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GENDERED PERSPECTIVES AND EXPERIENCES OF WORK: A CASE STUDY OF THE LIFE WORLDS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN RAKAI DISTRICT, RURAL UGANDA.

DEDICATION

To my beloved mother, Nabukeera Harriet

My beloved husband Andy Oduor Omolo and to our daughter Heaven

Thank you for always being there.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ACRONYMS

ACRWC   African Charter on the right and Welfare of Children

AU   African Union

CAS   Child Activities Survey

FHHs   Female Headed Households

IMR   Infant Mortality Rate

MGLSD   Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development

NFL   National Labour Force Survey

UBOS   Uganda Bureau of Statistics

UCRNN   Uganda Child Rights NGO Network

UNCRC   United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

UNHS   Uganda National Household Survey

USE   Universal Secondary Education

UPE   Universal Primary Education

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ABSTRACT

Although children's work has been much researched in Africa, the complex ways in which the intersection of culture and gender shapes the type of work children do is less understood within childhood studies. The main aim of this research was to explore the gendered perspectives and experiences of work identifying the type, duration and range of productive and reproductive work children perform, and exploring how the societal perspectives and attitudes towards gendered social roles shape children's work in rural Uganda. More concretely, the study achieves the following interrelated objectives; a) to explore family and societal expectations from the children, b) to find out the different work roles or tasks performed by children, c) how the community in Rakai perceive children's contributions towards the community and d) to explore how girls and boys combine work, play and leisure.

Semi structured interviews, focused group discussions, field notes and documentation, recall, dairies and archival record were used. Snowballing and purposive sampling were used to recruit participants. Qualitative methods were used to collect the data as a way to encourage participants to freely express their views. The study was rooted in the sociology of childhood which acknowledges children as social actors rather than the traditional perception of them being inadequate, incompetent and dependant. Right based approach was adopted in order to position working children in Rakai as rights holders, as well as a gender approach which identify children in the social interactions and societal values based on their perspectives and experiences as well as those of their guardians.

The study found out that children believed that they make substantial work contributions to the rural production and reproduction both independently and along adults. The community believed that children's work is vital to both the households and the community and cannot be separated from that of their family's survival as there is interdependency between children and the elders of the community. The existence of female headed household has increased the enrolment of children into work as the need arises to support their households thus giving birth to expectations that translates into work. Erosion of traditional livelihoods has led to the loss of children's informal socialisation practises at work, and there is integration of work, play and leisure by the children while strategizing ways of making the three aspects go hand in hand.

Fostered children form a special category in rural Uganda and they are quite numerous but their perspective was not studied. The study therefore recommendations specific research to explore their experiences and perspectives. This is because the study questions the implications of fostering as a way to ensure children's bright future.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

This thesis is intended to explore the gendered perspectives and experiences of both girls and boys in a rural Ugandan setting. Despite the numerous works of different authors on the matter (see Abebe, 2011 and 2007, Punch, 2003, Nieuwenhuys, 1996 and others), little is known about gendered work with specific focus on rural Uganda. This study is based on the children's perspectives and experiences and of their parents or guardians as well as other and other key informants, the work performed by girls or boys is mostly unpaid domestic work, although there are a few that are paid in kind instead of money. According to Uganda National Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) 2013, children between the age as of 1-17 account for the majority of Uganda's population whereby the 86 percent resides in rural areas with only 14 percent in urban centres. Though the study makes no distinction about gender.

While there have been many studies on working children in Uganda, domestic or household work for children especially girls has been least recognised thus receiving little attention (Abebe, 2009; Nieuwenhuys, 1996; Punch, 2001). However, some studies (see Punch 2001) that show the involvement of children in unpaid household work have been conducted mainly seeking parents or guardians' views instead of the children themselves, yet some studies (see UBOS, 2013) show that household chores are mainly done or performed within one's own home where girls tend to be heavily involved than boys. Meaning that children themselves are involved in these chores. Therefore, children the best persons to be asked about the experiences and their own perspectives on work rather than their parents or guardians. Accordingly, this study examines how gender and culture influences the perspectives as well as experiences of girls and boys in a rural setting.

Drawing on a range of methods that are qualitative in nature, I used a multi-method approach to obtain diverse information which allow easy triangulation (Ennew *et al.* 2009). These included semi structured interviews, Focused Group Discussions, Field notes and documentation, Recall, Dairies and archival record. In addition to that I also included ethnography methods such as observation and participant observation, this helped me in the process of building rapport with the participants as well as getting acquainted to the place of study. (Young & Barret 2001a). All methods were in line with the ethical and participant moralities of sociology of childhood that sees children as active agents and meaning producing beings. (Young & Barret 2001b).

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Uganda is a country where children significantly contribute towards the livelihoods of families and the community at large. For example, Children in different parts of Uganda as young as six years are involved in domestic work which is often done alongside an adult. In most cultural societies for example, girls and boys are taught all kinds of work as a way for adults to see to the continuity of the family livelihood thus child culture is seen as a practice for adult life. Most recent research work on the division of work especially domestic work in families and societies, revolves around gender differences and is based on the assumption that women and children are always left out yet they are active participants in the constructing of both their social lives and the lives of the people around them.

In addition, their experiences and perspectives are always left out especially those of young girls and boys as their parents and guardians are always approached on matters concerning them thus their views have been less valued ((Punch, 2001, Nieuwenhuys, 1996)). As a result of preoccupation with work, children especially in rural Uganda always miss out on important aspects of their childhood such as play, school, leisure and many others (Nakazibwe, 2011). Thus I sought to seek gendered perspectives and experiences of children towards work who are based in a rural setting. As Mayall (2002) argues that an important issue is children's own perspectives of their daily experience, and these may be sought in order to construct an account of childhood (cited from Ekuman's master thesis, 2010:6).

1.2 My inspiration

I was inspired by the literature I read during my first semester that talked about work that is done by children. I found out that there is a lot of literature that focuses on gender as a factor of analysis and with children's perspectives and experiences being sought. See for example, Abebe 2007 and 2011, Punch 2003, Hunter and Pamela 2008. For instance, Abebe, talks about the gender based division of labour in rural Gedeo, and he shows the different tasks performed by girls and boys such as preparing food, sweeping floors and so on (Abebe, 2007). Though there is a lot of work that has its focus on gendered perspectives, there is less literature in regards to rural Uganda, thus my study complements the findings of the existing authors on the matter with special emphasis on rural Uganda. The study explored the perspectives and experiences of both girls and boys towards work in Rakai District, rural Uganda.

The study is also inspired by the fact that young people are knowledgeable agents as expressed in social studies of childhood (James *et al,* 1998). To capture this knowledge about children's lives as active participants in their everyday working life, I used qualitative methods so as to get children's experiences, perceptions and their understanding of what they know about work in relation to gender. I selected qualitative methods including observation, recall, interviews, diaries, field notes taking and focus group discussions because they enabled me to dig deep into the lives of my respondents and complimented each other where one method could not work.

1.3 Aim of the Study

This study aims to explore the gendered perspectives and experiences towards work and how the societal perspectives and attitudes towards gendered social roles shape children's tasks.

1.4 Study Objectives

- To explore how family and societal perspectives and expectations from the children shape the gender dimension of work in a rural setting.
- To explore the gendered perspectives and experiences of work by boys and girls.
- To find out the different work roles or tasks performed by children and how rural community members perceive their children's contributions towards family livelihood.
- To explore how girls and boys in this area combine work, play and leisure.

1.5 Research Questions

- What are the gendered perspectives and experiences of work by boys and girls?
- What are different work roles or tasks performed by children and how rural community members perceive their children's contributions towards family livelihood?
- How does family and societal perspectives and expectations from the children shape the gender dimension of work in a rural setting?
- How do girls and boys in this area combine work, play and leisure?

1.6 Significance of the study

The study will be a significant endeavour in extending the existing knowledge and understanding of rural gendered perspectives of children. In addition to that it will give a holistic insight into the role of children not only in relation to the household/domestic work but

also to the society at large. The study will further act as a reference to the future researchers on the subject of gendered perspectives and experiences of work in a rural setting.

