricultural office report out of the degraded and deforested land in the district only 25% is restored and rehabilitated, which highly affected production and productivity. And out the communal land degraded on 2% is restored. This calls for the focus on environmental rehabilitation to ensure agricultural productivity and access to food for families and children. (World Vision Ethiopia Wonchi Area Program Design Document 2014-2018).

The environmental degradation is not only affecting the performance of agriculture and nutritional status of children, but has been found the underlying and root cause for many problems identified in the community like low income of HHs to cover needs of children, low livelihood opportunities for youth, access to potable water and hygiene facilities for children. The amount of rainfall and level of underground water has reduced making the effort to create access to potable water difficult. For example, in the year 2013 out of the 11 shallow wells feasible areas drilled three could not yield water to improve the food, hygiene and sanitation status of children. This in turn impacts the child wellbeing status of children's health and educational performances due to sickness and malnutrition. (World Vision Ethiopia Wonchi Area Program Design Document 2014-2018).

Demographically the Woreda has a population of 119, 736 with almost equal gender ratio of 49.8%male and 50.2% male. The average family size is 6 and the average number of children per household was nearly 4 indicating that it is found to focus of development intervention addressing child wellbeing to bring real development in the community. Religion wise, Orthodox constitute 58.9%, Protestants 39.6% and Muslims constitute 1.3% while the ethnic group composition, as per the Terminal evaluation findings of 2013, more than 99% are Oromo, the remaining being Amhara, Gurage and others. (World Vision Ethiopia Wonchi Area Program Design Document 2014-2018).

Figure 1 Map of Wonchi District



Source: World Vision Ethiopia Wonchi Area Program Design Document

3.2. Research Design

In this qualitative research, a cross-sectional study was undertaken Focus Groups Discussion, interviews and case study.

3.1. Research Population and Sampling

All working children who fulfill inclusion criteria (those who live in Wonchi District aging between 7-18 years and selected in the sample) were participants of the study. Most of the community members considered a child of age 7 as able to help parents by doing certain kinds of works and that is why in the researcher put the age limit that way. Those who are less than age of 7 and beyond 18 years, those who are mentally and physically unable to respond and not selected in the sample were excluded.

Six KAs were selected purposively from the 25 KAs found in the district and the subjects of the study were also purposively selected based on their convenience and willingness.

3.2. Methods of data collection

To carry out this research different techniques of data collection have been used. Hence, this study is organized on the basis of both primary and secondary data.

3.2.1. Primary Data

Primary data collection method was the main technique the researcher employed to gather information from the working children and other concerned individuals in the study areas. To ensure the contribution of this study, the researcher has collected firsthand information through the following techniques from children and different members of the society.

3.2.1.1. Structured and Unstructured Interviews

Structured (In-Depth) Interview: To obtain more detail and meaningful answers on sensitive and personal topics, the researcher employed in-depth interviews with a total of 18 key informants, three each from the sampled six KAs, out of 321 working children in the six KAs, who have been identified working in the study areas. Participants in the in-depth interview were from both sexes, employed and self-employed working children. The researcher tried his best to be ethical while interviewing children especially not to degenerate the method into interrogation; not to mention the right name of his interviewee. Mobile phone is used to record the interview on the basis of the interviewees' basic interest. To this end, a more open ended strategy was adopted to solicit information on the forces that contribute to respondents' decision to take-up the current job or employment in the informal sector and to assess the impact of their respective occupation on their physical, health, intellectual and social aspects.

Furthermore, in-depth interviews have been used to seek more information on individual perceptions and personal experiences of informants in relation to their current occupation. However, sometimes the researcher posed some semi-structured questions in the middle of the interview either to bring them back to the track when they go outside the concern of this study or on the basis of their answer for detail clarification.

Unstructured (Informal) Interview: The researcher undertook unstructured interview methodology with 30 informants to supplement the information gathered from structured or the in-depth interview. A good number of respondents for this unstructured interview were child labourers from different categories and modes of employment, five employers, and six individuals who came from the society (including the parents of working children), two government officials from the District's Labour and Social Affairs Department, two concerned Wonchi district's women, youth children affairs office, four members of Kebele Administration, two primary school teachers, two of World Vision Ethiopia, Wonchi Area Program relevant staffs working on children. The researcher employed unstructured interview due to the work load of most of the informants, lack of patience and interest especially among the officials of different governmental and nongovernmental organizations, and limited experience in child labour. The researcher interviewed them while they were working, walking or moving from one area to the other. Due to the abovementioned reasons most of them gave brief answers to the questions asked.

The informal interview with the abovementioned concerned bodies has a paramount importance to understand whether the issue of child labour in the district is their concern and the extent to which governmental and nongovernmental organizations work together to mitigate the problem. Information gathered from in-depth interview are used to illustrate major points with very real and concrete examples. All the names mentioned in this thesis are pseudo names.

3.2.1.2. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Focus groups were made up of six working children from different occupations in the six sampled KAs. The groups were formed out of different categories that were willing to participate in the discussion. Thirty-six working children were approached for the purpose of six focus group discussions in the six KAs. Many of the children who took part in the FGDs have not been previously interviewed in detail about their own private experiences. The selection criteria were based on sex (both male and female working children), age (younger and older working children)

and mode of occupation (employed, self-employed and those who were working in family establishments). In addition to full time working children, those who were enrolled in school and engaged in work were also incorporated in the FGDs.

The FGDs were undertaken in all sites of the study area with five main aims. One was to crosscheck and supplement the information gathered through other techniques of data collection such as structured and unstructured interviews; observation and case studies. The second intention was to gather information regarding the interaction or relationship between working children from different categories. The third objective was to see the difference between employed and self-employed children in terms of their perceptions about child labour, their knowledge about the rights of children and corresponding laws that protect children from labour exploitation; their self-confidence or self-esteem. The fourth objective was to identify if there is something in common among child labourers of different categories and modes of employment. In the fifth place, I employed FGD technique in each site to know the working conditions and their relations with their employers, abusive practices and the challenges they face when they try to escape from such exploitations. Therefore, FGD has been one of the major data collection techniques of this study.

3.2.1.3. Observation

In addition to structured and unstructured interviews and FGD, observation technique has been one of the methods of data collection for this study. Observational evidence is often useful in providing information about a topic like this – child labour. Some relevant behavior or environmental conditions were available for observation that serves as a source of evidence in the study. In line with this, it has been a major means of data collection in such a research as it has provided a first-hand account of the situation in this study.

Hence, observation is employed as one of the data collection instruments so as to explore the type of work children were engaged in; the way they perform their day to day duties; the suitability of their living and working environment; whether the work they perform is beyond their physical capacity; and the proportionality between their work and their age. Moreover, a great deal of information was collected during the socialization among the working children themselves, and between them and their employers and adult coworkers.

3.2.1.4. Case Study

To get more reliable information and to make the study more meaningful and explicable, the researcher closely and friendly approached three key informants and made them free to narrate their feelings and life histories. This allowed gathering more information like the reasons for their participation in the labour market; the impact of their work on their holistic development; the challenges they face; their working conditions; the status or background of their families and other pertinent issues.

Thus, case studies were conducted to extract information from selected child labourers who were more vulnerable to the problem in the study area. It also helped to understand the emotional feelings of the child concerning family-sick, with his/her employer, and coworkers. Their future intentions and psychological issues like level of their self-confidence and self-esteem were also reflected in the course of the narration. Therefore, case studies yielded valuable information on several affairs of working children. And children involved in the case studies represented the most vulnerable groups of working children in the study area.

3.2.2. Secondary Data

Besides primary data, published and unpublished materials like books, reports, leaflets, brochures, magazines and newsletters related to the study have been reviewed and the map of Wonchi district and other necessary materials were also collected to expand my understanding about the problem and support the first-hand information gathered in the field. Hence, secondary information helped me see the gap in the existing literatures on the subject child labour abuse, make sure or show the relevance of my study with previously conducted studies, take grand theories to this study and to produce a more valuable research. To this end, I reviewed several literatures on child labour and other subjects pertinent to the study such as legal documents, and other written materials on the concept of child, childhood and child socialization.

3.3. Methods of Data Analysis

A qualitative method of analysis was also used to describe and interpret data collected through interview, focus group discussion, observation, case studies and secondary sources. Results were accordingly presented in narration form; and the working hours of working children in different categories is described using a table to elaborate comparison of working duration of children involved in various works.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF CHILD LABOURERS IN WONCHI DISTRICT

Children need special protection by virtue of their immaturity. They are like breakable items and precious resources of a nation. Good protection of the safety of children might contribute to the improvement of the well-being of the society and their country at large. The “human capital” discourse strengthens this idea. According to this theory, “children are viewed as human potential that must be prepared for productive adulthood, and childhood as a period of economic investment that produces further return through taxes paid, increased productivity, and an expanded economy” (Ennew, Myers and Plateau, 2005: 29).

However, some members of the society use this resource before it ripens or before the right time. They are, in general, exposed to various forms of abuses like using their labour for productive activities. Despite the legal protection at national and international levels, children are still vulnerable part of the society to abusive practices either by their own parents, relatives or someone else. Among these forms of abuse child labour is one to be mentioned.

As Tilahun and Tirussew (2000: 22) argue, in the informal sector children are expected to constitute a good proportion of the labour force. During the fieldwork for this study, the writer has witnessed the seriousness of the problem of child labour. Many children were engaged in hazardous activities and had been working under dangerous conditions. The problem seems out of the site of legal institutions and child protectionist NGOs. As the writer has learnt from the fieldwork, it needs a top priority. Generally, there are a non-negligible number of children who toil in the informal sector. They are working as cattle herders, beggars, maids, farmers, water fetchers, servitudes, waiters/waitress, shoe shiners, porters, firewood collectors, injera bakers, etc.

The problem is too serious in all the sampled rural and urban KAs with varied types of works they are engaged in. Many children in the rural KAs engaged mostly in cattle herding, farming, fetching water and firewood collecting whereas in urban KA children are engaged in diversified

activities like begging, working as maid, serving in homes, shoe shining, porters and baking injera for selling.

These working children in the district were exposed to several problems. It is safe to say that they are far from family protection and from the site of the government. Everybody talks about child labourers in the study areas but no one puts his/her interest into place. The living and working conditions of these children is detrimental to their holistic personality development. As the researcher has learned from his informants, especially from orphan child labourers and children living away from parents, they are really “abandoned children”. Nobody remembers them, no one watch over them and they are living in unpredictable situation. Their life is full of hardship and misery. As the saying goes ‘who cares for the dead fish?’ nobody bothered about them.

