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Interfaces Between Children's Work and Schooling in Rural Tanzania

Master's thesis in Master of Philosophy in Childhood Studies
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CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certifies that he has read and hereby recommends for acceptance of this thesis entitled: **"*Interfaces Between Children's Work and Schooling in Rural Tanzania*"** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of the Master of Philosophy in Childhood Studies at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology**.**

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Prof. Tatek Abebe

(Supervisor)

Date_____

DECLARATION

I declare to the best of my knowledge that this thesis is my own, original work and no part of it has been submitted in this university or any university elsewhere, apart from the works of others that I have appropriately acknowledged and referenced.

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Conrad John Masabo

DEDICATION

This Thesis is Dedicated To

My Loving Sisters Levina John Masabo and Eleonora John Masabo

And To

My young brother Florian John Massabo

I appreciate your encouragement and support through-out these years. I love you all.

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To the reader, please note that the author remains solely responsible for any shortfalls in the structure and content of the work.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores various perspectives on children combining work and schooling in Tanzania. The research was conducted in Buhigwe district, Kigoma region in Tanzania. It was informed by the social constructionist approach, political economy analysis and the structure-agency framework. A qualitative case study design was used in which a total of 29 participants were selected using purposeful sampling. A total of 13 semi-structured interviews, 2 focused group discussions (FGD), 10 recall forms and 16 open-ended-questionnaires were administered to governmental officials, children who combine work and school, their parents or guardians and teachers. In addition, an extensive review of secondary data was carried out. The data was then analysed qualitatively by means of content analysis and hermeneutics in which the main findings were presented in various themes. The study findings reveal that although schooling remains a key component in defining who a child is and poverty remains a key factor for children's combining work and school, the need to accrue the promises of formal schooling and lack of parental or guardian support to finance the indirect school costs are the major driving forces for children to combine work and schooling. Children's combination of work and school is adopted as the most pragmatic approach to overcome the economic constraints of family or household survival mechanisms. Yet context specificity is very important to understand the practice of children combining work and schooling. The study makes four conclusions: first, although children do work and contribute to families' income and economies, there is a minimal appreciation of the children's rights to work and implementation of child employment in the regulation guidelines. Second, the motives behind schoolchildren's involvement in work is beyond the commonly referred to factor of poverty. Third, combining work and school among schoolchildren is not a Tanzanian phenomenon, but rather an experience common also among school children in other parts of the world. Finally, the study concludes that there is little in terms of supporting children's survival initiatives and mechanisms. The study recommends that the government should seek the best ways to implement children's rights to light work and employment as provided in the law. In addition, educational reforms that will recognise the rights of children to engage in work are required. While being critical of the notion of workfree childhood, the study suggests the re-introduction and mainstreaming of self-reliance in the school curriculum to give chances for children and preparation for future life.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

ACRWC : African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of Children
ASP : Afro-Shiraz Party
BWIs : Bretton Woods Institutions
CAA : Child/Children Agency Approach
CCM : Chama cha Mapinduzi (The Party of Revolution)
CDW : Child Domestic Workers
CRC : Convention on Rights of the Child
CURT : The Constitutions of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977
DAS : District Administrative Secretary
DED : District Executive Director
DfID : Department for International Development (UK)
DRC : Democratic Republic of Congo
DUCE : Dar es Salaam University College of Education
EAL : Earn-and-Learn
EFA : Education for All
ESR : Education for Self-Reliance
EWP : Education with Production
FYDP : Five Year Development Plan
HEDP : Higher Education Development Program
ICCPR : International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR : International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ILAB : International Labour Affairs Bureau
ILO : International Labour Organisation
LHRC : Legal and Human Rights Centre
MDGs : Millennium Development Goals
MEST : Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (Tanzania)
MHCDGEC : Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children
MKUKUTA : Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania
MPhil : Master of Philosophy

NBS : National Bureau of Statistics (Tanzania)
NGOs : Non-Governmental Organisations
NOSEB : Norsk senter for barneforskning (Norwegian Centre for Child Research)
NSD : Norsk senter for forskningsdata (Norwegian Centre for Research Data)
NSGPR : National Strategy for Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction
NTNU : Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)
OCGS : Office of Chief Government Statistician (Zanzibar)
PEA : Political Economy Approach
PEDP : Primary Education Development Program
PHC : People and Housing Census
RAS : Region Administrative Secretary
RCO : Regional Commissioner Office
SAPs : Structural Adjustment Programmes
SCA : Social Constructivist Approach
SEDP : Secondary Education Development Program
TANU : Tanganyika African National Union
TCRF : Tanzania Child Rights Forum
UDHR : Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UDSM : University of Dar es Salaam
UK : United Kingdom
UN : United Nations
UNCRC : United Nations Convention on Rights of the Child
URT : The United Republic of Tanzania
US : The United States
USA : United States of America
USDOL : United States Department of Labour
VETDP : Vocational Education and Training Program
WEO : Ward Executive Office
ZLSC : Zanzibar Legal Services Centre

1. Introduction

1. 1. Context and interest

This thesis focuses on views and perspectives of stakeholders (governmental officials, civil society officials, children parents, guardians and teachers) on children who combine work and school in Tanzania. It explores the interfaces between children's work and schooling, paying particular attention to the crossing-points between children's work and schooling in Tanzania by analysing key differences among stakeholders over children's involvement in work. I intend to do this by exploring various perspectives on children who combine work and school and understanding of this social reality from various categories of stakeholders.

The reason behind my research interest in this area was prompted by reading some articles of the Law of the Child Act No. 21 of 2009 and the Law of the Child (Employment) Regulations, 2012, which both provided for children's rights to light work, which is often not promoted. As such, I was motivated to examine how stakeholders' perceptions converge or diverge from this legal framework. In that regard, I thought that such a disparity between theory (the provision of the law) and practice (the daily realities facing working children) needed a comprehensive and balanced explanation.

In undertaking this task, the thesis also investigatess the relationship between work and learning as complementary activities in the realisation of the roles of education expressed under Article 29 of the United Nations (hereafter UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (hereafter the Convention or the CRC). In that regard, this study is unique in the sense that it moves beyond the economic explanations which for quite a long time have contended that poverty is the only major driving force for children's involvement in work (Edmonds 2008 and 2005; Beegle, Dehejia and Gatti 2006; Basu and Van 1998). In this way, the study aims to gain an understanding of what keeps children in schools in spite of the challenges in meeting their basic needs and particularly other indirect school costs such as buying uniforms and exercise books.

Slightly closer to the Bass's (2003, p. 128) view that 'for many in the developing world, child labor represents an alternative to formal schooling as career training', the study conceives children combining of work and schooling as being motivated by the dependability and complementarities of work and school in children's contemporary and future lives. That is to say, while school promises a better future that children would not wish to miss, work provides the means for enhancing or supporting schooling. As such, the future promises of formal schooling ought to be given reasonable consideration while investigating children combining work and schooling.

1. 2. Background to the problem statement

Examination of the interfaces between children work and schooling in Tanzania calls for problematizing concepts of schooling and education, child and childhood and child work. To begin with, let us examine the concepts of schooling and education. These two concepts are seldom dichotomised. As a result, education is often confused with schooling and frequently associates it with places like schools, colleges and universities. The problem with this association is that, while looking to help people learn, the way a lot of schools and teachers operate is not necessarily something we can properly call education (Smith, 2015). As such, in the context of this study education is used to comprise the wise, hopeful and respectful cultivation of learning undertaken in the belief that all should have the chance to share in life. Education is a process of inviting truth and possibility, of encouraging and giving time to discovery (Smith, 2015), while schooling is understood as the formal process of learning generally associated with the institution of education: pre-kindergarten through primary and secondary schools, plus university level courses and degrees. However, while you can gain a great deal of education from "schooling," there is so much more to education than the bricks and mortar, textbooks and lectures, etc. that make up "schooling".

Other important concepts to this study are the child and childhood. Although familiar concepts, who is a child and what childhood is are hard to pin-down because they are contextually determined. Most national documents and international conventions define a child as any human being below the age of 18. For example, taking a chronological age of 18 years as a benchmark of defining who is a child, CRC Article 1 asserts that 'for the purpose of the present Convention,

a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier.' This understanding, however, has always been a dividing line between governments and scholars from minority and majority world countries, north, and south Tanzania included. Thus, although Tanzania as a state is party to the CRC and has worked to comply with such international understanding of a child as 'any person below 18 years of age' (URT 2008, p. 6), such popularization has met with some serious criticism. This is so partly because 'the concept of "child" concerns an embodied individual defined as a non-adult, while the notion of childhood is a more general and abstract term used to refer to the status ascribed by adults to those who are defined as not adult' (Gittins 2009, p. 36).

Thirdly is the concept of child work. According to (Ennew, Myers & Plateau (2005, p. 34), although 'work widely understood across cultures is not only as a way of making a living but also as vehicle of socialisation, independence and self-realisation', it means a different thing when it is done by children. This is so since 'irrespective of what children do and what they think of what they do, modern societies sets children apart ideologically as a category of people excluded from the production of value' (Nieuwenhuys, 1996, p. 237). Resulting from this construction has been the classification of work of children below the formal age of employment and in the worst form of work as child labour. Thus, scholars and policy makers have tended to classify child work into the two categories of harmful "child labour" and benign "child work" (Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst 2015, p. 2). Such a distinction is not made in this study. In this study child work entails or refers to the participation of children in any activity that contributes to their livelihood and that of the family such as an economic activity which is not detrimental to their health or mental and physical development, but which is beneficial, and which strengthens or encourages child development. This understanding is contextually determined by laws and cultures defining who a child is.

Thus, on the basis of the popularisation of chronological age definition of children, children's right to work in Tanzania is among the most contested phenomenon of children's rights. As such, there has been a trend or tendency to define childhood and children as a population segment that should not be involved in work. If this understanding were implemented to the letter and took

precedence over other meanings such as social age, then half of Tanzanian population would be uneconomically productive. This contestation, however, is paradoxical. That is to say, although children are defined as human beings below the age of 18, there are still laws that provide and regulate child work in Tanzania. In spite of such provision, however, some continue to consider formal schooling as a sanctuary that should never be substituted by any other form of learning.

1.3. Statement of the problem

Children's rights to work are often contested by different groups in society. On the one hand are those who prefer children's lives to be characterised by school and play only (Shackel, 2015; Hindman, 2009; Qvortrup, 2001; UNCRC, Articles 28 and 31), while on the other hand are those see work as an important characteristic of children's lives in addition to the two (Bourdillon, 2011; Hart 2008; Abebe 2007; Punch, 2003). While there has been little contestation over children's rights to play, for schooling and working the contestation has been translated into schooling versus working (Alber 2012), which to a large extent has been detrimental to children's wellbeing. As a result children are mostly perceived as being too fragile to work, and children's work is often interpreted as child labour and rarely as a legal right protected by laws.

In Tanzanian laws, both Article 77(1) of the Law of the Child Act, 2009 and Regulation 4 of the Law of the Child (Employment) Regulations, 2012 provide and operationalize how children's rights to light work ought to be promoted. In spite of this legal provision, child work has not been translated into a viable right to be demanded in public. Unlike elsewhere (see, for example Liebel 2013; Hanson and Vandaele 2013; Hart 2008), where children have showed interest and defended work as their right, the image of child work being equated to child labour continues to characterise discourse on children's right to work in Tanzania (Andre, Delesalle and Dumas 2017; Bandara, Dehujia and Lavie-Rouse 2015; Manogerwa 2015; Human Rights Watch (HRW) 2013). As a result of this, children and childhood between 7-17 years are over and over again classified as "school age population" (URT 2013), and thus there is a shying away from implementing what is accorded to children by law under the pretence that childhood is a time for school. Thus, while it is necessary to fight all the worst forms of labour, 'it is unwise to ignore the fact that many working children insist that they enjoy their work, learn from it, develop self-

confidence, and find it valuable source of pride and self-esteem, in addition to gaining much needed income and a sense of satisfaction by helping their families' (Ennew, Myers and Plateau 2005, p. 34). And in Tanzanian society there are a considerable number of children who combine work and school as the most appropriate and pragmatic approach to benefit from formal schooling, which without working could not be realised. Since little research is available focusing on children who combine work and school, I carried out this study to reveal the various views, perceptions and perspectives on children who combine work and school.

1. 4. Research objectives and research questions

1. 4. 1. Research objectives

The general objective of this study is to investigate the various perspectives on children who combine work and schooling in Tanzania from not only the viewpoint of children involved, but also parents, guardians, teachers, government officials and NGOs with a stake in social reality. This is done by exploring the promotion and implementation of children's rights to education and work in Tanzania, focusing on the relationship of working and learning as complementary activities in the realisation of roles of education expressed under Article 29 of CRC. In order to do so, the study has five specific objectives, namely:

1. To identify the relationship between the international and national idealised childhood and the real life realities facing most children in Tanzania.
2. To analyse the factors forcing some children to work and attend schools despite international and national initiatives to separate work and childhood.
3. To examine how stakeholders perceive children combining work and school and learning through working.
4. To scrutinize approaches to improve the lives of children who find themselves with no choice except to combine work and school.
5. To describe feasible ways to support these children's survival initiatives and mechanisms.

1. 4. 2. Research questions

The study's broad question that it sets out to answer is: What are the perspectives on the promotion and implementation children's rights to work and education and on the children who

combine work and schooling? In addressing this question the study answers five specific questions:

1. What is the relationship between the idealised international and national concept of childhood and the real life realities facing children in Tanzania?
2. Why do some children need to work and attend schools despite the many international and national initiatives to separate work and childhood?
3. How is children's combining of work and school perceived?
4. What will improve the lives of children who find themselves with no choice except to combine work and school?
5. How can these children's survival initiatives and mechanisms be supported?

1. 5. Organization of the thesis

The thesis comprises eight chapters. The first one is a general introduction chapter. This chapter has given a general introduction by setting out the agenda also as stating the study context and interest, objectives, questions, and the structure or organisation of the thesis study. Chapter two presents the background and context of the study, which is Buhigwe in Kigoma region in Tanzania, by indicating aspects of Tanzania relating to the study such as the political economy, political governance and administration system, the child welfare regime, policy and legal framework, a linguistic and demographic description, a synopsis of the education system, and description of the field research site. The third chapter concerns the major debates on child work and schooling, the theoretical framework, literature review and research gap. Chapter four presents the research design of the fieldwork, the approach to data production, methods of data analysis, and challenges in data collection, approaches to data credibility and trustworthiness and ethics of the research. Chapter five and six present, analyse and discuss the study findings based on the two research questions. The last chapter presents a summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendation of possible policy reforms also as possible areas for further research.

2. Background and study context

2. 1. Introduction

Research, like most of other human activities is undertaken not in a vacuum, but in a context. Thus, the implication of the context in which research is conducted both to the researcher, participants and the study itself entails a lot of the data to be produced and the subsequent study findings. This chapter describes the background and context that have informed the study, focusing on four key issues, namely: the governance and administration system, political economy, the child welfare regime, linguistic and demographic survey, synopsis of the Tanzanian education system, and description of the research site.

2. 2. Governance and administration system in Tanzania

Tanzania is the largest country in East Africa, covering 945,090 square kilometres. Within these, Zanzibar, a Tanzanian archipelago off the coast of East Africa, covers an area of 2,654 square kilometres. Tanzania is located in Eastern Africa between Longitude 29° and 41° East, Latitude 1° and 12° south. It borders Kenya and Uganda in the North, Rwanda and Burundi in the North-West, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the West, Zambia and Malawi in the South-West, Mozambique in the South and Indian in the East.

Tanzania, officially known as the United Republic of Tanzania (URT), was formed on 26th April, 1964, following the union of two former sovereign states, Tanganyika and Zanzibar marked by the signing of the Acts of the Union. In that regard, Tanzania is one state, a united republic, whose territory consists of the whole area of Mainland Tanzania[1] and whole of the area of Tanzania Zanzibar[2] and the territorial waters. Prior to the union, Tanganyika was a United Nations British Mandate, while Zanzibar was British protectorate. They won their independence in 1961 and 1963 respectively. However, due to the prevailing social-cultural, economic, and political conditions, Zanzibar underwent a bloody revolution on January 12th, 1964 to oust the

[1]According to the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 Article 151(1); "Mainland Tanzania" means the whole territory of the United Republic, which formerly was the territory of the Republic of Tanganyika.
[2]Also as per the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 Article 151(1), "Tanzania Zanzibar" or "Zanzibar" means the whole territory of the United Republic, which formerly was the territory of the People's Republic of Zanzibar and which was previously referred to as "Tanzania Visiwani".

minority government led by the government of Sultan Jamshid bin Abdullah, which came into power on 10th December 1963. Following this union, Julius K. Nyerere, the president of Tanganyika, and Sheikh Abeid Aman Karume the president of Zanzibar, became the first president and the first vice president of Tanzania respectively.

Politically, Tanzania follows a mix of Westminster and presidential political system under which there are three arms of government, namely the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary headed by the President, the Speaker and by the Chief Justice respectively. The executive carries out its duties and organises its activities within the network of ministerial, departmental and agencies with extension into regions, districts, divisions, wards, villages, streets or hamlets and *shehia*. The country conducts its general election after every five years, a practice that has been in existence since 1965 and has since 1995 had a 10 year presidential term limit.

Administratively, Tanzania is divided into 30 administrative regions, of which 25 are found in mainland Tanzania and 5 regions in Tanzania Zanzibar (see figure 2.2). In the mainland the highest level of public governance is the executive manned by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania functioning through the Cabinet. Tanzania Zanzibar has slightly different administrative units: at the apex there is the executive (the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar Council) headed by the President of Zanzibar, who is also the chairperson of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council.

2. 3. Political economy of Tanzania (PET)

With the birth of Tanzania in 1964 and subsequent institutionalisation of one party state politics in 1965, as from 1967 Tanzania embarked on a state command economy. This was envisioned by the Arusha Declaration which aimed at transforming Tanzania into a socialist state. Like most other African countries, Tanzania as from the mid-1980s opted for radical changes in policies to revive and promote the dwindling economic and social development (Masabo 2015b). The processes associated with this transition necessitated a drastic transformation in social, political and economic institutions, as they adjusted and conformed to the changing guidelines and priorities (Mazrui and Mhando, 2013, p. 69). As such, the political economy of the country from

1961 to the mid-1980s under the leadership of the first President, Julius K. Nyerere indicates that Tanzanian politics and the economy have progressed through three stages of ideological development: conciliatory moderate, economic nationalist and socialist (Mazrui and Mhando, 2013, p. 224).

However, to better capture the dynamics of the political economy of Tanzania and these stages of ideological development, the last two have to be merged: hence two phases and a third one, the liberal ideology that characterized the third phase reflecting the move to market policies. Thus, we can divide the Tanzanian political economy into three phases, namely 1961 to 1967; 1967 to 1985; and 1985 to the present (Masabo, 2015b, p. 291), with each phase having its high and low moments. Major challenges were particularly noted during the second phase. Caught in a severe economic crisis during the second half of the 1970s characterised by declining production, lower export earnings, mounting external debts, and lower purchasing power in Tanzania, the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) came up with a new and stringent economic policy as a response to these crises (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2011). The most famous BWIs policy was particularly the IMF-guided "stabilization" and debt-conditional 'structural adjustment' programmes (SAPs).

Thus, in search of economic formula under the SAPs, Tanzania, like most other African countries, adopted poverty reduction strategies. The prototype version of poverty reduction in Tanzania was the National Strategy for Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction (NSGPR), popularly known as Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania (MKUKUTA). For quite a long period, MKUKUTA has been the overall development strategy in Tanzania. The plan lays out a roadmap and development priorities for a period of five years. Its brain child was the first Five Year Development Plan (FYDP I, 2011/2012-2015/2016). This plan's main focus was 'on accelerating economic growth, reducing poverty, improving good governance and accountability and improving standard of living and social welfare' (TCRF 2013, p. 21). However, as from July 2016, the time of the fieldwork, the country began the implementation of the Second Five Year Development Plan (FYDP II), 2016/17 – 2020/21. This FYDP II has integrated frameworks of FYDP I and NSGRP/MKUKUTA II, 2010/2011-

2014/2015 which was further extended to 2015/2016. This integration implemented a government's decision taken in 2015 to merge the two frameworks (URT, 2016, p. 1).

One may wonder why surveying the political economy in a study that sets out to investigate the interfaces between children's work and schooling would be necessary. One reason, however, stands. The economy and politics always have a direct influence on children's welfare. Thus, a good child policy without economic muscle will not realise the political promises. Since children's affairs and welfare are closely linked to the interplay of politics and economy, it was imperative to survey it as a way to provide a foundation for debating the causes or the material conditions that compel children to choose between work and school or to combine work and schooling. For example, we are all witnesses to the fact that the implications of SAPs policies calling for cutting-down government spending on social services such as health and education have had significant impacts on children. In particular the policies affected negatively children's education, the result of which was massive school drop-out among many. Had it not been for the global campaign through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), today we could be discussing different issues as far as work and school are concerned.

2. 4. Child welfare regime in Tanzania: Policy and legal framework

This section describes the child welfare regime in Tanzania, a network of policy and legal frameworks regulating affairs of people less than eighteen years. Child welfare and affairs in Tanzania are the responsibility of the Ministry of Healthy, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children (MHCDGEC; the former Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children (Mainland) and the Ministry of Social Welfare, Youth, Women, and Children Development (Zanzibar). This is so since children's affairs in Tanzania are a non-union matter and thus are regulated by two different acts—the Law of Child Act of 2009 and Children Act, 2011, applicable in Mainland Tanzania and Tanzania Zanzibar.

For quite long, child welfare in Tanzania was regulated with to proper and explicit child policy or legal framework, which only began with ratification of the CRC in 1991. However, despite this CRC ratification, significant headways were made in 1996 when the first Child Development

Policy was adopted. Other major steps came eleven years later marked by the review and adoption of the current Child Development Policy in 2008 and subsequent enactment of the Law of Child Act of 2009 and Children Act, 2011.applicable in Mainland Tanzania and Tanzania Zanzibar. However, prior to ratification and adaptation of the above child-related international and national instruments, Tanzania was already a signatory to other child-related charters, conventions, and protocols. These were the International Labor Organization (ILO) Conventions, ILO Convention No. 138 of 1973 on the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment and Work, and ILO Convention No. 182 of 1999 on Worst Forms of Child Labor, (ILO and NBS 2016, p. 21), since 2001; the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, since 2003; and the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography in 2003; the Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa; the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees in 2003 and the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict in 2004. These children-specific legislations and some child-related policies and laws make up what I have termed the child welfare regime in Tanzania. But since the study focuses on the experiences from Mainland Tanzania, it is worth highlighting some issues specific to Mainland Tanzania.

2. 4. 1. Child welfare policy framework

From the mid-1990's, Tanzania has developed national and sectoral policies to promote the welfare of children (TCRF 2013, p. 2). Beginning with the *Child Development Policy* of 1996; today, the overall policy informing the regulation of child affairs in Tanzania is the *Child Development Policy* 2008. This, together with other child-related policies such as *National Youth Development Policy*, 2007; *National Health Policy*, 2007; *National Employment Policy* 2008; and *Education and Training Policy*, 2014, is charting and regulating child welfare and affairs. The *Child Development Policy* 2008 sets a base for the definition of a child; it defines a child as a person below the age of eighteen years. The policy makes a distinction between rural and urban situation of children and the need to consider them as categories requiring different kinds of interventions (TCRF 2013, p. 21). Further to that, it stated that 'it shall provide directions on upbringing of children in difficult circumstances and therefore propose measures to promote

protection of children living in difficult circumstances' (TCRF 2013, p. 2). These together with other child-related policies constitute the child policy framework in Tanzania.

2. 4. 2. Child welfare legal framework

Taking a legal framework view, the Tanzanian child welfare regime consists of both international and national instruments. At the apex is the UNCRC, which Tanzania ratified in 1991. Below it is the ACRWC ratified in 2003. These add to other international instruments that Tanzania has ratified and acceded to such as the Universal Declaration Human Rights (UDHR), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). Others are ILO Convention No. 138 of 1973 on the minimum age for admission to employment and work, ILO Convention No. 182 of 1999 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour; the Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children; Child Prostitution and Child Pornography; and the Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict, to mentioned but only a few.

Since the study is concerned with children in mainland Tanzania and since child affairs are a non-union matter, at the national level, the legal framework consists of the Constitutions of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977, with the Bill of Rights which was incorporated in the constitution in 1984. Below these are the Employment and Labour Relation Act of 2004, the Law of the Child Act No. 21 of 2009, and the Law of the Child (Employment) Regulations, 2012. Together with these are the 'seven sets of regulations which have been developed and passed in parliament (Child Employment, Child Apprenticeship, Child Labour, Child Rights, Adoption, Day Care Centers, Foster Care Placement and Child Protection), constituting what I term "the child welfare legal framework". As such, following the Tanzania 2014/2015 constitutional reform processes which had incorporated child rights bill as part of the constitution; there were a lot of expectation to improve child welfare. However, completion of the process is still pending.

However, although the policy and legal framework is well entrenched, not all that are enshrined in the policy and law are realities. Much has been paradoxical. On the one hand, Tanzania has

been dancing to the international tune advocating for global childhood, the universal child embedded in the CRC, while on other it has retreated back to what is particular to Africa and Tanzania as expressed by ratification of the ACRWC and other national instruments. In particular, the Employment and Labour Relation Act of 2004, the Law of the Child Act of 2009 and the Law of the Child (Child Employment) Regulations, 2012, which provide for children's right to light work, often collide with the CRC expectations and misinterpretation equating child work with child labour[3].

2. 5. Linguistic and demography description of Tanzania

2. 5. 1. Linguistic classification

The Tanzanian population is a multicultural population with over 126 tribes with a different languages, cultures and customs – many sharing common cultural heritage (Masabo, 2016b). But based on linguistic classification of Africa languages, all the tribal languages of 'the people of Tanzania belong to five major language groups, namely: Bantu, Nilotes, Moru-Madi, Cushites and Khoisan' (Itandala 1997, p. 23). The Bantu language group is the majority, constituting almost 90% of the speakers of Tanzania.Kiswahili is the most dominant Bantu language spoken in Tanzania. This is spoken by most of Tanzanians either as a mother tongue or first language, or second language along with other tribal languages and English. It is widely spoken as the common language, official and administrative language and as the medium of instruction in most of the primary schools with exception of a few primary schools (most are privately owned) in which English is used as a language of instruction.

2. 5. 2. Demographic description

According to the Tanzania 2012 Population and Housing Census (PHC), the country's population stood at 44,928,923 people, with 43,625,354 being the Mainland Tanzania population, and 1,303,569 being the population of Tanzania Zanzibar. Since then, the National

[3]Often people tend to classify children's work into two categories of harmful "child labour" and benign "child work". The former therefore is frequently defined in relation to work being harmful and work done by children below the minimum age for employment. It can simply be referred to all work which interferes child development and that prohibited by the UNCRC Article 32, ACRWC Article 15, the ILO Convention No. 182 of 1999, (See Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst 2015, pp. 1-5) the Law of the Child Act, 2009 78 (3), 80 (1 & 2) and The Law of the Child (Child Employment) Regulation 7 (2).

Bureau of Statistics (NBS) has been providing population projections almost every two years. Thus, the Tanzanian population was projected to be 47,421,786 people in 2014 and has been projected to be 50,142,938 in 2016 suggesting almost an increase of more that 2.5 million and 5.2 people within two and four years respectively. Further to that, the age group between 0-17 years (children), a key population category to this study, stood at 22,504,526 people, equal to 50.1 % of the total population.

Table: 2.1. Study population description of by age and sex

Population Category	Total Population	Age	Sex	
			Male	Female
Tanzania	**44,928,923**	**All**	**21,869,990**	**23,058,933**
Tanzania Mainland	43,625,354	All	21,239,313	22,386,041
Tanzania Zanzibar	1,303,569	All	630,677	672,892
Kigoma	**2,127,930**	**All**	**1,028,994**	**1,098,936**
Tanzania	**22,504,526**	**0-17**	**11,240,635**	**11,263,891**
Tanzania Mainland	21,866,258	0-17	10,922,412	10,943,846
Tanzania Zanzibar	638,268	0-17	318,223	320,045
Kigoma	**1,172,114**	**0-17**	**585,269**	**586,845**

Source: Compiled from the URT (2013, p. v and 2016, p. viii)

In terms of school attendance, the findings the United States Department of Labour and International Labour Affairs Bureau (USDOL and ILAB) (2015) and International Labour Organization (ILO) and National Bureau of Statistics (ILO and NBS) (2016), have revealed that not the entire schooling age population in Tanzania attends school only. Some combine work and school. For example, according to USDOL/ILAB report *2014 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labour*, about 74.1% of the Tanzanian children aged 5 to 14 are attending school only and 25.1% of the same age category are working. It further notes, that, 21.6% of children aged 7 to 14 are combining work and school (USDOL/ILAB 2015, p. 824). Similarly, the ILO/NBS report *Tanzania National Child Labour Survey 2014: Analytical Report* has similar findings. The report reveals that, while the population of children aged 5-17 stands at 14,666,462; 2,133,251 out of these, equal to 14.5 %, are working only and 7,299,726, equal to 49.8 %, are attending school only. It further notes that another 2,933,638, equal to 20.0 %, are working and attending school,

while the rest of 2,299,847 equal to 15.7 %, are neither working nor attending school (ILO and NBS 2016, p. 42). Considering that 21.6% of children aged 7 to 14, or 20.0 % of children aged 5-17 years as per USDOL/ILAB and ILO/NBS reports, are combining work and school, it is imperative to examine this phenomenon to ascertain the extent to which the stakeholders with a stake in children's affairs perceive this it. Thus, as Kirrily (2014 quoted in Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst 2015, p. 1) pointed out, this could help to adopt 'policies that are based on evidence from children's lives, rather than on ideology and assumptions.'

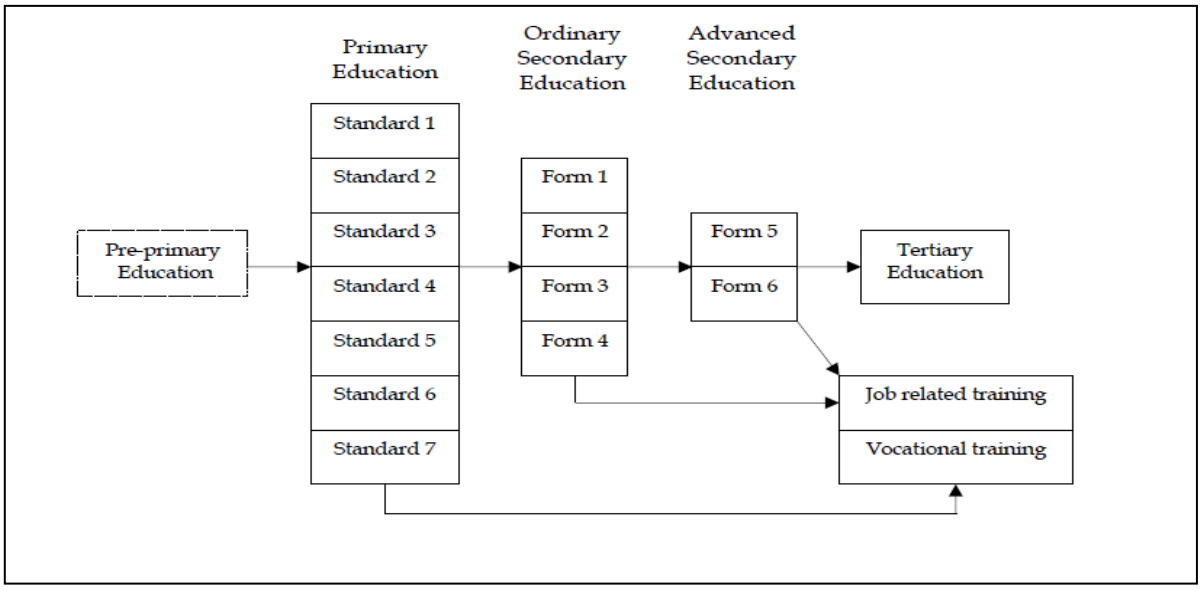
2. 6. Synopsis of Tanzanian education system

The structure of the formal education and training in Tanzania is 2 – 7 – 4 – 2 – 3+. That is: 2 years for pre-primary education; 7 years for primary education (Standard I-VII); 4 years for ordinary level secondary school education (Form 1-4); 2 year for advanced level secondary school education (Form 5 and 6) and 3 or more years of university education (MoEVT, 2010. p. iv). From independence in 1961 to 2014, three educational policies have guided education provision in Tanzania. From 1961 to 1967 the education policy established by the Education Ordinance of 1961 focused on a 'racially integrated school system controlled and managed by the government and voluntary agencies' (Galabawa 1990, p. 5). The Arusha Declaration in 1967 and subsequent adoption of the Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) as Tanzania's education policy changed the focus of education. Based on liberal education, the focus was placed on learning by doing and making each education level complete in itself. This aimed at giving graduates from each level necessary skills for becoming an active member of society. In 1995 however, ESR as education policy was phased out.