1.7 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is organized on chapter basis. In **chapter one** I give the introduction to the topic and why I found it necessary to carry out a study on the above topic. In **chapter two**, I give a description of the study area, giving the background to gendered work and the situation of children in Rakai district and Uganda as a whole. In **chapter three** I look at the theoretical approaches that formed part of the study topic, whereas in **chapter four**, I look at methodology, the ethical issues and the challenges I encountered while carrying out fieldwork in a rural setting. In **chapters five and six,** the emphasis is put on the empirical data I got from the field regarding gendered perspectives and experience towards work in rural Uganda, and finally in **chapter seven** I conclude this thesis by showing the implications of the study and also the suggestions for further studies to be carried out.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND AND THE STUDY AREA

Gender, Work and Children in Uganda

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an insight into the state of gender, work and children in Uganda. A focus on the background, social, cultural, geographic, demographic, livelihood and political context that have implications to understanding of the data that is to be presented in the analysis chapter. Additionally, this chapter looks more at the overview of Uganda and the research area.

2.1 Overview of Uganda

Uganda is a landlocked country located in the western part of East Africa. Uganda is divided into four regions, the Northern Region, the Central Region, the Eastern Region and the Western Region, and subdivided into 111 districts with Kampala being the largest urban centre and capital of Uganda. The country's terrain is mostly plateau with rims of mountains. About 15 percent of Uganda consists of lakes, rivers and swamps; and about 7 percent comprises highlands. Arable land accounts for about 28 percent of the total area and permanent crops for over nine percent. Draining of wetlands for agricultural use, deforestation, overgrazing, soil erosion, water hyacinth infestation in Lake Victoria and widespread poaching are among the environmental challenges facing the country (UBOS, 2014). It is bordered by Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Southern Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

2.2 Population, Fertility and Mortality rates

Uganda has an estimated population of 34.3 million people with a total of 83.58% being rural population and over half of the overall population comprising of children below the age of 15 years (UBOS, 2013). It also has one of the highest fertility rate in the world of about 7 children per woman (UBOS, 2014). With higher fertility levels in the rural areas compared to the urban areas (6.8 and 3.8 respectively). This is because in rural areas there is a less or no access to family planning services and the ignorance about family planning methods is high (*ibid*: 14).

There has been a general improvement in mortality levels over time. The trend of Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and Under Five Mortality over the period 1995 to 2011 declined from 97 to 54 deaths per 1,000 live births between 1995 and 2011 while the under-five mortality declined from 162 to 90 deaths per 1,000 live births over the same period. The 2011 Uganda

Demographic Health Survey showed that Infant Mortality Rate is lower among children in urban areas as well as those born to educated and wealthier mothers (Statistics, 2014).

Human development indicators are slowly improving. Life expectancy at birth, for example, increased from 47 years in 1991 to 58 years in 2011, and the under-five mortality rate fell from 176 to 74 per 1,000 live births over the same period. Access to improved sanitation facilities rose from 28 to 34 percent over the period from 1991 to 2010. Uganda's UN Human Development Index (HDI) improved from 0.306 in 1990 to 0.456 in 2012. Notwithstanding these advances, Uganda ranks 161st out of 187 countries in the 2012 Human Development Index (UBOS, 2014).

2.3 Language and Economy

Uganda is a multi-lingual country with 53 dialects with English, Kiswahili and Luganda being the main languages. Its economy is mainly based on agriculture due to the favourable tropical climate. The economy has experienced gradual structural transformation over the past two decades, moving away from subsistence agriculture to a mix of commercial agriculture, services and industry. This is so because of the change in the climate which is caused by the draining of wetlands for agricultural use, deforestation, overgrazing, soil erosion, water hyacinth infestation in Lake Victoria, among other environmental challenges facing the country (UBOS, 2014). Women are generally poorer than men, participate less in the labour market, and their wages are significantly lower than men's. Women's land rights are limited in Uganda both by inequitable legal structure and by traditional practice (UBOS, 2014).

Uganda experienced economic growth varying between four percent and 10 percent over the past decade. Growth remained well above the Sub-Saharan Africa average in the face of exogenous shocks, including the secondary effects of the global economic crisis, bad weather and surges in international commodity prices. For instance, the country GDP grew by 4.1 percent in 2009, by 6.2 percent in 2010 and 2011 and by 2.8 percent in 2012. (UBOS, 2014).

2.4 Education

The primary net enrolment has hovered above 90 percent in recent years, contributing to increase literacy. This was due to the introduction of Universal Primary Education in 1997 and Universal Secondary Education in 2007. Which saw an increase in school enrolment, however, Uganda's education programme still faces major challenges such as poor infrastructure, limited

resources and the low quality of education among others. For example, Children's Rights NGO Network (UCRNN)'s report of 2012 says that there is still concern about the high drop outs rates, the low transitions rate to secondary school and the insufficient number of trained teachers and in particular the deteriorating quality of education. The free education policy of government still has challenges because of Hidden costs of free education; uniforms, school meals among others, (UCRNN, 2012).

2.5 Poverty

About 67% of Ugandans are either poor or highly vulnerable to poverty, (New Vision, 2013) living below the poverty line. Thus spending $ 1.20 (about sh3, 170) per day. (Anguyo, 2013). There are categories of the poor that are more vulnerable and disadvantaged than others. By virtue of their numbers, children and youth are heavily represented among the poor in Uganda. They constitute about 76 percent of the population based on the 2002/03 Uganda National Household Survey (UNHS), (Kabann I.B., 2004). Poverty among children is exacerbated by living with HIV/AIDS, being orphans, lack of basic necessities, no support for health and education and living in conflict areas. Youths on the other hand lack employment opportunities as they have inadequate skills, they have limited access to productive assets like land and they suffer from problems associated with early marriages. Women and widows in all socio-economic categories are heavily represented among the poor due to lack of rights and control over major productive assets resulting from the traditional roles ascribed by society, the burden of many dependents and land or property grabbing by relatives upon the death of the spouse. Other extremely vulnerable and poor people include those who are physically disabled, the elderly, internally displaced persons and refugees. (*Ibid*).

Due to the above situations many children especially those in rural areas like Kalisizo are compelled to engage in work which is either paid or unpaid family work to support their own livelihoods or those of their families, in some instances at the expense of their families. Due to poverty some scholars such as Abebe, 2009 and Bourdillon, 2006 have argued that poverty is one of the main factors, if not the absolute reason that compels children's work especially in the global south. Nieuwenhuys (1996) argues that children's work contribution to the family economy can be perceived as an indicator of poverty, if not its cause.

In addition, Bourdillon (2006) argues that in general, children in poor countries work greater than their counterparts in the richer countries. I will agree with Brobbey (2011), that there are

differences among children at work, and that all children in poor countries do not work the same way or have the same work load, this is because even in the same society children from the poorest families work more than the rich.

To reduce on poverty in the country, the government of Uganda has fostered farmer organisations and increased its partnerships with private actors to promote the integration of smallholder farmers into larger value chains, it has enabled Ugandans to take advantage of the available jobs and other income earning opportunities, expanded enrolment to meet the large unmet demand for vocational courses among disadvantaged sections of the population. Specialised training for potential professional entrepreneurs should also be expanded to enhance financial literacy, opportunity identification, firm formation and business professionalism to mention but a few. (Ministry of Finance, 2014).

2.6 The Cultural Phenomenon of work and a working child in Uganda

In Uganda the term work and child labour are undistinguishable, therefore one cannot have a negative connotation when mentioning the term 'work' or 'child labour' to an ordinary community member. This is so because there is one word for example among the Baganda to mean both work and labour, and this word is 'emirimo' in plural and 'omulimo' in singular. Therefore, to add child labour or child work will mean 'emirimo gya baana' thus meaning the same thing for both in the local language thus being difficult to explain the difference between the two aspects to the natives. In the recent research that I carried out during my Bachelors level about child labour, I found out that a lot of work that is termed as child labour was not viewed as child labour by the local people. Therefore, I would like to find out their perception of children`s work. (Nakazibwe, 2011).

For decades, the involvement of children in work is as a result of tradition within local cultures. This is so because belonging to a certain family means learning learn how to work starting with domestic chores at an early age. Children as young as 6 years of age do domestic chores such as cleaning the compound, the house, washing clothes and dishes and many more. Some Ugandan cultures such the Baganda, consider the work given to children as character building, handiness development of children as well as a cultural tradition where children are expected to follow the footsteps of their parents or relatives. Additionally, some cultures such as the Karamojong and Bakonjo do not value the education of girls as most parents think that girls only need informal education thus staying at home and doing most domestic chores with their

mothers. Such chores include, cooking, doing farm work, washing clothes and dishes. For example, the Karimojong, girls are prepared for marriage starting at the age of 5, engaged at 12. Therefore, education is seen as interference with this tradition by the Karamojong and it is after 12 years of age that most parents neglect duties of educating the girls (Kagumire, 2013).