4.1.1. Gender and Age Determinants

According to ILO (2004: 143), gender can be crucial in determining whether a boy or a girl is employed and the type of work in which they are engaged. Thus female and male children tend to be concentrated in different kinds of economic activities. Likewise, as the researcher witnessed from the fieldwork, certain types of work are gender selective. As a result of this, boys and girls are engaged in different forms of child labour in the domestic sector. Boys tend to work more in environments away from parental control, or in jobs that are associated with men’s work, such as work outdoors or physical labour. Examples include in herding sheep and cows, farming, begging (actually this is the domain of both sexes), transporting goods, shoe shining, fetching water, working in cafes and restaurants (both) and in other physical works. Girls, on the other hand, tend to work in protected environments near the home, or in jobs that are associated with women’s roles like baking injera for sale, collecting and selling firewood, working in cafes and restaurants (both) housekeeping, and in other homebased production activities.

Here it can be said that girls have fewer options available to them, may be forced to choose among the few alternatives available to them in the informal sector. Because of the varied opportunities and options available for boys they choose less hazardous works. Girls are also less likely to get work outside their home. This is due to cultural or traditional outlook towards girls and parents are afraid of sending their female children outside their home due to fear of sexual harassment. As a result of this, the role of female children in the informal sector is invisible.

Such less visible nature of the work can mostly be hazardous to children because this makes it easier for abuse.

Furthermore, female children are at a much higher risk of sexual exploitation. There are several gender discrimination-related consequences of child labour. Therefore, it is safe to say that male children outweigh in the informal sector. In general, child sex is a significant stratifying principle and influences the positions, responsibilities and actions of people (Poluha, 2004).

Boyden, Ling and Myers (1998: 33) contend that age is often considered only as an estimated yardstick; not an accurate evidence. In various societies, birth dates and their anniversaries are unknown. This holds true in illiterate societies, as it might be expected in many societies of Ethiopia. As far as the age range of working children is concerned, one can find child labourers below the age of eight among the cattle herders in the five sampled rural KAs who are helping their parents or employers in looking after sheep and cows. And it is usual to see children below this age engaged in begging with their beggar ‘parents’. No matter whatever the age, children are participating in such activities as far as he or she is living with his or her beggar ‘parents’. But older children (above 12 years of age) work in shoe shining, transporting goods, working as waiter/waitress in cafes and restaurants (especially, above 15 years old).

4.1.2. Family Background of Child Labourers

Different factors have contributed for the involvement of children in the domestic labour market. As many studies have shown poverty plays significant role for the prevalence of child labour. Here, not only income poverty but also other forms of poverty like lack of knowledge about the detrimental impact of child labour among parents and the society have contributed to the incidence of child labour in the study areas. This has much to do with the educational status of parents.

As the researcher learned from all research sites, children of the poor families are more likely to involve in child labour than children of better-off families. Most of the parents of researcher’s informants were economically very poor and had no permanent source of income. From the interview and FGDs it is learned that the parents of these child labourers are engaged in “marginal” economic activities due to lack of proper skills, education and the required qualification for most of the works in the formal sector. Consequently, their only option is engaging themselves in the informal activities. Hence, the combined effect of poverty and lack of proper education resulted in lower living standard to the parents of these children. It is not hard

to witness the living condition of the families of child labourers if one has the chance to visit their home.

Most of the parents of working children are engaged in different economic activities in the informal sector. These activities include: daily laboring, farming (most of them have no their own land and thus farm for land owners and share production), transport goods (mainly transport goods to markets and cereals to flour machines) and collecting firewood for sale. However, the income they receive from such activities is insignificant. As a result of this, they couldn't satisfy their children's basic needs let alone extra demands such as stationeries for schooling, medication and recreational costs. As far as the educational status of the parents of the working children, in the study area is concerned, most of them were either poorly educated or totally uneducated (illiterate). But most of them are keen on the education of their children though they are not able to afford their children's education. In this respect, one of the informants' father strengths this idea as follows;

I want to see my children successful in their education. I hope one day they would have nice jobs in a certain government offices. I am doing my best to teach them to realize this end. I don't want them to be like me. It is embarrassing to be illiterate like me.... However, because of poverty my elder son has to help me in his spare time by collecting firewood for sale. Sometimes he has to be off school (Interviewed April 2016).

This seems true of children living with their parents but there are so many children living far away from their parents and are of orphans. As a result of this, they are not in a position to attend school. As Bhalotra (2003: 14) argued child labour is the inverse of school attendance.

Working children's parents, self-employed and employed children are living in the slum areas of the sub-city. As I have seen from the study areas most of them are living in bad conditions starting from the shelter to their nutrition. These people could not afford their three meals a day. In short, they are living in abject poverty.

4.1.3. Ethnic Composition of Child Labourers

Child labourers in the study areas mainly come from the endogenous local residents i.e. Oromo. But, as the district is very close to Southern Nations and Nationalities region, particularly, Gurage zone, there are also significant number of labourers belonging to different ethnic groups like Gurage, Wolayta and Amahra. Those coming from this region mainly work in the Urban KA of the study area i.e., Chitu 01 working as shoe shiners, waiters/waitress and porters while

children coming belonging to the local community works in all works that are identified both in the urban and rural KAs.

4.2. Child Labour Abuse And Its Causes

Children at their early age are expected to be in school and other constructive activities like playing with their peer groups. But in developing countries like Ethiopia they are forced to take up responsibilities at their early age either because of pressures from their parents, or their relatives, or other individuals, or their own respective living situations. As a result, many children voluntarily or involuntarily enter into the labour market either to meet their personal needs or family subsistence. The ways they take part in the labour market differ according to their vulnerability. Some children toil because of the abject poverty they experience. Some others engage in work to establish their own business. In general, socio-economic issues play vital role in the involvement of children in the world of work.

In the context of Wonchi district, there are different factors that contribute for the involvement of children in child labour. These children perform from ‘simple’ to hazardous tasks. Some of these activities are detrimental to their holistic personality development. As many studies from different parts of the world indicated poverty, migration, lack of educational opportunities, population growth and unemployment, family disintegration, social and cultural pressures, armed conflict, etc are the main reasons behind child labour (Assefa, 2000:17). With respect to the study area the following are the major cause of child participation in the labour market.

4.2.1. Extreme Poverty

Poverty as a major cause of child labour is exhaustively discussed by different studies on the subject (Karunan, 2005; Hoehn, 2004; UNICEF, 1997). As observed and learned from the interview as well as from the FGDs, poverty is central for the engagement of children in productive activities in the informal sector. Most of the informants came from poor families. As a result of their parents’ terrible economic background, children were forced to perform difficult tasks at their early age to supplement their parents’ marginal income. The “human capital” theory on child labour also argues the same thing. It considers child labour as the outcome of poverty or economic slowdown in a nation (Pantea, 2007: 25; Ennew, Myers and Plateau, 2005: 28).

During the fieldwork, the researcher had the chance to visit the house of working children, those who live with their parents. It was not hard to realize the economic status of the family. In such a situation one may say children should have to work in order to ease life in the household to a certain extent. Work is necessary for these children in order to satisfy their basic needs, particularly food. Children should go to the nearby better off families to get food or cash. Their parents are not usually in a position to feed them. So, the answer to the question:- “where is the food for the child?” is with better off families where they work as herding cattle, fetching water and other activities they get.

Though the rising cost of living become apparent recently, parents of working children and poor households have felt since couple of years ago. The prices of many commodities including food items are doubled. Some of these items have become beyond the purchasing power of many households. As a result of this, the cost of living in the country is rising alarmingly from day to day. It becomes beyond the reach of not only poor households but also better-off families. Directly or indirectly this problem forced children to engage in productive activities to get something useful in cash or in kind for themselves and for the survival of their families. One of the deplorable consequences of this problem is aggravating school dropouts in Wonchi district. To strength this argument one of the informants, a twelve years old boy, told that:

My works as a daily labourer and my mother sometimes collects firewood for sale. The work of my father is on and off. As a result of this, scarcity of food and other necessary things in the house is a common phenomenon. Last year I was working after school time. But this year my father advised me to quit my schooling temporarily and to spend all of my time in shoe shining activity. Since then I am working all the day here to overcome the existing rising cost of living. Otherwise my younger brother and sisters’ life and education would be at risk. Without food how can we live? I don’t want to give up for poverty or scarcity of food. At least we have to get something to eat. That is why I took part in the labour market (Interviewed March 2016).

As we can understand from the aforementioned case, poverty urges children to shoulder major household responsibilities. Moreover, some interviewed parents of child labourers also talked to the researcher about their grievance on the existing rising cost of living in the area. As they further argued, without any doubt they encouraged their children to contribute something to the household by taking part in the labour market.

Besides their need for food, children are taking part in the labour market to buy shoes and cloths, and stationary, etc. But by virtue of an extreme poverty parents give ill consideration to these needs and think only of the nutritional need of their children. This gradually drives children to engage in productive activities without recognizing its effect on their development.

4.2.2. Parental Unemployment

Though it is not a serious cause of child labour in the study areas, there are some parents who send their children to work to compensate their unemployment. As one of the informants, a 14 years old boy told, his father is out of job for the last two years.

My father has been working as a guard of a public school in. But four years ago because of the loss of properties under his protection, from his work place, he lost his job. Following his dismissal from job my elder brother and I began to work in farming activities for neighbors and my sister also assist my mother in collecting firewoods for sale. Now he is as daily labourer but we proceeded to work as before, otherwise how could we survive and finance our schooling? (Interviewed March 2016).

As the above case shows, after they test the income generated by children parents couldn't decide to let their children free from work. Rather they assume that the contribution of children is very important in their life even after parents secure job. As the Strategic Plan of Wonchi district shows the unemployment rate is very high in the district. This is mainly due to lack of job opportunities for illiterate adults, limited resource of the sub-city to provide job and the complexity of procedures to get credit and start their own business. As a result, they engage themselves in the informal sector activities like daily labouring, farming with land owners, firewood collection and sale. Since these works are seasonal and less paid, they abandon the activity totally. Moreover, the informal economic activities invite children or young workers than adults. All these combined to remove parents from the labour market competition and finally force their children to take part in the labour market. Therefore, parental unemployment has much to do with the involvement of children in child labour.

4.2.3. Migration

Migration takes place in various forms throughout the world such as rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban and are caused by such factors as natural calamity, conflict, “development, pastoralism or trade” (Adepoju, 1979; Shew, 1975 as cited in Nardos, 2006: 37).