The phasing-out of the ESR as the official Tanzania education policy marked the adoption of a more market-oriented education policy, the Tanzania Education and Training Policy (ETP), 1995. With the 1995 ETP, the country witnessed significant quantitative expansion of the education sector. This expansion was partly the result of the implementation of the programmes of the Educational Sector Development Programme (ESDP), 1997, the Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) and the Secondary Education Development Program (SEDP) and subsequently two other plans later, the Higher Education Development Program (HEDP) and

Vocational Education and Training Program (VETDP). Along with this formal education, the institutionalization of non–formal education (vocational training) was carried out to address the growing demand for technical education and immediate skill shortage for those who would not fit in the formal education system.

Figure 2.1: Structure of formal education system in Tanzania



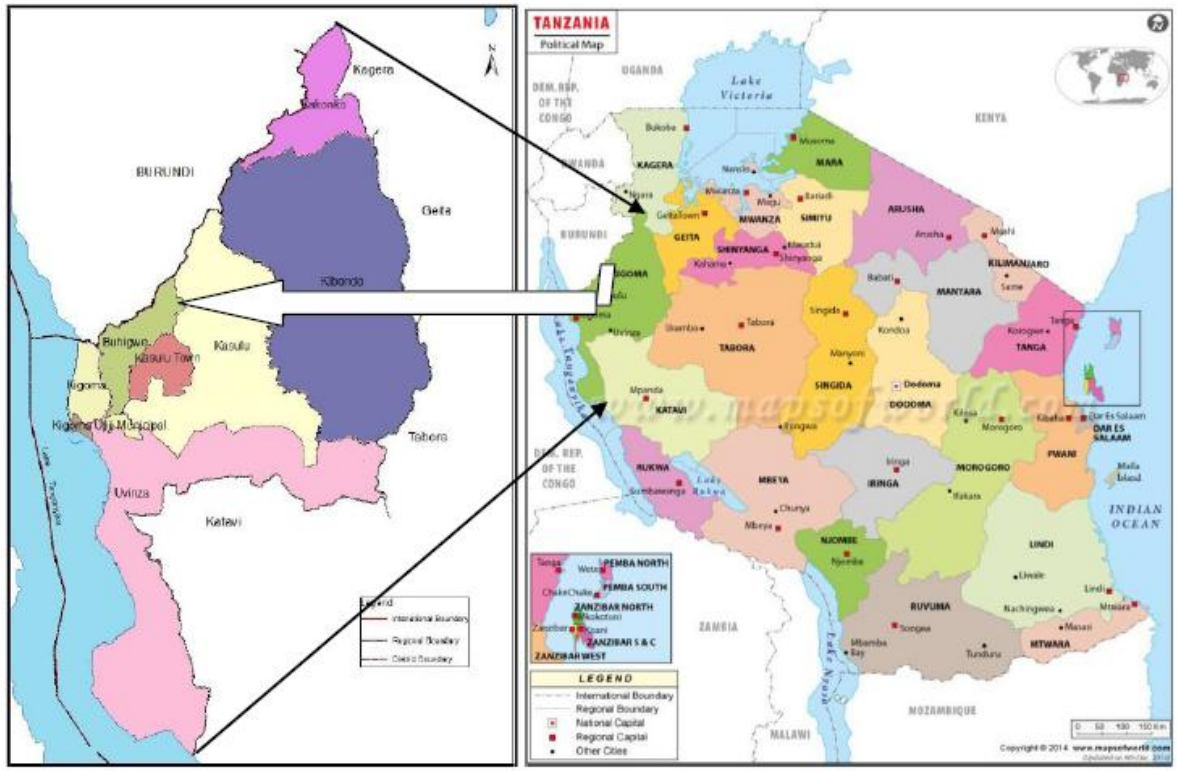
Source: (Kitta 2004, p. 14).

2. 7. Description of the study site

The fieldwork was conducted in Buhigwe district in Kigoma region. Kigoma is located on the shores of Lake Tanganyika in the North-West corner of Tanzania. It is situated between the longitudes 29. 5° and 31.5° East, and latitudes 3.5° and 6.5°, South of the Equator (URT 1998, p. 1). It borders four regions and two countries; Kagera in the North, Geita and Tabora in the East, Katavi in the South and South-East, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the West and the Republic of Burundi in the North-West. The entire region has an area of about 45,066 $km^{2,}$ which is equivalent to 4.8% of the total area of Tanzania, of which 8,029 km^2 is water and 37,037 km^2 is land area (ibid). It is about a 1,088 kilometre (equal to 676 miles) flight and 1374.37 kilometre (equal to 854 miles) drive from Dar es Salaam, the major city, and 692 kilometres (equal to 430 miles) flight and 790 kilometres (equal to 491 miles) drive from Dodoma, the capital city of Tanzania.

Kigoma is a gently inclined plateau with steep hills rising sharply from 800 metres at the level of Lake Tanganyika to altitudes of 1,750 metres to the East, descending from the North and East into gently rolling hills (ibid, p. 2) with the four major perennial rivers of Malagarasi, Luiche, Ruchugi and Moyowosi. According to a URT (1998) regional profile study, the climate of the Kigoma region is characteristically tropical with a distinct long wet rainy season from late October to May with a short dry spell of 2-3 weeks in January or February followed by a prolonged dry season. Its vegetation comprises of closed and open woodland, which covers about 70% of the land area, bushy grassland and swamps of various coverage.

Figure 2.2: The study site and political map of Tanzania



Are coloured red is Buhigwe district, the study site	This is a political map of Tanzania indicating all administrative regions

Source: URT, 2016 and www.mapsofworld.com/tanzania-political-map.html, accessed on 28/03/2017

2. 7. 1. Kigoma demographic, socio-cultural and economic profile

According to the URT (2016) Tanzania 2012 Population and Housing Census report, Kigoma's population stood at 2,127,930 people with a total of 370,374 households. Out of this population, the male population stood at 1,028,994 people and the female population stood at 1,098,936 people. The population aged 0-17 years (classified as children or young) stood at1, 172,114, equal to 55.1 % of the total region's population, out of which 585,269 were males and 586,845 females. Thus, by this demographic composition children are the largest population group.

The residents of Kigoma are known as Ba(Ha)/Wa(Ha) or simply Ha, and are among the Bantu people living in the interlacustrine region. According to available oral traditions (See KIDEA 2001; Chubwa 1979), the present day Waha originated from outside Kigoma. In course of their migration they met the first inhabitants of the land known as Batwa and Bayanda, whose livelihood was based on gathering, hunting and fishing. The Ha speak a common language called Kiha, one of the Bantu languages which share common heritage, identical or similar to their neighbours. According to Kipfumu (2001, p. 8) and Chubwa (1979, pp. 10-11), the Waha consist of fifty (50) clans and each Muha ought to belong to one of these fifty clans. Among major Waha cultural practices practised is the belief in one God; designated by three names: "*Kazuba*"—the Creator of the Sun; "*Imana*" —the Lord of good luck and "*Rurema*"—the Creator; a cult of ancestors often implored in case of praying and sickness; culture of constructing worshiping huts according to a number of departed elders called "*Indalo*". Also, they have a belief in the existence of good and bad spirits ("*Ibisigo*"— evil spirits of the river and "*Amashinga Nyamaranda*"— passer-by evil spirtis); power of traditional medicine administered by "*Nyamuragura*"—medicine man (sometimes medicine woman); the practice of cleansing evil spirits done by nyamuragura. Often the cleansing is conducted by offering beer made of white millet, honey and white sheep as a sacrifice to good spirits and ancestors. Also, the Waha practice a patriarchal system with strict marriage rules that prohibit marriage within the same clan but allow polygamy and division of labour and education system based on age and gender. As Kipfumu (2001, p. 10) narrates, in Buha there used to be

> ... a clear division of labor between men and women, and between adults and children. Normally clearing land for cultivation and making drainage in the river valleys was done by men …(while) women did till the land with boys learning

> their fathers' or grandfathers' activities and girls their mothers' and grandmothers'.

When it comes to education it was also age and gender based, although each adult member of society had both active and passive roles to play. Three processes of action and reaction characterised the Baha education system, namely 'that of parents on children; that of children on parents; and that of children on one another' (ibid., p. 14). In this regard education was practical and context based depending on the needs and never passive activities with problem solving at the centre of educational organisation. Most of these socio-cultural practices are still practiced.

The Waha economy is primarily based on agriculture. About 90% of the region's population is engaged in subsistence farming in addition to other activities like fishing, beekeeping and lumbering (URT 1998, p. 25). This has also been confirmed by the 2012 PHC. These censuses revealed that, out of the 370,374 households found in Kigoma, 343,651; 138,002 and 1,656 (equal to 65.8%, 37.3% and 0.4%) were predominantly engaging in agriculture, livestock keeping and fish farming activities, respectively (NBS and OCGS, 2016, pp. 127-133). Common crops produced included maize, beans, millet, sorghum, pears, cassava, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, sugarcane, bananas with coffee in the higher wetter areas and palms. The last two are more of a commercial crop though also used as food crops.

2. 7. 2. Description and distribution of school age population Kigoma

The Tanzania 2012 PHC classifies the population age group between 7 and 17 years as the school age population. It divides it into two: 7-13 years and 14-17 years. Thus, the 7-13-year age group is the official primary school age, 14-17 being official for (lower) secondary school age in Tanzania (see table 2.2). When it comes to child work, about 269,583 children aged between 10 and 14 years were found to be occupying different employment statuses. Out of these 63.0% were full-time pupils/students; 20. 9% employed; 12.4 involved in home maintenance; 0.5% unemployed, and 3.3% unable to be classified in any of the employment categories above (NBS and OCGS 2016, p. 88).

The rural and urban 10-14 population had some differences. Out of the total population, the rural population of children aged 10-14 years was 220,479. Out of these 58.0% were full-time pupils/students; 24.3% employed; 13.7% involved in home maintenance; 0.5% unemployed, and 3.5% unable to be classified in any of the employment categories. On the other hand, out of the urban population of 49,104 people aged 10-14 years, 85.5% were full-time pupils/students; 5.8% employed; 6.4% involved in home maintenance; 0.3% unemployed, and 2.0% unable to be classified in any of the employment categories above (ibid).

Table 2. 2: Kigoma region school-age population distribution

Population Category	**Kigoma Region Total Population**	**Rural Population**	**Urban Population**
A: Primary School (7-13 years)			
i. Male	213, 672	179, 823	33, 849
ii. Female	214, 863	179, 421	35, 442
Sub-Total	**428, 535**	**359, 244**	**69, 291**
B: Secondary School (14-17 years)			
i. Male	92, 829	75, 215	17, 614
ii. Female	94, 081	74, 507	19, 574
Sub-Total	**186, 910**	**149, 722**	**37, 188**
Total School Age (7-17 years)			
i. Male	306, 501	255, 038	51, 463
ii. Female	308, 944	253, 928	55, 016
Grand Total	**615, 445**	**508, 966**	**106, 479**

Source: Compiled from the URT (2016, p. viii).

2. 7. 3. Buhigwe demographic and socio-economic profile

The Buhigwe district, where I undertook my fieldwork, is one of the eight districts of the Kigoma region. It is located in the North-west. As per URT (2013) Tanzania 2012 Population and Housing Census (PHC), Buhigwe's population stood at 254,342 (equal to 12.0% of the region's population) with a total of 44,246 households. Like in the rest of the region, in Buhigwe also agriculture is the main economic activity. Out of the 44,246 households, 33,246; 20,885, and 276 (equal to 75.1%, 47.2%, and 0.6% of the total households) were engaging in agriculture, livestock keeping, and fish farming, respectively.

Common crops grown include both cash crops and food crops. Coffee is the major cash crop while maize, beans, millet, cassava, potatoes, bananas, and pineapples are the main food crops grown. Normally, beans, maize, bananas, and coffee are often grown together. Although the majority of residents are peasants, there are still few households that are almost predominantly pastoralists with few others who are cultivators also as keeping animals. The common livestock kept include cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, and chickens.

2. 8. Chapter summary

In this chapter I have described the study area's socio-economic, political, and linguistic and demographic composition. Specifically, I have described the political governance and administration system, political economy, the child welfare regime, linguistic and demographic composition, synopsis of the education system, and the research site. Also, I have situated the study within the context by presenting the context of Tanzania from a historical perceptive.

3. Theoretical framework and major debates on child work and schooling

3. 1. Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical discussion that informs the study. It begins with engaging with a social constructionist approach (SCA), followed by a political economy analysis (PEA) and the structure-agency debate (SAD). Then the chapter presents the two major debates on child work and schooling in Africa—the incompatibility and compatibility of child work and schooling debates. In the latter (the compatibility of child work and schooling in Africa debate), three attempts to mainstream work as part of formal curriculum are discussed. These are Education with Production (EWP), Earn-and-Learn (EAL), and Education for Self-Reliance (ESR). The third section is a review of debates and literature on children's combination of work and schooling. And the fourth section delineates the research gap that the study sets to fill.

3. 2. Theoretical framework

Although children have been the focus for research especially in psychology, education and social work; 'the aim, however, has not (until recently) been to bring children's views to the attention of policymakers in a systematic and rigorous manner, but to develop theories of children's journey through childhood on which policy can be based' (Bessell 2011, p. 564). This continues to happen in spite of the fact that 'the idea that children have agency – that they play an "active" role in social life or can exercise autonomy – has long been a central theme in Childhood Studies' (Hammersley 2017, p. 119).

However, before getting into details, I must remark that generally, children and childhood studies have received two boosts in late 1980s: on the one hand there has been the establishment of a right-based approach (RBA) following the 1989 UNCRC, situating the analysis of children's rights within the rights discourse, and on the other hand, another approach has been the evolution of the academic stream of childhood and children's affairs referred to as social studies of children and childhoods. These two are influencing, reinforcing and complementing one another.

That is to say: the evolution of children's rights as an academic and research area of specialisation on the one hand and viewing children as not only individuals but also as social and cultural categories. As such, from this perspective, the emerging subject of the rights of children is not conceived as a separate formal inquiry that confronts other studies dealing with children and youth. On the contrary, the human rights of children are regarded as an intrinsic component of all the disciplinary studies concerned with children (Lenzer 2002, p. 112). Thus, with this note, let me examine the main theoretical lens that informs this study.

3. 2. 1. Social constructionist approach (SCA)

The social constructionist approach (SCA) is a theory which strives to understand cultural groups' definition and relationship with nature and the environment and can be said to be a reflection of the 'self definitions of the people within a particular cultural context' (Masabo 2016b, p. 73). When applied in the study of children it sees children, their affairs and childhoods as a product of different world views. The concept of discourse is central to SCA. The term "discourse" is taken to mean a whole set of interconnected ideas that work together in a self-contained way, ideas that are held together by particular ideology or view of the world (Rogers 2003, p. 21). In that regard, the evolution of social constructionist approach is linked to dissatisfaction of the dominant scientific approach or the pre-sociological approaches that informed the study of children and childhood (Rogers 2003; James and Prout 1997).

The evolution and application of the social constructionist approach in the study of children and childhood is linked to the publication of the ground-breaking books: *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood* by Allison James and Alan Prout in 1997 and *Theorizing Childhood* by Allison James, Chris Jenks and Alan Prout in 1998. These two texts represent social studies of childhood—the "new" sociology of childhood. It emerged out as a strong critique of the dominant child development and family studies. Social studies of childhood problematize and transform the "natural" category of the child into a "socio-cultural" category (Jenks 1996 as quoted by Abebe 2008, p. 23). In that respect, 'leading theorists and researchers took insights, particularly from sociology and social anthropology, to argue for childhood as a structural component of society, with

children and young people as contributors to the division of labour' (Tisdall and Punch 2012, p. 249). This was a U-turn in childhood and children studies that moved from viewing children as plastic moulds into which habits and thoughts were poured into for maintenance of harmonious societies (Gaitán, 2014) to viewing children as social actors who engage with and shape their worlds (Bessell 2011, p. 564).

With this paradigm shift, childhood is considered as a social construction (James, Jenks & Prout 1998). Thus, 'childhood as a social construction is a pivotal idea in the sociology of childhood… [And]… most often draws from Ariès the idea that childhood is a social and historical construction (Oswell 2013, pp. 10; 17). Nevertheless, described in this way it seems to suggest an aspect of children's passivity or victimization to social structures and is as if going against the long-wished interest of many sociologists of childhood who are interested in disclosing children as social agents. Notwithstanding this challenge, however, 'to talk about the "social construction of childhood" (although prioritizing the 'social') is thus to think about particular constructions constructed by particular sets of social agents (Oswell 2013, p. 16). This is empowering since as Woodhead (2009, p. 19) contended: 'the principle that childhood is socially constructed guards against reductionist accounts of what children and childhood are "really like".' That is to say, 'it conceives of the subject as "produced through discourse", rather existing "prior to language" (Pratt 1999, p. 217). In so doing, it emphasises 'the social construction of childhood also as a respect for children and childhood in the present rather than a focus on adults and adulthood as the "golden standard"' (Tisdall & Punch 2012, p. 249). Hence considering both structure and agency are key to investigating perspectives on the interfaces between children's work and schooling in Tanzania. Below I present political economy analysis (PEA).

3. 2. 2. Political economy analysis (PEA)

The application of political economy analysis (PEA) as a theoretical lens is motivated by the constraints of SCA. For example, Abebe (2016, p. 5) observed that; 'research on children's work tends to mirror the paradigm of social constructivism – it analyses work as culturally constructed (i.e., how children's work reflects local values, ideas, and conventional practices) often at the expense of the reasons why child labour, also as how children's work might be structurally

highly circumscribed. As a result, scholars are grounding the realities of working children's lives 'in particular ecological, economic and politico-historical contexts' (Abebe and Bessell 2011, p. 772; Abebe 2011, p. 151; Abebe 2009, p. 19). In this way, PEA aims at going beyond the social-cultural binary by considering the interplay of political and economic decisions and policies in determining the nature and manner of child work. It is motivated by the fact that 'social, economic, and political ideas are not born in a vacuum. As such, at the level of theory, this would require an understanding of the dialectical relationship of determination and interaction at the political, economic and social levels of society (Antony 2003, p. 40). But why and how is PEA construed?

The rationale for applying PEA in understanding the experience of children combining work and schooling is based on the fact that 'Although political economy has traditionally been given priority to examining social change and historical transformation', as McChesney (2012, p. 24, cited in Abebe 2016, p. 6) argues, it is increasingly used to understand 'social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources'. In that regard, PEA 'is concerned with the interaction of political and economic processes within a society: the distribution of power and wealth between different groups and individuals, and the processes that create, sustain and transform these relationships over time' (Collinson 2003, p. 3). Hence, political economists are very interested in who gains and who loses from a particular policy. This is likely to provide important clues as to which groups or individuals supporting the continuation of the policy, also as to which groups might be drawn into a coalition seeking to change it (Poulton and Douarin 2009).

In the area of child work, PEA 'calls for exploring decision making and the influence on decisions of formal institutions (e.g., trade, welfare, and educational) and informal institutions (e.g., traditional leaders, family collectives) that not only have a stake in childhood but also influence children's lives and experiences of work' (Abebe 2016, p. 7). In this way, it recognizes that a human as 'a social being whose arrangement for production and distribution of economic and social goods must be, if society is to be liveable in, be consistent with the congruent institutions of family, political and cultural life' (Antony 2003, p. 52). How various social,

economic and political policies at national and local levels are shaping the choice to combine work and schooling in Tanzania will be investigated within this theoretical framework.

3. 2. 3. Child/children agency approach (CAA)

Contemporary sociologies of childhood have largely been concerned with the question of power and social order and much recent theoretical and empirical work in the field has focused on children's agency in the context of childhood as a structural form (Oswell 2013, p. 42). In the context of understanding how and why children make varied life choices and how and why some choose to combine work and school in particular, it is imperative to consider these concepts and their interplay in the SCA and PEA frameworks. However, as Saint-Exupéry remarks in *The Little Prince* in 1945, 'children and adults are both drawers of worlds and themselves drawn into those worlds' (cited by Oswell 2013, p. 31). In this way, children's agency is not solely a children's endeavour but rather the outcome of the interplay between the children and the immediate social structures. Thus, like Abebe (2013, p. 75), I argue that 'although children have personal agency, which shapes their individual choices and desires, ... [and] that it depends largely on and is regulated by family contexts, livelihood opportunities/constraints and interpersonal relationship.'

Scholars have taken different routes to making sense of what agency is. Borrowing a definition by Robson, Bell and Klocker (2007, p. 135), I define agency 'as an individual's own capacities, competencies, and activities through which they navigate the contexts and positions of their life worlds, fulfilling many economic, social, and cultural expectations, while simultaneously charting individual/collective choices and possibilities for their daily and future lives.' Thus, when children's agency is understood in this way; it is like projecting them as having such ability to overcome all structural and societal constraints – something which may not be always possible. However, the perspective of children's agency, independent of the child's age and socialisation, is not as straightforward as it might seem, and some researchers argue that the issue of children as active agents independent of the structural system in which they are embedded is sometimes more ideologically motivated than scientifically driven (Bolin 2015, p. 52). As such, 'without disputing this, I argue that children's agency must be carefully conceptualised to

accommodate, first, the specificity of different children's lives, second, what is shared between children, and finally what is universal to children and adults' (Valentine 2011, pp. 347-348). In this line of thinking, Kuczynski, Harach and Bernardini (1999, p. 27 cited by Bolin 2015, p. 52) identify three distinct categories of agency: - meaning construction, intentional action and self-efficacy. Making sense of these categories, Bolin (2015, p. 52) cements children's agency as their '... capacity to create meaning from the social environments in which they find themselves, ... transforming, selecting from, resisting or judging the appropriateness' of adults' actions and messages, ... intentionality, goal-orientedness and strategic behaviours,... [and] abilities to experience themselves as effective agents – through reflection on previous agentic experiences – and has having the power to control personal outcomes.'

Other scholars who advanced further the understanding of children agency that I wish to highlight are Klocker (2007) and Valentine (2011) and Robson, Bell and Klocker (2007). In investigating children's and young people's agency, Klocker uses two indicative concepts of "thin" and "thick" agency to overcome falling into the trap of being dismissive. As she asserts, the thin and thick concepts help to avoid Gidden's (1984) structuration theory 'the creation of a structure/agency dualism'; and the Foucauldian (1982) perspective of power, as it acknowledges that power is relational and that even the seemingly disempowered possess an ability to act (as cited by Klocker 2007, p. 84). Going further, Klocker (2007, p. 85) reinforces that age, gender, 'tribe', and poverty are identified and discussed as "thinners" of Tanzanian girls' agency—before, during, and after their engagement with CDW [Child Domestic Work].

To expound what child agency is; Valentine (2011) uses two models of agency: the liberal and social models. On the one hand, liberal model 'is built on a model of individualism in which moral agency is paramount ... something attained by adults and requires rationality, self-awareness and a sense of futurity' (p. 349). On the other hand, the social models 'are concerned with the relationship between intra-psychic (or internal) and social forces in the formation of the subject and with the importance of agency to the preservation of social norms and hierarchies. (As such it regards) agency as inherently political and necessarily the product, as part, of external forces' (p. 352). In proposing social models, Valentine (2011) challenges the liberal model

which ‘is easily achieved by individuals who have particular social privileges, for example, education and high socio-economic status’ (Bolin 2015, p. 52) by advocating for a social model ‘that recognizes the particularity of children and the social embeddedness of the agency of both children and adults’… (Valentine 2011, p. 354), and that ‘takes into account individual agency in both the reproduction of and resistance to social norms’ (Bolin 2015, p. 52).

Klocker (2007) considers things like poverty as one of thinners of children agency, but in this study such position is not supported. As Robson, Bell and Klocker (2007, p. 141) argue, that is not always the case because ‘lack of economic opportunities also leads to alternative strategies of agency to build self-esteem in other ways, such as through forbidden friendships.’ Or, as Oswell (2013, p. 47) argues, ‘social actors have agency with respect to geographical space, the day-to-day and the *longue durée* of institutions.’ In that way ‘it is possible to theoretically view children as a separate social group and category, and children as individuals with degrees of agency’ (Bolin 2015, p. 51). Also, based on Robson, Bell and Klocker’s (2007, pp. 144) continuum of agency (no agency, little agency, secret agency and public agency), we can understand why children’s agency differ between that which is self-initiated, and other circumstances where children’s actions might be automatic, expected, requested, or forced. In this way, it is possible to investigate the various perspectives on children who combine work and schooling in Tanzania. Also, it allows the examination of the centrality of children’s agency in both the social constructionist approach and the political economy analysis of children who combine work and school.

3. 3. Major debates on children work and schooling in Africa

In an African context, it is believed that children’s participation in work is part of socialization and acculturation (Njoh and Ayuk-Etang 2012; Chirwa 1993). Thus, children have to work in order to be properly integrated in their society or communities and acquire skills and attitudes toward work. However, it is also important to separate child work which is part of socialization from child labor which forces children to perform tasks that are beyond their capacities and which may be mentally, physically, socially, or morally dangerous and harmful to children, and interfere with their schooling (ILO 2002). Basing on this observation it is evident that the

concepts "child" and "child labor" are socially reconstructed depending on the mode of production, gender, class, race, and other social structures (Boas & Hauser 2006).

3. 3. 1. Major discourses on children's work and schooling in Africa

Today, there is a vast body of knowledge of young people's work experiences, often combined with a serious social commitment to addressing the implications of this for children (Solberg 2001, p. 108). In that regard, and as Abebe (2015, p. 21) observes, 'the growing body of critical research on children's work in Africa that is informed by childhood studies reveals how work is valued by—and is valuable for—families and communities but it is given multiple socio-cultural meanings'. Thus, the concept of work is context dependent. Similarly, in children's rights discourse, like childhood studies, this very tension has always been present. Its reflection has been in the tension between children's rights to education and to work – present among different groups in the society (Masabo 2016a). On the one hand are those who prefer children's lives to be characterised by school and play only (Shackel 2015; Hindman 2009; Qvortrup 2001; UNCRC Articles 28 and 31), while on the other hand are those who see work as an important characteristic of children lives in addition to the school and play (Bourdillon 2011; Hart 2008; Abebe and Aase, 2007; Punch 2003). Thus, while there has been little contestation over children's rights to schooling and play, for schooling and working the contestation has translated into a schooling versus working binary (Alber, 2012) which to a large extent has been detrimental to children's wellbeing. As a result, children are mostly perceived as too fragile to work and children's work is often interpreted as child labour and rarely their right to work.

Notwithstanding such a dominant view, in most of African societies work is accepted as a basis of livelihood. Here, still, it invokes contestation when it is done by people below 18 years of age, also classified as children. Work can have both positive and negative impacts on children's well-being and children take pride in being able to contribute to their families' livelihoods (Young Lives[4] *et al.* 2014). In countries like Tanzania where national laws provide children with a legal right for light work, still there are some limitations in accessing and realising this legal right.

[4]Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, following the lives of 12,000 children in 4 countries (Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam) over 15 years. Young Lives is funded from 2001 to 2017 by UK aid from the Department for International Development (DFID), It was co-funded by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2010 to 2014, and by Irish Aid from2014 to 2015.

This so because the law does give the right with one hand and takes the very right it has given with another. In Tanzania, there is a legal provision that states that children have a right to light work if it does not interfere with children's schooling. Based on this provision, children continue to face competing pressures on their time from working and attending school. Although working may be essential for paying school-related costs, Young Lives *et al*.'s (2014) study has indicated that repeated absence from school often leads to children dropping out. In that regard, whenever children work, there has been competing interests either between children's work and play or children's work and school. Thus, as Masabo (2016a, p. 5) argues, 'studies on children's work and schooling have mostly been informed or framed within two discourses: the first being the one that considers children's work as detrimental to schooling; and the second being that which considers the intersection of schooling and work.' For example, while Thu-Le and Homel 2015; Mavrokonstantis 2011; Bezerra *et al*. 2009; Beegle *et al.* 2008; Demur 2006; and Canagarajah and Nielsen, 1999 perceive work being incompatible with schooling, Masabo 2016a; Bourdillon 2016 and 2011; Wambiri 2015a; Wambiri 2015b; Tafere and Pankhurst 2015; Assaad and Levison 2010; Hart 2008; and Punch 2003 underscore the compatibility of work and schooling. The fact that there are these two camps evidences that 'there are opposing views regarding the link between children's work and schooling'.

These perceptions however are not equal. One is dominant over the other both in policy, institutional support and advocacy. For example, the dominant view contends that children's work affects their schooling negatively and, at one extreme, that it should be banned (Tafere and Pankhurst 2015, p. 4). However, in exploring whether work and schooling are complementary or competitive, Orkin (2012) concluded that the characteristics of work (hard physical labour) and characteristics of schooling (high costs and inflexibility) combined to cause difficulties (as cited by Morrow 2016, p. 16). In that regard, although the focus of this study is not to explore the compatibility or incompatibility of children's work with schooling, or children's work with play, the compatibility and incompatibility debates provide a better foundation for understanding how various study stakeholders perceive children's work, children who combine work and school and the practice of combining work and school.

3. 3. 2. Incompatibility of children's work with schooling

Scholars in favour of the incompatibility of children's work with schooling have taken different approaches but most of them have focused on the trade-off, or effects of children work on educational attainment and human capital formation (Rammohan 2014; Zeleke and Hambisa 2014; Zabaleta 2011; Mavrokonsantis 2011; Zapata, Contreras and Kruger 2011; Burke and Beegle 2004; Akabayash and Psacharopoulos 1999). The group of scholars with this position is mostly dominated by economists who have attempted to theorise and develop economic models to explain the correlation between children's work and schooling. For instance, some, such as Zabaleta (2011), have worked towards the understanding of how children's work can undermine the realisation of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), while others have found a negative correlation between children's work and schooling (Dammert 2008). However, in support of this view, Akabayash & Psacharopoulos (1999, p. 121) have contested that: 'It is not clear, theoretically or empirically, to what extent child work actually leads to the reduction of human capital development, especially when the children are engaged in household production.' In estimating this trade-off between children's work and schooling, Rodgers and Standing (1981, p. 33) argue that we 'have to be careful not to make an automatic assumption that work by children impairs education and intellectual development ... since work itself may be an important component of "education" especially in household-based production systems.' Also, competing with children's schooling time may not necessarily be work only but also other things such as watching television, playing computer games, spending time on social media and the internet which all need to be considered when examining what reduces education attainment among children.