2.6.1 The Legal Phenomenon of Work

The African Union's (AU) African Charter of the Rights and Welfare of the Child of 1991, Article 31 part (d), asserts that a child is to preserve and strengthen African cultural values in his relations with other members of the society, in the spirit of tolerance, dialogue and consultation and to contribute to the moral well-being of society.

Due to the responsibility that is bestowed upon children in Uganda, it becomes so hard to report a parent or guardian who involves his or her child in child labour. This is because if the case is taken to the Police, the Police's response would be that it is a child's responsibility to his or her family, a responsibility that is made clear with the ACRWC article 31 that 'Every child shall have responsibilities towards his family and society'.

Most recent research work on the division of work especially domestic work in families and societies revolves around gender issues, and is based on the assumption that women and children are always left out yet they are active participants in the constructing of both their social lives and the lives of the people around them, therefore children are not just passive subjects of social structures and process (A. P. A. James, 1990). In most African societies such as Uganda, children are taught all kinds of work as a way for adults to see to the continuity of the family as well as society through their children thus child culture is seen as a rehearsal for adult life. (Shildkrout, 1978).

Some cultural societies in Uganda such as the Baganda, Bagisu, Banyankole to mention but a few, value children very much as they are seen as partly contributors to society as well as adults of tomorrow. In some cultural settings and laws, children are seen as having responsibilities both to the society and at the same time to their parents. Agency of children is seen as a very important aspect for example, the AU`s African Charter of the Rights and Welfare of the Child of 1991, Article part (a), states that children have an obligation to work for the cohesion of the family, to respect their parents, superiors and elders at all times and to assist them in case of need.

This shows that children's work is not only useful to the social construction of the society but also to the own well-being as Bissell asserts that when families have to work hard, family life involves participation in this struggle, children see their contributions to their family livelihood as contributing to their status in their families. (Bissell, 2003). Additionally, Bourdillon says that in such cases loss of income involves not only material loss for the family and the children, but also loss in status and self-esteem for children. (Bourdillon, 2006).

2.7 Elements or Determinants of Children's work

According to the Uganda Bureau of Statics (UBOS, 2008) there is an overall 96% of total economically active 7-14 year olds work in agricultural work which accounts for almost all children activity in rural areas. More so their counterparts who live in urban areas are slightly more likely to be involved in waged work.

2.7.1 Gender, Age and Birth Order

The sex traditionally influenced the different types of work that was done both in the community as well the family as a unit. Though according to UBOS, today there is no major differences in children's involvement in employment by sex as it was traditionally thus suggesting that today gender considerations do not play an important role in assignment of children's work responsibilities in Uganda (UBOS, 2013). Though it is like so today, more females are more involved in household chores than males, thereby making them (females) less likely to attend school than their male counterparts (UBOS, 2008).

Age and birth order are huge determinants of when and what a child will do. In rural areas such as Kalisizo, a child as young as four will be taught house chores, such as washing plates, fetching water and firewood and so on while in the urban centre a four-year-old will not even know how to remove his or her clothes. According to UBOS (2008), a child's possibility of working increases with age, it will not matter whether a child is in the rural or urban setting. With the addition of years onto his or her age, work will never be avoided. For the case of birth order the older children will often have more responsibilities than the young ones. This is so because if a child is the oldest in the family, he will have the duty of teaching his siblings how to do different chores in addition to what she or he does, which will be less than what his young siblings do.

2.7.2 Orphanhood

Orphanhood is very common in Uganda, a result in part of the HIV/AIDS crisis. Estimates from NLF & CAS 2011/2012 indicate that about 1,240,700 Ugandan children aged 6- 13 years are maternal, paternal or double orphans, accounting for about 16 percent of this age group (UBOS, 2014). With studies in western and central Uganda by Hunter 1991 and Dunn 1992 found that orphan hood was highest in Rakai district (12.8%) in comparison to Luwero 5.6%, Masaka 5% and Hoima 4.4% (James P.M., 1999).

2.7.3 Place of Residence and Household Income

Children in the rural area are more likely to be involved in more work, especially house hold chores than those who stay in urban areas. According to UBOS (2008) it argues that holding other factors constant, children living in rural areas are 21 percentage points less likely to attend school full-time, and 21 percentage points more likely to combine work and school, compared to their counterparts living in cities and towns.

What a family earns will play an important role in its decisions regarding children's involvement in work. The lower the family income, the higher the chances of children's involvement in work and perhaps missing school so as to support their family's livelihood. (UBOS, 2008).

Figure I: A large proportion of both girls and boys perform household chores

Percentage of children performing household chores, by sex and age
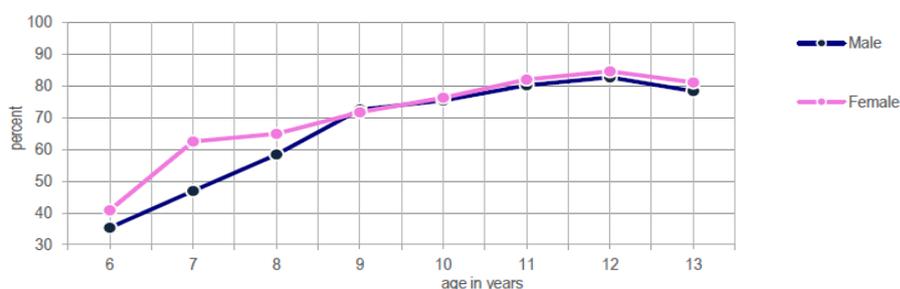
Source: UCW calculations based on Uganda Labour Force and Child Activities Survey (NLF&CAS) 2011/2012

Figure I shows that a higher share of girls than boys perform chores, although the difference by sex in involvement in chores is not large up to the age of 13. Performing household chores is more common among rural children than among children living in towns or cities (not shown). This result is likely attributable in part to the better coverage and closer proximity of basic services in urban areas.

Figure II. Children's involvement in work is much higher when household chores are also considered

(a) Percentage of children in work by age and sex
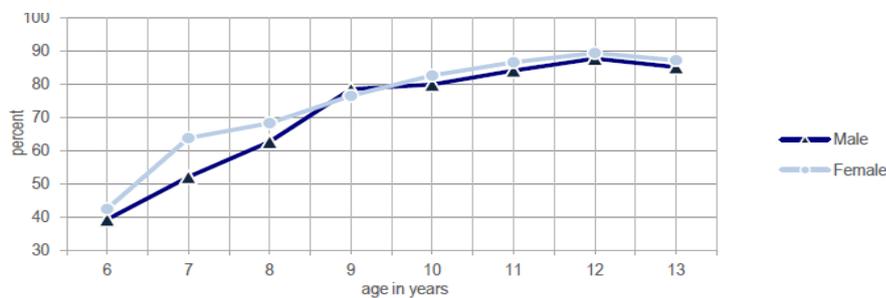
(b) Percentage of children in work by age and residence
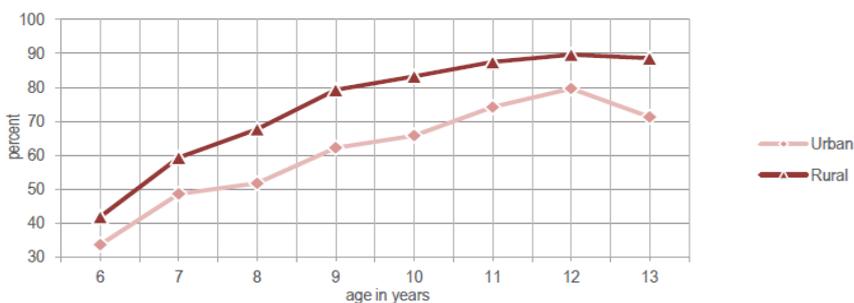
Source: UCW calculations based on Uganda Labour Force and Child Activities Survey (NLF&CAS) 2011/2012

Figure II shows the involvement in work rises to 73 percent among Ugandan 6-13 year-olds, over 5.6 million in absolute terms, using a combined measure of work. This measure simply

combines involvement in economic and non-economic activity as defined in the 2011/2012 Uganda Labour Force and Child Activities Survey questionnaire, i.e., children spending at least one hour in employment during the week prior to the survey and/or some time on household chores in the week prior to the survey. Girls' work involvement using this combined measure exceeds that of boys at almost every age.

2.8 Rakai District.

Rakai District is about 160 km south of Kampala. It abuts the Tanzanian border to the south and Lake Victoria to the east is 4,989 square kilometres and is comprised of over 500,000 people[1], it is mostly inhabited by the Baganda tribe and Luganda is the most spoken language of the area. With an annual growth rate of around 3.2%, overpopulation is perpetual problem.