Migration seems to be one of the main causes of child labour in the study areas. Some of the children who participated in the in-depth interview, FGDs and case studies came from different KAs in the district, adjacent districts and Southern Nations and Nationalities region seeking of a better life. In connection with this, Tayetch and Poluha (1975: 25) argue that many children in the rural parts of the country perceive migrating to urban areas as a very interesting idea. As a result, a non-negligible number of children migrate to cities for a number of reasons. Both push and pull factors have contributed a lot for the migration of children. Children leave their place of birth because of their curiosity to see the city. One thing that surprised the researcher in this respect is that many of the working children that he met were in Chitu 01. However, this does not mean that there is no child labourer who is part of the permanent residents of the study areas.

There are many things, natural or man-made phenomena, in the rural parts of Ethiopia that push children to urban areas. As most of my subjects argued rural poverty obliged them to leave their village. As a result, the main intention for their involvement in child labour in a strange area is either to subsidize their families' agricultural income or to ensure their own economic independence.

Moreover, there are socio-cultural factors in the rural areas of the country that push children to urban areas. For instance, the case of an interviewee reinforces the argument. He came to Chitu 01 with his mother following the death of his father.

We came here a couple of years ago. We had good economic status there [in the rural context]. We had everything we needed. But when father was died thing began changing and the relatives of my father started hating my mother. The plot of land which previously belong to my father become a point of conflict for us and my father's siblings. This conflict got worse as time went on. Finally, my mother sold everything she had and we fled to Chitu 01. Since then we three (my elder brother and sister) are engaged ourselves in a sort of activities to get our livelihood (Interviewed April 2016).

Hence, search of land, land dispute, conflict and the subsequent feud in rural areas caused rural-urban migration of innocent children. Here migration coupled with poverty brought children to urban KA without any preparation from the side of parents. But as the researcher understands from the interview, they afraid of the relatives of whom they are in conflict. As a result of this, they work in a narrow radius till 6 p.m.

4.2.4. The Education System

As many studies indicate, the education system by itself has its own contribution to the prevalence of child labour (Rahman, 2004). It is obvious that child education plays a vital role to build up the personality of a child and the political, social and economic aspects of a nation as a whole. The government, particularly the Ministry of Education, is a responsible organ to prepare better educational policy that suits the needs of children of various families. However, sometimes it simply designs and put into practice a policy that does not consider the problem of various members of the society, especially the needs of children from poor family background. In this regard, Rahman (2004) argues that for any credible solution to child labour problem, there is a need to solve the educational problems of needy children and their families. This relates child labour firmly with educational failure of underprivileged children in developing nations.

In various districts more developed than Wonchi district there are night schools. But in the entire district of Wonchi there is no a single school that has arranged night program that can allow residents of the area pursue their education conveniently. As most of my subjects claimed they are against this system. They prefer if there is a night schooling in the area. This is due to the fact that if this is so they could have the chance to combine work with education. Otherwise they should prefer work to get something to eat to education for “nothing” as they highlighted. But as I have experienced from the fieldwork, those working children who work to supplement their parent’s income (those who are living with their parents) have the opportunity to combine education and work adjusting themselves to the existing system. Those working children who are either orphans or live far away from their parents engage themselves only on work to meet their needs. The idea of one of the informants in Chitu 01 is conclusive in this regard:

I always dream to move on with education side by side with my work if got the chance to attend night school here and support my younger sisters who are in the rural KA name Dimtu Godeti with my mother. But, as you see there is no such opportunity for me to entertain. As a result of this, I had the to stick only on my work giving up my desire to learn. Work is a matter of survival for me. Since I have no one beside me I do not think of attending school. Hence, I gave priority to survival and dropped my schooling since two years ago at grade 4 Now I am working all the day on street corner (as a shoe shine boy) (Interviewed March 2016).

According to the Labour Code of Ethiopia, the working hours of children should not be exceeding seven hours a day. Due to the unfavorable educational system many children abandoned their schooling. This is due to the fact that both work and education need much of the child's time. To get food and other materials for survival children should spend a lot of time in work. To get concentration in school they have to secure their survival. To secure survival work is unquestionably important. Not only work but also adequate time for work is also significant. To attend education they need to spend from 8:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. in school as the time they spend to go to and return from school may take hours. As a result, the education system could not allow children to share their time to work and education equally.

Therefore, the educational system is a contributing factor to the incidence of child labour in the study areas and denied children from attending their education at their convenient time i.e. night schooling program. The policy forced working children to abandon education/schooling completely and expose them to absolute labour exploitation. In addition to this, many children defy the importance of education to solve their immediate problem, i.e., the question of survival, in the study areas. Moreover, child labourers who attend school criticize the ill concern of teachers to their problems. According to these children, there are teachers who insult them following their failure to fulfill school duties such as homework or other assignments. A 13 years old child labourer, strengths the view under discussion as follows;

Some teachers couldn't understand my problem. They treat me as equal as other children. Especially my mathematics teacher always bans me from class. One day, I failed to do my task and, I told him my entire problem why I didn't do. But he did not understand me. So education for me was becoming boring. He always ordered me to bring my parents. Through time my father became less interested and finally he sacrificed my education. Since then I am helping my family by collecting firewood for sale (Interviewed March 2016).

Irregular compulsory financial contribution for the construction of additional classrooms and other school facilities are also obliged poor children to quit school. There are also children who dropped schooling and joined the labour market for inability of fulfilling school materials in the study areas.

4.2.5. Family Disintegration and death

The role of family is primarily the socializing and rearing of children. Children need love and affection from their parents, and parents have the responsibility to shape the behaviour of children when they grow up in a family. However, nowadays because of family death many children become orphans and remain out of family protection or guardians. Children who have well-to-do relatives receive good treatment even after the death of their parents whereas children without close relatives are forced to go to streets seeking food or other necessities. That is to meet their need orphans enter into various productive activities in the informal sector. In this regard, HIV/AIDS plays vital role in aggravating the existing incidence of child labour. According to “Social Responsibility” theory, the problem of child labour is conceptualized as a consequence of family disintegration (Ennew, Myers and Plateau, 2005: 30). The spread of HIV/AIDS coupled with other problems likely to have contribution in keeping the incidence of child labour high in Africa (Bhalotra, 2003: 13), including Ethiopia. Among the interviewee a twelve years old working child who engaged herding cattle, said:

My parents died when I was a child. Now I am living with my aunt. She is a small holder farmer. To assist her financially I am working as cattle herder for better off neighbor and she earns 800 birr yearly in return to my service. As my aunt told me I lost both of my parents due to HIV/AIDS. The only responsible person to take care of me is my aunt; she is divorced and has three children child. She promised to send me to school next year as her economy thrives (Interviewed April 2016).

Moreover, there are children who bear the burden of the household following the death or illness of one or both of their parents because of HIV/AIDS pandemic. The researcher met two children from the same family around Chitu 01 who were working on the street side as shoe shiners. They lost their father and mother eighteen and fifteen months ago respectively. They have two younger siblings below the age of ten. According to these working children, their parents’ **Idir** (community self-help association for emergency) ignite light to their living. Their parent’s **Idir** provide them five hundred birr in two phases besides other material assistances. As they further said, they have the chance to get loan from the association if necessary. Hence without the help of it they could not have started this business and feed themselves and their younger siblings. These children took their parents’ responsibilities at their early ages. They are now heads and breadwinners of the household.

From this we can understand that the impact of HIV/AIDS and its subsequent effect contribute a lot to the involvement of children to child labour. Another participants, 15 years old boy and 13 years old girl said they shoulder the responsibility of educating, taking care of and feeding as well as keeping the welfare of their younger siblings.

4.2.6. Child Trafficking

Trafficking involves transporting people away from the communities in which they live by the threat or use of violence, deception, or coercion so they can be exploited as forced or enslaved workers for sex or labour. When children are trafficked, violence, deception or coercion needs to be involved; it is merely the act of transporting them into exploitative work which constitutes trafficking (<http://www.antislavery.org/homepage/campaign/childlabourcamp.htm>).

In this case children are viewed like commodities that can be sold and bought. Some individuals play prominent role in child trafficking. Children are innocent by their very nature and they trust everybody around them so that some nonsense and irresponsible individuals try to make money out of children. These unhelpful and irresponsible people exploit the immature stamina of children for their own advantages without taking the interests of children into account.

As far as child trafficking is considered a cause of child labour, it is safe to say that working children particularly in the cafés and restaurants and the shoe shiners are victims of this process. It may not be hard to find a trafficked child in the streets of Chitu 01 which is urban KA in Wonchi district. These visible groups of child labourers are escapees from poor parents or coercive relative whom they were living with. But many of the trafficked children are exploited in indoor setting and are out of the reach of concerned bodies. Most of these children came from remotest KAs of Wonchi district and the neighboring districts that belong both to Oromiya Region and Southern Nations nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia Region. As observed from the field, it has been hard to find Wonchi district born child labourer among the waiter/waitress of Chitu 01; they all came from outside of the KA. In this regard, a 14 years old trafficked child labourer said,

I know him [the trafficker] very well; he is a husband of one of my neighbor's daughter. He met me when he came to visit his wife's family. In the first day he gave me candy and biscuits while I was looking after cattle and he told me not to tell this to anyone. Next day he promised me taking to a new place better than Enemor (district in Gurage zone) and taught me how to serve in the hotels and groceries after bringing me to Waliso and then

to here (Chitu 01). I have been living with him and working for him for the last three years. (Case 1)

Actors in child trafficking in the study areas are mostly adult businesspersons and to some extent relatives of the trafficked child. As it was learned from the interviews and FGDs, these people deceive children to follow them. Moreover, they use incentives such as sweets, money, etc besides unmet promises like educating them in the formal education and training. By employing such kind of methods they persuade or force children to be trafficked. And then they exploit their labour since their arrival. To get these children, they have to go to their birth place because they are familiar and have acceptance there. This social acceptance may ease the process of trafficking. Therefore, child trafficking is now becoming the major cause of child labour in the study areas.

As it was witnessed from study area most of the child labourers engaged in shoe shining, waiters/waitress and porters were male and they were brought from remotest KAs of Wonchi district and Southern Ethiopian Nations, Nationalities and peoples Region, particularly from Gurage zone. But ‘employers’ claim they are employed children. Regarding remuneration ‘employers’ are pretending paying the wage of the child to his/her parents who live in rural areas once or twice in a year. But the working child him/herself receives very little ranging from Birr 10 to 20 in a week, on Sunday. This amount is disproportionate to the energy and times spent by the child. Even some of them consider themselves not as traffickers rather ‘relatives’ or ‘parents’ of the working children. No matter how well the pretext used by employers, in one way or another, working children disprove the claim of their traffickers.

4.3. The Living And Working Conditions Of Child Labourers

4.3.1. The Living and Working Conditions of Child Workers

Children are immature and unable to care for themselves therefore by their very nature need special attention and care. To realize their full development they seek emotional, social as well as economic assistance of others. However, due to abject poverty they could not get the expected support from adults. As a result of this, they brought up not by getting the necessary things for their development but by the mercy of nature and their chance. To strength this, it is safe to say that since their early age, children are assigned to perform several tasks at household level or outside the family setting and thus exposed to hazardous working conditions.