This position, however, suffers from ignoring children's own views because of overdependence on still data from national surveys. The dominance of this view, especially among scholars in the West, has led to adaptation of various policy frameworks targeting child protection and ending children's work until they are adults. One of this approach's weaknesses has been that it is taken without paying much attention to children's own views. Thus, as Leonard (2004, p. 58) remarks, 'ignoring children's own experiences of work and their own attitudes to their work may result in the promotion of misguided policies that ironically end up harming the very children they were

intended to protect.' As such, 'while I have sympathy with those arguments, I also recognize that there are very varied and complicated reasons for children needing to go to work but having no means to meet the cost of schooling. And since such arguments do not allow one to take into account the economic necessity of children or the access to education that some children can only afford as a result of earning a living for themselves' (Burr 2006, p. 88), I am sceptical about them. Also, as Bromley and Mackie (2009, p. 146) suggest, working should not be seen as always incompatible with schooling since working for 'Earning pocket money affords considerable economic empowerment, enabling children to participate in their preferred types of play, such as in a pay-entry public park or internet cafe.'

3. 3. 3. Compatibility of children's work with schooling

Based on the view that children's work is incompatible with schooling, Sackey and Johannesen (2016, p. 448 citing Hashim and Thorsen, 2011 and White 1999) have contended that 'educational programs designed to keep children out of work confirm that work and education are considered mutually exclusive. But 'child-centered studies of children's involvement in work have, however, shown that children's lives are enormously diverse, differing from place to place and over periods of time (Bourdillon 2006 as cited by Sackey and Johannesen 2016, p. 448). Partly, this has resulted from research that has looked at children and children's work as a social construct (James and Prout 1997). The recognition of childhood as a social construct allows for the idea of multiple childhoods, as embedded in local cultural constructions, to prevail. It thereby provides a strong critique of the existing work on children in the field of developmental psychology and its construction of singular figure of "the child" (Balagopalan 2002, p. 21).

Scholars in favour of child work as part of children's upbringing largely focus on the positive contribution of children's work to the family livelihood (Morrow 2016; Bourdillon 2011; Hart 2008; Abebe and Aase 2007; Punch, 2003). Other scholars have advanced a more pragmatic approach to child work and schooling. Most of the criticisms advanced have taken a positive stance towards combining schooling and working (Bourdillon 2016; Bourdillon *et al*. 2010; Wambiri 2015a; Wambiri 2015b; Tafere and Pankhurst 2015; Abebe 2009). To them, work should not be divorced from childhood, and schooling should be hand in hand with working

(Masabo 2016a, p. 11). In favour of this view, in Africa there have been some attempts going the extra mile by mainstreaming work as part and parcel of the formal school curriculum. These initiatives are Education with Production (EWP), Earn-and-Learn (EAL) and Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) in Zimbabwe and Tanzania respectively. These are briefly discussed below.

3. 3. 3. 1. Education with Production (EWP)

Education with Production (EWP), an education initiative under The Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production (ZIMFEP), was one of the post-colonial education innovations and reforms by the new government of Zimbabwe adopted after independence in 1980. It was one of the few attempts by post-colonial African governments to undo with the elitist elements of colonial education legacy which aimed at mainstreaming production/work as part and parcel of formal curriculum. Its philosophical foundation was Marx's concept "polytechnic education" and Paulo Freire's (1972, 1985) ideas concerning the dialectic of knowledge and practice (Ansell 2002, p. 97). Its primary goal was to combine theory and practice by integrating 'all subjects, both academic and practical, to instil in students respect for the dignity of manual labour (destroyed by the colonial approach), and encourage analytic understanding' (ibid).

In terms of the child work-schooling dichotomy, EWP was a significant attempt and innovation surpassing the romantic view of childhood as being time for schooling and play only to recognizing that childhoods vary and are influenced by contextual realities (Bourdillon 2011). Like Bass's (2004, p. 181) view that children's work is part and parcel of learning, Chung and Ngara (1985, p. 89) view EWP as an educational system 'designed to produce totally developed individuals who understand the world they live in and are capable of transforming that world or a view' (as cited by Ansell 2002, p. 97). However, like most of the post-colonial African educational innovations, EWP did not yield significant and expected results. Thus, despite its rigorous philosophical basis, within two years of its implementation EWP tenets were soon regarded as extra-curricular activities, leading to becoming dysfunctional innovations and later being abandoned from mainstream education programming.

3. 3. 3. 2. Earn-and-Learn (EAL)

Earn-and-Learn (EAL) is another innovation attempting to harness work and schooling to children in Zimbabwe. It was an innovation by the government of Zimbabwe and the Tanganda Tea Company (TTC). Coined by Michael Bourdillon in 1999 (Bourdillon 2000), following his study of the schools run by TTC in Chipinge District in Zimbabwe, EAL schools is another practical experience of mainstreaming and engaging children into work without forfeiting their rights to schooling. It provides an example of the experience of children who combine full time work for wage and formal schooling. For half a century, the TTC which grows tea across 2,600 hectares ran a so-called Earn-and-Learn scheme whereby children would work on the fields in return for educational support (Shumba 2015).

In these EAL schools, 'pupils are provided with education, meals and boarding facilities on condition that they spend substantial time plucking tea' (Bourdillon 2000, p. 6). It is a proto replete of some of the demands of working children expressed in declarations 4 and 10 of the Kundapur Declaration made during the first International Meeting of Working Children, held in India in 1996 (Hart 2008). In this declaration working children demanded that: 'We want education systems whose methodology and content are adapted to our reality. (Declaration 4) [And] We are against exploitation at work but we are for work with dignity with hours adapted so that we have time for education and leisure (declaration 10)' (Hart 2008, p. 415). Thus, in favour of EAL, Bourdillon (2000, p. 12) equates these schools with best interests of the children arguing that 'The best interests of the children do not require a ban on such institutions. The interests of some children are served by their ability to combine schooling with earning a living.' With EAL some Zimbabwean children were 'able to meet both full-time work and the formal schooling requirements' (Bass 2004, p. 181).

EAL schools are unique and cautious of many attributes of child labour. On the one hand, all children under 13 years, and children born from the company staff of sufficient rank and all children with health problems are all exempted from working (Bourdillon 2000, p. 13) as part of this programme. On the other hand, EAL promotes collaboration between the government and the company in running EAL schools. That is, while the company provides land for constructing

the school's facilities, makes sure that they equip the laboratories and practical rooms to a standard better than most of rural schools and ensures that they are all are electrified, the government in turn provides almost 55 percent of the total cost of running the schools and pays salaries of teachers also as a small grant for each child in EAL schools (Bourdillon 2000). Thus, although these schools are facing the challenge of child time competition between demands of the company of no less than 4.5 hours of work and teachers' demands for children to study as full-time pupils in ordinary schools, the EAL schools demonstrate that "it is possible to harness both children work and formal schooling."

3. 3. 3. 3. Education for Self-Reliance (ESR)

The philosophy, policy and implementation of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) are mostly associated with Tanzania and Nyerere, the architect of the policy cum philosophy. Having gained her political independence in 1961, Tanzania faced many challenges and prospects. In an attempt to eradicate economic problems, several strategies were adopted, one being the Arusha Declaration in 1967. The declaration aimed at transforming Tanzania into a socialist country under the country's grand socio-cultural, economic and political policy of *Ujamaa and Self-Reliance*. To lead the country into this war, education was an important tool to prepare citizens for what it intended to be. In that regard, Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) was adopted as the principal education policy of Tanzania from 1967 to 1995 when it was repealed following the adoption of the 1995 Education and Training Policy (ETP). Thus, ESR as 'an integral part of the socialist project, focused largely on self-reliance, total liberation and empowerment of the person and society, and the active integration of education throughout one's life and in every aspect of human existence' (Otunnu 2015, p. 26).

In ESR, Nyerere spelt out in detail the educational implications of the Arusha Declaration by reverting to the traditional values and by attacking colonial education as a deliberate attempt to change (African) values and replace traditional knowledge with the knowledge from a different society (Cameron 1980, p. 106). In that regard, 'the ESR policy was a direct result of the country's declaration of war on the three national enemies', namely: poverty, disease and ignorance. As Wabike (2015, p. 15) remarks; since one way to win this war was 'through the use of an education that was meaningful because it took into account the cultural and economic

realities of the time' (Wabike 2015, p. 20). Conceptually ESR was a sequel to the Arusha Declaration, a framework for operationalizing a socio-political and economic policy called *Ujamaa* (Ahmad, Krogh and Gjøtterud 2014, p. 5).

In this way, ESR was a 'blue print of Tanzania's educational system and aimed at imparting socialist attitudes and values to people, developing appropriate knowledge and skills and promoting productive activities in schools and colleges' (Mukandala 2015, p. 306). As a policy and philosophy, ESR was based on three philosophical assumptions: first, that every human being is fundamentally of equal worth and has equal rights; second, that the individual becomes meaningful to him or herself and to others only as a member of society; and third, that basic literacy and numeracy liberate the human personality, and are thus valuable in their own right quite apart from the contribution that literacy and numeracy make to the nation's economy and to the individual's economic situation (Nyerere 1985, p. 45). In this way ESR was presented as 'critical analysis of the ills of the inherited colonial educational system in Tanzania' (Masabo 2016a, p. 11) or what Otunnu (2015, p. 20) calls 'as a critical vehicle for mass mobilization, total liberation, freedom, equality, and building a human centered socialist development in Tanzania, and challenging the relevance of colonial education which was largely reproduced in many neo-colonial societies to maintain the 'colonial' state.'

As the Tanganyika African National Union's (TANU) strategy to respond to people's growing demand for more education; ESR was critical of the universalistic thinking that there is one way to provide education. According to Nyerere,

> Education is not something which is done just in schools. The process of education begins to shape the children before they ever enter a classroom. Education starts in the home at the time of a child's birth and continues as the child grows up in the local community….[As such] Formal education in any country is bound to be — and from society's point of view is intended to be—an element in maintaining or developing the social, political, and economic culture of that society. This is so since 'education systems in different kinds of societies in the world have been, and are, very different in organisation and content. [Thus, for Tanzania] There are three major aspects which require attention if this situation is to change: the content of the curriculum itself, the organization of the schools, and the entry age into primary schools' (Nyerere, 1968b, pp. 415; 425).

In this way, it was possible to undo capitalist attitudes imparted by the colonial education system inherited at independence. Thus, like EWP, ESR also intended to discourage elitist attitudes which downgraded manual work. In his 1967 *Education for Self-Reliance*, Nyerere the architect of Education for Self-Reliance policy and philosophy advocated the 'mainstreaming of work in the educational curriculum. This could be done mindful the immediate economic activity available in the locality' (Masabo 2016a, p. 11). Specifically, the policy stated that:

> [First] Together, teachers and students should engage in productive activities such as animal husbandry and crop production. Students should participate in the planning and decision-making process that surrounds the organisation of these activities. [Second] Productive work should become an integral part of the school curriculum and provide meaningful experience through the integration of theory and practice. [Third] The importance of examinations should be downgraded because they only assess a person's ability to learn facts and present them on demand within a limited time period. This approach excludes assessing other qualities such as the ability to reason and a willingness to serve others. [Fourth] Children should begin school at the age of seven years. They would then be old enough and sufficiently mature to engage in self-reliant activities and productive work a few years after graduation. (The usual age at graduation is 15 years or older).

In this way ESR 'reinforced the commitment to education for the liberation of the entire society from the indignation of manual labour, resentment of rural environment by students, social inequality, and elitism. That is to say 'children who attend school should participate in family work—not as a favour when they feel like it, but as a normal part of their upbringing' (Nyerere 1968, p. 70). In regard then, work was made an integral part of education. This necessitated the reforming of school curricula in order to meet the needs of the nations (Mukandala 2015, p. 306).

However, in spite of ESR being significant in terms of the universal relevance of this approach to education, especially in severely underdeveloped former colonial societies that desire to transform a colonial model of education by building a self-reliant and egalitarian, it did not last longer. There are various explanations to why ESR was phased out, but at the core of all is the fact that the 'unholy marriage of negative internal and external factors made what was historically necessary to construct a human-centered socialist project and education for the liberation of the society in Tanzania historically impossible' (Otunnu 2015, pp. 26; 20). In the

era of market economies, ESR was abandoned and in 1995 ETP, a liberal education, was embraced before it was repealed by the adoption of new Education and Training Policy in 2014.

3. 4. Children's combination of work and schooling: Review of debates and literature

The post-colonial Tanzania, like most of other post-colonial African countries, is shaped by the way the country and its people are portrayed and depicted by the outside world (Imoh 2016). However, as the Nigerian novelist Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie has warned, 'we must be aware of the danger of the single story when talking about sub-Saharan Africa' (Imoh 2016, p. 456). This is so because, 'the single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete' (Adichei 2009 as cited by Imoh 2016, p. 456).

This has been one of the most dominant ways of looking at African children and children who combine work and schooling. Emanating from the pitfall of single story, Ihom (2016, pp. 456-457) argues that:

> Much attention on childhoods and children's lives in sub-Saharan Africa has focused on marginalised childhoods or children living in difficult circumstances. [But] While the focuses of these studies are valid, they have arguably contributed to portraying African childhoods in a rather negative and pessimistic light ... [Hence] the creation of a false dichotomy between Northern childhoods and the multitude of childhoods that is located in the diverse contexts that exist in the South.

This has a serious negative implication on the studies that have for sometimes been focusing on children who engage themselves in work. For instance, while work has been recognised as a key element of the childhoods that some children in the North occupy, few studies seek to explore this dimension of these children's lives in that context (Ihom 2016, p. 457). This suggests, then, that childhood and the experience of children's lives are not always free from ideology, context and politics. Understanding them has to be context based if we are to appreciate what childhood and children's experience of working are.

Scholarship on children combining work and school has for quite long attracted several scholars from different backgrounds and positions. In spite of these positions, Bourdillon (2016, p. 3) observes that, 'There is now a wide acceptance that productive work is an economic necessity of some children .... [And] Once the value of children's work is recognised, its relationship to formal schooling needs to be more carefully assessed than the dominant child labour discourse allows.' That is to say, a fully understanding of the involvement of children in work should be context based; since it is within a particular context that child work can be understood or contested. In that respect, each case and each position ought to be understood in context. Within such an understanding, this part presents a critique of some literature on child work, child labour and on the combination of work and school that I considered relevant to presenting the ground for this study that sets to examine the stakeholders' perspectives on the combining of work and school.

Hugh D. Hindman's (2009) edited volume titled "*The World of Child Labour: A Historical and Regional Survey"* provides global coverage of the experiences of children and labour with about 222 articles entries. One of these articles 'Social Science Views on Working Children' by Ben White deserves critical attention here. First, White (2009, p. 14) observes that 'the relationship between work and education then takes a central place in often heated and polarised debates about children's employment, with "abolitionists" urging the incompatibility of work among school-age children, and "regulationists" urging that work has an appropriate place in the lives of schoolchildren'. Secondly, White challenges the conventional view associating work with the children from the majority world and school and play with the children from the minority world. In articulating this, White (2009, p. 14) uses an example from the United States (US), arguing that 'almost all adolescents engage in part-time paid work while attending secondary school' a phenomenon rarely acknowledged in the idealised Global North childhoods.

Quoting Mortimer's (2003) findings from longitudinal studies with child and working child respondents, White (2009, p. 14) then challenges the dominant view arguing that 'the study found no evidence that work, even intensive work, significantly influenced time spent on schoolwork or school performance, and those boys and girls who held regular jobs in

adolescence were more likely than others to settle quickly into career-oriented work' (White 2009, p. 14). In that regard, White (2009, p. 15) , concludes supporting 'a balanced view on the place of work in the lives of children and young people, in which not all kinds of work are necessarily harmful and incompatible with access to good-quality education' but with a note that such similar studies are less in the majority world contexts, Tanzania included.

From another angle, Bjorn Harald Nordtveit (2010), in "Discourses of education, protection, and child labor: case studies of Benin, Namibia and Swaziland", investigates 'discontinuities between local, national and international discourse in the fields of education, protection of children (Nordtveit 2010, p. 699). Issues raised in this paper are very pertinent to this study. Nordtveit observes that 'In all the case study countries, discontinuities could be perceived between national legal discourse (often reflecting international views) and local discourse (ibid., p. 706). Such observation is a manifestation that the view and ideas from the dominant ideology of the Western mindsets are not always transferable to local or particular contexts. Nordtveit (2010, pp. 706-707) makes the observation from these countries that:-

> the notion of childhood does not follow the chronological linear progression as in Western mindsets and national-legal documentation, and that members totally reject the Western discourse of education and protection, and states that child labor (albeit not sex work) is a normal part of the local culture and thus a natural part of the socialisation process and most would often say, "child labor is not a problem here."

The observation supports previous views by Morrow (2016) that the issues of child work should be context based rather than treating them as a universal phenomenon. She concludes that 'it may be appropriate to reconstruct the idea of education, and, instead of creating schools that are far removed from the communities' lives, rather connect them to the children's environment, and allow for a school-and-work situation that reflects local necessities' (Nordtveit 2010, p. 710). This is important for the present study because it will help the researcher to investigate the extent to which the dominant views over children's protection against child work are perceived among the stakeholders.

In “Earning identity and respect through work: A study of children involved in fishing and farming practices in Cape Coast, Ghana”, Enoch Tawiah Sackey and Berit Overå Johannesen ‘examine the meanings primary and junior high school (JHS) students give to their participation in work and how they balance work and school’ (2016, p. 447). It affirms that the question whether children combine work and school is no more an issue. This is so because like in most African countries, the ‘literature on child work in Ghana focuses on poverty and on the relation between work and schooling’ (Sackey and Johannesen 2016, p. 449). To address and get to know exactly how children perceive the phenomenon of combining work and school, these authors applied three theoretical frameworks: positioning theory, theory of situated learning and theory of intent participation. The application of these theories was expected to allow better investigation of working and schooling among the fishing and farming communities in Cape Coast, Ghana. For example, with positioning theory, the authors were able to look at ‘the complex ways in which children negotiate their agency and interact and talk about their work and everyday life’, and capture the active child with the theory of situated learning (Sackey and Johannesen 2016, p. 450). However, they do not do not explicitly state what was expected of the theory of intent participation. However, in spite of that limitation, the study’s authors found that ‘All of the children attended their local school and participated in fishing or farming practices’ (Sackey and Johannesen 2016, p. 457). They then argue that ‘the economic aspect of child work is clearly important, and many of the children would have preferred to work less and attend school more had their economic situation allowed it (ibid.). But, notwithstanding such findings and the conclusion drawn, calls for further studies on several aspects such as what is it that makes formal schooling so prominent over working and how we can explain the experience of combining work and schooling in terms of the country’s policies and economy among the fishing and farming children. Also, understanding the implication of work and schooling from a social constructionist approach could add knowledge about the perception of children’s experience of combining work and schooling.

Examining time-use (work, play, study) among children from so-called “partnership” families/households and larger, so-called “lineage-based” families/households among the Pare people in North Eastern Tanzania, Hollos (2002) used a sample of children aged 6 to 8 years.

The study's findings challenge the conventional thinking that all children in the global South are homogenous. She reveals a significant difference in the lives of children in two kinds of households: children in small, so-called "partnership" families work little, play a lot, rest quite a bit and study, constituting [an experience closer to what] the West considers to be a "normal childhood" (Hollos 2002, p. 187). Secondly, 'children in the larger, so-called "lineage-based" families work a lot, play little and rest and study even less' (ibid.). This image is closer to the dominant view of children in the global South whose 'parents have a utilitarian view on children [of considering] them to be valuable as part of a joint family enterprise and workforce and as potential support in their old age' (ibid.).

Hollos's observations are of great importance to the present study. Although Hollos's study did not directly focus on children who combine work and school, the focus on work, play and study is imperative to the understanding children's time use. To this study, Hollo's findings are important in two ways. First, they challenge the conventional thinking of homogenizing childhood in the global South, and second they call for considering context, family and household economy as a benchmark for determining factors for child time division, hence important to studying children's experiences of combining work and school.

Wabike, in his 2012 publication titled "'Arming the Rebels for Development': Parental Involvement among Fishing Communities in Tanzania", examines the involvement of parents in the upbringing of their children among fishing villages along Lake Tanganyika. In this study involving 50 households and 50 rebels (school drop-outs); Wabike found conflict between social systems (informal) and the formal education system (compulsory schooling). He then argues that:-

> Since 'most parents engage fully in fishing/farming activities and have no time to participate fully in their children's upbringing; ...the choice is then often left to the children: to go school (where you do not see a future in it) or join the 'production activities' such as fishing, farming and handicraft (and be called a rebel by the formal education system)' (Wabike 2012, p. 176).

That is to say, because it is a full-time job of the fathers at night while mothers are resting, and a full-time job for mothers during day time while fathers are resting and preparing their fishing nets, children are left to themselves to choose between attending formal schooling or dropping-out and seeking immediately socially acceptable jobs. As revealed by the data, 'of the 50 interviewed drop-outs (rebels), only 20 percent still lived at home, the rest were either working in the fishing industry with different landing sites, married or had moved to the nearby Kigoma urban area in search of jobs' (Wabike 2012, p. 186). However, while Wabike's study is important in terms of the geographical location, methods and as children-centred research, it was not focusing on understanding the experience of children who combine work and school but rather examining the implication of parents' involvement in children's upbringing which is not the subject matter of this study.

3. 5. Research gap

Literature and studies focusing on child labour, child work and schooling, especially those from anthropological and longitudinal studies whose respondents are mostly selected from categories of children and working children in particular, have given illuminating responses. Most of the findings and conclusions drawn from such studies have indicated that, even in the absence of absolute poverty (which has been commonly called for as the main driving factor for children's engagement in work), children may work because economic returns may be greater than the returns that may accrue from low and inaccessible schools (Mmari 2005, p. 174). Others, especially 'more recent contextualized research has shown that deprived and marginalized children can benefit from work and that blatant removals of children from work have been counter-productive to their welfare (Bourdillon, 2009; Okyere, 2013 cited by Sackey and Johannesen 2016). Masabo (2016a, p. 6) has recently indicated that:-

> ...due to their country's minimal or non-existent educational funding and family's abject poverty, some children in the Global South have realised that adopting a pragmatic strategy of combining school and work is the only feasible solution' for them to harness the promises of formal schooling.'

In that regard studies have to focus not on poverty as the only motive for children combination of work and school but considering the returns of formal schooling as well. This is only possible if children views will be taken seriously in our analysis.

While there are some studies elsewhere taking a longitudinal approach to studying children's lives including their experience of working and schooling; studies such as the Young Lives where some of the findings are illuminating and beginning to challenge the conventional view of romanticized childhood. As such, there is a possibility that Tanzanian childhood may escape serious scrutiny. More specific children's experiences of work and schooling and that of combining work and schooling are still underexplored. For example, although there are studies examining the implications of children's work and labour on schooling and education achievement (Beegle *et al.*, 2008; Mbogoma, 2007), much is yet to see the light of analysis, especially working children's own experiences of work and of combining work and schooling. In regard to the latter category it can be argued that, even though the current statistics report (ILO & NBS, 2016 and USDOL/ILAB 2014) about 21.6% of children aged 7 to 14 and 20.0 % of children aged 5-17 years to combine work and school in Tanzania, little is still known in terms of perspectives from various segments of society on what is their take on this phenomenon.

Above all, although Tanzania has laws that provide for children's rights to light work, such as the Law of the Child Act of 2009, the Law of the Child (Child Employment) Regulations of 2012, Tanzania Employment and Labor Relations Act 2004, these children's rights are yet to been translated into viable rights that children can demand in public. Also, the extent to which this legal provision is enjoyed by children and the actual experience of working children in Tanzania is still underexplored. Unlike elsewhere (see for example Liebel 2013; Hanson and Vandaele, 2013; and Hart, 2008) where children have showed interest and defended work as their right, the negative image of child labor continues to characterize right to work discourse in Tanzania. Thus, while it is necessary to fight all worst forms of labor;

> …it is unwise to ignore the fact that many working children insist that they enjoy their work, learn from it, develop self-confidence, and find it a valuable source of pride and self-esteem, in addition to gaining much needed income and a sense of satisfaction by helping their families' (Ennew, Myers and Plateau, 2005, p. 34).

However, ‘although it is crucial to “listen to what children say”, it is also necessary to ground their opinions within the complex material social practices of interconnected histories and geographies in which their livelihoods continue to unfold’ (Abebe and Bessell, 2011, p. 781). These are only possible by undertaking an ethnographic study involving various stakeholders to interrogate their understanding and perception on children experience of combining work and schooling in Buhigwe district, Kigoma region in Tanzania.

3. 6. Chapter summary

This chapter presented dominant debates that have informed the scholarship on child work, imperative for mainstream work in formal school curricula. It also presented and discussed the theoretical framework that guides the study. A critique of the literature on child work and combination of work and school from global, regional and national experiences has been done. This was followed by identifying research gaps that the current research seeks to fill.

4. Research methodology and unfolding of the fieldwork

4. 1. Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that informed this study and how the fieldwork unfolded. It discusses these by considering a number of issues, including the rationale for the research design chosen, selected study site, dynamics of gaining access to the research field and participants, study site entry and how it unfolded. I also discuss the process of participants' recruitment, approaches, and tools for data production and analysis, ethics of research—research clearance, access and informed consent and dissent, confidentiality, privacy and data transcription and storage.

4. 2. Unfolding of the fieldwork

4. 2. 1. Selection of the study sites

This study was conducted in mainland Tanzania and used Kiswahili and English as the language for data production. In its initial stage, the plan was to undertake fieldwork in Dar es Salaam, Mwanza and Kigoma. The intention was to find out whether participants share the same views in spite of their special geographical differences, rural or urban binary. In Mwanza, however, I was unsuccessful in securing a research permit to undertake interviews with children who combine work and school, their parents or guardians and teachers. Thus, fieldwork was conducted in two regions only; Dar es Salaam and Kigoma.

In addition to the comparison purpose, the choice of Mwanza and Kigoma was also prompted by the findings of the 2014 Tanzania (mainland) *National Child Labour Survey: Analytical Report,* a study by ILO and NBS published in February 2016. This study revealed significant geographical variations of children working and schooling in urban and rural regions. According to this study, in Dar es Salaam children combining work and school stood at 0.5 %, in other urban regions the number stood at 9.4% and in rural areas it was 24.6% (ILO and NBS 2016, p. 42). Given variations in the number of children combining work and school in rural and urban settings, I was motivated to find out how this phenomenon is perceived by the rural and urban children combining work and schooling, parents or guardians and teachers.

Most of the country context documentary review, secondary data analysis and interview with ministry officials were concluded in Dar es Salaam, the rest of the study's research activities were undertaken in Buhigwe district, in Kigoma region. The reasons for the choice of these field sites for data production varied. Mwanza and Kigoma were chosen for the purpose of the urban and rural perspectives, while Dar es Salaam was chosen on the basis that it hosts the headquarters[5] of the ministries, institutes and non-government organisations (NGOs) with a stake in the study topic. Also, it hosts most of the institutes of higher learning such as the University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam University College of Education and others where I conducted my documentary review.

4. 2. 2. Fieldwork dynamics

The official beginning of my field work was 16th June 2016, after gaining research clearance from Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) on 14th June 2016. This was after having secured the institution (Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)) and departmental (Norwegian Centre for Child Research (NOSEB) research introduction letter (Appendix 9) from the department. With the NOSEB introduction letter and NSD clearance (Appendix 10) with me, I began applying for local permission to conduct my research to institutions that I judged crucial for my study topic.

My plan for fieldwork was to begin the fieldwork in Dar es Salaam, then Mwanza and finally in Kigoma. While target study sites in Dar es Salaam were selected institutions with a stake in child affairs, for upcountry fieldwork targeted study sites were Nyamagana district in Mwanza and Buhigwe district in Kigoma. This sequence was also followed in application for local research permits. Research access applications consisted of a cover letter, study concept note and, at times, abridged project description, interviews and focus group discussion guiding questions and copies of the NOSEB introduction letter, NSD study clearance report and a copy of my

[5] At the time fieldwork, Dar es Salaam was still the headquarters of the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children (MHCDGEC); Ministry of Education, Science and Technology; Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics (NBS); ILO Country Office for the United Republic of Tanzania, Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda; UNICEF Country Office in Tanzania; Tanzania Child Rights Forum (TCRF), Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC); and Save the Children – Tanzania. Following the President's decision to implement one of the 1970 decisions to make Dodoma the capital city of Tanzania, all ministry headquarters have been moved to Dodoma by March 19th 2017.

employment and citizenship identification cards. Thus, I first approached eight institutions in Dar as Salaam (see footnote 5), then regional and district authorities in Mwanza and lastly regional and district authorities in Kigoma.

Securing local research permit from the eight institutions in Dar es Salaam was challenging. Of all the eight letters I submitted requesting local research permit; I only got responses from four institutions, three of which granted me admission and one declined. The rest did not respond despite constant physical and telephone follow-up. Admission was from two government institutions: the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children, (MHCDGEC) (Appendix 11) and the Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics, (NBS) and NGOs: the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC). The refusal was from one government institution: the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST). I was particularly disappointed that the most reputable international institutions that profess to be pro-children were reluctant to offer me admission and respond to my letters. This left me with a lot of questions over the image these organisations have and how they behaved in terms of supporting this study which I thought could benefit them also.

At MHCDGEC, NBS and LHRC, I was assigned to different departments and granted access to different resources. At MHCDGEC, I was to report to the Director for Children Development Department while LHRC assigned me to the Gender and Children Desk. NSB granted me free access to its resource centre where most of the statistical, census reports and labour survey information were held. Pending appointments for interviews, I continued with my documentary review which was mainly done at the NBS resource centre and at the libraries of the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and at Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE).

When the interviews in Dar as Salaam were approaching an end, I then applied for research access to my other field sites of Mwanza and Kigoma. Once permission was granted, I left Dar es Salaam for the fieldwork, first to Mwanza and then to Kigoma. In Mwanza however, my access to study participants was not successful. Although official permission and subsequent local government permission and access was granted (see Appendices 12, 13, 14), accessing

respondents faced serious constraints that made it impossible to conduct interviews in Mwanza. The authorities of the preferred schools could not admit me to access the pupils regardless of all the documents I had. Instead, the authorities directed me to begin the process by channelling my access application letter through the educational authorities, at district and wards level, a piece of advice that I pursued but unsuccessfully. Unable to procure local research permit in Mwanza after two weeks forced to give-up and travelled to Kigoma. Unlike Mwanza, securing local research permits in Kigoma region and Buhigwe district was relatively smooth. After a short period of time, I had all the necessary documents (see Appendices 15 and 16) to undertake my fieldwork.

Considering the politics of research and access to research sites and participants, I have learnt great lessons. First, I have learnt that gaining research access is beyond granting of official formal letters of research permission. Because once the letters were granted it was as if it was the beginning of the process. Also, official letter granting could not override institutional internal politics: the letters had little to offer in building rapport for interviews and informed consent seemed to override all official admission to research site. That is, securing informed consent proved to be more difficult and challenging than gaining research clearance letters. Second, undertaking a research project as a student is the most challenging activity as it is considered by most officials as loss of time or non-productive. This was evidenced by the fact that there were several occasions where my interview appointments were suspended to allow those coming with the promise to fund some projects. In that regard, I have come to the conclusion that gaining research access is beyond granting of official formal letters of research permission.

4. 3. Research design

One of the primary considerations when planning for this study was to choose the appropriate research design that served as a guide to the research process. Research design provides for 'the way in which research idea is transformed into a research project or plan that can be carried out in practice by a researcher or research team' (Given (ed.) 2008, p. 761). In this way, it 'situates the researcher in the empirical world and connects the research questions to data' (Punch 2014, p. 114). In the context of this study research design is seen as 'the conceptual structure within

which research is conducted that constitutes the (guide) for collection, measurement, and analysis of data … so that desired information can be obtained with sufficient precision' (Gimbi 2012, p. 71). As such, it revolves around the core issues of research strategy, research conceptual framework, research data sources and research tools and procedures for data production and analysis of the empirical materials (Punch 2014, p. 114).