The district, like much of Uganda, receives ample rainfall and is comprised of green rolling hills interspersed with numerous wetlands and little remaining forest. About 70% of the population is subsistence farmers.

Figure III: A map of Uganda showing the Location of Rakai

Rakai

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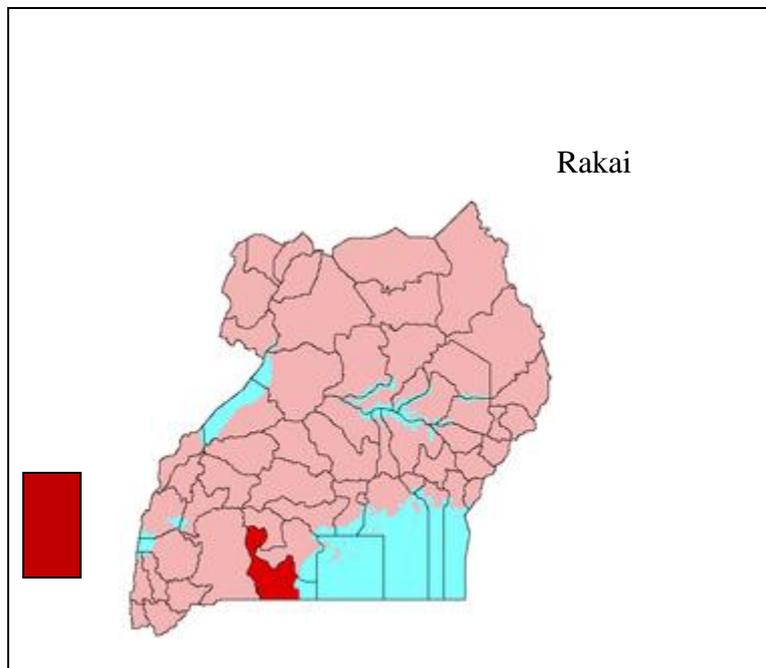
[1] http://www.ubos.org/onlinefiles/uploads/ubos/statistical_abstracts/Statistical_Abstract_2014.pdf accessed on 15 Sept 2015.

Source:https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/5/52/Uganda_Rakai.png/22
0px-Uganda_Rakai.png

2.8.1 Kalisizo the Research Site

Kalisizo is found in Rakai district and comprises of seven parishes which include; Kakoma, Kyango, Ninzi, Kalisizo Tr, Matale, Kikungwe and Miti. Due to the ample rainfall received, the local community lives mainly on substance farmers growing staple crops such as bananas, maize, sweet potatoes and cassava. This diet is supplemented with locally grown fresh fruits like pineapples, jackfruit, mangoes and avocados as well as tomatoes and greens. Chicken, beans and fish from Lake Victoria are all important sources of protein, making its source of income agriculture. Most families live in simple houses with either mud, waddle or brick walls. There are also a number of lakeside fishing communities that are mostly comprised of migrant workers and larger towns that serve as important trading and commercial centres.

As the daily life in Uganda revolves around the large families. The fertility rate is 6.5 children per woman making economic betterment difficult and families typically live in multi-generational[2] compounds. Education is important to Ugandans, who have free primary education and a primary school enrolment rate of 82%.[3] While free secondary education (Universal Secondary education – USE) was introduced in Uganda in 2007, it remains largely inaccessible to many boys and girls. The few schools participating in USE means that students often have to walk very long distances. On the other hand, school fees in private schools are out of reach for the majority of students (Asankha, 2011), which encouraging school dropout and early marriages.

2.8.2 HIV/AIDS and Orphanhood

According to Daily Monitor a daily newspaper in Uganda, the first case of HIV/AIDS in Uganda was recorded in Rakai District in a place called Kasensero Landing Site and the district has been particularly hard hit by the disease. The area has had a high number of AIDS victims despite numerous interventions by government and humanitarian organisations. The HIV prevalence rate in Rakai is 12 per cent, (Mutyaba, 2014). Kalisizo being one the villages

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[2]Multigenerational means the relationship between different generations.

[3] http://www.mtu.edu/peacecorps/programs/civil/pdfs/jonathan-mellor-thesis-final.pdf accessed on 15 Sept 2015.

found in Rakai district, it was affected in the same way as other places in the district and according to Sewankambo *et al*, HIV was the leading cause of adult death in Rakai at large (Sewankambo *et al*., 1994). Children were major victims of HIV/AIDS, for example the proportion of orphan households headed by elderly caregivers, the number of child headed households and sibling dispersal or migration (Foster & Williamson, 2000), recurrent psychological trauma, starting with the illness and deaths of their parents, followed by cycles of poverty, malnutrition, stigma, exploitation, and often sexual abuse (Kamali *et al*., 1996). All these have compelled children to engage into both paid and unpaid work to support both themselves and the livelihoods of their families. This is a problem not only to Rakai as a district or Kalisizo as a village but to Uganda as a whole. With estimates from National Labour Force and the Child Activities Survey (NFL & CAS) 2011/2012 indicate that about 1,240,700 Ugandan children aged 6- 13 years are maternal, paternal or double orphans, accounting for about 16 percent of this age group and 6-13 years' age group, are in a fostering arrangement. Fostering arrangements refer to situations in which both parents are alive but the child is being fostered in another household, usually headed by a grandparent or by another relative. (UBOS, 2014).

I had two settings in which I carried out the study, a school setting where I got to meet the children Monday to Friday for three weeks and a home setting where I met children and their guardians at their respective homes. I did this after school hours and on Saturdays and Sundays. The field work was carried out in line with the school calendar and outside school. I had time at school from June to the beginning of July just before children broke off for holidays, giving me time with them outside the school setting from mid-July to mid-August.

All in all, the above background on the social, cultural, geographic, demographic, livelihood, and political context of Rakai as the research area and Uganda at large, gives an insight of how the life world of my participants revolve and how this shaped the implications of understanding the empirical data in both chapter five and six.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

The theoretical frame work in doing research with children determines how children or your participants are conceptualized in the study, while understanding their everyday lives. In this chapter, I will discuss the theoretical approaches of childhood I employed in the study. Particularly I talk about the dawning paradigm of the Sociology of Childhood as the main theoretical frame work upon which I did this study. Furthermore, I will discuss other childhood theories and perspectives as well as approaches such as the gender perspectives, rights based approach and the actor oriented perspective which serve as a foundation for this thesis.

3.1 Sociology of Childhood

The sociology of childhood emerged in an effort to change the traditional perception of children in which children were seen as inadequate, incompetent and dependant, where society had to invest in everything such as their care, training and upbringing from the time when they were seen as representatives of the future of the social world (A. James, 2009). These were being constructed by dominant discourses of sociology who were more interested in the processes of socialization under the umbrella of family and those from development psychology who were interested in the development of the child. Thus viewing childhood as a time of becoming, a time of development from irrationality to rationality and from simplicity to complexity of thoughts by developmental psychologists (James and Prout 1997: 10). This means that for sociologists and developmental psychologists' children were always studied through the adults' views and understanding through a family or a school as a socialization unity. Such hindered the possibility of children's agency to be seen, where this agency is conceptualised as the capacity to act independently (A. James & James, 2012).

 However, sociology of childhood recognises children as social actors and participants in the formation of their own childhoods (Alanen, 2001). Therefore, children are the best research participant in a study of their relationships, experiences and their views since they are the experts in their own world (*ibid*). The theoretical concept postulates that children are active in the construction of their own lives, the lives of those around them and generally the society in which they live, thus they are viewed as beings and worthy of studying in their own right (A. P. A. James, 1990). This implies that children are capable of making meaning of their

experiences and the environments (Alderson, 2000) and should be accorded the opportunity to express themselves using the language they understand better.

The research process was informed by the need to understand the different perspectives of children's work. This was achievable through engaging the participation of children and their adult caregivers. Which is contrary to the dominant framework from the disciplines of psychology and sociology in which childhood was a preconceived notion of human becoming (Jenks, 1982). (Chris Jenks, 1982). I will explain in detail the key doctrines under the sociology of childhood that are included in the study, these include agency, and socially constructed approaches.