Many of the informants are living and working either with their parents, relatives or with non-relatives such as employers, “guardians”, etc. These working children in my research sites are leading a desperate life. As the researcher has witnessed, especially employed children in the indoor setting and working children on the streets are living in bad circumstances starting from the shelter they live in to the type of food they take.

As it is learned from many of the subjects, especially among the injera bakers in the restaurants of Chitu 01 and households who make business of baking injera, in most cases the boundary between the place of living and working is blurred. They are working and living in a single room. Let alone living and working, they also prepare their daily food there. During day time they wrap their mattress and use the room for baking injera. And at night time they spread the mattress and sleep in group. Moreover, lack of enough light was another thing that was witnessed among the injera bakers. The living and working conditions of child workers on the streets seems more severe than those who are working in indoor setting but the problems all of them were facing nearly were the same. To confirm this the case of those children who are engaged in carrying goods and living on the streets can be raised.

Working children who are living far away from their parents and work and live on the street lead a desperate life. The bad status of their living is reflected by the place where they rest to the type of food they eat. Child labourers in the research sites are taking leftovers or breads from nearby cherished persons in the rural KAs, and restaurants and cafes in urban KAs to meet their nutritional need. Most of these nearby restaurants and cafes give leftovers for children only when they perform a sort of tasks such as supplying tap water in times of water shortage, chop firewood, dump garbage or waste matters, and serve as messengers.

However, in some cases, children also purchase leftovers from restaurants. Working children like porters, shoe shiners and other working children in outdoor setting are clients of leftovers. To buy leftovers they have to pay two birr but recently it became three birr. Sometimes employers provide them with bread or *Injera*. As most of the informants argued the amount of food they get was insufficient.

As far as their place of rest is concerned, some self-employed children live in group by renting a small room and some others, like child porters, are sleeping either on veranda or renting rooms for a night. For example, child labourers in the streets of Chitu spend the night in unfinished house permitted by the owner. The researcher has visited this room twice at night and during the

day time. It was untidy and dusty. This holds true mostly among porters. They were also in similar situations. However, their life or health is at risk. This is because of the fact that, in Chitu 01 for example, more than six child labourers are sleeping together in a small room. It is not difficult to understand the effect of such kinds of congested living.

Moreover, self-employed children in activities like shoe shinning, porters, waiters/waitresses, beggars and others are living either with their parents or in a rented house or room in group. Relatively their living conditions seem stable since they pay the expected amount on time.

4.3.2. Working Hours and Remuneration

In the informal sector, a number of children are working in diversified economic activities as cattle herders, beggars, maids, farmers, water fetchers, servitudes, waiters/waitress, shoe shiners, porters, firewood collectors, injera bakers, etc. Just like such diversity of activities the working time and the amount of payment also varies from one category to the other. As it was learned from the interviews and FGDs, children working as house maid work for 17-18 hours in a day. From this we can understand that, among the working children house maids spend much of their time in work.

This doesn't mean that only working children engaged in home activities are working for too long hours; there were also children that were working for 15 hours in a day like waiters/waitress in groceries and restaurants and servitudes (see table 1 for more information). They work from 6:00 a.m. in the morning to 9:00 p.m. in the evening. Among the working children in the informal sector injera baking children were relatively working for lesser time. However, the nature of the work they perform is very serious and dangerous for their well beings.

Figure 2 Some reflections of a child farmer



Table 1 Working hours of child labourers in the study areas

Type of occupation	Duration of work in a day	Total working hours in a day
Cattle herders	7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.	12 hours
House maids	7:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.	18 hours
Farmers	7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.	12 hours
Water fetchers	Variable (not specified)	Variable (not specified)
Servitude	6:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.	15 hours
Waiters/waitress	5:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.	15 hours
Shoe shiners	6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.	13 hours
Porters	6:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m.	14 hours
Firewood collectors	Variable (not specified)	Variable (not specified)
Injera bakers	8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.	8 hours

As we have seen from the above discussion and table, children in the informal sector are working for long hours at their early age. They use their immature physical and mental stamina for long hours to produce something useful either to support their family or meet their basic needs. Moreover, they do not have time to play and interact with their age mates and friends; especially employed child labourers could not get enough time for rest and to have their food. Nonetheless, self-employed children are different from employed child labourers in that their working time depends on their need. They can play and take rest when they feel tired. In this respect, the case of shoe shine boys and porters in Chitu 01 can be presented. Most of these children are runaways of the bonded labour in the agriculture. As they repeatedly argued they feel now a sort of independence though their situation is too serious. A 14 years old formerly living with his parents in the remote rural KA and shoe shiner responded:

I am very happy now. I spend all the day here on the street corner playing and working. When I get work especially in the morning I work otherwise I use the rest of my time playing with my friends. Before this time I had no time for rest and play and to interact with friends, but now I have enough time and so many friends to play with. All are my choice; no one is controlling me now (Interviewed March 2016).

As it is usually argued, poverty is the main cause of child labour. Because of poverty, parental unemployment, family disintegration and severe illness, children become heads of the households. Consequently, they shoulder all the responsibilities of the family. So, as to successfully carry out the responsibility of taking care of the young siblings, educating them and paying for their medication, the elder children of the family work for long hours to earn money for the expense of their families.

Self-employed child workers are vending different items for profit, carrying goods, cleaning shoe and, collecting and selling firewood so that they earn relatively better return than employed children and are able to cover some of their personal needs and supplement the income of their parents in the study areas. However, the reverse seems true among the child injera bakers and waiters/waitress of Chitu 01. These children work longer hours than any other group of child labourers but they receive very little in return, ranging from Birr 10 to 20 in a week, on Sunday. From this, we can understand how seriously employers are to exploit the labour of children. In this category, shoe shiners, from Birr 30 to 50 per day and employed injera bakers, from 40 to 60 Ethiopian Birr per day comparatively receive better payment. As most of shoe shiner informants

said earning this much money is seasonal, for example in times of good work they receive 30 Birr and above otherwise they may earn lesser.

4.4 Consequences of Child Labour on Child Workers

The involvement of children in productive activities evokes strong zeal and causes hot debate (Tilahun and Tirussew, 2000: 8-9). This is because of the fact that their physical and mental immaturity exposed them to various problems. If we allow and/or force children to undertake difficult tasks, the consequence will be detrimental to their psychosocial development. In this regard, some studies reveal that the kind of work in general and the working conditions in particular are detrimental to the physical, social and intellectual or the holistic personality development of the child (Nardos, 2006; UNICEF, 2001; UNICEF, 1997; Forastieri, 1997; Zerihun, 1996; Mendlievich, 1973). Some others argue that the participation of children in the labour market at their early age has positive impact on the socio-economic and psychological status of working children (A nker, 2000; Lieten, 2000; UNICEF, 1997; Nieuwenhuys, 1994; Fyfe, 1989). In this section of the study, the impacts of child labour on the working children of the study areas are discussed.

4.4.1 The Impacts Of Child Labour On The Working Children

Child labour has negative effects primarily on the working children and then on the society and the country at large. As we have seen in the literature review section of this study, international organizations like the UN, ILO, UNICEF and other nongovernmental organizations and national governments seriously condemn the involvement of under age children into the labour market. The main reason behind this is that child labour has deleterious effect on the holistic personality development of children. In the following sub-section I am going to discuss the negative impacts of child labour on the health, physical and psychosocial developments of working children in the study areas.

4.4.1.1 Health Risks of Child Labour

The kind of risks children encounter differs according to the activities involved and the particular working environments (Forastieri, 1997: 1). As I have witnessed from the fieldwork, children are engaged in various activities in the informal sector. Some of these occupations are health threatening. Thus, it is safe to say that children in the study areas are exposed to different kind of

health problems because of either the difficulty of the tasks they perform or the living and working conditions they experience.

Regarding health problem the most exposed group of child labourers are girls who work as injera bakers. Many of the informants who engaged in this business are below the age of 17 (or between the ages of 15 and 17). On the researcher's visit to some of them at their working rooms it was observed that no one could stand for five minutes in the setting they stay for hours a day and it is conclusive that these girls are at risk of suffering health problems as a result of the smokes coming out of the traditional cook stove they use. To reinforce this argument one of the informants named, age 17, injera baker in a local restaurant told:

I definitely understand that my continuous exposure to the smokes in the kitchen where I work for long hours is affecting my health condition. There is no single day I have gone free of headache due to this smoke. My original skin color was not as dark as it looks now. I am consuming anti-pain medicines as part of meal to get relief from my headache. Apart from headache I have gone to clinics several times for breathing complications I suffered as a result of my working condition. I do not like this job but, can't do anything about it as it is the single option for me to engage myself in. (Interviewed April, 2016)

This information clearly shows that girls are highly exposed to health problems like respiratory and skin problems, and they are living in dangerous situations. Some of them also told that they are always suffering from physical health problem at their work places.

In addition to this, there are also many other child labourers who were engaged in hazardous activities and toil in difficult working conditions. Most of these activities are really dreadful to the health of the child. Though some occupations are very easy, the environment in which they are working was unsafe. As it was learned from the interview and FGDs, some working children as herding cattle are facing health problems like headache, stomachache, cough, typhoid, typhus, neck and back pain. Child porters and shoe shiners in Chitu 01 also encountered the same health problem with child cattle herders. But I learned that amoeba or diarrhoea as the main problem of majority of child porters shoe shiners in study area.

Besides working child cattle herders stay long in the ambushes bare footed for long hours looking after cows and sheep. Due to this fact, many of them said that they were frequently injured in their foot since they run with cattle in the yolky areas. In addition to the aforementioned health related problems, working children also experience such illnesses as skin

disease and trachoma. These diseases mostly are caused by lack of keeping personal hygiene, the poor working conditions and the type of food and water they take.

In times of such health related problems, most of the child labourers could not get medical examinations. This is mainly because of their inability to afford medical expenses and their employers perceive such health-related problems as simple problems of health. Most of the time child cattle herders receive traditional treatment by “employers” in the work place. “Employers” of child cattle herders sometimes give them traditional medicines as way of treatment to at least reduce their pain. This highlights how much the health status and the safety of working children is at risk.

4.4.1.2 Physical Dangers of Child Labour

As Forastieri (1997: 20) puts it “children are the most delicate parts of the society with delicate body structures who have to be raised by special care and protection”. In relation to this Assefa and Myers (1995: 9) argued that children are frequently observed performing activities incompatible with their age. These have a serious impact on their overall physical growth. The working environments in most cases are unsafe. They suffer from lack of proper sanitation and proper light. They are exposed to loud noise and excessive heat. Moreover, the duration of the work, the heavy lifting work result in feeling of fatigue and the continuous contact with dust and proximity to dangerous machines are some of the problems.