According to Punch (2014, p. 114), there are four common designs used in qualitative research, namely: case studies, ethnography, grounded theory and action research designs. Of all these, I found a qualitative case study research design as the most suitable design for this study because it was more promising for an in-depth empirical inquiry in a real-life context. Case studies like most concepts in the social sciences are defined differently by different scholars. Baxter and Jack (2008, p. 544), for example, define 'qualitative case study as an approach to research that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources' while Merrain (1988, p. xiv) construed it as 'an intensive holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, an institution, a person, a process and social unit.' It is in the context expressed by these authors, case study qualitative research design is chosen to facilitate the holistic investigation, description, and analysis of the interfaces between children's work and schooling in Tanzania.

4. 4. Recruitment of the study participants

With the exception of a census, which counts and measures an entire population, social research can only work with a smaller number of people (the sample), who are taken to be typical of their group. In this study, a sample is referred to as 'a defined group of participants who [are] targeted to provide answers to a particular research question or research questions' (Ennew *et al.* 2009, p. 6.8). This study too did not study the entire Tanzanian population but only a sample of 29 respondents out of a targeted sample of 40 respondents. These were clustered into five groups—children, parents/guardians and teachers, government and NGO officials of institutions concerned with children affairs. Apart from the two NGO officials who I could not meet due to frequent calling-off of my interview appointments; the other nine (9) targeted participants were those from Mwanza who I could not interview due to logistical and administrative complications

in securing research permit clearance. Three goals guided my sampling process in the study namely: '(1) gathering information from a sample of officials in order to make generalisable claims about all such officials' characteristics or decisions; (2) discovering a particular piece of information or getting hold of a particular document; (3) informing or guiding work that uses other sources of data' (Goldstein 2002, p. 673). Although this is not easy, it was important for generating credible and reliable data.

Sampling has attracted multiple meanings, in this study sampling is used to mean 'a process of selecting places, children and other participants, households or specific groups (such as ethnic or religious communities) for data collection' (Ennew *et al.* 2009, p. 68). In recruiting participants to participate in the study I employed qualitative sampling method. This sampling entails deliberate selection of certain people (or events or items) for inclusion in a research project based on the presumed idea that the mix of people (or events or items) are important in order to make a sample credible in relation to the research objective (Thomas and Hodges 2010, p. 19). Study participants who included children combining work and school aged between 7-17 and particularly those aged 10 to 14, parents/guardians and teachers of children combining work and school, government and NGO officials of institutions concerned with children's affairs. From schools, sampling targeted children who combine work and school and their teachers and from the community targets were parents or guardians.

Table 4. 1: Summary of study participants by category, degree of participation and sex

SN	Sample Category	Targeted Study Sample			Actual Study Sample		
		Sex		Total Number	Sex		Total Number
		Male	Female		Male	Female	
1.	Governmental Official	2	2	4	2	2	**4**
2.	NGOs Official	1	1	2	0	0	**0**
3.	Children	8	8	16	6	4	**10**
4.	Parents/Guardians	4	4	8	3	2	**5**
5.	Teachers	5	5	10	5	5	**10**
	TOTAL	**20**	**20**	**40**	**16**	**13**	**29**

Source: Fieldwork 2016

Entry to schools with children combing work and school was facilitated by two research assistants. These had better knowledge of the areas and had knowledge of children who are engaged in work and schooling. Once a school was identified and all logistical and administrative work finalised, a written exercise asking for age, parents' or guardians' job, work involved and whether it was for household survival or for income generation was administered to pupils in two classes, standard five and six. From these, ten children qualifying the criteria were selected and subsequently asked to consent. Since they were found in schools, the schools handled administration of the consent forms. Once these tasks were over, data collection started.

In recruiting parents/guardians, I depended largely on the children who I gave letter to take to their parents/guardians requesting their readiness to participate. As such, they were potential references to recruiting parents and guardians. Also, prior to having interviews they were also informed of the purpose of the study and finally requested to sign the consent forms. Signing of consent forms was an important mark to open up interview sessions. For teachers and officials in the government and NGOs, I did not have control over selection; instead I depended on respective authorities to assist me in selection. What I was left with was the administration of consent forms prior to opening interview sessions.

4. 5. Approaches to data production

One of the imperatives for children research within the rights-based approach and social studies of children and childhood(s) traditions is the need to put children at the centre of the research life cycle. Therefore, one of the key cornerstones in this research tradition to the 'right to be properly researched is that article 13 of the CRC that makes it clear that research must allow children to express their views, experiences, perceptions and help children to do so using variety of methods' (Ennew *et. al* 2009, p. 5.4). This has come to be commonly referred to what James (2007) calls "giving voices to children" which for some decades has been one of the major characteristics of the paradigm shift within the social sciences (Abebe 2009). Thus, to study children in their own right and understanding children's world views are a marker of childhood studies (Abebe 2009; James 2007; Punch 2002; and Christensen and James, 2000). And as for

Spyrou (2011, p. 151), 'the concept of "children's voices" perhaps more than any other concept has come to be associated with the so called new social studies of childhood.'

Choosing research methods to use and the data collection tools that are most convenient is paramount for success of any case study research project. This stems from the fact that 'a hallmark of case study research is the use of multiple data sources, a strategy which also enhances data credibility. Potential data sources may include, but are not limited to, documentation, archival records, interviews, physical artefacts, direct observations, and participant-observation' (Baxter and Jack 2008, p. 544). These data sources are essential to undertaking meaningful data production that can best support the construction of knowledge on a given phenomenon. It is from this footing that a constructivist perspective in selection and designing tools for data production within a case study research design is needed. This is because 'constructivist qualitative research studies typically emphasise participant observation and interviewing for data generation as the researcher aims to understand a phenomenon from the perspective of those experiencing it' (Given, (ed). 2008, p. 119).

Thus, in the view of giving voices to children and acknowledging 'that each and every child, like every adult is a bearer of human rights' (Ennew *et al.* 2009, p. 3.14), qualitative methods were adopted as they promised to be the most appropriate methods to provide insights into the study topic. This was so because the use of methodologies that celebrate richness, context, nuance, and depth has the potential to explore the ways in which social processes, institutions, discourse or relationships work and the significance of the meanings that they generate (Mason 2002). Also, they are robust enough to give due chance for equal participation of all participants. This was empowering since like any other social researchers, by employing qualitative methods, I was able to 'study spoken and written representations and records of human experience using multiple methods and multiple data' (Punch 2014, p. 144).

The rationale for the use of the qualitative methods of data production is grounded on three basic reasons: 'interpretive philosophy, flexibility and sensitivity to a social context in which data are produced and its holistic nature in analysis and explanation' (Ntibagirirwa 2014, p. 206). As

such, in generating data to answer the study's research questions, a selection of tools that were judged more efficient than others were selected and used. These are recall methods, documentary review; semi-structured interviews; focused group discussion; and administration of open-ended questionnaires. With these methods, both primary and secondary data relevant to this study were produced. The imperative of using these data sources as Pickering, (ed.). (2008, p. 13) argues, lied in the fact that 'evidence provided by memory, in interviews with different individuals and groups, needs always to be checked, as far as this is possible, against other documentary sources, such as newspapers, and other informants, whether in the same social category or one deliberately contrasting with it.'

4. 5. 1. Documentary review

Documents constitute one of the bases for most qualitative research. A document can be defined as 'a text-based file that may include primary data (collected by the researcher) or secondary data (collected and archived or published by others) also as photographs, charts, and other visual materials' (Given (ed) 2008, p. 232). In most cases, they said the researcher to avoid repeating or duplicating reflections already expressed. Thus, in this study like in most social research where the use of secondary data sources is of greater importance, this necessity was felt. As Ennew *et al.* (2009, p.4.10) argue, initial review of secondary data provides an overview of what is known and thought about the research topic, also as helps in identifying gaps in available information. This is so since all the historical, contemporary, legal and non-legal documents are rich sources of data for child/children or childhood research. Also as Punch (2014, p. 158) succinctly remarks, documents are gradually becoming a 'distinguishing feature of our society.'

But what is documentary review? Documentary review has been defined differently by different scholars. On the one hand, Ennew *et al.* (2009, p. 4.10) define documentary review as 'a systematic process of examining the source of the information, why it was collected and what methods have been used to analyse and publish the results.' On the other hand, Bailey (1994) underscores that documentary review or the use of documentary methods is the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon we wish to study. Closer to these views, Payne and Payne (2004) describe documentary methods as the techniques used to

categorise, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical sources, most commonly written documents whether in the private or public domain (cited in Mogalakwe 2006, p. 221-222). However, for the document qualify this role, the researcher needs to find out how does the document answer both the how, why and when questions, i.e. how did it come into being, why was it produced and when was it prepared or written (Desai and Potter 2006). As such, by trying to answer these questions when reviewing documentary sources, I was in a position to 'critically look at the existing data, ideas, prejudices and images in order to have reliable basis for deciding' (Ennew *et al.* 2009, p. 4.5) whether the document data will be suitable for this study. In this way, the study benefitted from the multiple purposes of documentary review. Apart from avoiding data duplication; it was employed to ensure study efficiency by exploration of what is known about the topic. Also, it enabled data triangulation and locating the study problem within the wider background of Tanzanian population or demographic structure, economic, political and legal framework.

In undertaking documentary review for this study, my focus was on pronouncements and policies concerning children's work, labour, education and schooling as expressed in policy documents and policy papers. Also, the focus was on the provisions of acts and laws, regulations, various reports such as population censuses and labour surveys. In that regard, some of national documents reviewed and analysed included, the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1997, Child Development Policy 2008, the Law of the Child Act of 2009, the Law of the Child (Child Employment) Regulations of 2012, Tanzania Employment and Labour Act 2004, Tanzania 3rd, 4th, and 5th Reports on the Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) 2005-2011, 2013 Tanzania Child Rights Status Report, 2014 Tanzania Mainland National Child Labour Survey Analytical Report and 2016 Child Poverty in Tanzania Report.

Also, I reviewed and analysed other related documents covering some aspects of child welfare such as including Health Policy 2007, National Youth Development Policy 2007, National Employment Policy 2008, the Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) and the Secondary Education Development Program (SEDP), 2014 Education For All (EFA) Report for Tanzania Mainland, Education and Training Policy 2014, Free Primary and Lower Secondary

Education Circular No. 3 of 2016. Further to that were Tanzania Development Vision 2025, MKUKUTA I & II, FYDP I & II, The 2012 Population and Housing Census Reports, 1998 Kigoma Region Socio-economic Profile, 2016 NBS Kigoma Basic demographic and Socio-Economic Profile, and 2014 Tanzania Mainland Integrated Labor Survey Analytical Report. On the other hand, international documents reviewed and analyzed included, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), ILO Conventions no 138 and 182 and African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) to mention but only a few. Most of the analysis and review of these documents was conducted at NTNU Dragvoll Library at NBS library, DUCE library and at Dr. Wilbert Chagula library of the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM).

4. 5. 2. Semi-structured interviews

Interview is a powerful tool and a good means for exploring research participants' perceptions, meanings they ascribe to things, definitions and constructions of reality (Punch 2014). Although there are various types of interview, this research utilised one class of interviews: qualitative interviews. This type of 'research interview attempts to understand the world from the subject's points of views, to unfold the meaning of their experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanation' (Brinkmann and Kvale 2015, p. 3). However, while interviewing is basically about asking questions and receiving answers, there is much more to it especially in a qualitative research context (Punch 2014, p. 144) when used with children. In the context of the latter, there is now a body of literature pointing to both directions or more particularly bending to either side—being different, needing specific methods or just ignoring the age factor (Punch, 2011, 2002; James, 2007; Christensen, 2004 and Solberg, 1996). Notwithstanding these methodological debates within the field of social science and the "new" social studies of children, there is another way of looking at interview and its roles in research. For example, Fontana and Frey (1994, p. 361) underscore that 'interviewing has a wide variety of forms and multiple uses. The most common type of interviewing is individual face-to-face verbal interchange, but can also take a form of face-to-face group interview ... and telephone service interview.' In the view of Fontana and Frey (1994) typology of interviews, the study utilised two

forms, namely, semi-structured individual face-to-face interviews and group interviews or focus group discussion.

Most of these were conducted with key informants: the children, parents and the governmental officials with stake in the research topic—children combining work and school in Tanzania. The use of semi-structured interviews aimed at giving participants greater control over the direction of the conversation also as freedom to tell their story in their own way (Ennew, et. al, 2009, 5.36). To the researcher also, this technique opened avenues and gave freedom to paraphrase the questions in the interview guide to fit the varying social contexts of the participants (ibid) which was necessary for generating narratives needed to answer the research question for the phenomenon under investigation.

A total of thirteen (13) semi-structured interviews were undertaken. Two (2) semi-structured interviews were undertaken in Dar es Salaam and eleven (11) in Buhigwe district in Kigoma. Thus, the two interviews with the government officials were conducted in their offices at the Child Development Department offices in Dar es Salaam. Those in Kigoma were undertaken in two locations. Six (6) semi-structured interviews with children and with two (2) guardians were undertaken in a study school classroom. The other three (3) semi-structured interviews with parents were conducted in the parents' households. The lengths of interviews were between twenty minutes and forty-five minutes with an overall average of 32.5 minutes.

4. 5. 3. Focus group discussion (FGD)

While most academic interviews have generally been one-to-one interview, there is today an increasing use of focus group interviews (Brinkmann and Kvale 2015, p. 175). In research, the interviews in this typology are also commonly referred to as focused group discussion (FGD). A focused group discussion is a formal, facilitated discussion on a specific topic ('focuses). FGDs are useful for identifying the knowledge, ideas, value, beliefs and attitude of a group (Ennew, *et al.* 2009, p. 529) In social research, FGDs 'have always been portrayed as a means of generating information and public perceptions and viewpoints ... [and are said to] offer an excellent tool for exploring group behaviours, interactions and norms and they are now widely used as part of

multi-method approach to development field research' (Desai and Potter 2006, p. 154) and childhood research. A total of two (2) FGDs were undertaken with children participants.

Like Brinkmann and Kvale's (2015, p. 175) observation, in this study the FGD aim was 'not to reach consensus or solutions to the issues discussed, but to bring forth different viewpoints on issues' (with regard to the phenomenon of combining work and school). Also, as Morgan (1998) put it, FGD is used to maximise use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in the group (Punch 2014, p. 147). In addition to that, I was interested in meeting these children, parents and teachers who are involved in school and work to share their experiences.

4. 5. 4. Writing methods

In the course of data production, I also utilised writing methods of data collection. Two kinds of tools were used, recall forms and open ended questionnaires. These were administered to children and teachers. They were administered to these sample categories since it was expected both participant groups of this category could read and write. The major objective of using these tools was to elicit the participants' memory and give freedom to write what they thought represented their views on the research topic more freely but in written form.

4. 5. 4. 1. Recall method

Kigoma being one of the regions where children are expected to talk with respect when addressing adults, I thought that this method could compensate the pitfalls of interviews especially where child participants felt less powerful to articulate their positions in the face of the researcher. Also, it aimed to give chance to the participants to remember and recall events and routine activities, a recall tool was used. It involved the administration of a recall form consisting of a chart with to fill-in activities done on a daily basis for about a week, half a page for summarising week-long activities in a paragraph and another half page for accounting their short break experience. This tool was administered to 10 children combining work and school only.

4. 5. 4. 2. Open-ended questionnaires

The second writing method tool used was the questionnaires. These fulfilled two goals. The first aimed at collecting large amount of information quickly from a sample category of teachers whom I could not interview given their schedule due to the timing coincidence that constrained them from having time for oral interviews. The second was to act as a cross-checking method for narratives developed and data produced using the above tools: interviews, focus group discussion and recall forms. As Ennew *et al.* (2009, p. 5.36) argue, 'questionnaires are only useful in the final stages of research with children for checking ideas the researchers have developed on basis of earlier analysis.' Thus, to realise this cross-checking goal a total of 16 open-ended questionnaires were administered to pupils and teachers.

Table 4. 2: Summary of method used by participant's category, number and place used

S/N	Class of Method	Tool used	Category of participants	No. of participants	Place used
1.	Reading	Documentary review	Researcher	1	Libraries
2.	Writing method	Recall-method	Children	10	School
		Open-ended-questionnaire	Children and Teachers	16	School
3.	Oral method	Semi-structured interviews	Government officials, Children, parents and guardians	13	Office, School and Household
		Focused Group Discussion (FGD)	Children	2	School

Source: Fieldwork 2016

4. 6. Methods of data analysis

According to Rubin and Rubin (2005, p. 19), there are 'two major philosophies that inform how research, data analysis and interpretation have to be conducted, namely: positivism and interpretative constructivism.' In respect to this study, data analysis was informed by interpretative constructivism. Constructivists claim that 'truth is relative and that it is dependent on one's perception. This paradigm recognises the importance of the subjective human creation

of meaning, but does not reject outright some notion of objectivity. Pluralism, not relativism, is stressed with focus on the circular dynamic tension of subject and object' (Baxter and Jack 2008, p. 545). That is to say, 'ontological and epistemological views in the constructivist paradigm disallow the existence of an external objective reality independent of an individual from which knowledge may be sought or gained. Instead each individual constructs knowledge in his or her experience through social interactions' (Given ed. 2008, p. 116). Since it utilised qualitative methods of data production, data analysis was guided by interpretative constructivism which resonates with the qualitative case research design. This is because 'ontologically, reality is relative, multiple, socially constructed and ungoverned by natural laws. It claims a monistic subjectivist epistemology in which knowledge is constructed between inquirer and participant through the inquiry processes themselves' (Given ed. 2008, p. 117).

Thus, while content analysis is used to analyze information from the field notes; hermeneutic approaches are used more specifically with data to be produced through documentary review because of their power in teasing out the wide meanings held within the documents (Kitchin and Tate 2013, p. 225). In this study, as in most qualitative studies, data collection and analysis largely occurred concurrently. In this way, it was possible for the researcher to get answers for the research questions from documents and stakeholders' own feelings and perceptions on children who combine work and school. Put in sequence of activities, the data analysis of this study involves field interview transcription, interpretation of the transcripts, arranging or presenting the meanings made in themes reflecting the objectives and research questions.

4. 7. Challenges in data production

Some challenges were met during the fieldwork, especially in data collection processes. The first was limited funding and time shortage. Given that the fieldwork was only to be concluded during the summer holidays, any delays that could necessitate extension of the fieldwork time have both time and financial implications. Thus, the delays in granting research permission and having appointments with the research participants affected the data collection activities. As a result of the delays, I could not make it to conduct my fieldwork in Mwanza. Also, due to delays, my fieldwork also collided with the days for National Primary School Leaving examinations. This

limited me and constrained easy access to child respondents as that very week schools were closed for term short break to allow smooth supervision of the examinations.

The second was the interruption by the national politics of moving the government from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma. President John Joseph Pombe Magufuri as a chairperson for the ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) made a far-reaching pronouncement for moving the government to Dodoma. Following this pronouncement, the Prime Minister promised to have his office moved to Dodoma by September 1st, 2016. Its implication was that ministries and departments under him were to have been moved to Dodoma before him. These pronouncements affected smooth execution of my research activities with government officials in Dar es Salaam. As a result, interview appointments were suspended so sometimes as I visited the office, officials were busy organising the order to move to Dodoma. As a researcher, I did not have anything to do except to be patient, stay focused and do other activities pending revival of my interview appointments.

The third challenge was limited infrastructure. In planning for research, I had planned to have all my transcription done during and immediately after fieldwork. Due to various reasons such as regular power black-out and lack of electricity facilities in some areas of my field research site, I was unable to accomplish interview transcription in the study site as planned. Thanks to the support to one of my research assistants who facilitated smooth undertaking of fieldwork.

The fourth and most disappointing challenge was withdrawal of one of the most articulate child participants. Having had two interviews ssessions with her and having filled the recall form, she withdrew from the study soon after I gave a questionnaire and I sent her the letter to invite her parents for interviews. The most challenging aspect was how to delete her narratives especially in focus group discussion without destroying the rest of the accounts of other participants. And a final challenge was the shyness of some respondents which affected their voice pitch hence reducing the quality of recording. As such there are some interview episodes where my voice recorder could not pick anything. To overcome this, I encouraged the respondent to speak, sometimes asking them to repeat what they said.

4. 8. Ensuring data credibility and trustworthiness

Validity and reliability of any research project is paramount for any study. However, while these issues have led to a heated debate over qualitative research, it is more critical when that very research uses children as respondents. It must be made clear that 'the notion of children [and their responses being] unreliable must be traded against the benefit of direct questions to children (LSE Research, 2016). Nevertheless, validity and reliability were not central in this study. Instead to ensure research rigour, measures were taken to ensure credibility and trustworthiness of data and research findings. While credibility 'relates to whether the results reflect the experiences of participants in a believable way' (de Jong, 2014, p. 110), trustworthiness 'relates to how respondents' answers actually reflect their own experiences, and how to prevent the researcher's own assumptions from playing a role when interpreting the responses' (Silverman, 2013, p. 8). Thus, to ensure credibility and trustworthiness some measures were taken. The first was the use of multiple data sources. This allowed 'data collection in which evidence was deliberately sought from a wide range of different sources and often different means' (Mays and Pope, 1995, p. 110). The second was the use of various methods and tools of data collection which together with the former facilitated the triangulation of data so as to ensure that rigour of research was maintained.

4. 9. Ethical dimensions of the study

Listening to children, researching children, and giving voice to children, have become catch phrases which have continued to colour research orientation in the social studies of children. They represent some important signals towards paradigm shift in childhood research mostly within the sociology of childhood—new social studies of children and childhoods also as the most advocated orientations to capturing children perspectives in research. Thus, according to Spyrou (2011, p. 152), this interdisciplinary field of childhood studies has built its raison d'être around the notion of children's voices.

Emanating from this trend has been the emphasis on taking serious ethical considerations in research, one being the quest for insuring informed consent and dissent in studies involving children as participants. Nevertheless, as most of us all know the ethical dilemmas around

informed consent and dissent in child research are the most complex aspects in social science. One of the reasons for this complexity is that, the outcome of the conscious acts of consent and dissent results in the child making a broader decision about the context of the research, rather than necessarily the research itself (Bourke and Loveridge 2014, p. 157). However, whilst many ethical issues are salient in doing research with participants of any age, some issues present themselves differently, and more sharply when the participants are children (O'Kane 2008, p. 126). The importance of negotiating informed consent with children themselves, rather than obtaining proxy consent from adult gatekeepers, is increasingly recognized by social researchers (Gallagher 2009, p. 15). Nonetheless, the extent to which such practice should be adhered to is debatable. The debate ranges from those who are for only parents', guardians' or institutional consent on behalf of the children to those who are for children's own consent as a primary step prior to that of gatekeepers. As a result, there has been no one-size-fits-all approach to ethical strategy in various child studies, making the whole process of ensuring research ethical standards complex and at times paradoxical.

These discourses have revolutionised the research methodology and have led to considering children as social actors who are experts in their own life leading to the need for more avenues of participation and in more child-friendly methods (Fargas-Malet *et al.* 2010). However, although there is 'a growing body of research [that] has discussed children and young people's participation in research and the ethical and methodological challenges arising in this process, informed consent procedures in particular have become a generally accepted premise for ethical conduct in this kind of research, although their practicalities have been increasingly criticised and problematized by researchers in the field' (Kustatscher 2014, p. 687). Gallagher (2009) describes four core principles of informed consent: consent involves an explicit act of expressing participants' willingness to take part in research; it is based on participants' understanding of what they are consenting to; it is given voluntarily and without coercion; and it must be renegotiable throughout the research process.

In spite of this development, scholars have continuously admitted the difficulty to have actual children freely and voluntarily provide informed consent, and that in most cases the power of

gatekeepers has been evident (Corsaro and Molinary, 2008). Commitment to conducting research with children, rather than on them, about them, or without them, necessitates consideration of many theoretical, methodological and ethical issues (O'Kane 2008, p. 126). One of the issues is finding informed consent. However, while there has not been a heated debate on the imperative of adults' consent, whether children should or should not consent has been a subject of controversy among scholars. For example, Field & Behrman (2004, p. 2) argue that 'unlike most adults, children usually lack the legal right and the intellectual and emotional maturity to consent to research participation on their own behalf'; while Ennew *et al*. (2009 p. 2.20) argue that 'the consent of an adult alone is not sufficient. [To them] Researchers must ask children themselves and not rely on parent or teacher to say that consent has been or will be granted'. Amidst such dilemmas universities and research institutions are adopting different strategies to ensure that participants rights are protected, respected and ethical principles adhered. But what is informed consent?

Consent and informed consent are difficult concepts to pin-down. They may entail informing the research participants about the overall purpose of the investigation and the main features of the design also as of any possible risks and benefits from participating in the research project (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p. 70), i.e. 'we may carry out our research, ask our questions, organize focus groups, participate in community projects and so on, only after we have explained to the people in the community why we are doing this and what are the intended outcomes, both for ourselves and for them' (Desai and Potter 2006, p. 26).

However, when discussing such terms, it is advised also to consider dissent as the other face of the same coin. In that regard, researchers should be aware that if children have rights to consent they also have right to dissent. For example, Bourke and Loveridge (2014) make a distinction between two related concepts: (i) informed consent, as the capacity and opportunity to "say or express yes" to participation in research; and (ii) informed dissent, as the capacity and opportunity to "say or express no". While they complement one another, they are not gained in the same way. Informed consent is often "obtained" or "gained" from the participant by the

researcher, while informed dissent is "voiced" at any stage of the research process (prior to, and during) (ibid).

Looked at from this angle, one may think informed consent and dissent are something easy to gain. For example, Abebe (2009) states that, obtaining informed consent from children is a tricky and challenging task. Similarly, Gallagher *et al.* (2010) note that 'Obtaining informed consent for research with children, and in particular children in schools and educational settings, presents particular challenges for researchers and accentuates some of the problems that are inherent in the concept of voluntary informed consent' (cited in Bourke and Loveridge 2014, p. 154). However, as Ennew *et al.* (2009, p. 2.20) cements, informed consent must not be hurried: children and adults should be informed and asked as individuals, and given time to reflect and make their own decisions before consenting or dissenting.

Cautious of such pitfalls, my approach to the ethics of research considered ethics in researching with an intergenerational group where research ethics is considered as an inter-section of values (researcher, gatekeepers and participants); hence involving trade-offs, consensus and time compromises. Having been cleared by NSD and my institution (see Appendices 9 and 10), I also complied with all other local ethical requirements.

With participants in Dar es Salaam securing consent was not as tricky as those in Kigoma because participants were adult and most were aware of the research dynamics. After applying for a research permit and once this was granted, what followed was gaining participant consent which was confirmed by signing consent forms. For fieldwork in Kigoma, a letter requesting permission to undertake research in Kigoma was submitted, first to the Region Administrative Secretary (RAS) using the seal of my employer in Tanzania, the Dar as Salaam University College of Education (Appendix 15). Once access was granted, I applied for research field access to the District Executive Director (DED). From the DED, a letter introducing me to the Ward Executive Office (WEO) and Heads schools were written (Appendix 16). With these letters, I was left with one aspect: seeking consent from the respondents to whom, once introduced, I explained the study and subsequently gave the consent form individually to each participant.

For both children and teachers, consent was concluded by signing consent forms. However, to insure participants' freedom, I also made it clear each time before interview session or administration of questionnaires or recall forms that each participant was free to leave the study without expressing reasons for exit. They were requested to just inform that they have left or they are living. Participants leaving the study marked the end of using their responses even if they participated for quite some time. For guardians and parents, once child participants had consented, I requested them to talk to their parents for the possibility of participating in my study. To each parent willing, I wrote a letter requesting their readiness to come for interview. For each who showed up for interviews, prior to conducting interview, I explained the goals and aims of my study and once they understood it I requested them to sign the consent form and their readiness for me to tape record the interviews. In all the interviews, precaution was taken to avoid creating social stress seeking consent.

Ensuring anonymity is another ethical requirement. To ensure this, no access will be granted to raw data to any person other than the researcher and all the transcribed data are stored in a personal computer with a password. These data will be destroyed once the studies are over (by August 2018). By this time all data relating to the fieldwork other than those reported will be destroyed.The last aspect was the issue of reciprocity. Buhigwe people are generous people and hence those who offered their time for this study did not demand any payment. However, knowing the worth of their time they spent with me, I thought of compensating them. As a gesture of thanks giving, I arranged for a day to thank them together with teachers who facilitated. With this I also offered five pens and seven exercise books to each child who participated. To teachers I offered copies of primary syllabus, while to the parents I offered to buy them a pair of uniforms for their children.

4. 10. Chapter summary

This chapter has presented how the research unfolded. Among other things, it discussed the description of the study design and issues related to the methods and research processes. It has also presented the description of some aspects of study's data credibility and trustworthiness, data collection and analysis limitation and ethical considerations of the study.

5. Children's motivation to combine of work and school

5. 1. Introduction

This chapter (chapter five) and the one that follows (chapter six) present, analyse and discuss empirical material of the study. Specifically, I present, analyse data and discuss study findings on motives behind children's combination of work and school and the phenomenon of combining work and school as perceived and viewed by various stakeholders (i.e. government officials; children who combine work; teachers and parents/guardians). The first section concentrates on the question whether "should children work?" In the course of analysis, the focus is on three aspects: the legal provisions of children's right to light work; whether banning children from work is a solution and if it is possible for Tanzanian children not to work at all and children's motivation to combine work and school. In the second section I concentrate on children's motivation to work or combine work and schooling. The third section discusses the chapter's study findings and finally presents a chapter summary.

5. 2. Data presentation and analysis

In the course of presentation and analysis, data will be grouped into categories reflecting the particular research question or the most dominant theme recurring from the data. However, for the sake of ethical principles and participants' security, pseudonyms are used instead of the participants' actual names.

5. 2. 1. Should children work?

Whether children should or should not work was one of the common themes reflected in most of the respondents' narratives. It was like a dividing line which defined all other aspects of children's lives. It was inquired in all tools used in this study and especially the interview sessions and administered questionnaire. Most of those who did not support children working seemed to focus on the possibility of work competing with school, while those in support saw some kinds of complementarities. Also, it was an issue that I wanted to learn about from teachers who teach children, especially those combining work and school. The investigation revolved around three important aspects: (a) views on the legal provision for right to light work; (b) the

support for the government move to ban children from work and (c) whether it is possible for Tanzanian children not to work at all.

I begin with the views of government officials in the ministry responsible for children's affairs in Tanzania. In responding to my inquiry whether children should work, the officer said:

> When you say work, what kind of work do you entail? Because you can go to school and still be working because even in that school itself there are works to be done. They can be watering gardens, cleaning classrooms, cleaning school surroundings; even these too entail working…. I am not exactly sure, and you did not mention; when you say work, what kind of work do you really mean? Because we have two categories of work; "normal work" and there is "forced labour" which goes hand in hand with exploitation, meaning low wages and heavy work some of which can endanger the health and socio-physiological wellbeing of the child. But to say children should work we do not want to suggest that when a child goes to school, they shouldn't sweep, that I don't think it will be an important issue to go with because, remember that such work is also a subject/course, it prepares a child as it is a subject in child development. (Mangi, August 22, 2016)

Mangi's account gives an impression that the problem is the exploitation of working children but not the work itself, while from a different angle it seems as if he is also advocating the categorisation of work. He looks like he is not aware that even the so-called normal works can also be exploitative, even more than what is labelled forced labour. This happens notwithstanding the fact that defining and categorising a particular work without considering the material condition of particular children has often rendered most of the approaches dysfunctional. In this way, he seems to be suggesting that children have to work in particular contexts. However, the very work that he considers normal can also compete with children's school time on one hand, and affect the children's physical and psychological wellbeing. For example, it is rare to find children willing to sweep the classroom. In most cases, they do it because they are forced to because they fear being punished. Thus, I argue that this very view of normality of work, such as sweeping at school, becomes abnormal when the sweeping is done

for pay. In other words, it is normal to water school gardens, but it is abnormal to work on a farm for pay. What seems to be at the core of this categorisation is linked to the challenges schools face. It is not common to have workers do clearing at school in most schools in Tanzania and thus children cleaning their own classroom become simply an official way to benefit from child work. One can conclude that the same work gets different interpretations depending on where it is done: when done at school or at home it becomes normal work but when it is done for someone else it may be re-named as forced labour and child labour.