3.2 Actor oriented Approach

Sociology of childhood recognizes children as social actors in their own right (O'Kane, 2000). In illustrating the meaning of this perspective when researching with children, Nilsen (1990, p.47) argues that it 'involves an attitude where children are regarded as ''whole'' and ''complete'' human beings' (Okimait, 2014). Therefore, the concept of complete being is a concept that means children's voices need to be heard through participatory research rather than visiting their vulnerability. Moreover, children are active participants in shaping their social lives, other peoples' lives and the societies in which they live in (Jenks, 1982; O'Kane, 2000; Prout & James, 1990). The recognition of children as complete-beings in the study provided a ground upon which children were able to participate alongside adults.

3.2.1 Working Children and Agency

James & Prout, (1997, p. 8) define children agency as being active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and the societies in which they live. Though children have their own agency, some researchers such as Robson *et al* (2007) define agency as the individual's own capacity, competency and activity through which they navigate the contexts and positions of their life worlds while negotiating and fulfilling the choices of their regular activities and lives. This means that although children have their own agency, they are not independent as beings in the society but rather there is an interaction between the children and other members of the society in form of family contexts, gender, age, ethnicity, livelihood opportunities or constraints and interpersonal relationships (Robson *et al*; Abebe 2013), thus interdependence agency (Abebe, 2013). Children's agency has no absolute autonomy but rather a relation to power that is bestowed on them to participate

and have influence in their lives, meaning that their daily livelihoods are intricately entwined with and are inseparable from that of the family collective *(ibid: 72).*

The participants who were mostly girls have independently or with the help of their parents or guardians carried out their duties and obligations such as child minding, cooking, cleaning and many others. Though children in this area have the agency to carry out such duties on their own, sometimes it is limited or unlimited depending on the circumstances through which this agency takes place. This is what Robson *et al* (2007) discuss a continuum of agency in which young people's agency or power or control over their agency. Thus young people's experiences of agency change depending on who they are with, what they are doing and where they are, meaning they can experience a lack of agency in some areas of their lives, such as being forced to act against their will but can exercise agency in other areas and the continuum moves along according.

On the same note, Klocker, (2007) proposes a notion of thick and thin agency which can be helpful in understanding this continuum of agency in relation to children and young people's constrained agency in different contexts;

> 'thin' agency refers to decisions and everyday actions that are carried out within highly restrictive contexts, characterized by few viable alternatives. 'Thick' agency is having the latitude to act within a broad range of options. It is possible for a person's agency to be 'thickened' or 'thinned' over time and space, and across their various relationships. Structures, contexts, and relationships can act as 'thinners' or 'thickeners' of individual's agency, by constraining or expanding their range of viable choices (ibid, p. 85).

Klocker (2007) goes ahead to show the contending chapters which thins or thickens young people's agency such as age where children and young people are expected to have respect for their elders as well inter-generational responsibility, poverty, gender and ethnicity, personal disabilities, lack of jobs, social and cultural norms and so on.

Klocker (2007) advises researchers to 'thicken' the agency of their participants whose agency have been thinned through various contexts and relationships through practicing action research. Thus this study is looking at the gendered perspectives and experiences of rural girls and boys thus treating them as competent and capable participants who are worthy being recognised as experts in their daily own lives, the lives of those around them and the societies in they live in (James and Prout, 1997: 8).

3.3 Social Construction

According to this theory childhood is a social construct shaped by a range of social, historical and cultural factors and therefore differently defined, interpreted and understood by different cultures (Jenks, James and Prout 1998 cited Frankline, 2001) (A. James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). This means that childhoods do vary across cultures, in time and place and can be comparable from different worlds. Harts (2006) points out that there is a vital need to consider the way in which childhood is conceptualised and experienced within different societies and cultures. According to Jenks (2004) Childhood is a social category that emerges from attitudes, beliefs and values of particular societies at a particular point of time and it makes reference to a social structure and manifested through certain typical forms of conduct all of which are essentially related to a particular cultural setting. Prout and James (1990, p. 8), point out that the social construction of childhood 'provides an interpretive frame for contextualising the early years of human life and with the above argument, the concept of sex or gender as a social construction is perceived and presented differently within society.

One of the common constructions of sex is the socio-cultural perspective that girls and boys are and should do different chores and have different responsibilities. Similarly, such dominant social constructions continue to affect the different responsibilities across societies. The perceived rational thinking of society is constructed within predetermined processes to correct the feminine or masculine so as to have a so-called 'normal' social order. The social construction of a child within some Ugandan contexts is influenced by culture and social responsibility that adults have towards their children. For instance, Karamojong girl is expected to build a house called Manyata and it is a normal task for a female whereas among the Baganda a girl cannot involve herself in building as it is considered an abomination and a male responsibility.

The social construction with regard to an African setup involve certain role expectations such helping with domestic chores within the home. This has also been emphasised also in the ACRWC, article 31 in the duties and responsibilities of the child. Although the dynamics of culture have paved way for diversity in childrearing practices among African societies especially with the first growing influence of western models of childrearing, Prochner and Kabiru (2011) argue that certain traditions still inform a great deal of childcare practices in Africa.

As a social structure, it cannot exist as whole per se but is rather knowledgeable by a combination of different variables and other social structures such as gender, class, and ethnicity (Prout & James 1990, and Alanen, 2001; Qvortrup, 2002). The interaction of childhood and gender for instance was demonstrated by the less involvement of men as home carers in regards to domestic chores. This was reinforced by the socio-cultural construction of the patriarchal structure of the society which still largely define the child rearing as well as domestic chores as a responsibility of women. The structural debate is furthered enhanced by Qvortrup (2002), when he calls for the study of childhood should be done in relation to other groups, historical periods and among various nations. For instance, he argues that the macro structural analysis affecting both children and adults even though children most times have no control over them, are all the same and have a big impact and influence on their lives.

Due to the social structures that are constructed within a certain society children learn and understand local sets of the complex local rules, behaviours as well responsibilities, in these communities like Kalisizo learn about which tasks to do as they are assigned to them, how they are supposed to play and with who and what type of games, their hopes for the future and how they are reared and educated by parents, peers, older children as well as adults in the community (Broch, 2012). Kalisizo boys and girls learn through these processes of socialisation which develop and enhances their competences and skills needed for adequate adaption to their own society. Gender as well as gender roles are socially constructed terms that make meaning to people in a specific context.

3.4 Gender Approach.

According to James & James (2012) gender is an active ongoing process and an important basic organisational principle for any culture or institution, while sex is mostly attributed to biology, anatomy, hormones and physiology, gender is an achieved status which is constructed through psychological, cultural and social means, (West & Zimmerman, 1987) (125). Thus when referring to gender, the focus shifts from internal matters of a certain individual to interactional and institutional arenas (*ibid*: 126). In other words, there are social processes that produce and reproduce distinctions between women and men for example a man opening and holding a door for a woman is considered gendered, (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004).

With this approach I seek to position gender as an ongoing process of social interactions that are characterised as either masculine or feminine which are embedded in societal values and not something that is already made or fixed (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). In addition to that I

intend to show gender as one of the approach that positions working children as either feminine or masculine in what they do as well as a determinant of what either a girl or a boy is supposed to do in society.

The Baganda culture which characterised my participants is an example of an ongoing social interaction and therefore gendered. In this particular culture there is a patriarchal system of lineage where by men pay bride price to marry and they own properties including women. In addition, other cultural practices such bride price which enslave women to men as their properties or visiting the bush or *okukyalira ensiko* as it is locally known[4] among girls are examples of gendered practices that enslave and dis-empower women and girls . Thus unlike the sex of males and females which is biologically determined, the gender roles are socially constructed and such roles can change overtime and vary according to geographic locations and the social contexts in which they find themselves (Ennew *et al*, 2009c).

In a society such as Rakai, there is a deviation of gender as a value or a norm of what working children both boys and girls do. This has been changing over periods of time and therefore both girls and boys in many households today share the same households or tasks and responsibilities that are either used to be done by only women or as men only. For instance, Pilcher and Whelehan (2004:31) show how men were primarily responsible for the necessary financial provision of their family household, whereas women and girls had the primary responsibility for the management and performance of house work. Today, it is no longer a male responsibility to provide for his family but for the entire family household including children and so is the management of home, thus women, men and children take on work both paid and unpaid.

3.5 Right Based Approach

In this research, I seek to position working children with a greater scope as rights holders and thus looking at the rights that impact working children and Uganda as a whole.

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[4] Visiting the Bush (*Okukyalira ensiko*) is a cultural practice among the Baganda, whereby a girl from the age of 10 is supposed to pull her labia to a certain length as a preparation for marriage. Which is considered a necessity in order to please the man.