Figure 3 Some reflections of a child cattle herder.



As it was observed from the field, most of the children are working beyond the level of their ability and age. They work long hours without taking rest. This holds true especially to the child farmers and cattle herders. This results in fatigue as Assefa and Myers (1995:9) contended. Child cattle herders in the study areas are also being observed working for the day long mostly having no day-off in the week. In this regard, figure 3 is a photograph of a 09 years old child cattle herder looking after cattle.

Excessive heat, continuous contact with dust and dangerous tools and bad weather conditions are part of the life and work of children in the study areas. For instance, girls who are employed to bake injera (local pancake) for sale by using traditional power source i.e. firewood, are of child labourers were exposed to excessive heat. Such an exposure to excessive heat will cause physical and health problems to the working child. In this respect, I have witnessed its impact on the skin of the children.

Moreover, girls who work as house maids like those baking injera are continuously exposed to smokes in the kitchen released from the cooking stuffs. And these children do not use any equipment that can protect them from the excessive release of smoke. Thus it would not be hard to understand the extent of the impact of such dangerous activities on the vision of the child.

Many of these working children were also exposed to physical abuses in the form of corporal punishment. Such an unwise use of force by employers to ensure the obedience or submission of

children is common but consequently, it affects the physical condition of working children. I have witnessed that some employers left scars on the children's body. The scar is an obvious manifestation of the impact of child labour as far as it is caused by their labour relation.

Till the end of my fieldwork I was trying to search for the extreme form of physical hazards, for example disability or impairment, which are caused by work and working conditions. But my attempt was finally concluded in vain. This might be because of the inaccessibility of the problem in my stay in the field.

4.4.1.3 Psycho-social Impacts of Child Labour

The involvement of children in productive works can have negative impacts on the psycho-social growth of children, when it becomes arduous and exploitative or alienated them from their family. If the child is assigned to work for too long hours he/she does not have the chance to play and to interact with his/her peer groups, their social and psychological development can be gravely hampered (CSA, 2001:65; Assefa and Myers, 1995:14). This view seems too relevant to this study.

In the study area, it was witnessed that the same thing had been experienced among child cattle herders and child porters who came from remote KAs and other district and regions. These children perform tiresome tasks for long hours in inconvenient working conditions. Those children who are engaged in cattle herding have no time to play, have no time to interact with their peer and to establish friendship with other children as well. As a result of this, their social interaction is too narrow and limited in their workplace. Moreover, mental stress and anxiety is another psychological problem of these working children. For example, they are expected to protect the cattle from advancing into another person's grazing land which happened to be, the owner might beat them and harm them. They further told the researcher that their work is too much stressful during the seasons crops are under cultivation.

Some other child labourers also experience stress and anxiety whether to get work or food, as for instance the earnings of porters and shoe shine boys depends on the fate of their days.

Since most of these children in the cattle herding and porters in the study area mostly departed and moved to far villages from their families, they do not have link or communication with their parents. Even some of them did not see their parents for several years. Consequently, they miss out their families' love and affection. Most of them are brought at their early age and thus they

do not know anything about family love and affection at all. A 12 years old child cattle herder asserted the following:-

Case 2.

To me family, parents, mother or father are all meaningless. They did nothing for me. I don't know what family, parent, mother and father mean. They are meaningless for me. I know only about myself and the boring work I often perform. I was brought here (Haro Beseka KA) seven years ago when I was a 5 years old child rented by my poor parents to the family who has many cows. Initially I was serving as assistant herder to my preceding boy who now left the area. I began herding alone for four years starting from the time he left. Since then I have had no chance to visit my birth place and my families. Therefore, how can I tell about these things? I always cry when I think of this. I have no a single day to rest. On Sunday I am free but I have no more friends. I always feel bad when I see children while they go to and come from school because I have missed this chance. I always feel inferior when I compare myself with the children of my employers and neighbor.

From this case study, we can learn that rented child labourers missed family love and their right time for intellectual development. Through time some of them have developed bad feeling of life and resentment against their “employers”. They also develop ‘inferiority syndrome’ due to the imbalance treatment between them and their children of their ‘employers’.

In this respect, Habtamu (1996: 62) argued that “the isolation and discrimination the children frequently experience may have negative effects on his or her self-esteem, sense of identity, ability to socialize and make friends”. All these gradually contributed to develop low self-esteem or low value about themselves. As I have learned from informants, most of the children view their future as something obscured by cloud or dark. As a result of this, they felt hopelessness and consider themselves as abandoned children. They do not see themselves as capable person to make a difference or to change their future life. Such kinds of self-image erode the confidence of working children. This was also clearly reflected in the interview and FGDs.

In addition to the above negative impacts, child labour “may have a long term negative impact on the psychological development of children. Children may not get enough time for their educational development which in turn affects their wage earning capacity in their future life” (Forastieri, 1997: 30). Child labour has also the same effect on the society and the economy of

the nation. Children are the future leaders and producers of a nation if we let them grow up in a proper way. But if we treat them in the contrary, they would put negative impact on the socio-economy of a nation.

4.4.2 The Linkage between Child Labour and Education

UNICEF (1999:25) points out that while schooling helps the child to grow ‘cognitively, socially and emotionally’, it is an area that is often seriously endangered by child labour. In this section, the discussion focuses on the impact of child labour on the education of children and the effect of education on the incidence of child labour. When we talk about child labour we can find two groups of children such as those who combine work and school and those who do not attend education but work full-time.

The impact of work on the intellectual development of children is unquestionably very great. Education has far reaching consequences for the child him/herself and the nation at large. They are precious resources of a nation. Without the participation of this group of the society, in the future, the continuity and the progress of the nation would be at risk. That is why different governments, national and international organizations stood against child labour and promote compulsory education.

Child labour affects the school participation of children since both of them, work and schooling, need much of the children’s time. Children cannot be in two places simultaneously. It is hard now to combine school and work for most child labourers, especially for orphans and those who are living far away from their families. They have to make a fair choice between work and education. The reason behind this was that work is a question of survival for poor children since there is no one to finance their basic needs and schooling. As a result of such economic pressures, children are forced to quit schooling and engage in full-time work.

As it was discussed in the previous sections, poverty, coupled with many other problems, result in child labour in the study areas. Due to the rising cost of living, nowadays, the labour contribution of underage children is badly needed by parents. Consequently, a number of children abandoned their schooling and engaged in child labour on full-time basis. In Woldo Telfam and Chitu kebele administrations, for example, the number of dropout children is high when compared to the other sample KAs. To ascertain this, the writer visited two primary schools in Chitu 01 and Woldo Telfam namely, Chitu and Darian and one in Sonkole Kake, i.e., Sonkole Primary School.

There are some working children who attend school and engage in certain economic activities in their spare time. These children are either self-employed or living and working with their parents or kind relatives. In addition to school participation, child labour has an adverse impact on the school performance of children who combine work and school. In Woldo Telfam and Chitu 01, I was trying to cross check the performance of child labourer students by taking their first semester results of Mathematics, English and Science subjects into consideration. As I learned from their results, most of them perform badly in their schooling. But undeniably there were exceptional working children who score good marks in their schooling. Unfortunately, there are so many school age children who seek to attend school but kept out of the system by their employers, “parents” or “relatives” in the study areas.

I had the chance to exchange some ideas with teachers in order to understand their views about working children’s school performance in the study area. From the conversation, I learned about the weak class participation of working children. A Mathematics teacher, asserts:

In this area there are so many children who combine schooling and work. Most of these children often come to school without doing home works or assignments. And when you teach they look desperate and lack concentration. You can read the fatigue from their face. They sit idle and try to hide themselves. We know all these problems; as a result of this, we [teachers] tried to prepare tutorial classes for them. But for your surprise most of them did not come. When we ask them next day we have learnt that their workload blocked them from coming to school. Such problem is becoming too serious among these children of our school. (Interviewed March 2016)

Bhalotra (2003: 53) supports this argument saying “even when work activities do not prevent a child from attending school, they may reduce study time or tire the child to the point of impairing concentration and learning”. Most of the tasks carried out by children are tiresome and take long hours with little or without rest. As a result of this, they go to school with tired body and mind. Because of this they sleep in class. After they go back to home they neither study nor do their school tasks by virtue of lack of enough time, interest and fresh mind (lack of concentration) and energy to undertake them. Therefore, combining school and work become a challenging issue for children.

Many people and organizations advocate compulsory education to reduce and if possible to eliminate child labour. In this regard, ILO (2004: 113) argued that “where compulsory education

is effectively implemented, children will be less available for full-time work at least during school hours, parents will be encouraged to keep their children in school and employers will be dissuaded from hiring children”. In principle the view of the ILO is absolutely right. But for me this idea completely ignores the real problems of working children and poor families of underdeveloped countries. The main reason for the involvement of children in child labour – not only in the study areas or Ethiopia but also in many developing countries – is the prevalence of abject poverty. In such circumstances, what would be the choice of poor children and families – education or survival? Where do children get food unless they work or if they spend most of their time in school?

CHAPTER FIVE

5. The Perceptions and Challenges of Child Labourers

5.1. The Perceptions Of Child Labour

There may be different perceptions about ‘child labour’ among the different groups of the society. Children may see ‘child labour’ from different angle since they are the victims or ‘beneficiaries’ of child labour than others. Employers on their part may encourage the participation of children in the labour market as long as they earn dividends at the expense of the immature stamina of working children. Members of the society may argue on the basis of their socio-cultural and economic backgrounds and knowledge or awareness about ‘child labour’. The following subsections of the study seek to examine the point of view of working children, employers and some members of the society in the study areas towards ‘child labour’.

5.1.1. Child Labour from the Working Children’s Viewpoint

Working children hold different viewpoints about child labour. Some children argue that ‘work’ is important for their survival and some others defined it as something that deters their development or it is against their proper development. These perceptions are forwarded by child labourers depending on the type of work they perform, the working conditions they experience and the ‘benefit’ they get. In addition to the working conditions, the type of occupation they are engaged in and the benefit they receive, the perception of child labourers also differ from one category to the other, i.e., from “employed” to “self-employed” children. In short, there are two different views among child labourers.

According to Ennew et al. (2005: 34), the International Save the Children Alliance contends “some working children argue that work is something that is ‘dignified’ and contributes to their own or their family’s survival. Others see work as harmful or exploitative”. This argument holds true in the case of this study. However, as it is indicated at the outset, it differs from one mode of occupation to the other, i.e., among “employed” and “self-employed” children. As it was discussed from the foregoing sections, employed children are the most exploited and abused child labourers in the study areas as compared to those who are self-employed and work alongside their parents or in their families’ establishments.