This however is not the only view of the government officials, but just one way of looking at things. In responding to the same question, another officer responded saying:

> ... in Tanzania we do not allow such things that a child be employed somewhere and be paid and attending school. Know that, such a person won't be a child she/he any more. He/she will be an adult, ok? (Makuzi, August 22, 2016)

Makuzi's response is a typical representation of the middle-class views on child work. It sounds as if he is not aware of the laws and regulations which provide for right to work provided the work does not interfere with schooling. Also, he seems not to be conversant with the Employment and Labour Relation Act, of 2004, and ILO Convention No. 138, which recognise 14 years to be the minimum age for employment entry. Also in a country like Tanzania in which not all who complete primary school get access to secondary education, this is like suggesting that they have to wait for three or four years to begin work. Makuzi also holds the view that attaches work to adulthood and denies it to children. This view of associating work with adulthood is unbecoming in an era calling for entrepreneurship and self-employment. The key question is when should a child learn the skills, when young, or should they wait until 18?

Such were the views reflecting whether children should work. But one would wonder the parameter used in classifying work as "normal" on the one hand and "forced" on the other hand. This is so since the impact of the work is not only because of the categories but rather the extent it exerts pressure for a child's time. Thus, even what is called normal work can also be detrimental. Imagine a child whose assignment is to do the household chores. This then leaves

the question "should children work?" and requires national and international debate taking into consideration the holistic and material realities of various children who are central to this debate. Such explanations are insufficient, and so I thought of asking teachers, especially those who teach classes with children who combine work and school. Their views were rich and diverse. In the following section I will present some of the views under three sub-themes.

5. 2. 1. 1. Tanzanian laws provides for children's right to light work

To capture the view "whether children should work or not?" one has to consider the law of the country over the children's right to light work. From legal provision, Article 77 of the Law of the Child Act, 2009 and Regulation 4 of the Law of the Child (Employment) Regulations, 2012 explicitly provide for the basic grounding that children should not be excluded from work. However, in spite of such provision, stakeholders seem not to be well versed with such provision. For example, teachers who responded to my question probing their views on the Tanzanian law providing for children's right to light work, they were of the views that:

> Children should continue with light works for they won't cause any harm to them since they also teach them that work is the measure of life. Since they cannot just stay adamant without working, for if things will be like that, the government will not be doing justice to them. (Nusru, September 15, 2016).

This participant subscribes to the common and majority world view over children's involvement in work. He seems not to support a dichotomy between children and work or childhood and working. He appears to be informed of the law that provides for children's rights to light work. He is aware also of the benefit working brings to the child and his or her family and is sceptical of the government's ability to fulfil and provide for its citizens. In this way, he calls for realising what Hanson and Nieuwenhuys (eds.) (2013) call children's "living rights".

Ngosha another teacher was in support of Nusru's view. To him this seems to be an excellent piece of legislation which should be promoted and acted upon. He expressed his views as follows:

> This law is good and excellent and we should uphold it. To assign light work to a child is to prepare a child for the world of work when he/she grows up and will be ready to depend on him or herself and be of great help to others. (Ngosha, September 15, 2016)

In addition to Nusru's views, Ngosha seem to be fond of developing self-reliance skills that will immediately reduce the child's involvement in the social welfare system, thus helping others. His account supports the view that 'children should also be protected from harmful schooling, which may interfere with other important educative activities, such as work' (Bourdillon 2016, p. 16). In a way, this law can act as an instrument for protecting children from harmful schooling which may prepare them by building castles in the air by opening the possibility for being aware and preparing for what ought to be done.

However, another teacher in responding to my question over her views on the law providing for children right to light work says:

> Laws are there and are known, but I am not sure on how the law states over children doing light work. What I know is that there are children's rights and responsibilities, but if the law is there; children shouldn't work during school hours. My opinion is that, if that law is there it should be implemented for children to enjoy their basic rights. (Leah, September 15, 2016)

Leah's account suggests an understanding of the provision of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Children (ACRWC), 1990 which accords both rights and responsibilities to children. In this way, she calls for separating work from schooling but not by limiting children to work but by making sure that children's time for schooling is not interfered by schooling. She then calls for implementation of the law. In that regard, it suggests that the law is yet to be in force although it is more than 5 years since the adoption of both the act and the regulations. Like most of the other accounts, she seems to argue that there is a discrepancy between what is provided in the laws and what is happening regarding children's right to light work. On her side, however, Nione added that;

> This law has no importance, what I think is the law should be amended to allow the child to do any work that he/she finds important to him/her even if is classified as child labour. (Nione, September 15, 2016)

Closer to Leah's views, Nione sees this law having no significant impact. She would wish a new law to be in place. This new law should not only allow for light work but children to have right to any work. In this way, she moves a step further to call for the law that will allow children to engage in what is available to earn a living. This is a sound view as all children will not always have access to what is classified as light work. They may have access to what is called hazardous work such as farm work, quarrying, etc. In Nione's view, there is a need to go beyond the limits of the classification.

Nasra dismisses the importance of this law but with a very contending view. She provides a critique over the law failure in addressing children's problems. In her response for example, Nasra was of the view that:

> The law is there, but in my view, I see it as having no importance since that law have failed to help the children in addressing what compels them to engage in child work. The law should be enforced if it is to yield the results. (Nasra, September 15, 2016)

In this way and without making it explicit, Nasra not only challenges the law but she also posits her position of disassociating work from children. What she thinks is most important is to address what compels children to opt for combining work and school. While her position is very important, it is true also that the Tanzanian government is yet to have such capacity to address what compels children to combine work and school. While it may reduce the gravity of the problems, it cannot be a panacea to all problems. For instance, although Tanzania has abolished fees from pre-primary to lower secondary schools (form four), children are still pressed by incurring indirect school costs which listed most among the reasons children gave to why they have opted to combine work and schooling.

Going through these narratives, one finds that teachers' views too varied. There are those who see it as a good law but needing some amendments to give more discretion for children to choose from variety of work available to those who would wish it to be repealed and to be replaced by more welfare laws that protect children from work. However, others showed not to be aware of this law and what they were aware of was that children should not work. Interesting, however, is the fact that almost all of them seem to recognise that children have to be involved in some form of work either as responsibility or as life skill preparation.

5. 2. 1. 2. Banning children from work is not a solution

Another aspect of concern in investigating whether children should work, the study also sought views among stakeholders on the move and steps by the government to ban children from work. The interest was to know whether stakeholders support it or not and why. Here too views were sought from teachers who had different opinions over the matter. Responding to my questions in one instance Nione commented that:

> I don't support these initiatives since it is by involving in light work which is legally supported, a child can learn a lot, for example, to be self-reliant, but they shouldn't do hazardous work such as quarrying and mining. (Lubhetero, September 14, 2016)

His account subscribes to the pro-global South's perceptions on child rights and rights to work. He connects his account to one of the former powerful movements and attempts to mainstream work as part of formal schooling. He sees banning children from work as to deny them from developing skills that will make them self-reliant. While he supports children's work, he is also aware that there are types of work which may be hazardous to children also. However, he does not explain what makes, for example, quarrying hazardous, or what makes fetching water, watering school gardens or sweeping the class non-hazardous. Thus, she stands in between those who are pro-child work and those calling for children's protection against what might be dangerous to their wellbeing.

His views are almost supported by Sherehe and Nione. Taking a material stance and considering children's work as important to family economies, Sherehe asserts that:

> I do not support [the ban] since there is no alternative initiatives to improve the economic wellbeing of children's lives. Children are always compelled to work because of lives hardships in the streets and families. (Sherehe, September 14, 2016)

Sherehe brings in the whole essence of the economies of complementarities. He nails down the fact that child work is part and parcel of family labour and that children have to contribute to families. In this way, he contends that banning children from work will not affect children only but their families too. In spite of such an account, we ought to be aware that banning children from work who combine work and school will affect all in the same way. This is so because not all working children are made to work as a matter of necessity but some do join work just to earn extra for some sort of luxuries.

Nione goes further calling for wide societal participation before taking any step towards banning of children from work. He states:

> I don't support all initiatives aiming at banning children from work for they are not open to all people concerned. That is to say, they only involve some institutions while important stakeholders are not invited such as parents and teachers who in my view are key stakeholders in implementation of such a ban. (Nione, September 15, 2016)

This account suggests issues central to policy making. One of the major bottlenecks for policy implementation and problem solving has been lack of citizen participation. In this way Nione suggests the need for wide societal engagement if the law is to succeed. Since the drafting of this law banning children's involvement in work was done without wider society's consultation, the very intention of it was to be hard to attain. In this regard, his opposition to the law seems to be grounded in the fact that the law is not community and context relevant and most probably that is why people do not take it seriously.

Closer to Nione's position are Nusru and Ngosha. On the one hand, Nusru contends banning children from work, given the religious context of work and how failure to work leads to adoption of bad and dependency behaviours. Nusru for instance argues:

> I do not support [it] because; God has instructed that by sweat you shall eat. So, if a child is raised in an anti-working environment, the government will have already created bad people for the future like robbers, prostitutes and the like. So, if anyone wants to earn respect one has to work, provided it is legal work. (Nusru, September 15, 2016).

Ngosha on other hand considers work as "life" itself. To him work cannot be separated from life and in that regard working becomes natural activity:

> I do not support, as you won't be able to prepare a better generation which society may depend on later if we do not give them work as a proper inheritance. For work is life! (Ngosha, September 15, 2016)

The two accounts though with varying degrees of focus, oppose the ban with two major reasons, namely work is a command from God and that work is an inevitable to human lives. Put in the context of future preparation of the children in this very competitive labour environment and work being a basis for earning a living and God's law, they do not find any hope in the ban but rather problems. They however differ in some aspects. Nusru's account seems to suggest that child work should not be banned since if there is no work children are likely to join robbery or prostitution activities which are more detrimental than the work itself. On his view Ngosha's seem to be emphasizing the impossibilities of setting a dichotomy between human lives and work by suggesting it to be part and parcel because of our daily lives. In this way children work not because they are poor, but rather because work is life itself.

Taking different view, Mwami and Nasra support banning children from work. To them work prompts children to enter other unthought-of activities. In responding to my question on what is his view about the government move to ban children's work Mwami responded:

> Yes, I do since child work leads children to involve in commercial sex, theft as also forms of work to raise income. (Mwami, September 15, 2016)

Like Mwami, Nasra also responded as follows:

> Yes, I support because when children work they also find themselves involved in drinking, sexuality and theft or robbing. They do all these to raise income for their basic needs. (Nasra, September 15, 2016).

These two participants see no good in children's involvement in work. What they see is that as children involve in work they eventually venture into other engagements which are detrimental to their future such as commercial sex, drinking, theft and robbery. While such views are recommendable, the link between work and other involvements is not clear. Further to that, children entering into commercial sex, drinking and theft are not restricted to children who work but rather are more likely to come from affluent families. However, it is a good observation as most children, especially girls, involved in domestic labour are at risk of being compelled into sex from their boss's male partner or male children. Furthermore, they however fail to provide solutions to what compels them to enter into labour or combine work and school.

Reading through these quotes one finds also that there is still no consensus on whether the government should ban children from work or not. There are those who take a moderate approach, and other kinds of radical views. It is interesting however to find that all those who support and those who oppose the government move to ban children from working still mention things like prostitution, theft, robbery as the outcome of children's involvement or non-involvement into children work. This sets the whole thing in dilemma of the proper way forward between allowing or restricting children from work since this can result in serious problems in children's future if not well regulated.

5. 2. 1. 3. Is it possible for children in Tanzania not to work at all?

Understanding whether it is possible for children not to work was another key issue for gaining a comprehensive understanding of whether children should work, and in investigating the

interfaces between children's work and schooling. To those who support the view that children should work this question attracted a "no" response, while for those who are against children's engagement in work had varying views depending on how one understood the phenomenon 'child work'. In responding to whether it is possible for children in Tanzania not to work, Ngosha was of the view that:

> It is not possible because what compels children to work cannot be avoided such as orphanhood, lack of parents or guardians and at time aging of parents to be able to work. (Ngosha, September 15, 2016)

In Ngosha's view, for children not to work there should be a strong social safety net to absolve and take over parents' or guardians' responsibilities of providing for children in cases of parents' deaths and aging. To him, if such arrangements will not be put in place, there is no possibility for children not to work. While this stands out, in his account he forgets that there are circumstances in which children work not because they are orphans or their parents or guardians are dead or aging but because of other forces such as poverty and children's personal agency to earn what is associated with work such as dignity and recognition. Similarly, Lubhetero supported Ngosha's view. To him,

> It is not possible since many African families are very poor, so children work to contribute for the family economy. (Lubhetero, September 15, 2016)

From these narratives, it may be argued that, they seem to suggest that the view that it is not possible for children not to work at all. Probably this is because setting a dichotomy between work and other childlike play is not easy. In some contexts, children begin work as play and finally find themselves actually working while in most rural areas children work sometimes as the result of imitating their parents. Things are more complex in villages where the majority of the families' households are poor and because of lack of social facilities it becomes hard to avoid work such as fetching water and working on a family farm. Above all, family economy and the need to meet the indirect school costs stand out as push-factors while the promises of formal

schooling (to be addressed in the next sub-section) act as a pull factor that make children continue with school instead of opting for dropping out.

5. 2. 2. Children's motivation to combine work and school

Focusing on children school dropout as a result of involvement in work has been the focus of many studies (Kalinga 2013; Kiobya 2013; Sabates *et al.* 2010; Hunt 2008 and Bruneforth 2006), but little is known about children who combine work and school. Unlike the children who have decided to drop out from school, those who combine work and schooling seem to have realized the potentials of formal education (schooling) but at the same time might find themselves forced to work to realize this social good (Masabo 2016a). Although children's experience of combining of work and schooling is no longer the topic of heated debates, understanding what motivates them to combine work and school in Buhigwe district entails a subject of interest to be investigated. Partly this is because little is known on what motivates children to do so. Respondents answering the questions examining children's motivation to combine work and school had some commonalities also as differences. The differences ranged from those who consider poverty as the only factor for children's engagement in work to those who go beyond poverty and considering formal schooling itself as a factor. From their accounts three factors for children's combination of school could be delineated, namely: the promises of formal schooling, poverty, children orphanhood status and indirect school costs. These listed most frequently as the main reasons forcing children to work.

5. 2. 2. 1. Promises of formal schooling and indirect school costs and children's work

The promises of formal schooling have attracted some studies such those focusing on human capital development (Rammohan 2014, Akabayashi and Psacharopoulos 1999). However, contemporary trends of children combining work and schooling appear to be challenging the dominant view suggesting work and schooling as incompatible. This has been the result of realizing that while formal education is imperative for future life preparations, affording indirect school costs associated with formal schooling need to be addressed. As such, in context of families' weak economies and poverty, to meet these costs children are compelled to look for alternative and pragmatic sources of funding, one of which is to combine work and school.

Particularly, interviews with children combining work and schooling made it evident that they are among the major motivating factors for children to work. For instance, this is how some of the children perceived the reasons for their engagement into work: -

> I work so as to raise money to buy school uniforms, shoes, stationeries and to pay for household needs. (Mwuzukuru, September 16, 2016)

But another child combining work and school mentioned meeting indirect school cost as the reasons for her involvement into work:-

> I work so as to buy school uniforms, shoes and other school utilities. (Nyota, September 14, 2016)

Mwuzukuru and Nyota's accounts make it evident that the need to finance indirect school cost and meeting personal needs are the major forces behind their decision to enter into the world of work. In respect to this view then, it is also evident that children have realized the worth of formal schooling and work in financing it. Based on these accounts, it is true also that inability of parents to provide for children as put forth strikes the trigger for children decision to look for alternative sources of funding to pay for formal schooling. But one wonders what motivates children to continue with schooling to the extent of working to pay for school amenities? The answer seems simple, and goes beyond family poverty to the recognition of what formal education can give them in future.

Such children's accounts vindicate the imperative of formal schooling but also indicate the force behind children motivation to work. Going through such description, one divulges why even when government offers free primary education without putting in place means to pay for school indirect costs it will not remove children from work and will not help children to develop the sense of work. Also, such accounts reveal that children are also not interested in giving -up school but are rather prepared to do whatever can be done to supplement or pay for costs of schooling that are not paid by the government and parents or guardians.

5. 2. 2. 2. Family poverty and children's combination of work and school

Family poverty as a motivation factor for children's decision to combine work and school was more pronounced among teachers' accounts than children's accounts. Also, it was also articulated by the respondents from the government who also judged poverty as the major driving force for children's decision to combine work and school. Most teachers related the involvement of children in work as a connotation of family poverty. What was unique was that most of the children did recognize the imperative of formal schooling and never hesitated to devise means to realize them. For example, one of the teachers was of the view that:

> Still there are children who combine work and schooling although there is an emphasis from the government, national and international organizations to stop children from work. This is because of poor economies of some families and there are some parents who do not care for their families. And this is also caused by laxity in upbringing their families. (Nusru, September 15, 2016).

To Nusru, family economic conditions, especially poverty and lack of family care, force children to enter into work. In this regard work becomes a pragmatic option to sustain a life. Because of these no matter how the international and national governments attempt to end child work, there will be no success. In this way, he seems to be suggesting that there is a need for ending family poverty if we want to end child work and combination of work and schooling. However, one may ask is it true that all children who are involved in work are from poor families? This is hard to guarantee as not all who engage in work are from a poor family. But borrowing Smith and Phillip's (2016) concepts of "necessity and curiosity" we can argue that, in Tanzania and particularly in some Buhigwe families, there are children who join work as a matter of necessity (to raise money for paying for school) while other join it as a matter of curiosity (raise money for buying some luxury goods such as toys). Other teachers' accounts were also similar to this account. Some of these who linked family poverty to children's engagement included Leah, Nasra and Nione. Nione for instance was of the view that:

> It is caused low income and poverty of Tanzanians because there are still many families especially in the villages there is abject poverty. Because of this some of parents use their children to raise income. (Nione, September 15, 2016)

Nione adds a new aspect of involvement of children in work as a source of income. This is a remarkable observation. It is here we can ask, what is the deference between involving children in family work and involving them in raising income? While both contribute to the family economy the latter seem to be bad not because of its implication but because of its intention. Apart from this particular observation of using children a source of income, Nione's account, like previous accounts and those not reported, makes it evident that poverty and low income list most among the major motivating factors forcing or compelling children to work as a way of meeting some life-related needs. Parents' or guardians' poverty and most families' low income prompt children to combine work and school. And since they have also realized the potentials for formal schooling, they have constantly been working hard to take both on board: work and school.

Linking family poverty to children's combination of work and school was also pronounced by the government officials, parents and guardians who offered themselves for the study. It was evident and explicit that the major force behind children combining work and school was poverty. For example, when I inquired "what do you think could be the reasons for children to combine work and going to school?" Makuzi responded:

> Poverty! Poverty! But also just others cannot get people to care for them. Also for others it is because of the orientation they have about work, which make them sometimes to be, to be, influenced by their friends, you see, aah, when you do that you get money, there is no problem once you do that you will get money. So, it is sometimes because of ignorance people have, ok? About working and especially those who are in villages, they can be cheated that if you go to town, when you do little work you get a lot of money but when they come here they find themselves being bulldozed but also because of poverty. But otherwise if the family is okay, I do not think they can let their children go to work and be paid very minimum wages…. (Makuzi, August 22, 2016)

Makuzi's account mentions two other important things in addition to poverty. One is peer pressure and the second is ignorance. Some children get into working not necessarily because of family poverty but due to peer pressure which is associated with a number of things such as having one's own money and being able to buy what one needs. Because of these and the appealing nature of such accounts, children get motivated to begin work while at school. On the other hand is ignorance. Because of ignorance, children are often cheated that if one migrates to towns there are opportunities to make money and earn a good living. Since they do not know, many are likely to be alluded. To both are caused by the family's poor condition. This association however of poverty and engagement in work, especially peer pressure, is not always obvious. In some cases, children may begin to work not because their families are poor but sometimes may work in order to gain independence and dignity associated with working.

Parents also considered poverty as the reason that makes them allow their children to work. When asked 'why do they allow their child/children to work while still at school' they also hinted poverty as one of the push factors for children to begin working while at school. One of the parents, for example, explained it as follows:

> Poverty! Poverty is the main reason that force children involve themselves in work. Because of this, even his school progress is not good. I think poverty is making him underperform. And this is because my life situation is challenging. (Ndiwabu, September 16, 2016)

In Ndiwabu's view, poverty is the main driving force. Because of this and since her child has to work to raise money for school, it impacts her academic progress. She seems to suggest that work competes with study time. This thinking however does not tell us about those children who spent time on television, video games, etc. To really explain children's performance as being affected by children's involvement in work we ought to make a comparative study between those children and account how much it affects, since it is not only work that competes for children's time. However, Ndiwabu's view was also shared by many other parents.

Slightly different was Nabii's account. To him there were several reasons to why he allowed his granddaughter to work. This is how he puts it:

> It is because, I… I am first an elderly. I can do this and that; you know I can use it myself from my own petty business which give me money. So, if we divide it between me and the child, it becomes a problem. That is why we are orienting her to do business, eeh, do business as she may be unlucky in the examinations as such she should not focus on one aspect only…She should learn this as a way of preparing herself for the future. Also, we really want her to study and if we had everything we would wish her to be a full time but that isn't the case and we haven't communicated with her parents for the last three years. (Nabii, September 16, 2016)

To him, apart from poverty emanating to his inability to work and raise enough because of his age, he allowed his granddaughter to begin work as a form of apprenticeship. This was meant to prepare her with a plan B in case she fails to perform well in her studies. Given the increase in the rate of unemployment, early orientation to work can also prepare a child for self-employment and developing entrepreneurship skills. Work here is given a different status, as a form of learning and future life preparation. In this way work is seen as a way of learning that imparts life skills that are rarely gained in formal classrooms.

Although the first and second parent's/guardian's testimonies seem to be on different strands, the question of poverty is central to both. Nevertheless, the second account adds something new; parents' scepticism on the very future of formal schooling by providing a challenging critique to viewing formal schooling as the only proper future preparation. In this way, it adds an aspect of children preparations for entrance into the world work as another phenomenon motivating early involvement and work.

5. 2. 2. 3. Children's orphanhood status and children's combination of work and school

A good number of the children combining work and school in the study were those living with guardians or grandparents. The majority of these guardians were unable to undertake farm work and support effectively the school needs and other needs of their grandchildren. Although some

children had parents or guardians, some were experiencing a life of an orphan. Some faced it after parents left their homes to seek opportunities elsewhere. As a result, children were either left either alone, with single parent or with guardians who are in most cases unable to provide for the family needs and thus compelling children to work. One of the participants was of the view that:

> There are other children who have assumed parental responsibilities after losing their parents because of various diseases. In such circumstances, they find themselves compelled to work to meet both their needs and those of their siblings. And at times when they live with their grandparents you will find that they have to work in order to support themselves and the household needs. (Lubhetero, September 14, 2016).

Lubhetero's account captures the concept of "child-headed" households (Dijk 2011). The concept has been dominant in explaining the impact of HIV/AIDS on children. To him those children who find themselves compelled to head families have no chance of avoiding work and combining work and school if they want to proceed with school. As in some cases they are forced to care for themselves, their siblings and their sick or ageing parents. Given the change in perception of families, unlike years ago when children were easily inherited by relatives, today such practice is fading away and thus leading to increasing numbers of actual orphans who have to depend on themselves. Due to the promises of formal schooling and given they have no one to support them, such children have to work and go to school as the only feasible alternative to earn a living and future life preparation.

In addition to this, during the study, it was revealed that due to population expansion, many families are constrained to places to cultivate, a factor that has been causing many parents to flee from Buhingwe to other parts in search of virgin and fertile lands which could yield good harvest to support family needs. Those unable were renting some farms in places near Buhigwe especially Mabanda in Burundi. Given the declining volume of rains per year and land scarcity have compelled some parents to migrate the area leaving their families with nothing to support those thus prompting children to do some work to address school indirect costs and other family utilities.

5. 2. 2. 4. Stakeholders' views and perspectives on children's combination of work and school

The fact that children combine work and school is perceived differently by different stakeholders but all positions emanate from the way child work and its motives are understood. However, all of the accounts run from two extremes: - from those who do not accept it to those who consider it as a normal part and parcel of childhood. Notwithstanding that some of the official government documents such as the Employment and Labour Relation Act, 2004; the Law of the Child Act, 2009; and the Law of the Child (Child Employment) Regulations, 2012 which provides for procedures to employ children, many stakeholders seem to be of the view that work is not an appropriate part of raising children. Even some children and parents themselves see work as a sign of poverty and improper childhood. In a response to my inquiry wanting to know "how government officials perceived children's combination of work and school and what the government could do when it finds that there are children combining work and school in Tanzania", Makuzi responded as follows:

> The two are separate things. When we talk about a child, ok; we do not expect him or her to work, ok? After all because it is a child, ok? And it is beyond the CRC, eeh? Eeh? Eeh? Aspirations and we as Tanzanians we have ratified and in fact, also, accepted and, and, signed the contract or the treaty, ok? The CRC treaty! Not at all to allow children to work. In any way children cannot be allowed to work, so when you say children to work and go to school, so we do not expect children to work instead of going to school. So most of children in fact are attending school so if there are children not attending the school it is unfortunate, but it is not government's wish at all to see children working both in the streets and in any form of work, ok? (Makuzi, August 22, 2016)

Although there are legal provisions for right to light work to a child above 14 years, provided the work does not interfere with schooling time, Makuzi dismisses this possibility. He stands for the value of the CRC and considers schools as the only places where all children should be and schooling as the only legal children's activity. However, he forgets that even the preamble of the CRC opens up for considering what is appropriate to a particular culture: 'taking due account of the importance of the traditions and cultural values of each people for the protection and harmonious development of the child' (CRC preamble) which is the heartbeat of ACRWC.

However, one wonders that, if it is not the intention of the government to see children working as Makuzi assets, why did the government enact and assent to the legal provisions which provide for rights and the procedures to engage children in work such as the Employment and Labour Relation Act, 2004; the Law of the Child Act, 2009; and the Law of the Child (Child Employment) Regulations, 2012?

In contrast to Makuzi, Mangi seem to be aware about the circumstance of the provision for children to be allowed to work. But he is still not free with the phenomenon as he expresses that

> Even if there is a provision in the law allowing children above 14 years to be employed, it was based on the assumption of those who graduate basic education (primary education). That is why you can see such provision, since by that time basic or primary education was up to standard seven. So with new reforms today, I do believe there will be some revision of some laws and regulations. Because, if you are advocating for eeh basic education to be from pre-primary up to form four, we do not expect that in between those years. (Mangi, August 22, 2016).

Although different from Makuzi, Mangi takes the CRC approach that associates children and childhood with schooling at the same time divorcing work from children and childhood. It is interesting that he is not considering that to be a problem. For instance, in case of joining agriculture, and if one has never engaged in farm work can that be learnt when one is an adult? And what will be the source of livelihood after adulthood age but with no skill to meet the immediate personal basic needs? In that regard, he is also not different from Makuzi views. and he appears not to be aware of the actual provision of the law.

On the other hand, children's views ranged from working as a bad thing to work being the only pragmatic solution for them to continue with school life to those who were categorically against working and schooling. Some of them made it clear that combining work and schooling,

> It is bad, a child is supposed to be at school only. (Nyota, September 15, 2016)

> It is bad; a child doesn't get time for personal reading and revision. (Grace, September 15, 2016)

> It is not proper children cannot do two things; they are supposed to study only. (Ishimwe September 15, 2016).

> That is life, since if I do not work I will not get uniforms and if I do not get uniforms, I will not go to school, something I do not want to miss…. If I do not work I will not get money… (Muzukuru, September 15, 2016).

Based on these views expressed during the FGD, almost all children made it evident that it was not their will to work as children but rather the outcome of family poor economies. Their accounts though varied from those who consider childhood as time for schooling, school as being incongruent with work; they conceived combination of work and school as the only practical means to attain formal schooling opportunities.

Similarly, among teachers differences were evident. For example, there were those who were against the phenomenon of children combining work and school. Nusru for example, was of the view that:

> My opinion is that, since children are working while schooling, the government should enforce punitive measures to parents whose children are schooling and working to finance for their school and their needs and make sure they are followed... (Nusru, September 15, 2016)

> My opinions are that the government in collaboration with other organizations assists these children so that the time they spend on work to be spent on their school activities, this can raise the rate of performance. (Leah, September 15, 2016)

From these accounts, two positions about children who combine work and school are evident. The first calls for punitive measures without articulating the solution about what compels children to work presupposing that once parents are punished, they will then give them money to

buy what is needed for schooling. The second calls for a welfare system in which children would be assisted to provide the cost of schooling. While the latter seems appealing, the question of sustainability of the approach given the population expansion and increase in cost of schooling leaves the approach at the cross-roads. Inkulu in a way provides a more practical view of children who combine work and school. He argues;

> *I see it as ok if it will not compete with their classroom time, since it is the returns from such petty work that finances their personal and family needs. (*Inkulu, September 15, 2016)

Inkulu gives an impression that we ought to consider not only the laws and views of other childhoods but rather contextualise particular groups of children in the specific environment. In this way, he is pro-child work and he sees no problem with the combination of work and school since they reinforce and complement each other. More particularly, he focuses on the role of work in the realisation of formal schooling.

From the above quotes it is evident that stakeholders' views vary between those who consider children's combination of work and school as something to be encouraged and discouraged. Some feel child work needs to be considered while planning for school time and others see it as something bad that should be avoided at all cost. It seems many view childhood as a time of schooling and which should be divorced from working. However, it is evident that work is considered as one of the major alternatives to making them attend school as they do not just work for fun but rather because they need to meet some needs without which they cannot attend school. The government positions, as expressed by the officials, seem to be anti-combination of work and schooling. However, another position was expressed during the guardian interview which expressed that, without food feeding programs it will not possible to prohibit children from involving themselves in work. He was of the view that some children work in order to raise funds to buy something during the break time. So even to those families that are not ready to compel children to work, provided they do not serve them with something to buy something at school children will always find work to raise their own pocket money.