3.5.1 The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) is a human rights treaty which sets out the civil, political, economic, social, health and cultural rights of children worldwide. It was the culmination of over 100 years' international discourse on children's rights and successor of the 1924 and 1959 Declaration on the Rights of the child. Unlike the earlier treaties, the CRC was the first binding treaty in the history of children's right but also the first to combine and integrate social, economic and cultural rights with civil and political rights in a single instrument with equal emphasis treaties (Imoh, 2014). Uganda is a signatory to the CRC as it ratified it in 1990 and in 1996 it domesticated the CRC by enacting a law for children, the Children Statute, now Children Act (Cap 59), and Laws of Uganda. I will analyse the CRC only under the Provision, and Participation rights and integrating the guiding principle of the best interest of the child while noting that all children's rights supplement and complement each other.

3.5.2 Provision Rights

According to Ennew (2002), provisions right are concerned with a child's right to survive and develop to the maximum of their potential. These rights enable children's growth and development which include rights to food, housing and education (M. Woodhead & Montgomery, 2002). The UNCRC covers these rights in articles like 24 for health, 28 for education, and 27 for standard of living. However, children in rural areas such as Kalisizo in Uganda are aware of such individual rights but, most children are under a family collective, most children cannot stand up for these individual rights. This might be because of two reasons. First, the kiganda culture requires children to respect their parents / elders without question and second because these individual rights do not make much sense to them thus they don't seem relevant for them.

In a developing country like Uganda, the fulfilment of provision rights is hampered by factors such as such as poverty, HIV/AIDS. Warfare, famine and harmful cultural practices (Imoh, 2014). This has not only affected Uganda but developing countries where priority is often given to other programs such as security and less on children's right or social sectors that promote children's welfare. These services that openly affect the children are left in the hands of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) Such World Vison and Save the Children plus other local NGOs.

3.5.3 Participation Rights

These are rights that include freedom of association and religion, expression and thought. This means that children must be seen as full human beings, not simply as dependants of their parents or the property of families but as full members of the society who have the right to be consulted about any decisions concerning them. (Woodhead and Montgomery, 2002). These are represented in the UNCRC in articles 12 and 13.

The parliament created Uganda Parliamentary Forum for children (UPFC) with a vision to have all children enjoy their rights, and fully exercise their potentials to realise their aspirations, promote their rights, and make meaningful contributions towards the creation of a country fit for children and adults (Uganda, 2015)[5]. This was a great attempt to create and allow children's participation but most children have no access to such information and policies; and those with access to it do not see the relevance of such rights due to the inter-dependency that is entwined with and are inseparable from that of the family collective (Abebe, 2013:72)

Participation of children is largely limited to government functions such as Independence Day Celebrations. According to Hart, such political functions are high ladder of participation, far from the "manipulation", "decoration" and "tokenism" that usually characterises the physical presence of children in especially political events in the name of participation (Hart, 1992 in Ennew, 2002: 396). Ennew points out that the most common forms of child participation in adult political activities is limited to window dressing in which children wear appropriate T-shirts and march alongside adults, sing songs and present testimonies that are prepared for them.

3.5.4 The Principle of the best interest of the child

As seen in Article 3 of the UNCRC, is important when thinking about working children, this is because it advocates for the best interest of children. Since policies are supposed to be made in the best interest of the child, children should be consulted though not the only ones to be consulted, (A. James & James, 2008). But seldom are children consulted, this is because the UNCRC does not provide guidance on the meaning and interpretation of this principle (ibid).

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[5] http://www.parliament.go.ug/new/index.php/members-of-parliament/parliamentary-fora/uganda-parliamentary-forum-for-children-upfc on 15 November 2015

Scholars such as Woodhead (1997:80), asserts that the best interest of the child has been one of the most unhelpful and abused phrases resorted to in order to justify all kinds of decision making. Interests are a matter of cultural interpretation which depends on the context. Thus interests of the individual child in Africa may have to be subdued for those of the family collectives (Nalumaga E, 2015). I give the interests of the guardians of the children which maybe similar or different to those of the children. I will also examine and document the policies by the government to promote the best interest of the child especially in rural Uganda.

The UNCRC credits the 'Global Child', a western construction of childhood as a time of play, school, protection, innocence, carefree and not at work. This comes with categorising most work done by children including agricultural work as 'hazardous child labour', and initiatives to eliminate it such as compulsory Universal Primary Education in Uganda and other global south countries. However, most work undertaken by children falls outside these categories, and broader sociological definitions include domestic chores and unpaid family labour (Morrow and Vennam, cited in Morrow & Pells, 2012).

Thus to the UNCRC, the best interest of the child in regards to work might be a carefree childhood whereas for a child working it might be the opposite of a carefree childhood. Meaning that children might be harmed if they are stopped working as their best interest is by learning to work. This because through work they're able to negotiate multiple responsibilities demonstrating that it is not about age which challenges the globalised notion of childhood which suggests that this is a stage of dependence (Evans, 2011). As Bourdillon (2006) argues that children have a right to the benefits arising from work appropriate to their age (whether paid or unpaid), and that vulnerable children are often harmed rather than protected by being prevented from working.

Imoh (2014) shows how the UNCRC has influenced the process of legal reform in many countries to ensure that domestic laws incorporate the rights of children. Though it (UNCRC) still faces challenges especially at the interpretation level, it has encouraged the uplifting of children's rights in many global south countries. Due to such challenges by the UNCRC, the African states under the then Organisation of African Unity formulated the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the child.

3.5.5 African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC)

Uganda is signatory to both the CRC and ACRWC. Uganda ratified the CRC in 1990, then signed the ACRWC in 1992 and ratified it in 1994. In ACRWC's preamble, the charter highlights how critical the situation of most African children is due to different and unique circumstances, such as their socio-economic, cultural, and developmental circumstances, among others. The ACRWC was the first regional treaty to address child rights, and was created partly to complement the CRC, but also because African countries were under-represented in the drafting process of the CRC, and many felt another treaty was needed to address the specific realities of children in Africa. The ACRWC was created to protect children thus spelling out the rights that African countries must ensure for their children, and it is the main instrument of the African human rights system for promoting and protecting child rights (UNICEF, 2015)[6].

Though the charter is almost a replica of the UNCRC, it has some slight differences such as giving responsibilities to the child which is shown in Article 31 of the Charter, with its aim of specifically and explicitly foregrounding the African cultural and historical heritage (Imoh, 2014). Moreover, the ACRWC supports the African culture and heritage (Article 11 section 2.C), which is appropriate for the Kalisizo children especially girls. Thus involving children as one of the minorities in many communities in policy making can be meaningful as children's work are mainly shaped by their cultural heritage. As Imoh (2014:13), argues that for children's rights to be realised in Africa there is need for policy makers to work with cultural values that remain relevant to the communities instead of overlooking their existence.

The ACRWC also demands that children's rights come with responsibilities for the child. This is shown in Article 31 which articulates 'responsibility of the Child', it states that,

> Every child shall have responsibilities towards his family and society, the State and other legally recognized communities and the international community. The child, subject to his age and ability, and such limitations as may be contained in the present Charter, shall have the duty;

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[6] http://www.unicef.org/esaro/children_youth_5930.html on 20.10.2015

(a) to work for the cohesion of the family, to respect his parents, superiors and elders at all times and to assist them in case of need;

(b) to serve his national community by placing his physical and intellectual abilities at its service;

(c) to preserve and strengthen social and national solidarity;

(d) to preserve and strengthen African cultural values in his relations with other members of the society, in the spirit of tolerance, dialogue and consultation and to contribute to the moral well-being of society;

(e) to preserve and strengthen the independence and the integrity of his country;

(f) to contribute to the best of his abilities at all times and at all levels, to the promotion and achievement of African Unity.

As Burr and Montgomery (2003), argues that the independent autonomous child under the ACRWC is less emphasised as it sees families as interdependent on each other. This brings in a predicament however, if the quest for family solidity and respect for parent and elders bring about long working hours for a Kalisizo child. Then the question comes in of which rights would take priority. Would it be the right to be protected by the family until the adult age which is 18 years old or the right to embrace the kiganda[7] culture in which girls in this region are brought up working as a norm in favour of family solidarity? Thus such policies concerning children would work well to answer such predicaments if children are consulted and listened to.

In conclusion, the theoretical frame work designed above determined how the children and my other participants were conceptualized during the study, while understanding their everyday lives. The theories chosen as well as the concept of gender in the chapter above, act as a backbone for this thesis and shows the relational perspective between them and childhood.