As most of the employed child labourers argued they dislike their work and involvement in the labour market at their early age. They perceive their work and their working conditions as detrimental to their physical, health, safety and intellectual development. This perception is mainly resulted from the unattractiveness of the incentives they earn from their work, the unsafe working conditions and the treatment of their employers. In this regard, child cattle herders are good examples. Most of the informants in this business were “employed”⁷ children. Working too long hours with little or without any payment; awful treatment and abusive practices; denial of education, play, day off; workload; malnourishment, etc. have contributed for this kind of perception among employed child labourers. A 14 years old child farmer, remarked:

I extremely hate the work I do and the employer whom I am working with. My life is highly complicated because of this work. It is too boring, tiresome and the working area is also unpleasant. But I have no option to give it up because it is the only means to survive. Both my parents were deceased long ago and I had no one who can take care of me. (Interviewed March 2016)

The perceptions of many of self-employed children and those who work in their family’s businesses are different from that of the employed working children. But the later group of working children, those who are working in family establishments, detests their work unlike those in the first category because they do not like to work together with argumentative parents. Some child labourers told that their parents impose difficult jobs on them and, therefore, they prefer working for themselves independently. This may highlight their desire to liberate themselves from family control. These working children claimed that work is the key for their survival even though some of them were aware of its detrimental impacts especially on their education.

Most of these self-employed working children are keen to attend school if they get the chance. They further argued that work is a source of income, self-realization, skill or experience and self-confidence. In this respect, a child labourer, who was working with his parents in the production of Enset, said the following:

Now I am aware of working independently in case I withdraw from home. I need very meager financial resource to start my own business. Working with parents is boring and they always nag you whether you work or not or whether you sale or not. I don’t know the reason why they often nag and beat me. If I get the money to start a business, I will

make myself free from my irritating parents and I even prefer working as a shoe shiner
(Interviewed March 2016).

Child porters perceive child labour from two angles; they like and dislike their work simultaneously. As most of them told me in the interview and FGDs they like their work since it is the only source of livelihood. They perceived this way since they are living far away from their parents or they are orphans. On the other hand, they felt bad regarding their living and working conditions. Indeed, they are leading desperate life. As compared to many other groups of child workers, relatively porters' life is at risk in many aspects.

5.1.2. The Perceptions of Employers about Child Labour

The informal sector by its nature is dominantly a labour intensive sector. Entrepreneurs in this sector run their business with little capital and the return itself is also insignificant (Tirussew et al., 1997; ILO/IPEC, 2004; Rodgers and Standing, 1981). Thus, owners of such establishments could not be in a position to pay adult workers and they also claimed that adult workers are unmanageable ('enesun mazez yekebdehal'). Because of this they prefer to employ child workers instead of adults. Therefore, you can find a non-negligible number of working children in this sector. Employers of child labourers in the study areas have different views about the subject – child labour. Most of my informants here are of agrarians, cattle owners, owners of groceries and restaurants and merchants workers who hire children for different purposes as house maids, servitudes. As most of the employers stressed they employ children to help them meet their basic needs. They observed that they do it as a way of helping children meet their basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter. This is because employers lack enough knowledge about child labour and the corresponding laws that protect the rights of the child. Yet, they are aware of the impacts of child labour though they do not want to speak about it. Some of these employers consider themselves as compassionate to the problems of children. That is why one of the employers who employed a child for herding his cattle argued as follows:

I employ children as a way of helping them meet their basic needs. They are already unprivileged; I employ them as a way of helping them get food, clothing and shelter. Failure to employ them is not fair since they have nothing to eat, wear and shelter. Work for these poor children is a matter of survival. So, what is bad in employing children?
(Interviewed April 2016)

As it was learned from the interviews, employers use ‘sympathy’ as a pretext when they are asked the reason why they employ children. And if they were honest, they would view children’s participation in the labour market not from the positive (work is beneficial for children) rather from the negative (work is detrimental for children) angle. In reality, however, children working especially in the restaurants and groceries are trafficked children; they are not employees in a real sense. Hence, whatever “employers” in the cattle herding business said it is a pretext to hide the reality. Undeniably they may lack adequate knowledge about the rights of children as long as most of them are illiterate.

Furthermore, an employer in a grocery argued that “most of the time he employ children to creat a job opportunity for them to run their lives and in the process to improve their livelihood”. The employment connection is largely done by dealers who bring the children from remotest KAs in the district or from the nearby towns like Waliso and Walkite. The same holds true for the employment of one of the informants who engaged in housemaid in Chitu 01. One of the owners of the restaurant told me that he likes children very much. That is why he tried to ‘help’ two working girls in his restaurant as waitresses. In this respect, he added that;

They are not given assignments that are tiresome. They simply receive from cutomers and serve them with their orders such as foods and drinks the restaurant sells. It is easy to order them than adults. Their contribution is very great. I don’t want to undermine their work. So far they are honest and reliable. I hope they would be good businessmen like me in the future since I was also doing the same job long years ago when I was a child. I often give them easy tasks and they perform it with great care. I really like these children. One day I advised them to attend school but they prefer continue working to education
(Interviewed March 2016).

Those who use their children’s labour believe that the involvement of children in work is important for his/her socialization. Most parents need the labour of their child and the continuation of the family business; because of this they urge their children to follow their footsteps. Some parents give equal value for children’s work and education. They know very little about child labour and its detrimental effects on their working children. After I gave them information about the meaning of child labour, they try to think about it but finally argued that they are teaching their children about the skill of the business. Some of them also give very little

consideration for children's education. This is mainly because of their immediate demand of children's contribution in order to solve their pressing needs.

5.1.3. The Perceptions of the Society about Child Labour

The socialization process of children may to some extent differ from culture to culture and from one part of the country to the other (Kebebew, 1986: 83). By virtue of this there are different views or perceptions towards child labour among the society of the study areas. To examine the opinion of some members of the society about child labour in this subsection, I would like to start on their perceptions of 'child' and then 'child labour'. In the study areas, there are people who come from different socio-cultural backgrounds.

As a result of this, there might be some differences regarding their view of 'child' and 'child labour'. As I learned from the interviews, the perceptions of the society depend on the level of their literacy and economic status. Parents of working children put seven years as a threshold of the end of childhood whereas neutrals put age 15 and some others age 18 as a demarcation line between childhood and adulthood by referring to the law of the country. The opinion of parents of working children emanates mostly from their inadequate knowledge about the subject and is guided by traditional outlooks of uprooting 'milk teeth', which is considered as a transition from childhood to adulthood. This highlights how parents of child labourers view child labour and this may be a way of sanctioning the involvement of children in the labour market.

Moreover, with respect to child labour I have experienced two different views in the study areas. On the one hand, there are people who view child labour from the angle of its positive contribution to the child and his/her family's survival. They contended that children's participation in the world of work is good to acquire skills, help the child and his/her family to survive and as means of socializing the child to the external world. In short, this group of people sees it virtually as harmless. Parents of working children also share the same view though both of them agree to some extent on its negative impacts on the child's education. They are supporting the participation of children in child labour and argued that it is normal for children to assist parents since it is one of the ways of training the child. Some members of the society, on the other hand, perceive child labour moderately, as something 'useful' and 'harmful' (or in between) to the child. They take several issues into account to judge it 'harmful' and 'useful'. They say for those children who have no food, clothing and shelter, and have no any other option to survive, therefore, taking part in the labour market is a must. These children might be orphans

or live far away from family. Those who live with their parents or relatives should not take part in the labour market at this tender age rather they have to attend school. In this regard, one of the members of the Sonkole Kake kebele administration contended that;

In Sonkole Kake KA, there are many children who work as cattle herders and involve in the agricultural sector. The situation is very different in this area. There are so many children working firewood collecting and carryout various agricultural activities. Child cattle herders are especially exposed to various problems including being highly exploited by their employers as they work for long hours a day without day-off in a week. As we heard this people are not employers rather they are traffickers who brought those children from other KAs or neighboring districts but we lack evidence to bring them before justice. Unless they are orphans, parents are responsible to bring up their children properly whatever economic status they have. In fact, it is not only the problem of poor families there are also children from the better-offs (Interviewed March 2016).

In general, in the community little is known about child labour as a problem though there are billboards in the study area, which preach the illegality of using children's labour for any productive activities and campaigns by the NGOs operating in the district like World Vision International Ethiopia. This is because child labour is seen as work that every capable child can perform. After the researcher tried to explain the literal meaning of child labour, many informants realized that what the children were engaged in was child labour. So, most of the informants became aware of the fact that all that existed in the area constituted child labour.

The communities perception, following my explanation about the issue, is child labourers do not only come from poor families but also from better-off families as well – delinquents who resist parental control. It is also a common perception that there are children who work part time in the evenings and on weekends to support the efforts of their parents or guardians in meeting family needs. The practice of working children thus appears to be tacitly accepted by the community members I talked to as child labour.

5.2. The Challenges And Abusive Practices Child Labourers Encounter

5.2.1. The Challenges Child Labourers Face when they try to escape from Child Labour

The domestic sector, as repeatedly discussed, is the main harbor of working children. These children engaged in child labour from 'simple' to deleterious forms. Some children seriously hate their work and the environment in which they work and live. Some others have positive attitude towards the type of work they engaged in without taking into account its long and short-term impacts on their wellbeing. Whatever the attitude children have, they viewed it positively either because of lack of option to survive or knowledge about the detrimental effects of their work. However, if they get the chance, as most of them I talked to reported, no doubt they would run away from exploitation. But they have hindrances that tied them to exploitation as discussed below.

Children face several challenges in their endeavour to escape from child labour or labour exploitation. Though there were children who view their engagement beneficial, this does not mean that they perform their work with great interest or love it from the bottom of their heart. The main challenge for working children in this respect is abject poverty. Indeed, they are living in the vicious circle of poverty. This abject household poverty coupled with parental unemployment, limited opportunities, rising cost of living, and the question 'what to eat?' have contributed to the perpetuation of children in the labour market and hindered children from escaping labour exploitation.