5. 3. Discussion of findings

Based on the literature synthesis and data presented and analysed in this chapter, I argue that, the need to accrue the promises of formal schooling and lack of parental or guardian support to finance the indirect school costs are the major motives or driving forces for children to combine work and schooling. This is revealed by the accounts of various stakeholders who associate involvement in work with poverty and especially lack of economic resources to buy school uniforms, shoes, exercise books, pens and pocket money for buying food while at school. In that regard, the data challenge the conventional wisdom which tends to assume that: 'school is the best way to secure a future for all children and that work generally hinders schooling and is therefore to be avoided during childhood' (Bourdillon 2016, p. 2). To the contrary, and as was revealed by study participants, especially child participants, work facilitates children to go to school to the extent that without it the majority of the children who combine work and school to raise funds for indirect school costs would be out of schools. Also, the thinking that schooling is a solution or means to facilitate children's exit from work seems to have no root in this case since in conditions of abject poverty, school needs have tended to be the main driving force for children to engage into work. In that respect, these findings nullify the proposition that if school is made free, and all children are at school, the problem of child work will be addressed. Although there have been campaigns to expand schools and increase accessibility and thus discourage children's involvement in work; this has not been the case in Buhigwe. The typical Buhigwe situation reflects Nieuwenhuys's (1994) argument that 'the expansion of schooling has not reduced children's work but has simply added to their duties and responsibilities' (as cited by Abebe 2009, p. 17). In that regard, this study finding reinforce the fact that in Buhigwe like in most 'African societies children work from an early age as it has been well documented by many observers' (Hollos 2002, p. 174). Also, the situation among primary school pupils in Buhigwe depicts what Bourdillon (2016, p. 1) have recently remarked that 'work has immediate economic benefits for children and their families, which are especially important in situations of poverty and which are not always confined to the short term'.

Also, the findings from the data suggest that, while the ghost of the dominant ideology of incompatibility of child work and schooling continues to haunt the Tanzanian government

position and scholarship on children who combine work and school; a significant change has begun to be realized. The Law of the Child Act, 2009; the Law of the Child (Employment) Regulations, 2012 and the recent Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2016) *Tanzania National Child Labour Survey 2014: Analytical Report*; indicate a significant shift from the ill-image of child work as bad thing to a more positive image of child work. For example, Article 77(1 and 2) of the Law of the Child provides the following: 'A child shall have a right to light work. [And] For the purposes of subsection (1), the minimum age for employment or engagement of a child shall be fourteen years. Further to that, Article 77.(3) Subject to subsection '(1), light work" shall constitute work which is not likely to be harmful to the health or development of the child and does not prevent or affect the child's attendance at school, participation in vocational orientation or training programmes or the capacity of the child to benefit from school work. This is notwithstanding the fact that a child has continued to be defined as any person under the age of eighteen years. To regulate the implementation of this provision, Regulation 4 of the Law of the Child (Employment) Regulations, 2012 operationalizes how to implement the law. The spirit of this sub-regulation reflects the spirit of Article 77 of the Law of the Child Act, 2009 suggesting that children of fourteen years are legally allowed to engage in light employment - something that would not be accorded by most of the dominant ideology scholars and most governments' adherent to CRC spirit. Other findings the study established are listed below.

5. 3. 1. Child's law and children's rights to work

The study has found that in Tanzania children's work is not unlawful but rather is regulated. The yardstick of regulation is that any work given to children should not interfere with children's schooling and damage their health. And given the history of the country to have been one of those countries which had once had a formal education policy that mainstreamed work as part of formal curriculum—Education for Self-Reliance, Tanzania is better suited to devise mechanisms to allow children to enjoy their legal rights to light work and employment provided in the Tanzania child's legal regime. Again, based on the various literatures, involving school children in work is not a phenomenon from the majority world only (Hobbs, McKechnie and Simpson 2017; White 2009; McKechnie 2001; Frederiksen 1999). They have documented how school

children work in the UK, US and Denmark and how the governments regulate the children's work but do not abolish it.

Coming back to Tanzania and Buhigwe district in particular, excluding children from work is really a recent phenomenon. Children have been working since time immemorial and parents have been active in making sure that children do not do work that will harm them. For example, a child can go with their parents to farm and while they are at the farm they may be playing with their young ones or having a small hoe that fits their physical development. Thus, prohibiting children from work is none other than the manifestation of domination of false hegemonic minority children view, which itself is not a reality to go with. Based on this fact, it is high time for officials from the government and the NGOs to stop trying to translate what is given in the child law regime and stand for its implementation.

5. 3. 2. Children and production of value

From various participants, it was made clear that one of the major distinguishing features between child work and adult work is that children's work seems not to be associated with pay, while adult workers get paid even when they are doing similar work to that of children. Thus, 'with respect to work, there is a further division between unpaid schoolwork and household work on the one hand and economic work on the other. The former is considered appropriate for children, and the latter is considered as abhorrent as to stigmatize the products of children's work' (Bourdillon 2016, p. 16). Such classification of works is largely made aiming at excluding children from active engagement in work, depriving children from economic value and destining them to work as long as they do not produce value or contribute to their families' welfare (Masabo2016a, p.10). This however, is contrary to regulations 11 and 13 of the Law of Child (Employment) regulation which calls for giving working due payment (13(1 and 2) as will be defined in the contract to be signed according to the demands of regulation 12 of the law.

5. 3. 3. Children's work should not be stopped

The question whether children should work appears to have lost legitimacy since work by children is a common phenomenon. However, notwithstanding the fact that the majority know

that children work, the question, "should children work?" still attracts calls for heated debates. It continues to be one of the most controversial questions whose 'yes' or 'no' responses have far-reaching implications for children's education right. For example, some scholars have argued that 'the issue of child labour is contentious not only because many children work illegally, but also because their work concurrently involves interdependent realities of survival, socialisation, participation, abuse and exploitation' (Abebe and Bessell 2011, p. 765). Thus 'children are not perceived as workers … [and] what they do is submerged in the low status ream of domestic' (Nieuwenhuys 1996, p. 243) chores. In that regard, although children are actively engaged in work, they are deprived of the economic value or can only work as long as they do not claim to produce value or contribution to their families' welfare. This and similar entanglements have for quite long deprived children rights to produce value. In this way and as Hanson and Vandaele (2013, p. 262) argue, 'it becomes a critical challenge to understanding or responding to whether children should work or not and therefore sceptical of the approach adopted by the international labour law legislation with respect to child labour that takes the prohibition of child labour as a starting point.' The major question then is: given this approach to child work, is it possible to regulate something that is legally prohibited, but occurs in practice?

5. 3. 4. Poverty, schooling and children's work

In this study, poverty emerged as one of the explanatory factors for children to combine work and schooling. Most of the respondents supported also this view. In Buhigwe too, all of the children who reported that they were combining work and school did also report that they were from poor families. This was verified by their accounts in which their constant response from almost all of them was that "I work to raise money to buy school uniforms, pens, exercise books, shoes and the like" which were all reflecting the actual indirect school demands. Children frequently mentioned working on a farm, carrying bricks, fetching water and doing petty businesses which can be light and at times heavy work. In that regard and as Bourdillon (2016, p. 15) has suggested, 'in poor communities, the work that children have to do can be heavy. While young people feel and accept responsibility to their families in times of difficulty, it is usually left to them how to combine work and school, and work can hinder the progress of pupils from poor families through school by reducing time for study and forcing them to miss classes or at

least making them excessively tired for effective learning'. Also it has been proved that 'working for pay enabled children to attend school' (Morrow 2016, p. 17) which reminds me of the 13-year-old Senegalese girl's testimony during the Urban Childhoods Conference in Trondheim in 1997, who astonished the audience by saying:

> Do you understand how you insult me, when you talk of "combating" and "abolishing" the work that I do? I have worked as a domestic servant since I was eight. Because of doing this work, I have been able to go to school (which my parents in the village could not afford); I help my parents with the money I earn. I am proud of the work I do (Bourdillon 2011, p. 107).

Such manifestation on the importance of work, poverty also remains a push factor and payment as a pull factor. It also provides a critique that perceives work as a barrier to education by confessing the contribution of work to schooling. As Bourdillon (2016, p. 15) argues, it can be argued that this research like much research 'does not support the assumption that work and school are necessarily in direct opposition to each other' but rather depend on each other or complement one another.

5. 4. Chapter summary

The primarily goal of this chapter was to examine children's motivation to work and more particularly to combining work and schooling. The data presented and analysed in this chapter reflected three themes. These are whether children should work; children's motivation to combine work and schooling; and stakeholders' perception of the children's practice of combining works and schooling. Within these themes views such as on the legal provision of children right to light work, whether it is possible for children not to work, implication of banning of children from work have been presented and analysed. Also, the chapter have considered the implication of the promises of formal schooling, family poverty and orphanhood in determining children's entry into work.

6. Supporting and improving children's lives and survival initiatives

6. 1. Introduction

This chapter proceeds from where chapter five ended. It presents analyses and discusses views and perspectives on the solutions to the dilemmas and challenges facing children who combine work and schooling. It revolves around the relationship between international and national childhoods which influences and informs policy and action to be taken, stakeholders' views and perspectives on what is likely to improve lives of children combining work and school, and on how best to support survival initiatives and mechanisms adopted by children who combine work and school. In this regard, the chapter argues that although poverty remains a motivation for children's combination of work and schooling, promises of formal schooling cannot be avoided as another complimenting motive.

6. 2. Data presentation and analysis

Children's combination of work and school and their right to light work as enshrined in the national legal documents have raised critical questions as to what is the appropriate approach to make this possible. This has become a dividing line among scholars not only elsewhere in the world but also in Tanzania. For example, notwithstanding the fact that, Sub-regulation 1(3) of the Law of the Child (Employment) Regulations, 2012 which provides for modalities to enter into a legally binding contract with a child employee according to the conditions laid in the law, many stakeholders are yet to accord such provision. Instead they are 'degenerating work in favour of an idealised notion of schooling' (Bourdillon 2016, p. 16). While on the one hand children's rights advocates and institutions are continuously condemning children's involvement in work; on the other hand, children are increasingly realising that working is not a wish but the most pragmatic solution to their future preparation (Masabo 2016a). More interesting however, has been that 'recent historical research that studies working children as active participants indicates that work for children could sometimes and somewhere be "normal"' (Hanson and Vandaele 2013, p. 251) an ideal shared by many especially government officials but hardly stood for. Then what does the above synthesis of literature suggest? This is a key question to be addressed in this section.

6. 2. 1. International and national childhood perceptions and their implication on policy

Despite the fact that United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) has inspired ample international and national actions on children's rights (Arts, 2014), the harmony between the ideal UNCRC childhoods and those of particular circumstances such as Tanzania are yet to be congruent. Albeit this incongruence, Tanzania as one of the countries that have been inspired by this international norm and that had been a state party to it since 1991, it is expected that actions on children should reflect the spirit of this convention. Only in that way Tanzania could boast to be conforming to the view that 'the recognition of children's rights at international and national level has forced governments and non-governmental organisations to look seriously at ways of treating children' (Burr and Montgomery 2003, p. 164). Yet, such serious looking at the way to treat children does not come automatically as it is normally assumed. As Landy, Kilkelly and Byrne (2013, p. 443) argue '

> the fate of children's rights as a bespoken subset of human rights is, of course the same: the translation of the promises of human rights law into reality for children is dependent not just simply or even mainly on international monitoring and review, but rather on the national actions of the governments who have ratified them'.

This entails then that striking a balanced relationship between the international and national view of children and childhood is important to the understanding the interfaces between children are work and school in Tanzania also.

In examining this relationship, understanding how children are perceived and how such perception informs the actions on children's life choices is paramount. In recognizing children as right bearers and in realization of children's rights which are central to the UNCRC domestication, however, the dominance of the perceived affluent childhoods free from work have not escaped the minds of several policy makers, government and NGOs officials in Tanzania (TCRF 2014; URT 2012 and URT 2008). For example, child definitions have continued to focus on chronological age as one way for Tanzania in meeting her international obligations and as a state party to the UNCRC. In that regard, it is true then that Tanzania has made some headway to implement the many recommendations from the Committee about

bringing all the laws to defining characteristic of children. One of these positive progress steps for instance, is the *Tanzanian Child Development Policy*, 2008 which defined a 'child as any person below 18 years of age' (United Republic of Tanzania (URT) 2008, p. 6). Similar definitions of a child based on the chronological age of 18 have been adopted in the various child and child-related laws. Similarly, Article 4 (1) of the Law of the Child Act of 2009, applicable in Tanzania mainland defines a child as any person below 18 years old.

However, taking the chronological age of 18 and thinking that once making Tanzanian documents match the ideal UNCRC child and childhood is a panacea for striking cordial relationship between international and national views of childhood is a false belief. This is so since the very provisions may also be detrimental to the children. For instance, as we all know the implementation of the UNCRC resides within the jurisdiction of member states and hence having the age written will not change the child welfare regime overnight. Also, since implementation is relegated to the State Party, even if the documents will have uniform definitions of children, it is not guaranteed that they will enjoy such right because of other limitations such as economic, social-cultural and political constraints. That is to say, in a country whose welfare system is not stable, defining children using this chronological age as if we are to live the letters of the provision might jeopardise the rights of many people of age below 18. This will particularly be negative to those not captured within formal institutions for children, such as schools. Likewise, limiting a person who is no longer in school to wait to the age of 18 to begin working could be oppressive also. In that respect, there is a need to reconsider the enforcement the one-size-fits-all policies as they may be fitting the international standards but ignoring contextual variations. This then necessitates further work on such defining features to also include other parameters and more specifically taking into consideration social definitions of a child and childhood and adoption of policies that are friendly to children's particular realities and contexts. With such understanding, then let us now examine how various groups proposed what should be done to improve and support children's lives also as their survival schemes. Prior to examining the various views, it is worth noting that it is likely that the way a person considers who is a child and parameters for defining who is a child are likely to be the defining and

determining feature of the measure to be taken either in improving children or supporting their survival initiative and mechanisms.

6. 2. 2. Initiatives to improve lives of children who combine work and school

Children's combination of work and school appears to be a pragmatic solution to abject poverty constraining many families. Since this appears to be working in favour of both schooling and work, the study set forth to examine views, opinions and suggestions among stakeholders on what should be done to improve the lives of children who find themselves having no option except combining work and school. The reason was to find out whether there can be a way beyond the prohibition of children from work. One of the reasons for this consideration emanated from the fact that abolishing children's work can be as detrimental also entailing the end of schooling. Both categories had different views and I will present them here beginning with government officials' views. Like their position on the perception on children's combination of work and schooling, for them a way to improve lives of children who combine work and schooling is to remove them from work. For example, Makuzi, a government official from the ministry responsible for children's affairs, argued that:

> On one hand, we have programmes through the social welfare, they are collecting these children and they have interviewed these children and after interviewing for those children who show interest of continuing with school they are reunited, you see with schools through their communities…. On the other hand, the government should always emphasize children not to do works that harm, ok? They should always emphasize moderate work which makes them learn from their families, from their teachers, ok? For example, at school they could do light work, ok? Which are not harmful to them rather giving them skills, or cultivating the spirit or working or spirit of valuing work? For example, agriculture, valuing agriculture ok? (Makuzi, August 22, 2016)

Closer to Makuzi's account were children who took part in FGDs. Their views were directed towards pledging the government to come up with intervention measures. For them this was the better way to improve their situation. The support they sought was mainly having an assurance

on financing school consumables including uniforms and stationary materials. Mwuzukuru, one of the children participating in an FGD, had this to say:

> The government should give us assistance to get school consumables such as school uniforms, pens and exercise books. (Mwuzukuru, September 14, 2016)

Grace, another child in the FGD, had an almost similar view to that of Mwuzukuru. She however made it clear that unless she is helped there is no way she can stop working. This is how she pleads the government to provide support.

> I request the government to assist us with school uniforms for if they do not do so we shall continue with work while attending school, so we request the government to help us. (Grace, September 14, 2016)

These two accounts reveal poverty as the main driving force for their option to combine work and school. They in no way represent children's realisation and appreciation of work as they would not wish to continue working. This implies that the CRC has entrenched its roots down even in rural Tanzania. However, they show some elements of agency to take steps to cope with the challenges of life.

A different account was presented by Ishimwe who indicated the need to grow in work. As a child who combines work and school he was of the view that:

> …. I have to work and study hard. (Ishimwe, September 14, 2016)

Ishimwe's short and brief account reveals the extent to which children can exercise their agency. It challenges the previous views calling for government intervention by putting himself at the centre in order to solve the challenges. He attributes his involvement in work and schooling to no one but considers hard work and studying seriously as the only way forward. Although such a position is also backed by some legal provision, it is however unpopular among those whose views and perspectives are for children not to work.

Taken together, children's FGD accounts reflect the various perceptions of work among children. They also reveal a lot about children's combination of work and schooling. With the exception of Ishimwe, all the children would wish to have work removed from them by the government and in a way they concur with the previous views such as those of Makuzi who is against children's involvement in work.

Teachers were also in support of this view but with various focuses. Some of the teachers suggested the importance of supporting children from being trapped into a vicious cycle of poverty. Other teachers mentioned how the government and NGOs should team up to empower children. Others mentioned sensitisation programs for increasing community awareness. Nusru for example supports the involvement of NGOs in rescuing children from work. To him:

> There should be made a particular plan if development partners' can be available or if the government is able to help those children. Since seeing till now children study while working to raise money for finance their needs, how will the child like school while has no resources. Since if the children were not interested with studies or school with such situation they would have dropped from school long time ago. (Nusru, September 15, 2016)

Nasra, with a different emphasis, calls for community sensitisation programs and enacting a law to ban children from involving themselves into work. To her:

> The government should provide education to raise awareness to community on children's rights…parents and guardians should strive to care and provide for their children with basic needs so as to help them to continue with school, also punitive measures should be taken to children who will combine work and schooling to bar them from such behaviour. (Nasra, September 15, 2016)

Different to Nusru and Nasra is Inkulu's account which provided a pro-child work account in which he calls for better time management. These have to target avoiding time competition and provide more opportunities for children to work. Inkulu proposes:

> There should be in place good arrangement in schools which will allow children to get time to work like nursing a garden. Another arrangement which could be put in place also could be to have a single session in order to let children free during the afternoons and holidays so as to give them more time for work. (Inkulu, September 15, 2016)

From these accounts, it is obvious that the main concern to teachers is also the need for protecting children from work. Apart from Inkulu, all others are in favour of children's protective measures against work. They give the impression of work as detrimental to schooling and thus it should be avoided. While this may sound good, there is a lot to be desired. Protective measures are not always sustainable. They may be there for some time and once the contributions of NGOs are over, children will be left without support which is likely to make them look for work. In that regard, Inkulu calls to have work integrated in school timetables or plan our school program in a way that allows for children to have time to work.

Like previous groups of respondents, parents too had varied views. Of the two parents' views presented here, all call for assistance but with a different emphasis. Ndiwabu calls for family assistance while Nabii thinks groups or coming together in groups can empower families to provide for their children.

> It is important for children to have more time to revise than for working. As a parent, I wish I could have capital to do petty business such as selling tomatoes, vegetables or food stuffs. I have that plan but raising such capital is hard. For example, relatives who could help me raise capital; I have lost two brothers who were also government employees, also my mother passed away. So, I am left with my father who is of age, now I do not have a person to help me with even thirty thousand shillings [equal to 13.5 US Dollars]to get capital…. So, I request government to help, me so as to get good life so as my children to be able to continue with school…So even if primary education is free, there are still other indirect costs that challenges poor families like mine to finance such as uniforms and at times they do not get something to eat when they come back from school something that prompt them to work. Even if I call my children here you will learn that even their uniforms are not that way…. (Ndiwabu, September 16, 2016).

Given the ongoing government initiatives to assist poor families through the Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF) and implementation of free education policy, Ndiwabu's account gives the impression that little has changed that would impact children's lives. She for example challenges the free education policy. Her major concern is that abolishing school fees will not solve children's schooling needs. Poor families continue to struggle on how to meet school indirect needs and thus allow their children to combine work and school. The only solution she sees is to give financial assistance to families to begin small businesses that can support in meeting the children's school needs.

Taking it further, Nabii elaborates on how people's self-organisation into groups can address the problems facing children. To him,

> When children work here and there, their minds will not be settled, they will not be focused. But because of the needs and problems, what should we do? We do not have anything, they should be responsible, and they want to eat…. It could be better that we had some economic production groups to get something like petty business. In order to help children who are at school. (Nabii, September 16, 2016)

In most of the accounts, the need to disassociate children from work was core among the participants. To some, both children, their parents and teachers if possible the work should be avoided. It is not perceived positively but like a marker of poverty. In that regard, most of these views call for aid and stopping children from working. Most of teachers were also of the view that it is because of lack of awareness and economic muscles within households and families that constrain the possibility of children enjoying their school life. In most cases, many of the respondents seem to be of the view to end children's work through government interventions through aid.

6. 2. 3. Supporting children's survival mechanisms

The involvement of children in various works is depicted as a last alternative to earning a living. It was regarded as the only practical solution available to allow children to continue with school. Their response in regard to why children involve themselves in various works was also good in

providing some insight into the importance of such work and that measures to stop them should consider a second thought. However, many respondents gave the impression that was not explicit about what should be done to support such children's survival initiatives and mechanisms devised.

Children combining work and schooling are one of the two groups whose views over how their survival initiatives and mechanisms ought to be supported were sought. Basically, almost all the children who participated in a FGD except one child were calling for government intervention to rescue children from work by stating what compels them to work. In a way, they appeared to subscribe to the view that perceives children as victims who need to be pooled out of such social circumstances. Based on their account, one could immediately see their concern calling for redemption from working and schooling. One of these children with this view was Mwuzukuru, who was of the view that:

> The government ought to take measures that take into account children who live in difficult environments... (Mwuzukuru, September 14, 2016).

Calling for government intervention implies that working and schooling children are like victims who cannot exercise agency to meet their needs. And by describing living by combining work and school with difficulty environments signifies that work is something that children should not engage in. In that regard schooling is preferred over work and the children should not be helped in upholding the two, but dropping work.

In a similar line of thinking were the views expressed by Nyota, Asante and Grace. These three share something in common as they would wish the government to help them with school consumables such as school uniforms and stationery. For example, Nyota pleads:

> In my view the government should help me with school needs such as uniforms, shoes and stationeries…. (Nyota, September 14, 2016).

Adding to what Nyota suggested, Asante took it a little further by calling the experience of working and schooling as the most challenging situation. To her, she needs rescue from this situation which is particularly caused by uncaring parents, saying:

> I beg the government to support me in this most challenging situation for my parents have forsaken me… (Asante, September 14, 2016).

For Ishimwe, work deprives childhood to children who combine work and school. In that regard, he calls for intervention that will end work so that they may also regain and enjoy their childhood like other children. Commenting on what should be done to support their survival initiatives and mechanisms Ishimwe had this to say:

> What I think; we should be provided with school uniforms and stationeries so as to be like other children. (Ishimwe, September 14, 2016)

Regarding this view, work denies one's childhood. This thinking reflects the childhood as depicted by the UNCRC and most other national the laws and policies. And this is how some Tanzanian children perceive childhood and their state of being children as being affected by work. Critically examined, this observation by Ishimwe is a manifestation of the extent the UNCRC view of what is proper childhood is well established, not in urban areas only but also in rural Tanzania. However, distancing himself from his fellow children in the FGD; Yohana calls for government empowerment rather than banning children from working. This is how he presents his suggestions:

> ...I wish to be supported to continue work and school because if I do not learn how to work when shall I learn it? This will help me in my future life since it will be easy for me while I complete my schooling to secure a lawful living. (Yohana, September 14, 2016)

Calling for government to facilitate children to combine work and school is a call for empowerment and thus challenges the child victimization ideology. Considering children as victims who only need rescue; thwarts children's exercise of agency. In this way, he perceives

work and schooling as things that can go together and that are dependent on one another and equally important for future life preparation. He would wish to be supported to grow in both work and formal schooling.

Based on these children's accounts in the FGD it is evident that many children would not wish to combine work and school, but rather just school. Since very few were able to make it explicit that they would wish to continue with work and schooling, it is evident that work was not preferred by many. This suggests then that combining work and schooling to many is a matter of necessity and survival and not a matter of curiosity. Working and combining work with schooling is presented as the result of poverty, loss or having irresponsible parents or guardians. What was common among many was the need for support in their various initiatives in which some called for government intervention to provide for what prompts children to work by creating opportunities for them to work and attend school.

Teachers were the second category of participants whose views and perceptions on how to improve their lives and how to support their survival initiatives and mechanisms were sought. Their accounts present rich and diverse views on how such support can be attained. They range from those who call for NGO sponsorship, empowering children through some entrepreneurship and income-generating schemes. Others called for adopting the basic needs and family empowerment approach, curriculum change that would promote self-reliance education, and those calling for protecting children who work. These five sums-up the different opinions about what can be done to improve their lives. For example, Nusru argues that NGO sponsorship is one way of empowering children and meeting their needs:

> What should be done here is that, if there could be some sponsors, they could supply special tools to assist children and setting aside time for children to work especially in the evening or giving them some capital to run some petty business only in the evening so as to have time at night for self reading and to be in schools from morning to afternoon. This however is only if there is no possibility of avoiding the possibility of combining work and schooling. (Nusru, September 15, 2016)

On the other hand, Leah thinks children should not be banned from work, and rather be supported in a way that their work can really yield income to sustain them in their lives. As such she considers introducing some entrepreneurship and income generation schemes can serve as a better option for the children. This is how she puts it:

> These children should be given capital in what they are doing so as to rescue them from more suffering. But also they should be given some awareness classes on work so as to have the proper skills of balancing work and school by properly allocating time for their work and time for studies for their future life. (Leah, September 14, 2016)

For Nasra, the basic needs and family empowerment approach is the most appropriate and feasible way forward in supporting children. To her children should be provided with means to livelihood especially those which parents have failed to provide. In a way, she suggests a kind of welfare system and social safety net that can capture all children from poor families. Thus,

> First parents and guardians should provide for their children's basic needs, also the government to set apart a fund to carter for children who live in difficult environment which force the children to combine work and school. (Nasra, September 14, 2016)

Another approach suggested largely targets curriculum changes. In favour of children's future lives, the curriculum ought to be changed. Changes suggested include but are not limited to mainstreaming entrepreneurship education, self-reliance education and a curriculum that allows children to engage in any lawful work. For Nione,

> Children should be given education so as they may do the work they think fits them and their needs and which does not contravene nation priorities. If children be educated in a kind of entrepreneurial work can help them even after completing school. Self-reliance education be given due emphasis, may be can help children to progress better in life after schooling. (Nione, September 14, 2016)

Unlike those who propose children to be banned from work, Inkulu calls for protecting children in their work. He is critical to all attempts to ban children from work. In particular, he advocates for allowing children and protecting them as they engage in all kinds of work that can help them to earn a living. He finds no problem with children combining work and schooling. He states:

> Children should be assisted in their working environment, if is to keep gardens, experts to assist them with proper farming skills should be available to help them to have reasonable return from what they are doing. Also, the government should refrain from instituting draconian legislations that bar children from work, since if they do not work while they are still at school we shouldn't expect them to work when they grow up to become future workers. We should let the children to work for their future wellbeing. (Inkulu, September 14, 2016)

Most of the teachers called for radical changes in the ways children combine work and school. Apart from those who called for NGOs' intervention for improving children's lives, the rest were aiming to empower children who combine work and school. Their approaches covered a wide range of interventional strategies. Aware of the life conditions of their pupils, most of the teachers preferred approaches that could enhance children's prevailing pragmatic means adopted by working and schooling children. For example, the approach that called for protecting children combining work and schooling was the most radical one. It reflected the material reality affecting most of the children from poor families. Given this fact, institutionalising laws that ban children from work while there are no governmental solutions is of no help to poor children. Going through these questionnaire accounts from teachers, one could learn that some see children's work as key to future life preparation and others as a necessary component in the curriculum which should be given due emphasis while others stress the need to re-emphasise self-reliance education. At the other far end are those who would wish such phenomena to be stopped right away.

6. 3. Discussion of the findings

Based on the above synthesis of the field data and the literature, I argue that although children's combination of work and school is adopted as a survival mechanism and pragmatic approach to

overcome families' and household's economic constraints, most stakeholders are yet to support such steps. As Evans (2004, p. 71) argues, normally, 'poverty severely constrains the family's ability to provide for their children and places great pressure on adult–child relationships within the family'. In Bourdillon's (2016, p. 6) view, instead of supporting them and learning from other experiences such as in the USA where 'young people often work their way through college'; in Africa where it is common for children to earn the expenses of their formal schooling 'we are busy constraining them. We should instead confront the assumptions that work deprives children of education and condemns them to a cycle of poverty since such claims are often not valid. Thus, calls on banning children from work without considering the practical and material realities of each child are problematic. As argued by Basu and Tzannatos (2003, p. 164):

> Policies need to recognize the powerful market forces that give rise to child labour. In the first place and that will doubtlessly respond to any intervention. They need to be aware of the many pitfalls and risks of backlash in this complex arena of interaction between household economies and market structures. An important rule can be that any policy for child labour (work) must be justified primarily by the interest of children

A lot has to be done to bring about policy change and implementation together. One among many should aim at expanding people's participation in policy and law-making processes which is likely to expand awareness and increase policy ownership which constrains some of the policies and law enacted by the government. For example, considering harmonisation of the definition of a child or children, the Tanzanian Child Development Policy, and the Law of the Child Act 2009 like CRC, but unlike the African Charter on Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), opens a loophole for multiple definitions of who is a child or who are children. While the ACRWC closes the debate of multiplication of the definitions of a child in Article 2 by categorically defining a child as 'every human below the age of 18 years. ... [The CRC] Article 1 defines a child as every human being below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, maturity is attained earlier. This definition leaves discretion to individual states to set the age of maturity sometimes below 18 years in their national laws and thus deprives the older-age group of the benefits of the Convention' (Arts 1993, p. 145).

It is no wonder that despite the promise to harmonise the definition of a child, Tanzania continues to have different definition of a child with some of her legislations having different definitions of a child or children. For example, while Child Development Policy, and the Law of the Child Act 2009, defines the child or children as every human below the chronological age of 18 years, the Law of the Child Act (2009) and Employment and Labour Relation Act (2004) applicable in Mainland Tanzania peg the minimum age of employment at 14 years. On the other extreme has been the Law of Marriage Act (1971), which provides the age of marriage to be 15 years for girls, and 18 years for boys. The reason given has always been that "this minimum age is maintained because it touches on certain religious beliefs, which need the public to be consulted and to agree on a common minimum age." As a result, Tanzania maintains 18 years as the official definition of a child, age of maturity, minimum age of recruitment into the army and as the age of minimum age of marriage for boys; 15 years as the minimum age of marriage for girls and employment in Tanzania Zanzibar and 14 years as the minimum age of employment in Mainland Tanzania and as the minimum age of sexual consent.

6. 3. 1. Formal schooling remains a component in defining who is a child

Defining children in relation to schooling is another key finding that the study has established. Education and formal schooling in particular is found to be a denominator in defining children. Frequently many have argued that children should not work but rather go to school. However, one would wonder if in the era where entrepreneurship skills are considered necessary and self-employment is emphasised, we still expect children to begin work after they complete their formal schooling. The question then is, do we expect children who have not been engaging in various work-related activities to really develop these skills on their formal schooling exit? Or, do we expect a person to learn how to till the land for agriculture when one is 18 years or more? This is a wrong footing since many of the activities available to the majority of the youth from poor families require some motor skills that need to be developed when they are still young. We ought to understand that children have to begin working as early as possible, provided what they do does not harm them so as to give them life skills – most of which is not covered in the formal school curriculum but which is needed when they enter into adult life.

Thus, school has emerged as a central concept in defining who is a child in both the international and national regime. This was evidenced by the fact that, in spite of having some provision which commends responsibilities and rights to light work, the law still suggests children can work as long as their work does not affecting schooling. Giving prominence to schooling as a benchmark of determining whether the work is lawful or unlawful elevates formal schooling above work and makes work as a subsidiary activity. This view is not only dominant among governmental officials but also among children themselves who perceived working as a misfortune of being born into a poor family. However; Bourdillon (2016) cautions that schools can be harmful as well. He suggests that 'in situations of poverty, schooling frequently fails to overcome disadvantages of background or to guarantee future security for children. Perhaps children should also be protected from harmful schooling, which may interfere with other important educative activities, such as work (Bourdillon 2016, pp 1-2; 16). Bourdillon's caution helps us expand the understanding of children beyond the confinements of schools. Because, 'under the façade of human rights and children's rights discourses in particular, schooling is almost replacing the phenomenon of education and slowly childhood is becoming synonymous to schooling and playing'(Masabo 2016a, p. 6). These phenomena have be changed too if children are to be the centre and focus of our policies. That is to say, while schooling is an important aspect of today's children or childhoods, there must be initiatives and behaviour change to see children beyond what has been prescribed in the UNCRC.