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[7] Kiganda culture are norms practiced by the Baganda, the tribe in which I carried out my field work.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

Methodology is a set of procedures, practices and principles for obtaining knowledge about the world (Gallagher, 2009). I will discuss the methods and procedures that were employed to order to obtain the empirical material from the field. Moreover, I will discuss the assumptions I used, the research design, the methods I used, how I accessed the research site, the dilemmas and ethical issues and how I dealt with them. Finally, I will conclude this chapter with a brief data analysis and dissemination.

4.1 Qualitative approach

The objective of this research was to explore and go deeper into the phenomenon of girls' perspectives and experiences towards work. Qualitative methods are used to collect the data as a way to allow participants to freely express themselves. Moreover, qualitative approach avails for in-depth interviews which provide deep insight about a phenomenon in its context (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014).

As Darbyshire *et al* (2005), argue that researchers undertaking qualitative research with children immediately confront cultural, social, psychological and political perspectives that militate against taking children seriously. Children are seen as 'part of a larger unit, subsumed under families, schools and households. Thus, institutions and professions often have an entrenched tradition of doing things 'to' children. In order for me to make sure that I do research *with* children not *on* children, I put into consideration how children are not used to expressing themselves and being taken seriously in an adult dominated world (Punch, 2002). This was evident during the first day at a school where I carried out the research. The girls found it hard to separate my relationship with them and that of their teachers, until they realised I was not there to teach them or do anything related to their school work. I consequently had to ensure that the research methods were applied in a manner that was all inclusive and encouraging for my participants to participate freely.

4.2 Research Design

Research design can refer to a strategy for collecting and employing data so that anticipated information can be obtained. This study aims at gathering information that is expressive and explorative about the gendered perspectives and experience of children's work. During

fieldwork, I used ethnography as the first approach. Ethnography is the art and science of describing a human group, its institutions, interpersonal behaviours, material productions and beliefs (Angrosino: 2007: 14). I used ethnographic methods such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews, Focused group discussions and interviews. By using ethnography, I demonstrated that children's agency is unevenly distributed, even in such a small community of children; some were leaders, socially mature, competent and equipped with relevant local cultural capital such making back cloth (Broch, 2012).

In addition, I also drew insights from archival research. Archival Research is the analysis of existing data stored for research, service or other purposes officially and unofficially (Angrosino 2007 cited in Sangasubana 2011: 568). These methods helped me build a very good rapport with the participants and also helped me have a foundation for further methods such as interviews and Focused Group Discussions. More so they acted as a basis for friendships, trust and mutual understanding and respect.

In addition to ethnography, I used participatory methods. A participatory approach advocates actively involving 'the public' in decision-making processes, whereby the relevant 'public' depends upon the topic being addressed. This was because participatory approaches bring the children's own ideas about their own problems to public notice (Ennew *et al*, 2009b). Under this qualitative approach, research is planned and carried out by people themselves in order to understand and challenge their lives and any problems they are facing (*ibid*: 10.13). I used diaries and recall in reference to this approach. All the above approaches enabled easy triangulation[8] of the data.

4.3 Sampling

Sampling is the process of selecting places, children and other participants, household or specific groups such as ethnic or religious communities for data collection. (Ennew *et al*, 2009a). In social research sample has three meaning; size, testing and the extent to which a group of research participants are typical or 'representatives' of a wider population. (*ibid*: 6.8)

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[8] Triangulation is a scientific terminology used in social research to describe a process were more than one method is used to collect information, and then cross check between the data collected using different methods (Ennew *et al*. 2009: 1.21)

I used snowball sampling which is the selecting of people for research by starting with one participant and asking for suggestions and introductions to other people who might be interested in taking part in the research, (Ennew *et al*, 2009b). This process was followed with each subsequent participant (Ennew *et al*, 2009b) enabling me to access children and their guardians in the village. The school I worked with introduced me to their guardians and the local council chairman[9] who introduced me to other children most of whom did not attend school and to parents in this area.

When recruiting key informants such as the Local Council chairman, 4 grandmothers and 2 grandfather and an official from the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD). I used purposive sampling which is the targeting of specific 'often named' people known to have information (Ennew *et al*, 2009b) as these provided me with insightful information regarding gendered work of the area of study.

4.4 Selection of the Participants

During fieldwork I included 29 children between the ages of 6-17. Children were mostly identified through the school upon the established rapport and permission first from the local council chairman and then the school administration. Since I also needed the adult views especially their perception towards girls' work, I engaged adults in the community, and these include 6 parents or guardians, 2 grandfathers, 4 grandmothers, the local council chairman and a member form the MGLSD. Children participants were identified through the school upon the established rapport and permission first from the local council chairman and then the school administration. I had planned to spend a month at a school but due to lack of enough time, and the schools were approaching their examination period, I only managed to spend three weeks there.

Figure IV: Table below shows the number of participants in the Study

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[9] A local council chairman is an elected head of the community in a decentralised system of governance. He is the main gatekeeper to the respective community.

Participants	Number	Methods
Girls	21	Diaries, recall, Focused group discussions, Interviews
Boys	8	Recall, Focused group discussions, Interviews
Parents	6	Interviews
Grandparents	6	Interviews
Key Informants	2	Interviews
Total	**43**	Participant observation

4.5 Field site and Accessibility

Jenna Burrell (2009), defines field site as the spatial characteristics of afield based research project, the stage on which the social process under study takes place. Thus selecting the research site was dependent on the accessibility. I was able to access the local authorities through a friend, a local parish priest, as I did not have adequate knowledge of the area. I easily met with the local council chairman.

The difficult part was getting a school and access to the ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. I had planned to have at least two schools for the study, this is because I had two schools in mind that were near my place of residence which I had acquired from a parish priest[10]. But unfortunately my relationship with the priest did not guarantee easy access to the school. I was not allowed to access the school classrooms. The only option I was given was to come in the evening while children were about to go home. I was more fortunate with the second school which I managed to access with the help of my relative.

With the local community, it was not so difficult to get access to it after the school. This is because most children in this school introduced me to their parents and other children in the community. In addition, I was living with a priest who is a respected member of the community, I found it a bit easy to earn people's trust and respect. In addition to that, I did involve myself in domestic chores such as farming, fetching water and harvesting. I was not used to doing all this stuff so I had difficulty which almost at all times attracted attention from my participants

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[10] Parish Priest is the head of a Parish in a certain community among the Catholic Church.

who always offered to teach me. Thereby creating more relations as well as earning their trust and respect with time.

4.6 Methods of Data Collection

While in the field, I used multiple methods, as this helped me offset the weakness of one method by the strength of the other, (Abebe, 2009). Though I had an idea of what to use in the field, I was not certain on which methods to use, so I followed van Blerk's advise, I worked with the participants first and then I selected the methods that I found appropriate to the research aims and to the contexts in which my participants live (van Blerk, 2006). These included the following;

4.6.1 Participant Observation

Participant observation was the first method I used and I did this right from the inception stages of the research in which I recorded several phenomena (Ennew *et al*, 2009). As Observation is the basis of any good research and a researcher should never be 'off duty'. (Ennew *et al* 2009:5.9). I observed and recorded unique aspects during their occurrences which later proved useful at the final stages of data collection and analysis. This method was helpful in studying a group of participants together and it directly observed the social phenomenon under investigation enhancing quality of information. It enabled me to observe participant's actions, interactions and constraints in school and outside school. I also observed children in a market setting which usually happens on Saturdays of every week when schools are closed and I continued through holidays as marketing on the roadsides takes place.

I participated in their actives in the first two weekends and continued during the holidays and then after school. The activities I got involved in include fetching water with the children, harvesting especially beans and groundnuts and farming. According to Ennew *et al*, (2009) "observation is the basis of all good research" as it helps to understand data context; develop and refine research themes and questions and writing an interesting and credible report. This was the initial research method and it was complemented by note-taking. This helped me develop my interview guide. Despite the very limited time in the field this method proved to be useful in collecting data.

My first observation was that most children were greatly out of school, this was not due to lack of school fees or any of the school requirements but it was season for harvesting beans and

groundnuts. My neighbour where I stayed had hired children from three different families to help in the harvesting of groundnuts, I asked if I could join them and the owner accepted with a smile, on the day when we were to start harvesting all the children came with hoes, I was surprised because I thought to harvest groundnuts one needed to pull them out of the ground. I was told that they were carrying hoes because the ground had become too hard for the groundnuts to be pulled out of the ground, this was due to the change of the environment.