Employers, 'relatives' and 'parents' often use different forms of 'threatening mechanisms' to make sure the obedience and the submission of working children. Most of the 'employers' of trafficked children use such methods of intimidation to realize the continuation of children's labour contribution. Even children living with and working for their parents face similar intimidation from their parents. As one of the key informants who is supporting his parents by carrying out agricultural activities said, his father often beat him if he refused to do so. In his words he said "if I refuse to do the assigned tasks, I will severely be beaten, denied of food and dismissed from home by my father". He frequently warns me: 'what will you eat if you refuse to work?', 'if you don't work, leave the home!'. In addition to this, a 14 years old ex-child cattle herder and now a shoe shine boy in Chitu 01 remarked that:

A person who trafficked and employed me always warns me if the cattle eat the crops of other or the grazing land of other. He never listens to me when ask him for a rest even when I do not feel good. He gives me some medicine when I complain stomachache or headache instead of taking me to health centre. I look after the cows from week to week not resting even on Sundays (Interviewed February 2016).

Among the challenges of inability to afford transportation costs to go back to their families and even if they afford the transportation cost, they do not want to go home without taking anything to their family. Moreover, they thought that one day their employer may fulfill his/her promises. Having such hope hinders children and then perpetuates their exploitations. This is mostly common among trafficked children, for example child waiters/waitress. Most of these working children work without any term of employment and with little or no remuneration. In short, they are victims of exhaustive labour. As a result of this, they have no chance to get money let alone for transportation even for fulfilling their basic needs.

Lack of alternative job opportunities other than the occupation they engaged in, bad imagination (picture) of and fear of adaptability to the outside world have also caught up working children from claiming their independence from labour exploitation. Working children are trained in a certain business or occupation and most of them lack required skills to engage in other activities. As a result of this, they were scared when they thought of escaping. If they left their work without preparation, their survival would be at risk.

Generally, lack of alternative sources of income, poverty, exaggerated imagination and fear of adaptability to the outside environment, inability to afford transportation costs, and limited job opportunity due to lack of proper skill impedes working children from liberating themselves. Furthermore, violent employers, expecting promises of their employers, etc played significant role in bonding children to the labour exploitation.

5.2.2. Abusive Practices That Child Labourers Encounter

Working children of either sex face various forms of abuses from employers, colleagues (older children and adult coworkers) and customers. This happens for the reason that people thought children are powerless to protect and defend themselves and absence of good legal protection for working children. Many working children I talked to reported that they oftentimes face abusive practices such as physical, verbal, psychological threats or intimidations.

5.2.2.1. Physical Abuse

Children who do not obey employers or parents' order and do not do the assigned tasks would face different forms of punishments. This may extend from simple corporal punishment to banning from home. Most of the children interviewed reported that they encounter punishments when they refuse to work or fail to finish a given task on time or even when they unknowingly did the wrong way. In addition, they are not expected to give answer when they meet insult or curse from their aggressive employers, 'parents', 'relatives' and from older colleagues. If they give answer or a counter response, they would face whip or smack. This is mostly because of the fear of employers that such kind of children would refuse to take orders and thus would 'escape'. Sometimes working children may encounter physical abuses without any ground.

As it was stated in the preceding chapter and the foregoing paragraph, corporal punishment is the main form of physical abuse against child labourers. It is mostly true among employed children in the indoor setting. They meet maltreatment either from employers, 'parents', 'relatives' or adult coworkers. Whereas self-employed and employed (in addition to the aforementioned) children in the outdoor setting experience such kind of abuses from colleagues (older child labourers or adults in the same business), customers and others.

When we talk about physical abuse, it takes place in various modes in the study areas. As I learned from participants of the FGDs, especially 'parents', employers or 'relatives' use several punitive measures such as whipping with ropes or sticks, food deprivation, smashing against the wall, slapping, hitting by throwing any accessible objects, etc. FGDs participant children reported that:

Physical abuse is a common phenomenon and we consider it as part of our life. People around us do not care for working children. They slap us, smack us, and beat us using objects accessible to them. Sometimes employers and 'parents' or 'relatives' use food deprivation as punitive measure. Physical abuse comes not only from these people but also from customers, older working children or adults in the same businesses. Especially older working children or adults in the same businesses beat us when we compete to work; when we refuse to follow their orders and sometimes without any reason
(Interviewed March 2016).

Though this is the problem of most working children in the study areas, it seems too serious among child cattle herders and porters. The main reason behind this punitive measure could be to

make children more obedient, to realize the continuation of their benefits at the expense of the children, and to instill fear in children so that they could keep them.

5.2.2.2. Verbal Abuse

One of the manifestations of verbal abuse is insulting. People use abusive terms or phrases against the working children in different circumstances where the child does something wrong or against the interest of his/her employers, 'parents' or 'relatives' and other people around him/her. Most employers or 'parents' used to insult working children even when they commit minor mistakes. As many of the children interviewed, it is the starting point of physical abuse. Relatively adult employers shout against working children before they kick off them whereas women and relatively older employers insult and curse working children continuously as compared to the former group of employers. The latter do not oftentimes take physical punishments like beating unless they are extremely angered by child workers. A twelve years old child farmer remarked about the verbal abuse he faced and criticized the aggressive behavior of his employer (his uncle) as follows:

When he wants to beat me, he starts by insulting and threatening me. If I keep silent, he often ignores the problem between us. But if I give him explanation or reason about the problem, he beats me seriously. He uses dishonorable and disparaging terms to attack me verbally. When he air these terms out I often struggle with my feeling and finally forced to cry. But the consequence is bad because he doesn't want to hear crying. So I always try to hold everything inside in order to escape from such punishment
(Interviewed February 2016).

Employers and 'parents' or 'relatives' usually abuse working children verbally. Most of the terms and phrases they use to insult and curse children are disgraceful and derogatory. Insults like a ancestorless, bastard, a son of poor, ill-lucked, and more other abusive terms that the children do not want to repeat because they were ashamed of even telling me those.

5.2.2.3. Psychological Abuse

In addition to physical and verbal abuses, working children also experience psychological abuse which come from their employers, 'parents' or 'relatives' and colleagues. As was discussed in the preceding chapter, some employers and 'parents' or 'relatives' threaten, intimidate, insult and curse child workers and they instill their impacts in the minds of these immature children. The psychology of children is like easily spoiled and breakable items. But employers or other

individuals who are working with children could not understand children's morals and emotions. Because of this fact they usually use different threatening mechanisms mainly to keep children under their control, for the sake of improving the "quality" and "quantity" of their work, to oblige children to work and accomplish the given tasks in their hand quickly.

Employers, 'parents' or 'relatives' oftentimes use different threatening methods. These may be verbal and action-oriented. Verbally they use such expressions as to make the child submissive and obedient. These are, 'I will kill you', 'I will expel you from home in the middle of the night', 'I will hung you', and 'I will amputate your legs if you go away'. They also threaten children in action by showing them sharp tools like knife, sticks and "spear-like" objects.

In this respect, there was an encounter of one of the informants, – an eleven years old child worker, who is living and working with his 'uncle' for the last four years when his father was passed away. He came to Dulele Bilacha with the consent of his mother to help his uncle by herding cattle combining with his schooling. I found him in Bilacha primary school and he was one of my key informants. He explained his encounter as follows:

Case 3.

My 'uncle' is a very aggressive person. I am afraid of him especially during the crop season for he harshly punishes me if the cattle eat crops. Sometimes the cattle will be out of my control and few eats the crop of others. In that case, the consequences would be bad. Nobody will save me! He would cut me into pieces. Moreover, he insults me badly if I make a mistake. He does not care whatever the mistake but he simply try to find faults either to kick or intimidate me. He also threatens me not to tell our spoiled relation to my mother when she comes to visit us once or twice a year. He intimidates me by saying 'you should not tell anything to your mom. If you tell her, I will kill you in front of her. As a result, I don't want to tell my mother anything. He is really a bad guy.

Generally, employers or 'relatives' use whatever mechanisms to threaten working children. As the researcher learned from people he talked to, working children encountered such kinds of psychological threats several times from their employers, 'parents' or 'relatives'. But as it was further learned from the FGDs, parents are less aggressive than employers. Here, the existence of merciful employers and relatives should not be forgotten.

CHAPTER SIX

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1. Conclusion

This study has examined the issue of child labour in the informal sector in Wonchi district and specifically highlighted the causes, impacts, perceptions towards child labour and challenges face by the child labourers. In Wonchi District, a number of underage children are engaged in diversified productive activities of the domestic sector.

Children of either sex are taking part in the child labour market in the study areas for various reasons. In the context of this study, the participation of children is gender stratified. As a result, most of the working children in the informal sector are male children. It is safe to say that it is a male dominated economic sector. However, there are few girls who are working in the informal sector particularly in businesses like baking *injera* for sale, domestic servants, serving clients in groceries and restaurants, and collecting firewood for sale. The domination of boys may be due to the traditional outlook of parents towards sending their female children outside their home for work and the harassments female children may face in the outside world.

Working children in the domestic sector are child labourers and with disadvantaged background involving lack of or minimal access to education due to household poverty, being orphans and are migrated from remote KAs or other neighboring districts. The parents of the working children are engaging in 'marginal' economic activities largely due to lack of appropriate skills and education. As a result of their illiteracy, mostly they develop very little concern for their children's education and thus send them to the labour market to supplement the meager household income. In this way, the child follow not only the footsteps of his/her parents in the labour market but also perpetuate as illiterate member of the society in his/her adulthood and then most likely he/she will also send his/her children to the labour market at their early ages too. Undoubtedly, parents wish bright future for their children and want to raise them in a decent way. However, due to some reasons like abject poverty they are forced to deny their children's right to education and cut expenses of basic needs. And sometimes they may indulge their children in the labour market to ease household poverty to a certain extent. Poverty is the main reason behind the participation of children in productive activities. Poverty is not the only reason

for children's involvement rather there are also unemployed parents who send their children to the world of work to get something useful.

Chitu 01, the major town of Wonchi district, is the focal point of immigrants from remote KAs and the neighboring districts. Children migrate to the town alone or together with their parents, relatives or somebody else for several reasons. As a result, migration becomes another reason behind the participation of children in the labour market in Wonchi district. There are pull factors like considering it as a 'place of prosperity', and push factors like rural poverty, absence of sufficient farm land and family conflicts that follow, surplus rural labour force, limited rural job opportunities and other socio-cultural factors have contributed for the migration of children and their parents. After coming to Chitu 01, they prefer to be engaged in any work without taking into account the difficulty or its dangerous nature. This is due to the fact that they do not have any option to get their subsistence in a strange place.

Moreover, the educational system that is going on in the district do not accommodate the needs of the working children in that there is no option for them to combine their education with working because night programs are not arranged in the district. Many working children in the study area told that they want attend schools during night if they get the chance.

It is obvious that children need special care, love and affection for their healthy personality development. In this respect, family, in general, and parents in particular, play significant role. However, due to family disintegration and death, these children are forced to lose one or both of their parents. If they do not have capable relatives to take care of them, they would go to the nearby KAs and offer themselves for labour exploitation.