6. 3. 2. The views that counts

The study has also vindicated that in understanding why children combine work and school, one needs to be context aware and be on his/her guard as regards to the perspective. For example, 'African concepts of the reciprocal duties and responsibilities of children and their communities mean that children are seen as an important resource for the family and are expected to assist in a variety of productive and reproductive activities at the household level' (Koda 2000 as quoted by Evans 2004, p. 76). In this way, parents or adults seem to be the determinant for children's future life. But most studies today are increasingly proposing for involving children themselves to tell their own stories. For instance, Morrow (2016, p. 21) urges that 'Children's activities need to be understood holistically, from their point of view.' This will help in raising children's voices.

Giving children voices has been one of the themes in understanding the active child. Once we will be able to listen to their views, and then will be in a position to know more about their life difficulties. For instance, it is reported by Bourdillon (2016, p. 10) that, 'Working children frequently explain how work gives direction to their lives when they encounter problems at school and fail in classroom skills. Even in affluent societies, part-time work in a condusive environment can provide relief from tensions at home and school (Call and Mortimer 2001 as quoted by Bourdillon 2016, p. 10). This indicates that children's view should be given due consideration.

6. 4. Chapter summary

The chapter has presented and analysed the data on the notion of childhood and linked it to the way various study participants thought about how to improve the lives of children who combine work and school. The study explored the ways in which various participants thought was best to support children's pragmatic initiatives and mechanisms adopted to mitigate their challenges and meet their basic needs including school indirect costs. The overall views of participants fall into two main categories: those calling for government and NGO intervention and those proposing children's empowerment in what they are doing. Within the latter category there have been those who propose creation of entrepreneurship and income-generating schemes, a basic needs and family empowerment approach, curriculum change and mainstreaming of a self-reliance component in the school system and protection of the working children to continue with their work.

7. Summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations

7. 1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the main findings, conclusions and recommendations of the research. The aim of the study was to investigate the various perspectives on children who combining work and schooling in Tanzania. In presenting the summary of findings, conclusions, and recommendations the chapter also suggests some possible areas for potential future research.

7. 2. Summary of findings

The core of the study was to explore how various stakeholders (i.e. children themselves, parents, guardians, teachers, and government officials) perceive children who work and the phenomenon of combining work and school. Also, given the fact that about 20% of children aged 5-17 and 21.6% of children aged 7 to 14 (as per child labour statistics) are combining work and school, it makes it imperative to explore the motives behind this pragmatic approach by the children to combine work and school. The timing of this subject matter is essential in that, as opposed to previous experience of children dropping out because of poverty and constrains in meeting the indirect cost of schooling, children are increasingly devising means to combine the two.

After examining the interfaces between children's work and schooling the study has established several findings. First, the need to accrue the promises of formal schooling and lack of parental or guardian support to finance the indirect school costs are the major motives and driving forces for children to combine work and schooling. That is to say, children's combination of work and school is prompted not only by poverty but more specifically the promises of formal schooling. Second, although children's combination of work and school is adopted as the most applicable pragmatic approach to overcome the economic constraints of family or household, most stakeholders are yet to second such steps made. Third, poverty remains a factor in children's combination of work and school. Fourth, the study establishes that in Tanzania children's work is not unlawful but rather is regulated. The yardstick of regulation is that any work given to children should not interfere with children's schooling or damage their health. Fifth, formal schooling remains a key defining feature of who is a child. Sixth, while children's work is a

universal phenomenon, disagreement arises when we consider their work to be contributing to producing value. And seventh, there is a need for alternative measures to help children who combine work and schooling instead of just prohibiting children from working.

7. 3. Conclusions from the study

Based on the study findings, four main conclusions can be made. First, although children do work and contribute to families' income and economies, there is a minimal appreciation of the children's right to light work and implementation of child employment regulation guidelines. There is a continued tendency of excluding children from producing the value of proper payment and compensation for the work they do. Stakeholders, especially NGOs and governmental officials, have continued to marginalise children from work. And when children's contribution is appreciated it is contained in the domestic family economy without proper remunerations associated with their work. As such, practical implementation of the provision of the Tanzania child laws has remained more focused on other aspects, and children's rights to work and employment are still under the carpet and rarely acknowledged as rights that children are entitled to and what they can demand in public. In that regard, what is experienced is the appreciation of the false dominant ideology which regards children as too fragile to work and childhood as time for play and school. In spite of the fact that most are aware that excluding children from work is something that is not possible and that the legal framework provides the benchmark on mainstreaming work as part and parcel of children's lives, stakeholders have continued to shy away from putting to light children's rights to work and their right to receive due reasonable payment regulated by formal contracts protected by the child laws. Also, it reflects the mythical thinking that formal schooling will end children's engagement in work. The thinking that formal schooling or access to formal schooling has continued to be the policy preference that is always taken on board in any instance children are found engaging in work.

Second, motives behind school children's involvement in work are beyond the commonly referred to factor of poverty. Yet, while poverty cannot be excluded altogether, if it was a matter of poverty only, school drop-out rates could have been massive. Also, there is no way children could work to raise funds to finance their school expenses when their guardians and parents seem

not to pay for these expenses. On the contrary, poverty needs another qualifying explanation which is the promises of the formal schooling. This entails that children have realised that work can provide means for the realisation of future life preparation through formal schooling. They have challenged the dominant view that work is detrimental to school. They have instead proved that work can facilitate schooling in terms of providing means to meet costs related to schooling. These children have also taught us that the promises associated with future expectations of schooling compel them to overcome the constraints of poverty through working while attending school. Continued pronouncement and desire to protect children by banning them from engaging in work and the tug of war on embracing unhealthy positions among children's affairs stakeholders are among the major manifestations of the unfavourable perception of child laws in Tanzania and the complementarities between work and school among the stakeholders. These negative perceptions have hindered progress in translating children's legal rights to work into reality. As such, Tanzanian children have continued to be rendered victims of unhealthy policy options which could have been better negotiated if children's views and their material conditions could have been brought into consideration before taking a decision to obstruct them from combining work and school. Thus, the ghost of notions of children and childhoods has continued to ruin the possibility of children benefitting from formal schooling by combining work and school. This suggests then that there are still unfavourable perceptions among stakeholders over the viability of the pragmatic approach of combining work and schooling among stakeholders with a stake in child affairs.

Third, the study also concludes that combining work and school among school children is not a Buhigwe phenomenon but rather an experience common also among the school children from the other countries. As such, and based on the three African initiatives of mainstreaming work and formal schooling, the Education with Production (EWP), Earn-and-Learn (EAL) and Education for Self-Reliance (ESR), Tanzania, as a country, has a solid foundation for easy translation of child laws providing child rights to light work.

Lastly, the study concludes that there is little in terms of supporting children's survival initiatives and mechanisms. The negative image associated with children's adopted initiatives and

mechanisms has not faded away. It has continued to haunt children combining work and school without providing a feasible financing alternative. This has continued despite the fact that combining work and schooling remains the most reasonable and practical solution to the declining of education financing and employment opportunities. Thus, given the growing expenses of non-direct costs of schooling amidst family poverty, there is a need for pragmatic solutions. Furthermore, instead of thinking of work as being incompatible with school, the study participants, especially children, proved that work can be combined with school and can overcome the constraints of financing education. Further to that, there is a need for introducing work to schooling children as a way of providing opportunity for practical preparation for self-employment. Child law enforcement remains the best way to improve lives of children who find themselves having no option other than combining work and school. That is to say, if working children are to be protected by law, they are likely to benefit from what they do and if they benefit from what they do their needs will be met, and help children to prepare better for the realisations of their future dreams associated with their investment. Furthermore, codifying children's rights to work will also help in the promotion of children's dignity which is frequently compromised under the pretence of work being incompatible with school.

7. 4. Recommendations from the study

Based on the study findings, the study makes five recommendations.

i. The government should seek best ways to implement children's rights to work and employment as per the Law of the Child Act No. 21 of 2009 and the Law of the Child (Employment) Regulations, 2012 which are less pronounced and frequently skipped in public dialogue. Emphasis should be on rights to employment, contracts and due payment as provided in the child law and regulations.

ii. Education reforms that will recognise the rights for children to engage in work are required. In this policy, there will be a need to reconsider the most practical ways to reconcile competition between children's time for work and time for school. That is to say, there is a need to provide for chances for children to combine work and school as complementing each other rather that contending each other. This policy ought to instruct

schools and other educational institutions to have plans and timetables that take into consideration the needs for working children.

iii. There is a need to expand research from children's points of view instead of depending on the various accounts of NGOs most of which are from the minority North. In cases where they are from the majority South, NGOs promote the ideologies and images of children and childhoods as perceived by the global North. In doing so child studies should be undertaken in context, reflecting the social, political and economic realities of the children.

iv. The study recommends reviewing and becoming critical of school-play and free-from-work child discourses. This must be done by considering the political economy of child work. That is to say we ought to consider that abolishing child work itself is not a solution to what compels a child to join work while at school and be aware that work is not always harmful to children's lives and schooling.

v. The study recommends the reintroduction and mainstreaming of self-reliance education in the school curriculum to give chances for children's preparation for the future. This includes learning life (practical) skills, not as an addition to the formal curriculum, but rather as part and parcel of formal schooling.

7. 5. Areas for further research

As the study findings indicate, certain aspects in relation to children's combination of work and schooling appeared to go beyond the span of this study and would need focused and in-depth investigation, thus needing to be further explored. The studies could be on:

a. Opportunities and challenges of children's rights to work promotion. There is a need for exploring further the pros and cons of the practical implementation of provision of law on the children's rights to work.

b. The role of early working in entrepreneurship skills development. This might focus on the contribution of children's work in entrepreneurship skills development by considering whether those who were engaged in work are better suited to becoming entrepreneurs.

c. The future of working children. This ought to be longitudinal research to trace children who combine work and school in Tanzania over a longer period of time to examine how they progress in their future lives.
d. Employing, contracting and remunerating working children: stakeholders' views. This would focus on the national and international views on Tanzanian child law provision on how to contract, employ, and compensate working children.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1a: Research participation consent form (English)

Request for participation in research project

Researcher details

Name researcher	: Conrad John Masabo
Age	: 38 years old
Sex	: Male
Nationality	: Tanzanian
E-mail address	: conradm@stud.ntnu.no / cmasabo@gmail.com
Supervisor	: Prof. Tatek Abebe
E-mail address	: tatek.abebe@svt.ntnu.no
University	: NTNU, University of Trondheim, Norway
Faculty	: Social Science and Technology Management
Department	: Norwegian Centre for Child Research
Study	: Master of Philosophy in Childhood Studies

Information about the Research

Dear respondent,

I am Conrad John Masabo, a student at the Norwegian Centre for Child Research at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU). I am undertaking my field work for master's thesis writing on the "Interfaces between children's work and schooling in Tanzania." You are requested to consent or dissent for your participation into this study. The reason for asking you to participate is because you are among the study's stakeholders and thus a potential respondent. The study will only involve in-depth interviews (stakeholders' or elite's interviews). The interviews will be carried among the working children; working children's parents; and stakeholders in decision-making organisations and institutions that have a stake in the children's welfare and with particular concern on children's work and schooling in Tanzania. The decision to participate is important and therefore you are requested to respond honestly to a few questions to the best of your knowledge, experience, and opinion.

Confidentiality

The information gathered will be treated with confidentiality such that only the researcher will access the given information in their raw form. In any way, the given information will not be linked to your individual name or your organization during report writing.

Benefits

There is no direct benefit (such as cash payment) for your participation in this study. However, your information will contribute to the understating of the implication of the work and school to children and hence help in making and proposing the best solution to help children who find themselves with no option except combining work and school in Tanzania.

Participation

Participation into the study is voluntary. You have the right to decline to participate or to withdraw from the study at any point of the interview without explaining the reason or reasons for your withdrawal. Your decisions whether to participate or not will not in any way jeopardise your status in any form. If you agree to participate in the study, please, tick the appropriate box and sign in the space provided hereunder.

☐ I am willing to participate

☐ I wish to end my participation

Signature of the respondent ……. Date ……

Signature of the interviewer ……. Date …….....

Appendix 1b: Research participation consent form (Kiswahili)

Fomu ya Kuridhia Utayari wa Kushiriki katika Utafiti

A: TAARIFA ZA MTAFITI

Jina la Mtafiti	: Conrad John Masabo
Jinsia	: Mme
Uraia wa Mtafiti	: Mtanzania
Anwani ya barua pepe	: conradm@stud.ntnu.no/cmasabo@gmail.com
Msimamizi	: Profesa Tatek Abebe
Anwani ya barua pepe	: tatek.abebe@svt.ntnu.no
Taasisi	: Chuo Kikuu cha Ki-Norway cha Sayansi na Teknolojia
Kitivo	: Sayansi ya Jamii na Usimamizi wa Teknolojia
Idara	: Kituo cha Ki-Norway cha Utafiti wa Mtoto
Kozi/Shahada	: Shahada ya Umahiri wa Falsafa katika Taaluma za Utoto

B: TAARIFA ZA UTAFITI

Mpendwa mshiriki,

Naitwa Conrad John Masabo, mwanafunzi wa Shahada ya Umahiri wa Falsafa katika Taaluma za Utoto katika Kituo cha Utafiti wa Mtoto cha Ki-Norway kilichopo katika Chuo Kikuu cha Ki-Norway cha Sayansi na Teknolojia. Nipo mbele yako kwa lengo la kukusanya taarifa zitakazonisaidia kuandika tasnifu ya umahiri katika mada ya "***Mwingiliano wa kazi za watoto na shule Tanzania***." Unaombwa kuridhia/kutoridhia kwako kushiriki katika utafiti huu. Sababu ya kuomba ridhaa ya ushiriki wako ni kwa kuwa wewe ni miongoni mwa wadau mahususi hivyo mhusika mtarajiwa (tarajari).

Utafiti huu utahusisha usaili/mahojiano ya kina na unatarajia kujumuisha ushiriki wa watoto wanaosoma na kufanya kazi Tanzania, wazazi wa watoto wanaosoma na kufanya kazi, wadau katika mashirika na taasisi za kimaamuzi zenye maslahi katika mambo ya watoto na hususani watoto wanaosoma na kufanya kazi Tanzania. Utayari na kukubali kwako kushiriki ni wa muhimu sana hivyo unaomba kujibu maswali kwa uwazi, na uadilifu kadri utakavyoweza na kwa kadri ya uelewa wako, uzoefu na maoni yako kadri utakavyo weza.

C: USIRI

Utafiti huu utalipa suala la usiri wa mshiriki kipaumbele kikubwa. Hivyo taarifa zinakazokusanywa zitatumika na kutumiawa kwa usiri mkubwa kiasi kwamba ni mtafiti pekee ndiye atakayekuwa na ruhusa ya kuona taarifa hizi katika hali yake ya asili (ughafi). Pia, taarifa hizi hazitahusishwa na jina lako au taasisi yako wakati wa kuandika taarifa/tasnifu itakayotokana na utafiti huu.

D: FAIDA ZA KUSHIRIKI

Ushiriki katika utafiti huu hautakuwa na maslahi ya moja kwa moja (aidha kama malipo ya pesa taslimu) kwa ushiriki wako katika kipindi chote cha utafiti huu. Hata hivyo, taarifa unazozitoa zitasaidia katika kuelewa mchango wa kazi na shule na hivyo, kusaidia katika uibuaji na upendekezaji wa suluhisho zuri la kusaidia watoto wa Kitanzaia wanaojikuta hawana njia nyingine au mbadala mwingine maishani isipokuwa kufanya kazi na kusoma.

E: NAMNA YA USHIRIKI

Ushiriki katika utafiti huu ni wa hiari, hivyo upo huru na una haki ya kuendelea ama kusitisha kuendelea na ushiriki wako muda na wakati wowote wa mahojiano/usaili bila kutakiwa kueleza sababu za kujioa. Endapo utasitisha ushirika, uamuzi wako hautaathiri hadhi yako kwa namna yeyote. HIVYO, kama upo tayari kuridhia kushiriki katika utafiti huu, tafadhali weka alama ya vema [√] ya kuridhia kushiriki katika nafasi husika hapa chini, na kisha tia saini yako katika nafasi husika na kuandika tarehe.

☐ Nimeridhia/nipo tayari kushiriki

☐ Napenda kusitisha ushiriki wangu

Saini ya Mshiriki_____ Tarehe_____

Saini ya Mtafiti_____ Tarehe_____

Appendix 2: Semi-structured interview guide for individual with government or NGOs' Officials

1. Could you describe to me some of the recent actions that you have taken to protect children combing work and school?
2. Have you always taken such actions? If not, why?
3. How have these actions changed over time? And what could be the reasons?
4. Who helps you take action to protect such children?
5. How do they help? What do you think motivated them to help you? And what has been the common opposition? What do you think motivated them to help you?
6. When you were young can you recall adults taking similar actions to protect you? What did they do? How did it feel to be the recipient of such behaviour from adults?
7. How do you think your childhood experience has influenced your behaviour as an adult?
8. Do other people in your community, clan or tribe take similar actions? What do you think motivates them to do so?
9. When you take action to protect children from working how do you feel?
10. What strengths do you think you have that enable you to take such action?
11. What is your view on children combining work and school?
12. What do you think are the consequences of work to children?
13. What do you think the government/your organisation should do? Why?
14. Do you support the programs prohibiting children from work? Why?
15. What do you think are the reasons for children to work and attend school?
16. Do you think it is possible for all children not to work? Why?
17. How can you evaluate the ongoing government move towards making primary and secondary education free? Will it stop children from working?
18. If you could be given power to make final decision, could you ban children from work? Why?
19. Tanzania children laws recognise the right for light work to children, what is to take-on of this law provision?
20. What else would you wish to share with me related to children working and schooling in Tanzania?

Appendix 3a: Semi-structured interview guide for individual child participants (English)

1. Age?
2. Where do you live? With whom?
3. Size, gender and age composition of household?
4. Head of family?
5. What type of school do you go to? Which grade are you in? How often do you go? What is Length of time in school?
6. Who buys uniforms and other school supplies such stationary materials?
7. What do you like about school? What do you dislike about school?
8. When do you play? What and with whom do you play?
9. Tell me about the nature of work you do? About the hours, place, income, diversity of jobs you perform?
10. What do you do in a day?
11. Where do you work? When? With whom?
12. How much do you earn per day?
13. What is difficult? What is easy?
14. What are your likes and dislikes about the work you do?
15. What other activities are you engaged in to get money?
16. How much do you earn per day?
17. Is what you earn enough? Is it consistent (i.e. increasing or decreasing)? If so, why? How do you spend your income?
18. How do you handle your financial problems? What are your needs, problems and priorities in life etc.?
19. Could you tell me about the differences in your life before and after began working? What has changed so far since you began working? Why?
20. What are the main problems of your work?
21. What are the main problems in your life?
22. How do you explain your life?
23. How do you describe your childhood?
24. What is a good childhood according to your perception?
25. What are the main problems of your work?
26. What are the main problems in your life?

Appendix 3b: Semi-structured interview guide for individual with child participants (Kiswahili)

A: TAARIFA ZA AWALI ZA MSHIRIKI

i. Umri : …….

ii. Jinsia : ……

iii. Unaishi na nani? ……..

iv. Idadi ya wanandugu unaoishi nao…….

v. Nani ni mkuu familia yenu …….....

vi. Unasoma shule gani?.....

vii. Jina la shule unayosoma: ……

viii. Darasa unalosoma: ……..

ix. Kazi unayofanya: ……....

NAMBARI YA MSHIRIKI: _____

B: MASWALI ELEKEZI YA USAILI

Tafadhali jibu maswali yafuatayo kwa uwazi na uadilifu kadri utakavyoweza kulingana na uelewa wako, uzoefu wako na maoni yako.

1. Ni nini sababu za uamuzi wako wa kufanya kazi na hapohapo kuendelea na shule, ama kusoma huku ukiwa unafanya kazi?

2. Je una maoni gani juu ya wewe kufanya kazi na hapohapo kuendelea na shule, ama kusoma huku ukiwa unafanya kazi?

3. Na je, unadhani ni kitu gani ama kufanyike nini ili kuboresha maisha yako kama mtoto uliyejikuta ukilazimika kufanya kazi na hapohapo kuendelea na shule, ama kusoma huku ukiwa unafanya kazi?

4. Na je, unadhani nini kifanyike kuunga mkono jitihada zako hizo za kujikimu kimaisha za kazi na hapohapo kuendelea na shule, ama kusoma huku ukiwa unafanya kazi?

5. Kwa wiki unahudhuria shuleni mara ngapi?

6. Shuleni huwa unakaa kwa muda wa masaa mangapi? Kuanzia saa_____ hadi_____

7. Ni nani anayekununulia sare za shule na mahitaji mengine kama madaftari na kalamu?

8. Shuleni kwako unapenda kitu gani zaidi? Ni kipi haunapenda_____

9. Je huwa unapata wakati wa kucheza? _____Kama ndio, mchezo gani?; na kama hapana kwa nini?_____

10. Naomba uniambie, je unafanya kazi gani? _____

11. Kwa masaa mangapi kwa siku?_____; Wapi?_____; Na Ukiwa na nani?_____

12. Kipi kigumu? Na kipi rahisi?

13. Na kazi yako inahusisha kufanya nini na nini? _____

14. Ni kitu gani kigumu katika kazi yako? _____

15. Na je, ni kitu gani rahisi katika kazi yako?_____

16. Ni vitu gani unavipenda kuhusiana na kazi yako?_____

16. Na ni vitu gani hauvipendi katika kazi yako? _____

17. Je mshahara wako unakutosheleza? Huwa unaongezeka? Mshahara unaoupata unautumiaje?_____

18. Tofauti ya maisha yako kabla ya kuanza kufanya kazi ni ipi?_____
19. Ni kipi hasa kimebadilika?

20. Kwa nini?

21. Je yapi ni matatizo makubwa ya kazi yako?

22. Na je, ni yapi matatizo makubwa yanayokusibu maishani mwako? 23. Unaweza kuelezaje maisha yako?

24. Je utoto wako unaweza kuuelezeaje?

25. Kwa maoni yako, ni nini maana ya utoto mzuri?

Appendix 4a: Semi-structured interview guide for individual adult head of family (English)

1. Age, marital status
2. What leve1 of education do you have?
3. What activities are you engaged with?
4. If it is agriculture what crops are you growing? Is it for subsistence or for commercial? Is it village land or land tenure?
5. Which activities are you depending with for daily life?
6. How many members of family are you staying together?
7. How many children under 14years, how many boys and girls?
8. Are they attending primary school (if they are seven years and above)?
9. Can you please tell me which level are they in? If not, why?
10. Is any of your children working? If yes, what about attending to school?
11. Why you did you allow you child/children to begin working before completing school?
12. Has he/she stopped going to school? If no, how do you find his/her ability to combine the two: schooling and working?
13. Do you know how much he/she is paid? If yes, how is the child's/are your children's salary spent? How determines the spending?
14. Since your child began working, what can you say about his/her contribution to the family livelihood?
15. In which way do recommend the government to stop children from working or to allow them to work and attend school? Why?
16. What do you think is the best method to promote the children welfare?
17. If given a chance what would you wish to advise the government in improving the welfare of children especially those working and schooling?
18. What else would you wish to share with me?

Appendix 4b: Semi-structured interview guide for individual adult head of family (Kiswahili)

1. Jina : ……
2. Umri : [ ] 20-35; [ ] 36-50; [ ]51-75; [ ] 76-+
3. Jinsia : [ ]Mme [ ] Mke
4. Hali yandoa : [ ] Nina ndoa [ ] Sinandoa
5. Unafanyashughuli/kazi gani.....
6. Kama kilimo, unalima mazao gani? Huwa unayatumia pia kwa biashara?
7. Na je umiliki wa aridhi upo je?
8. Ni shughuli gani unategemea kutegemeza maisha yako ya kila siku?
9. Unaishi na familia ya watu wangapi?
10. Ni watoto wangapi walio chini ya umri wa miaka 16?, 14? 10? Wakiume ni wangapi _____ na wakike ni wangapi?_____
11. Wanahudhuria shule za msingi ama sekondari?
12. Wanasoma madarasa gani?
13. Miongoni mwa watoto, je kuna anayefanya kazi? Kama ndio, wanahudhuria shule?
14. Kwanini unawaruhusu motto/watoto kuanza kufanya kazi kabla ya kuhitimu shule?
15. Je ameacha/wameacha kuhudhuria shuleni? Kama siyo je unaonaje uwezo wake/wao kuhudhuria shuleni na kufanya kazi ?
16. Unajua analipwa/wanalipwa kiasi gani? Kama ndio, je mshahara wake/wao hutumikaje? Ni nani anayeamua matumizi yake?
17. Tangu mwanano aanze/wanao waanze kufanya kazi, unazungumuziaje mchango wake/wao katika maisha ya familia yako?
18. Unatoa ushauri upi kwa serikali kupiga marufuku watoto kufanya kazi ama kufanya kazi huku wakihudhuria shule? Kwanini
19. Unadhani ni njia ipi nzuri ya kuboresha maslahi ya watoto?
20. Kama ukipatiwa nafasi kuishauri serikari, je kitu gani utashauri serikali katika kuboresha maslahi ya watoto hususani wale wanaosoma na kufanya kazi?
21. Kitu gani ungependa kunishirikisha pia?

Appendix 5a: Guiding themes/questions for child focused group discussion (English)

1. How has your family economic status contributed to your option to school while working?
2. How the choice of the work to be done is made? By whom?
3. How is schooling and working constructed by your teachers and fellow pupils?
4. What are the patterns of your school and work attendance?
5. Since you began working, do you still consider yourself as a child?
6. What are the major obstacles to your choice of schooling and working?
7. What can the government do to help you and how?
8. In which ways do you enjoy your childhood?
9. What are your opinions on the NGO s and government strategies to eliminate work from childhood?
10. Do your normally have time for playing and leisure?

Appendix 5b: Guiding themes/questions for child focused group discussion (Kiswahili)

1. Je ni kwa namna gani hali uchumi wa familia yako imechangia uamuzi wako wa kufanya kazi huku ukisoma?
2. Je ni nini ama kwa namna gani unafanya uchaguzi wa kazi unayoifanya?
3. Je ni kwa namna gani uamuzi wako wa kufanya kazi huku ukisoma unaelezewa na walimu na wanafunzi wenzako?
4. Ni nini mwenendo wa uhudhuriaji wa kazi na shule?
5. Tangua umeanza kufanya kazi, je bado unajiona wewe ni mototo?
6. Ni vipi vikwazo vikubwa vya umauzi wako wa kufanya kazi na kusoma?
7. Unafikiri serikali inaweza kuwasaidia nini na kwa namna gani?
8. Ni kwa namna gani unafurahia utoto wako?
9. Ni yapi maoni yako juu ya mikakati ya mashirika yasiyo ya kiserikali na serikali ya kupiga marufuku watoto kufanya kazi?
10. Je huwa unapata muda wa kucheza na kupumzika?

Appendix 6: Open-ended-questionnaire for child participant (Kiswahili).

DODOSO

JINA LA MWANAFUNZI: ……
NAMBARI YA MSHIRIKI: _____
Siku _____ Tarehe _____

A: TAARIFA YA MHUSIKA

i. Jina : ……
ii. Umri : …….
iii. Jinsia : ……
iv. Unaishi na nani? ……..
v. Idadi ya wanandugu unaoishi nao…….
vi. Nani ni mkuu familia yenu …….....
vii. Unasoma shule gani?.....
viii. Jina la shule unayosoma: ……
ix. Darasa unalosoma: ……..
x. Kazi unayofanya: ……....

B: MASWALI YA DODOSO

Tafadhali jibu maswali yafuatayo kwa uwazi na uadilifu kadri utakavyoweza kulingana na uelewa wako, uzoefu wako na maoni yako.

1. Ni nini sababu za uamuzi wako wa kufanya kazi na hapohapo kuendelea na shule, ama kusoma huku ukiwa unafanya kazi?

_____

_____

2. Je una maoni gani juu ya wewe kufanya kazi na hapohapo kuendelea na shule, ama kusoma huku ukiwa unafanya kazi?

_____

_____

3. Na je, unadhani ni kitu gani ama kufanyike nini ili kuboresha maisha yako kama mtoto uliyejikuta ukilazimika kufanya kazi na hapohapo kuendelea na shule, ama kusoma huku ukiwa unafanya kazi?

_____

_____

4. Na je, unadhani nini kifanyike kuunga mkono jitihada zako hizo za kujikimu kimaisha za kazi na hapohapo kuendelea na shule, ama kusoma huku ukiwa unafanya kazi?

_____

_____

5. Kwa wiki unahudhuria shuleni mara ngapi? _____

6. Shuleni huwa unakaa kwa muda wa masaa mangapi? Kuanzia saa_____ hadi_____

7. Ni nani anayekununulia sare za shule na mahitaji mengine kama madaftari na kalamu?

_____

8. Shuleni kwako unapenda kitu gani zaidi? _____ Ni kipi haunapenda_____

9. Je huwa unapata wakati wa kucheza? _____ Kama ndio, mchezo gani? _____; na kama hapana kwa nini?_____

10. Naomba uniambie, je unafanya kazi gani? _____

11. Kwa masaa mangapi kwa siku?_____; Wapi?_____; Na Ukiwa na nani?_____

12. Na kazi yako inahusisha kufanya nini na nini? _____

_____

13. Ni kitu gani kigumu katika kazi yako? _____

14. Na je, ni kitu gani rahisi katika kazi yako?_____

15. Ni vitu gani unavipenda kuhusiana na kazi yako?_____

_____

16. Na ni vitu gani hauvipendi katika kazi yako? _____

_____

17. Mshahara unaoupata unautumiaje?_____

_____

_____

18. Tofauti ya maisha yako kabla ya kuanza kufanya kazi ni ipi?_____

_____

_____

19. Ni kipi hasa kimebadilika?

_____

_____

20. Kwa nini? _____

21. Je yapi ni matatizo makubwa ya kazi yako?

_____

_____

_____

22. Na je, ni yapi matatizo makubwa yanayokusibu maishani mwako?

_____

_____

_____

23. Unaweza kuelezaje maisha yako?

_____

_____

24. Je utoto wako unaweza kuuelezeaje?

_____

_____

25. Kwa maoni yako, ni nini maana ya utoto mzuri?

_____

_____

Appendix 7: Recall Form for child participants (Kiswahili)

FOMU YA KUMBUKUBU

JINA LA MWANAFUNZI: _____

NAMBARI YA MSHIRIKI: _____

Siku _____

Tarehe _____

A: TAARIFA YA MHUSIKA

i. Jina:…….
ii. Umri: ……...
iii. Jinsia: ……..
iv. Unaishi na nani? ……..
v. Idadi ya wanandugu unaoishi nao……
vi. Nani ni mkuu familia yenu …….....
vii. Unasoma shile gani?.....
viii. Jina la shule unaposoma: ……
ix. Darasa unalosoma: ……..
x. Kazi unayofanya: ……....

NAMBARI YA MSHIRIKI: _____

B: SHUGHULI NILIZOZIFANYA JANA NILIPOTOKA SHULE

Mwanafunzi mpendwa, tafadhali naomba ujaze karatasi hii mara ufikapo shuleni.