Furthermore, this study also dealt with child trafficking as another major factor for the involvement of children in the labour market. Largely, this has happened due to lack of government supervision on the movement of children from one part of the country to the other and lack of awareness about the illegality of child trafficking among the perpetrators. There are different people behind this process. These actors of child trafficking are either in the rural areas or in the town. Owners of restaurants and groceries in the study area are either traffickers or recipients of trafficked children.

Children are the future human resource of a nation who needs special protection and care like safe environment to upgrade its quality. But unwise use of this resource or before its right time would endanger not only the sustainability of the child but also the country at large. Some

individuals try to increase their dividend at the expense of children. They let children to work in completely unsafe environment with little or no pay. However, the living conditions of working children differ from one mode of employment to the other. Some self-employed children are living with their parents or in group in their own rented house while others like porters live either on veranda or poorly made houses. Moreover, if they are remunerated it takes place in cash or in kind and is very little compared to the energy they invest and the difficulty of the work they perform. Generally, they are disadvantaged members of the society.

In the study area, the work per se and the working conditions children experience are detrimental to their physical, social and intellectual development. Employers also use different punitive measures to realize the submission and obedience of employed children. All these put their own short or long-term impacts on the child. Orphans and migrant children have no option to meet their basic needs other than work. For this reason they should engage in certain economic activities. Work for these children, therefore, is the question of survival.

Child labour and education are inversely related. Education is an influential factor of child labour. When there is high rate of primary school participation, there will be low incidence of child labor. High participation of children in the labour market would affect primary school enrolment or participation of children. By realizing this, international organizations and our national government target at increasing the school participation of children through “Universal Primary Education”. However it is becoming tiring to achieve this policy because, priority should be given for the means of survival of poor families. Moreover, child labour has its own negative impact on the school performance of those working children who combine work and education.

In the study areas, children are assigned to perform very difficult tasks which are incompatible to their age and physical strength. Because of the arduous nature of their work and the unpleasant working conditions they experience, children develop resentment to their work and their living and working conditions. As a result, most of the working children want to liberate themselves from labour exploitation. But, they encounter different obstacles in their endeavor to escape. This study attempted to identify such hindrances on the basis of the point of view of working children in the study areas. Some of these are the prevalence of abject poverty which is coupled with parental unemployment, rising cost of living and lack of other opportunities; threatening mechanisms employed by employers, ‘parents’ or ‘relatives’; language barriers; inability to

afford transportation cost, etc. All these in part or together are tied to working children to the labour exploitation.

As this study disclosed, there is a varied perception about child labour among working children, employers and members of the society. The views of these people towards child labour depend on the knowledge they have about the problem; their level of involvement in the situation; and the benefit or risks they get from it. Hence, there is limited awareness about child labour as a problem that needs to be addressed through awareness raising campaigns. The attitude of working children towards child labour depends highly on the benefit they earn, the working condition and the treatment of their employers or individuals around them. In the society, there are people who support the involvement of children in the labour market by viewing it as part of the child socialization process and still lack information about child labour. Thus, the perception of members of the society varies in accordance with their level of literacy and awareness about the rights of children. According to employers, children are employed based on their compassion to help them meet their basic needs and to shape their future. But they do it largely to reduce labour costs and benefit more at the expense of working children.

Working and getting something to eat and supplement one's family income is not an easy task for child labourers. To get it they should have to pass through several challenges like doing difficult work, hazardous or less conducive working conditions and unfair treatments of employers, 'relatives' or 'parents' and even clients and coworkers. These abusive practices can be grouped as physical, verbal and psychological. These abusive practices in turn have their own impact on the physical, social and psychological well-being of the child. Most of the time the victims of such kinds of abuses are passive, lack self-confidence, have low self-esteem or self-concept. In their later life, adulthood, they would develop aggressive behavior and may isolate themselves from the rest of the society.

6.2. Recommendation

Recommendations of this study are made in response so as to intervene the problems investigated. The findings indicate the need for some policy interventions to address the challenges identified. The critical issues that must be addressed include first the local economy to address the poverty situation, then the socio-cultural perceptions, limited educational opportunities, lack of public surveillance and lack of social amenities. In this regard the following recommendations are made to address the inadequacies identified in the findings.

- The government and NGOs should pay attention to the community so as to increase the incomes of the community especially the poorest households.
- NGOs and local government agencies need to embark on sensitization to change attitude of the people.
- Authorities need to provide infrastructural facilities and equip schools with furniture and qualified teachers in order to arrange a night schooling program for the working children.
- The current educational policy should give emphasis on realizing ‘Universal Primary Education’ so that children in the community will attend schools.
- Concerned government structures need to check the policies on child labour in order to mitigate child labour abuse or at least ease its impacts on the children.

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Websites

- <http://www.antislavery.org/homepage/campaign/childlabourcamp.htm>
- <http://www.woccuphealth.file/info/anl/ 2016/background3.htm>

APPENDIX ONE

A. An in-depth Interview questions for child labourers

Name of Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

Starting time: _____

Ending time: _____

1. Personal Data

1.1. Age in years: _____

1.2. Sex: _____

1.3. Religion: _____

1.4. Ethnic group: _____

2. Family Context

2.1. Whom are you living with? _____

2.2. Are your parents alive? _____

2.3. Marital status of your parents _____

2.4. What does your family do for a living? List all works they do

2.5. How do you describe your family economic status? _____

(Rich, self-sufficient, poor, very poor or same with other communities in the area)

2.6. What is your family size _____

2.7. How many siblings do you have? _____

2.8. What is your birth order? _____

2.9. How many of your siblings attend school? _____

2.10. Who is the primary breadwinner of the family? _____

2.11. What is educational level of your parents (grades) ?

A) Illiterate

C) 1- 4

E) 9-12

B) Read and write D) 5-8 F) > 12

3. Schooling

3.1. Have you ever-attended school? _____

3.2. If No to 3.1, what were your reasons for not attending school?

3.3. If Yes to 3.1, are you attending school now? _____

3.4. What is your highest grade completed? _____

3.5. If No to 3.2, why did you quit schooling? _____

3.6. Do you have a plan to return to school? _____

3.7. I 'No' what is your reason for not returning to school?

3.8. If you are combining your work with schooling, describe the challenges you face in doing so:

3.9. Can your parents afford school fees and other school expense?

4. Present Living Conditions

4.1. How many meals do you take per day? _____

4.2. Are there any health problems you faced? _____

4.3. If Yes, Who helped you for the treatment? _____

4.4. What time do you start work? _____

4.5. What time do you finish work? _____

4.6. Do you have any rest/ break during the day? _____

4.7. How often do you meet your parents/guardians if you are not living with your Parents?

5. Living Conditions

5.1. How many hours of sleep/rest do you normally have a day? _____

5.2. Where do you sleep? _____

5.3. What will be life like if you had not joined your current activities?

5.4. How do you compare the quality of your present living conditions with that before joining your present activities? _____

6. Perception

6.1. How do you perceive your future? _____

6.2. Do you worry about your future? _____

If 'yes', why?

If 'No', why not?

7. Causes of Child Labour

7.1. Describe the different pathways to child labour.

7.2. Describe the main causes, which compelled you to engage in child labour.

8. Consequences of child labor (Emotional, Mental, and Physical Risks)

8.1. Have you ever been taken for medical treatment? _____

8.2. Who pays for medical care while you are on working?

8.3. Describe any hurts, sickness, or accidents incurred while you are engaged as a Child labourer _____

8.4. What fears and worries do you have when you are working as child labourer?

8.5. What emotional impact have you experienced in your work?

8.6. How do you see yourself relative to non-working children?

8.7. How often is physical violence committed on you?

8.8. How often has accident happened to you on working?

9. Types of child labour

9.1. Explain in detail of all types of labour abuse you have encountered.

9.2. What are the types of work that you are engaged?

10. Employment and Work environment

10.1. What tools/equipment do you use in your daily work? _____

10.2. Give the total number of years of service in present employment _____

10.3. Who influenced you to engage and continue as a child worker?

10.4. What do you think is the consequence if you lose your current job?

10.5. Do you have any plans to change this job? If yes, what could be the alternative?

10.6. How old were you when you first started working on the farm?

_____ years

10.7. How many hours /day do you work? hours per day

10.8. Do you get an equal amount of pay as adult laborers doing the same type of Work
? _____

10.9. Do you feel that you work under stress? _____

10.10. Do you see any risk in your work? _____

10.11. Do you think the community supports or condemns child labour? _____

10.12. How do your employers treat you? _____

10.13. How do you assess the punishment, if any _____

B. FGD Guideline for child labourers

Name of FGD Facilitator _____

Date: _____

Starting time: _____ **Finishing Time:** _____

Place: _____

1. What are the kinds of work you are engaged in?
2. How long have you been working?
3. Why did you start working?
4. What are the effects or the impact your work on your life?
5. How do you perceive your work and your working condition?
6. What are the abusive practices you face at your work place?
7. What are the challenges you face at your work places in relation to your employer, coworkers and customers?
8. What are the challenges you face when trying to escape from exploitative works?
9. Is there is anything you want add?

C. Unstructured interview guides for community members

Date of interview: _____

Status of the interviewee: _____

1. How do you define a child in terms of age?
2. What are the exploitative works children in your village engaged in?
3. What is the extent of child labour in your in your area?
4. What are the causes for children's engagement in exploitative works?
5. How do you perceive children's engagement in works?
6. What are the impacts of labour on the working children?

D. Interview guide for parents of working children

1. How do you define a child in terms of age?
2. How many children do you have? _____
3. How many of them go to school? _____
4. Are there children who do not attend school? _____
5. If 'Yes', why?
6. What are the works your children do?
7. What are the reasons for your children to engage in works?
8. For whom do your children work?
9. Are they paid for?
10. How do you describe your economic status? (Very poor, poor, rich or very rich).
11. How do you perceive children's engagement in various works and what do you wish for them?

E. Interview guide for employers of working children

1. How do you define a child in terms of age?
2. What business do you run?
3. Who are you employees?
4. How many children are working in your business?
5. What is the average working hour of your child employees in a day?
6. Are your child employees paid?
7. How do you rate the salary/wage that your child employees earn?
8. What is your perception towards children working in your business? How do you treat them?

9. Do you allow them to visit their parents or close relatives regularly?
10. How do you respond to the children working for you when they commit mistakes?

F. Checklist for observation

1. What tools/equipment do the children use while working?
2. Are they engaged in the use of dangerous equipment?
3. Who influenced them to engage and continue as a child worker?
4. How do they work per day?
5. Do they feel stress on work?
6. Does he/she face any risk in her /his work?
7. How do the employers treat the working child?
8. How does he/she accept the punishment, if any?