Muda	Nilichokifanya	Mahali	Niliyekuwanaye

C: KUMBUKUMBU YA SIKU

Mwanafunzi mpendwa, tafadhali andika kwa ufupi shughuli zote ulizofanya jana

Mwanafunzi mpendwa; Tafadhali naomba ujaze nafasi hii hapa chini kwa ufupi kazi ulizopapenda kidogo na ulizosipenda zaidi na ueleze ni kwanini.

Kazi ulizozipenda zaidi	**Kazi ulizozipenda kidogo**

Appendix 8: Open-ended-questionnaire for adult participants (Kiswahili)

DODOSO

JINA LA MSHIRIKI: ……

NAMBARI YA USHIRIKI: _____

Siku _____

Tarehe _____

A: TAARIFA YA MHUSIKA

i. Jina : ……

ii. Umri : [ ] 20-35; [ ] 36-50; [ ]51-75; [ ] 76-+

iii. Jinsia : [ ] Mme [ ] Mke

iv. Hali ya ndoa : [ ] Nina ndoa [ ] Sinandoa

v. Kiwango cha Elimu: Sijasoma [ ], Elimu ya Msingi [ ], Elimu ya Sekondari [ ], Astashahada [ ], Stashahada [ ], Shahada ya Kwanza [ ], Shahada ya Umahiri [ ] Shahada ya Uzamivu [ ]

vi. Unafanya shughuli/kazi gani.....

NAMBARI YA USHIRIKI: _____

B: MASWALI YA DODOSO

Tafadhali jibu maswali yafuatayo kwa uwazi na uadilifu kadri utakavyoweza kulingana na uelewa wako, uzoefu wako na maoni yako.

1. Unafikiri ni kwanini bado kuna watoto wanaosoma wakiwa wanafanya kazi ijapokuwa kuna mkazo wa serikali, mashirika na taasisi za kitaifa na kimataifa kupinga watoto kufanya kazi?

_____

_____

_____

2. Ni nini maoni yako juu ya watoto kusoma huku wakiwa wanafanya kazi au kujifunza kwa kufanya kazi?

3. Na je, unadhani ni kitu gani ama kufanyike nini ili kuboresha maisha ya watoto wanaojikuta wakilazimika kufanya kazi na hapohapo kuendelea na shule, ama kusoma huku wakiwa wanafanya kazi?

_____
_____
_____

4. Na je, unadhani nini kifanyike kuunga mkono jitihada watoto za kujikimu kimaisha kwa kazi na hapohapo kuendelea na shule, ama kusoma huku wakiwa wanafanya kazi?

_____
_____
_____

5. Tanzania ina sheria inayotambua haki ya watoto kufanya kazi nyepesi, je ni nini maoni yako juu ya sheria hii?

_____
_____
_____

6. Je unaunga mkono mikakati inayolenga kuzuia watoto kufanya kazi? Kwa nini?

_____
_____
_____

7. Unadhani inawezekana watoto kutofanya kazi kabisa? Kwanini?

_____
_____
_____

Appendix 9: Department/NOSEB research introduction letter

NORSK SENTER FOR BARNEFORSKNING
NORWEGIAN CENTRE FOR CHILD RESEARCH

To whom it may concern

Our consultant:
Jon Kristian Grønli
Student Advisor
Telephone no.: +4773596357
E-mail: jon.gronli@ntnu.no

Dated:	Our ref.:	Your letter dated:	Your ref.:
2016-05-27			

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

We hereby confirm that Conrad John Masabo, born on 6 September 1977, is a student in the programme *Master of Philosophy in Childhood Studies* at Norwegian Centre for Child Research, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway. He will undertake his fieldwork and data collection from June to September 2016, in Tanzania on the topic:

Interfaces Between Children's Work and Schooling in Tanzania

We would be grateful for any assistance given to him during this process. This includes granting interviews, assisting him in making appointments, handing out materials and making information accessible to him. We ensure that the information collected is treated confidentially, and that the fieldwork bears no costs on the institutions and persons visited.

Yours sincerely,

Tatek Abebe
Associate Professor
Programme leader of Master in Philosophy in Childhood Studies
Norwegian Centre for Child Research
Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Jon Kristian Grønli
Student Advisor

Appendix 10: NSD ethical clearance letter

Tatek Abebe
Norsk senter for barneforskning NTNU
Loholt Allé 87, Pavillion C
7491 TRONDHEIM

Vår dato: 14.06.2016 Vår ref: 48737 / 3 / ABS Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 22.05.2016. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

48737	*Interfaces Between Children's Work and Schooling in Tanzania*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*NTNU, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Tatek Abebe*
Student	*Conrad John Masabo*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 30.06.2017, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Kjersti Haugstvedt

Andreas Bratshaug Stenersen

Kontaktperson: Andreas Bratshaug Stenersen tlf: 55 58 30 19
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

Kopi: Conrad John Masabo cmasabo@gmail.com

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 48737

The purpose of the project is to investigate the interfaces between children's work and schooling in Tanzania.

The sample will receive written and oral information about the project, and give their consent to participate. Please note that when children actively participate in research, participation is always voluntary, even though parents have given their consent. Children should be given information adapted to their age, and it must be made sure that they understand that their participation is voluntary and that they can withdraw at any time. Parents should get the oportunity, on request, to read the interviewguide in advance.

The letter of information is somewhat incomplete, and we ask that the following is changed:

- only those who will participate in the study should give their consent. The box "I am not ready to participate" should be removed.
- contact information to you and your supervisor
- project end (date) and what will happen with the data (anonymized).

The Data Protection Official account for that there may be registered sensitive information relating to health, cf. Personal data act article 2-8 letter c .

The Data Protection Official presupposes that the researcher follows internal routines of NTNU regarding data security. If personal data is to be stored on a private computer/portable storage devices, the information should be adequately encrypted.

Estimated end date of the project is 30.06.2017. According to the notification form all collected data will be made anonymous by this date.

Making the data anonymous entails processing it in such a way that no individuals can be recognised. This is done by:
- deleting all direct personal data (such as names/lists of reference numbers)
- deleting/rewriting indirectly identifiable data (i.e. an identifying combination of background variables, such as residence/work place, age and gender)

Appendix 11: MHCDGEC research access/introduction letter

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
MINISTRY OF HEALTH, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, GENDER,
ADULT AND CHILDREN

Tel No: 255-22-2137679/2124857/2132526
Fax No: 255-22-2133647/2138525
E-mail: ps@mcdgc.go.tz
In reply please quote:

8 Kivukoni Front,
11486 **DAR ES SALAAM**

Ref. No. FD.106/210/01A

08/07/2016

Cornad John Masabo,
Faculty of Education,Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE),
P.O. Box 2329,
DAR ES SALAAM.

RE: A REQUEST FOR CONDUCT A PROJECT RESEARCH FOR CORNAD JOHN MASABO.

The Ministry Of Health, Community Development, Gender, Adult And Children acknowledges receipt of a letter dates the June 13th 2016 with above Captioned heading.

I would like to inform you that your application to undertake a Research Concerning INTERFACES BETWEEN CHILDREN'S WORK AND SCHOOLING IN TANZANIA in our ministry has accepted. Your request to report on June to September 2016.

Please report to the Director of Children.

Thank you for your cooperation.

E. J. Mwina
FOR: PERMANENT SECRETARY

FOR: PERMANENT SECRETARY
MINISTRY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
GENDER AND CHILDREN

Appendix 12: RAS (Mwanza) research access/introduction letter

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

MWANZA REGION

Telegrams : **"REGCOM"**
Telephone: 028-2500690 - 2500686
Fax : 028-2501057/2541242
E-mail: ras.mwanza@pmoralg.go.tz
In reply please quote:

REGIONAL COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
P.O. Box 119,
MWANZA

Ref.No. **FA. 222/264/01/54** **26/08/2016**

District Administrative Secretary,
P.O. BOX 1148,
NYAMAGANA.

RE: PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE FIELD WORK FOR DATA COLLECTION FOR HIS PROPOSED MASTERS THESIS IN MWANZA

Refer the heading above.

I would like to introduce to you Mr. **Conrad John Masabo,** who is a researcher from Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) Norway.

Our Organization has granted a place in your District area in order to conduct his research not late than first week of September, 2016.

The title of his research is **"Interfaces Between Children's and Schooling in Tanzania"**

Thank you in advance.

Kitinga, S. R
For: REGIONAL ADMINISTRAVITE SECRETARY
MWANZA

REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY
MWANZA

COPY: Conrad John Masabo
NTNU. Student

Appendix 13: DAS (Nyamagana-Mwanza) research access/introduction letter.

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA
OFISI YA RAIS
TAWALA ZA MIKOA NA SERIKALI ZA MITAA

WILAYA YA NYAMAGANA
Anwani ya Simu: "ADMIN"
Simu na: 028-2501046
Unapojibu tafadhali taja:

OFISI YA MKUU WA WILAYA
WILAYA YA NYAMAGANA
S.L.P 1148
MWANZA

Kumb. Na. DC/P.20/2...

Tarehe 29/08/2016

Kwa: MKUU WA KATA
KATA YA IGOGO
S.L.P

YAH: KIBALI CHA KUFANYA UTAFITI WILAYANI NYAMAGANA
NDUGU. CONRAD JOHN MASABO

Mtajwa hapo juu ni Mwanafunzi/~~Wanafunzi~~ wa SHAHADA YA UMAHIRI CHUO KIKUU CHA NTNU

Ameruhusiwa/Wameruhusiwa kufanya utafiti kuhusu Interfaces Between Children's Work and Schooling in Tanzania.

Wilayani Nyamagana.

Tafadhali apewe/wapewe msaada na ushirikiano atakaohitaji/watakaohitaji ili kufanikisha utafiti huo.

Sevelina R.Sijimbi
Kny: KATIBU TAWALA WILAYA
NYAMAGANA

K.n.y. KATIBU TAWALA WA WILAYA
NYAMAGANA.

Appendix 14: WEO (Igogo-Mwanza) research access/introduction letter.

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA
OFISI YA RAIS
TAWALA ZA MIKOA NA SERIKALI ZA MITAA

NILAYA YA NYAMAGANA
Anwani ya Simu: "ADMIN"
Simu na: 028-2501046
Unapojibu tafadhali taja:

OFISI YA MKUU WA WILAYA
WILAYA YA NYAMAGANA
S.L.P 1148
MWANZA

Kumb. Na. DC/P.20/2...

Tarehe.....29/08/2016

Kwa: MTENDAJI WA KATA
KATA YA IGOGO
S.L.P.....

Kwa Mwl. Mkuu Azimio 'B' Naomba Apewe ushirikiano, kwasso kwa

AFISA MTENDAJI WA KATA
KATA YA IGOGO
JIJI LA MWANZA
DS/09/2016

YAH: KIBALI CHA KUFANYA UTAFITI WILAYANI NYAMAGANA
NDUGU. CONRAD JOHN MASABO.....

Mtajwa hapo juu ni Mwanafunzi/~~Wanafunzi~~ wa
SHAHADA YA UMAHIRI CHUO KIKUU CHA NTNU.....

Ameruhusiwa/Wameruhusiwa kufanya utafiti kuhusu.....
Interfaces Between Children's Work and Schooling
in Tanzania.....

Wilayani Nyamagana.

Tafadhali apewe/wapewe msaada na ushirikiano atakaohitaji/watakaohitaji ili kufanikisha utafiti huo.

Sevelina R.Sijimbi
Kny: KATIBU TAWALA WILAYA
NYAMAGANA

K.T.W. KATIBU TAWALA WA WILAYA
NYAMAGANA.

Appendix 15: RAS (Kigoma) research access/introduction letter

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA
OFISI YA RAIS
TAWALA ZA MIKOA NA SERIKALI ZA MITAA

MKOA WA KIGOMA:
Tel: "REGCOM"
Simu: 028-280-2330
Fax: 0282802330
Unapojibu tafadhali taja:

Kumb.Na.DA.73/274/02/333

Ofisi ya Mkuu wa Mkoa,
S.L.P. 125,
KIGOMA.

30/08/2016

Mkurugenzi wa Wilaya,
Halmashauri ya Wilaya,
Buhigwe.

YAH: KUMTAMBULISHA CONRAD JOHN MASABO KUTOKA CHUO KIKUU CHA DAR ES SALAAM.

Husika na mada tajwa hapo juu.

Mtajwa hapo juu ni mwanachuo wa chuo Kikuu cha Dar es salaam anakuja kufanya utafiti wa ukusanyaji wa data katika Halmashauri yako.

Kwa barua hii, unaombwa umpokee na umpe ushirikiano ili aweze kufanikisha shughuli hii muhimu katika muda uliopangwa.

Ahsante kwa ushirikiano.

Edward M. Manase
Kny: Katibu Tawala Mkoa
Kigoma

Nakala:- Katibu Tawala Mkoa,
KIGOMA (Aione ndani ya jalada).

BW. Conrad John Masabo,
Chuo kikuu,
DAR ES SALAAM.

Appendix 16: DED (Buhigwe-Kigoma) research access/introduction letter

HALMASHAURI YA WILAYA YA BUHIGWE

(Barua zote ziandikwe kwa Mkurugenzi Mtendaji)

Simu/ Fax 255 028 2810 339
Email: buhigwedc@gmail.com

Ofisi ya Mkurugenzi Mtendaji (W),
S.L.P. 443,
BUHIGWE.

Unapojibu tafadhali taja

Kumb. Na. BHDC/E.10/14/157 **14 Septemba, 2016.**

Asha A. Luhuiy,
Mtendaji wa Kata II
Kata ya Mkatanga,
S.L.P 443,
BUHIGWE.

Mwalimu Mkuu,
Shule ya Msingi ya Nyamiguha, Mkatanga na Msagara,
BUHIGWE

YAH: KUMTAMBULISHA BW. CONRAD JOHN MASABO.

Tumepokea barua yenye Kumb. Na DA.73/274/02/333 ya tarehe 30/08/2016 kutoka kwa Katibu Tawala- ofisi ya Mkuu wa Mkoa ikihusu somo hapo juu.

2. Katika barua hiyo, ilimtambulisha kuwa Bw. **Conrad John Masabo** ni Mwanachuo wa Chuo Kikuu cha Dar- es-Salaam ambapo anakuja kwenye Wilaya yetu kwa ajili ya ukusanyaji wa takwimu.

3. Akiwa katika Halmashauri ya Buhigwe atafanya utafiti katika Kata ya Mkatanga ambapo atafika kwenye shule ya Msingi ya Nyamiguha, Mkatanga na Msagara. Utafiti utakuwa unahusu ***"Interfaces Between Children's work and Schooling in Tanzania".***

3. Kwa barua hii mnaombwa kumpa ushirikiano kadri itakavyotakiwa.

Nawatakieni utekelezaji mwema.

Nicholaus Y. Elhaki
Kny: MKURUGENZI MTENDAJI (W)
BUHIGWE

MKURUGENZI MTENDAJI (W)
BUHIGWE

Nakala:
Afisa Elimu Msingi
BUHIGWE **(Kwa taarifa)**

Appendix 17: A a copy of the Law of the Child (Child Employment) Regulations

GOVERNMENT NOTICE No. 196 published on 1/6/2012

THE LAW OF THE CHILD (CHILD EMPLOYMENT) REGULATIONS

ARRANGEMENT OF REGULATIONS

PART I

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PART IV

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PART V

CHILD EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING

PART VI

COMPLIANCE AND ENFORCEMENT

PART VII

ADMINISTRATION, ENFORCEMENT AND RESPONSE

THE LAW OF THE CHILD ACT
(CAP.13)

REGULATIONS

THE LAW OF THE CHILD (CHILD EMPLOYMENT) REGULATIONS

PART I

PRELIMINARY PROVISIONS

Citation and Commencement

1. These Regulations may be cited as the Law of the Child (Child Employment) Regulations, 2012.

Application

2.–(1) These Regulations shall apply to all employers in the public, private and the not-for profit sector in Tanzania Mainland.

Cap. 366 Cap. Nos. 101, 432, 297

(2) These Regulations shall be read with the Employment and Labour Relations Act, the Labour Institutions Act, the Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act, the Anti Trafficking of Persons Act, the Occupational Health and Safety Act, Persons with Disability Act, 2010 and any other relevant Act or Regulation.

Interpretation Cap. 13

3. In these Regulations unless the context otherwise requires:

"Act" means the Law of the Child Act;

"caregiver" means any parent, guardian, institution responsible for caring for children, village leader or a recognized village committee, teacher or any person responsible for caring for a child;

"child" means a person under the age of eighteen years;

"child employment" means any form of work permitted under these Regulations;

"care homes" means registered premises used for caring of patients, children or elderly;

"contract of Employment" means a contract or a written statement of particulars signed by the employer and the child's caretaker;

"domestic chores" are tasks undertaken at the household level as part of a socialization process;

"employee" means an individual who has entered into a contract of employment or entered into any other contract for work;

"employer" means any person who employees and it includes including the government, private institution or an executive agency;

"employment" means legally accepted activities which are within the national accounts of production boundary, activities aiming at attaining decent goals and yielding an income at least equivalent to the set sectoral minimum wage;

"forced Labour" means work or service that is imposed on the child under threat of a penalty and which the child has not undertaken voluntarily.

(a) trafficking of a child for any type of work, including domestic work, agriculture, tourist sector, mining, for sexual exploitation, in bars or any premises considered to place the child at moral, pychological, physical or any other risk;

(b) bonded child labour;

(c) slave labour or practices similar to slavery;

(d) commercial sexual exploitation;

(e) employment or recruitment of a child in armed conflict;

(f) abduction for the purposes of marriage.

"hazardous work" means any work which places a child at risk to suffer physical or mental injury;

"informal sector" includes all unregistered commercial and non commercial enterprises without a formal organisation structure;

"labour officer" means an officer prescribed by the Labour Institutions Act; Cap. 300

"light work" means a work, which is not likely to be harmful to the child's health and development; and does not prejudice the child's attendance at school participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or the child's capacity to benefit from the instruction received;

"minimum working age" refers to the age fixed by this Act and the Employment and Labour Relations Act, which is fourteen years or the age of completion of compulsory schooling, whichever is the later; Cap. 300

"premises" means a building, establishment, office, grounds, estate, site and it includes a vessel, vehicle, an aircraft and any other place in which the child works;

"night work" means a work undertaken between 8.00 pm and 6.00 am;

"person with disability" means a person with a physical, intellectual, sensory or mental impairment and whose functional capacity is limited by encountering attitudinal, environmental and institutional barriers;

"remuneration" means the total value of all payments in money made or owing to an employee;

"sectoral minimum wage" means a minimum wage determined by a sectoral wage board to specific sector in accordance with section 39 of the Labour Institutions Act;

Cap. 300

"social welfare officer" means a social welfare officer in the service of the Government;

"week" means the period of six days within which the working week of that employee normally falls.

PART II

EMPLOYMENT OF A CHILD

Minimum Age of Employment Cap. 366

4.—(1) A child who is under the age of fourteen years shall not be employed.

(2) A child who is over the age of fourteen years and still attending school shall in the following circumstance, not be employed–

(a) during school hours or on any day on which he is required to attend school;

(b) for more than two hours on any day on which he is required to attend school;

(c) for more than twelve hours a week during any school week;

(d) to work at night;

(e) to work for more than thirty six hours per week during school holidays;

(f) to do any work other than light work;

(g) to work more than six days in any one week.

(3) Notwithstanding the provision of sub-regulation (1), a child may undertake work during school hours where it forms part of work experience programme organised by a school or where such work forms part of an educational programme.

(4) Domestic chores within the family or assisting parents with domestic enterprises shall not be considered as a child employment or prohibited forms of child labour unless the conditions of such work risk the child.

Prohibited Forms of Employment Cap. 366

5.—(1) A child shall not be employed or engaged for the purposes of exploitative labour.

Cap. 366

(2) For the purposes of the Act and these Regulations, exploitative labour includes those forms of labour set out in section 5 of the Employment and Labour Relations Act, the worst forms of child labour,

hazardous work as set out in section 82 of the Act, forced labour as set out in section 6 of the Employment and Labour Relations Act and section 80 of the Act, and sexual exploitation as set out in section 83 of the Act.

The worst forms of child labour

6. The worst forms of child labour includes–

(a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;

(b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;

(c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; and

(d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which if its is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

Hazardous Employment

7.–(1) A child shall not be employed or engaged to undertake any work defined as hazardous in section 82 of the Act and under these Regulations:

Provided that hazardous labour as described in the Act shall not be deemed hazardous for a child who has reached the minimum age of sixteen years who undertakes such work under supervision and the work does not place the child at risk of his well-being, education, physical or mental health or moral or social development, and if undertaken with specific instruction or vocational training in the relevant branch.

(2) The list of hazardous work appended to the First Schedule to this Regulation shall constitute a list of all hazardous activities in which a child shall not be employed or permitted to work even on a voluntary basis.

(3) The Ministry may amend the list of hazardous activities and such amendment shall be deemed to be the correct and up to date hazardous list for the purposes of these Regulations.

Sexual Exploitation Cap. 101

8.–(1) A person shall not employ or engage children in any activity that involves sexual acts of any nature or activity that exposes the child's sexual parts or exposes a child to sexual scenes or pictures, whether on the employer's premises or elsewhere.

Cap. 16

(2) In determining other acts which constitute sexual exploitation, reference shall be made to the Penal Code Act.

(3) A person shall not expose a child to the purchase, sale, delivery or use of pornographic materials.

Lighy work

9.—(1) A child who has reached the minimum working age may be allowed to undertake light work as provided in the Act and in the Employment and Labour Relations Act.

Cap. 366

(2) The competent authority shall, in determining what constitutes light work take into account any other hazards that are present on the premises or outside the premises when the child is involved in any farm of work.

(3) Light work shall not include work that is considered hazardous in any manner and it includes working in the following premises–

(a) premises or environment that increases risk to health and safety including places with dust or fumes, dangerous chemicals, excessive noise, vibrations, heat, bending, standing, or sitting down, places that are excessively wet or filled with water, dangerous working facilities such as sharp instruments, heavy machinery, carrying heavy loads on the back, head or shoulders or the use of fire or exposed flames; and

(b) a premises that exposes a child to moral and psychological hazards including selling of pornographic materials or exposes the child to physical or sexual violence and abuse or activities, circumstances, words or any act that exposes the child to immorality or immoral behaviour.

Health and Safety, Cap. 297

10.—(1) Every employer shall be responsible for ensuring the safety and welfare of any child employee in accordance with the Occupational Health and Safety Act, and any other law regulating health and safety at work.

(2) The employer shall undertake risk assessment to ensure that the workplace is safe and all risks are minimised to the greatest extent possible or removed.

Act No. ... of 2010

(3) A child with disability shall be provided with rights and entitlements as provided in the Persons with Disability Act and any other law governing employment of people with disability.

PART III

MINIMUM EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS

Contract of employ-ment

11.—(1) A child shall not be employed without a contract or a written statement of particulars signed by the employer and countersigned by child's caregiver.

(2) The child shall express his consent to the terms and conditions of the contract or written statement of particulars in the presence of the employer and a caregiver.

(3) A contract shall be read to the child by the caregiver or a local government leader of an once where the child is employed in the absence or inability of the caretaker to do so. Cap. 366

(4) An employer shall be responsible for preparing contracts of employment.

(5) The employer shall include in the contract all rights and entitlements as provided in part III of the Employment and Labour Relations Act.

(6) The duration of contract shall be in accordance with the Employment and Labour Relations Act and where necessary, further determined by the employer in consultation with the caregiver on behalf of the child and unless otherwise stated. renewal shall be subject to re-negotiated with the child and their caregiver. Cap. 366

(7) The provisions governing occupational health and safety as provided by the law shall constitute part of the agreement.

(8) The contract shall prescribe the right to medical care for the child if a child is injured or falls ill during work.

(9) A child injured or falling ill as a result of employment shall be paid compensation in accordance with the Worker's Compensation Act.

(10) The contract shall outline the duties of a child and state the specific activities that the child will be engaged in.

(11) The provisions the Employment and Labour Relations Act may be used to guide drafting of contracts.

12.—(1) An employer shall give a child who works for more than three hours in any one day a meal or break interval of at least one hour. Break during work

(2) The child's remuneration shall not be deducted as a result of break periods.

(3) The break period shall not count towards the maximum hours of work on any one day.

(4) A child shall not be required or allowed to work overtime whether for pay or without payment.

G.N. No. 196 (contd.)

Remuneration

13.—(1) An employers shall be responsible for paying not less than the sectoral minimum wage rates.

(2) Remuneration for the child shall be in accordance with the Employment and Labour Relations Act, the wage Order and any other Regulations.

Cap. 366

(3) Deductions on remuneration shall not be made unless made in accordance with the provisions of section 28(1) of the Employment and Labour Relations Act and the sectoral minimum wage Rules.

PART IV

DUTIES OF THE EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE

Duty of the Employer

14.—(1) The employer shall inform the child of all rights, obligations, remedied and dispute settlement mechanism.

(2) The employer shall supervise and ensure that the child employee is not operating dangerous machines, using dangerous work instruments or working in a dangerous and hazardous working environment.

(3) The employer shall not discriminate the child employees on grounds of sex, ethnicity, disability, HIV AIDS status, orphanhood or any other condition.

(4) The employer shall be responsible for providing comfortable accomodation to children with disability.

(5) The employer shall be responsible for providing adequate sanitary facilities for a girl and a boy employees at all times.

(6) The employer shall be responsible for ensuring that the child is working under conditions of safety, including ensuring that they have working gear and any other safety conditions as stipulated in Occupational Health and Safety laws.

(7) The employer shall register all children working in the premises.

(8) The register shall contain details of age, ethnicity, sex, disability and contact details of caregivers.

(9) The employer shall release the register for inspection when required by any authorized institution.

(10) The employer shall abide to all laws and Regulations governing the protection of a child.

Duty of the Employee and Caregiver

15.—(1) A caregiver shall have the duty to report any abuse or exploitation to a social welfare officer or local authorities where the caregiver suspects that there is abuse or exploitation of a child employee.

(2) Any other person may report of an abise or exploitation to a social welfare officer or local authorities where that person suspects that there is abuse or exploitation.

(3) Where a case has been reported to a local authority, the local authority shall have the duty to immediately report the case to a social welfare officer for further action.

(4) A child shall report abuse or exploitation committed at the place of work to a social welfare officer, local government authority or any other institution working on children's rights.

(5) An employee shall work diligently and abide to the terms and conditions of the contract.

(6) The employee shall take measure to ensure good care use of the facilities and equipments belonging to the employer.

PART V

TRAINING AND CHILD EMPLOYMENT

Training in Selected Sectors Cap. 363

16.—(1) A child may in accordance with section 5 (5) of the Employment and Labour Relations Act and section 82 (4) of the Act, be permitted to participate in training provided that the child is not exposed any hazardous conditions.

(2) Training in a factory, ship or mine shall be conducted in accordance with an approved curriculum and under the regular inspection by a labour officer, occupational health officer and vocational education and training inspector.

(3) Where training conditions have been proved to be safe by a labour Officer or any other institutions responsible for approving standards, child of working age shall be registered by the training provider.

(4) The register shall include age of child date of birth, ethnic group, name of the child, sex, disability status, level of education, health status, names and contact of caregivers and nature of training received.

(5) The Register shall be open for inspection by a labour officer or any other officer authorized by the Act.

(6) The duration of the training in a factory, ship or mine shall not exceed four years.

(7) Use of safety gears during training in a factory, training ship or mine shall be mandatory.

(8) A contract for training shall be in line with the provisions of the Education Act, the Law of the Child (Apprenticeship) Regulations of 2011 and any other Regulations regarding apprenticeship agreements.

Certificate of Training

17.–(1) A child shall be entitled to a certificate of accomplishment after completion of the full course of training.

(2) The certificate of training shall be in line with government standards for issuing of certificates.

PART VI

COMPLIANCE AND ENFORCEMENT

Duty of a Labour Officer

Cap. 300

18.– (1) A labour officer shall inspect working conditions and standards regularly as provided for under the Labour Institutions Act and its successive.

(2) A labour officer shall have the power to interview any child found working in any premises.

(3) The interview shall be conducted in private without any other person being present.

(4) The labour officer shall have a duty of informing the child of all employment rights and entitlements including dispute resolution mechanisms.

(5) The labour officer shall be responsible for ensuring that an employer who employ children have complied with standards of employment set out in the Employment and Labour Relations Act, the Occupational Health and Safety Act and any other relevant Acts.

(6) The labour officer shall, in consultation with a Social Welfare Officer shall take all necessary measures to monitor compliance to Part VII of the Act.

(7) When a child is found working in exploitative conditions, the labour officer shall immediately inform designated authorities including a social welfare officer, local authorities and the police.

PART VII

ADMINISTRATION, ENFORCEMENT AND RESPONSE

Duty of a Social Welfare Officer

19.–(1) The social welfare officer shall, upon receiving information of a breach of these Regulations, be responsible for reporting the breach to the police.

(2) Where a case has been reported to a social welfare officer or any other designated authority, the social welfare officer or any other government official shall be ensure that any child is removed or withdrawn from that employment and is offered rehabilitative services.

(3) The social welfare officer shall ensure that the child is referred to institutions or any other fit person that provides temporary shelter or any other services as the case may be.

(4) It shall be the duty of the Social Welfare Officer to establish contact with the caregiver and discuss the circumstances leading to the withdrawal or removal of the child from the exploitative employment, and the consequences of that exploitation.

Sanctions for Breach

Cap. No. 16 and 366

20. Where a person contravenes any of the provisions regarding the employment of a child, all sanctions, remedies and penalties provided in the Act in the Penal Code, the Employment and Labour Relations Act and any other laws and Regulations shall apply.

Dispute Resolution

Cap. 300

21.–(1) Any violations of these provisions or any other provisions regarding child employment shall be instituted in courts of law in accordance to the Labour Institutions Act.

(2) A child shall be provided with legal and any other support to facilitate their attendance to a hearing in court.

(3) The regulations governing child justice shall apply with the intention of protecting the child.

SCHEDULE

Made under Regulation 7 (2)

Hazardous Work

A: AGRICULTURE SECTOR

1. Applying pesticides including fertilizers.
2. Harvest and sorting where using dangerous tools and equipments or harvesting plants that can be harmful.
3. Planting where the conditions pose threats or hazards to the health of the child.

4. Herding large number of livestock.
5. Operating farm machinery.
6. Assisting technicians in farm workshops if safety measures are not adhered to.
7. Carrying harvest to transport trucks.
8. Carrying wastes for disposal.
9. Cleaning commercial animal houses.
10. Cleaning spraying equipment.
11. Fetching and carrying fire wood for business.

B: FISHERY SECTOR

1. Placing and hauling fishnets.
2. Sorting fish.
3. Cooking for commercial purposes.
4. Carrying ice blocks.
5. Degutting de-scaling, Bisecting fish.
6. Fish salting and drying.
7. Draining boats.
8. Deep sea fishing.

C: MINING AND QUARRYING SECTOR

1. Shaft, drift or trench digging.
2. Carrying ore from shaft.
3. Drilling and blasting.
4. Crushing ore.
5. Grinding or sifting ore.
6. Planning wet and dry sand.
7. Carrying water.
8. Amalgamation and treating the mineral.

D: CONSTRUCTION SECTOR

1. Cement mixing.
2. Painting.
3. Brick making (clay or cement).
4. Trenching.
5. Carrying water
6. Carrying bricks.
7. Excavation operation.
8. Demolition operations.
9. Motor vehicle helper.
10. Store crushing in quarries and transportations to site.

E: SERVICE SECTOR

(a) Domestic services

1. Repairing equipment and dwellings.
2. Giving personal assistance and care to care homes.
3. Hauling firewood and other fuel.
4. Providing Security.