In addition, I observed that almost each household in this community had a trellis raised garden bed for passion fruits. One day I was fortunate to find a family farming under theirs. I greeted them and asked if I could join. They were hesitant but the man who I assumed was the husband and father to the children accepted. When I asked him why every family in the community has trellis raised garden bed with passion fruit plants, he explained that since coffee no longer brings much income to the families and that the area was infested with coffee berry borer[11].so they had to find an alternative to sustain their households.

One Thursday morning, at around 8pm I heard children making noise outside, then I asked the priest about the noise, he told me it was a bunch of children heading to the borehole. I hurriedly grabbed a two litre five jerry cans and followed them. Fortunately I had met four of them the previous day while making backcloth[12]. When they saw me one of them laughed and told me she could not wait to see me pumping the borehole. This turned out to be one of the most exciting and shameful days of my field work. When we reached the borehole, the children let me be the first one to pump the water. To my embarrassment I failed to even pump a five litre jerry cans and by the time it was quarter way, I was so exhausted that I could not do more which turned out to be an amusing thing to the children. But while here I noticed that children as young as 3 years of age carried small jerry cans of between 1 to 4 litres of water on their heads. In addition, they could also pump the borehole as if they were adults.

I continued to participate in different kinds of activities with the children, during these activities I had interactions with the children as well as their parents. Participant observation helped to gain access, build rapport and above all it cleared all my personal biases creating in me an open

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[11] According to Marvin (not real names) coffee berry borer is a beetle looking insect that eats the beans of coffee.

[12] Back cloth is a brown traditional cloth mainly among the Baganda people that is made out of a tree called mutuba.

mind and non-judgemental character towards my participants. I will agree with Mayall (2008), that since children have control, time and space during participant observation, it makes it easier for them (children) to talk about sorts of decisions that affect them, this is because it is innovative, fun and suitable for children. Moreover, participant observation with children include watching, listening, reflecting and also engaging children in conversations as appropriate to naturally occurring events and to the researcher's understanding. As a researcher, one develops the least adult role blending in to the social world of children. (*ibid*: 139).

4.6.2 Focused Group Discussions

Focused Group Discussions (FDGs) also known as 'group depth discussions' are group based interviews conducted with a round six to eight participants and lasting from one and a half to three hours (Lloyd-Evans, 2006). Ennew *et al* (2009c) define Focus group discussion as a method of data collection on a particular topic involving a carefully planned discussion among a small group led by a trained facilitator or moderator. I carried out six FGDs, four of which were of girls and two consisting of boys. The participants for the FDGs were from a school setting and were different from my participants who participated in interviews. This is because it was easy for me to conduct FGDs in a school setting than in a village setting, as the school gave me easy access to many children at the same time, unlike in the village setting where I got one child at a time.

The FDGs formed included 7 girls in each placing those between 10 to 13 years of age and then another had 6 girls with the age bracket of 14 to 16 years of age. I separated these girls according to their age bracket because I wanted to avoid the young girls being over shadowed by the elder girls. In addition, I realised that the girls will express themselves better if they figure out that they are in the same age bracket. Lutgen-Sandvik, and Alberts asserts that focus groups also provide an opportunity for disclosure among similar others in a setting where participants are validated (Tracy, Lutgen-Sandvik, & Alberts, 2006). Boys were all between the ages of 11 to 14 and 7 in total. So I decided to have the same group for two consecutive days which helped me to get information and feedback at the same time with a bigger group, instead of having a one on one discussion and moving from place to place.

These different groups were asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and attitudes and so on towards children's work. This enabled me to get different information and

knowledge from different people. (Abebe, 2009), says that in-depth and focus group discussions put children in their place and contextual knowledge is gained, this is because focus group discussions get the people involved brainstorming and when one participant comments or bring out a topic it leads off of another comment. This also enabled other points to be mentioned that me as the researcher did not mention. For example, the girls mentioned some information about their general body cleanliness such as brushing teeth every morning and laying their beds that I as a researcher had not thought about. Thus FDGs are a good setting for understanding collective social action and accessing group beliefs, understandings, behaviours, attitudes and taken for granted assumptions that might be overlooked in in-depth interviews (Lloyd-Evans, 2006). Thus capturing more information through observing and reading people's body language as they occurred.

During FDGs it gave children the freedom to talk about themselves, their experience and more about what they do since some children felt more comfortable discussing something in a group than on an individual basis, this is because children tend to feel more comfortable when they out-number the adult researchers (Hill 2006 cited in Gallagher 2009:76). Moreover, FDGs "created a safe peer environment and replicated the type of small group settings that children were familiar with from their classroom work (Darbyshire *et al.*, 2005). Furthermore, Fraser *et al* (2004) points out that it's essential to carry out research with children and young people to find ways of enabling them share their experiences and focus groups require both individual contributors and group dynamic.

According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002), group discussion produces data and insights that would be less accessible without interaction found in a group setting—listening to others' verbalized experiences stimulates memories, ideas, and experiences in participants. Throughout the FDGs I acted as a moderator, this is because I wanted the girls and boys to express themselves freely. Most of these children knew each other as they were from the same village, made it easier for me as it was binding a factor to all of them.

I used my phone as a recorder with their permission and since they were all school going children we used letters from A to G. After that I asked them to start according to the alphabetical order. I did this in order to ease the transcribing and analysis stages and the letters were to ensure confidentiality of my participants plus the information shared. To ensure that I had unbarred line of sight we sat in a circle, this not only removed power differential biases but in the end there was easy stream of information. After I asked them if they would like to

listen to their arguments, when they agreed, I gave them a chance to listen to the recordings and I could see how surprised they were to listen to themselves. At the end of the FDGs we took pictures together and also shared some snacks. This was a sign of gratitude and appreciation for the information given. As Scott (2000), argues FDGs showed beyond doubt that given the right encouragement young people are more than willing to say what they think (Scott, 2000).

4.6.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

According to Willis (2006), structured interviews are those that follow a form of interview schedule but with a provision for participants to develop their own responses. Using an interview guide as a guide for my questions, I was enabled to explore what the community members' perception of children's work and how this effect their future experiences. With interviews I was able to have 5 girls from the village and it helped me explore girls' perceptions and experiences. I conducted semi-structured interviews with 3 parents, 2 grandfathers, 4 grandmothers a local council chairman and one key informant from the MGLSD which took me approximately twenty minutes for each interview, and this was done after school hours that is to say after 5:00pm. Interviewing as a method helped me to balance the power differential between me and the participants and at the same time getting the information I needed (Abebe, 2009). This is because semi structured interviews are an excellent way of getting factual information (Willis, 2006) and understanding the world of participants from their point of view and to unfold their perspectives and the meaning of their experiences (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014).

Since I carried out my fieldwork in a rural setting, I had to ensure that I fell out of the children's time tables as they have their own activity timetables and other demands on their time and resources thus I needed to negotiate with them on the best time to carry out the research (Ennew *et al* 2009: 2.11 and Van Blerk 2006). For the adults I visited their homes in the afternoons after they were back from the farms and for the key informants I visited them at their offices after making appointments with them.

4.6.4 Diaries and Recall

I wanted to track the children's daily activities from when they woke up to when they went to bed (Punch, 2002), for a period of one week. I did this with only the girls because my main focus was on them. So I asked the girls if they have ever heard of diaries, fortunately to my

surprise they all said yes. I asked them if it was okay for them to write their daily routine both on school days and weekend for a period of one week. They all agreed, I gave them the diaries on a Wednesday and they were to return them on the following Wednesday.

For recall method, I gave both the girls and boys sheets and I asked them to write what they had done the previous day from the moment they woke up till the time they went to bed. This helped in bringing out information that the children had forgotten to talk about while writing diaries as well as during interviews.

I decided to use diaries because during the observation days I observed things that occurred in different families but they were never mentioned during our interactions. So I figured out that if they write things on the day that they occurred, some information may turn up. I was right, diaries provided information about their everyday routine aspects of their lives and showed a range of different activities which went beyond stereotypical notions that girls merely helped their mothers while boys only helped their fathers (Punch, 2002).

Diaries were also useful in reflecting how children activities varied greatly according to a school day and on a weekend (*ibid*). I returned the diaries and gave them to the participant after getting out the data. I did this to show gratitude and appreciation for the good work that they had done.

4.6.5 Field Notes

Field notes are those notes that I wrote down during my time in the field. According to Hamersley Martin and Atkinson Paul (2002) field notes can be defined as written records of observation data produced by field work. I began writing down these notes from the initial stages of observation. I would use a daily diary to record down detailed notes of everyday occurrences like ethical issues, problems and possible solutions (Ennew *et al*, 2009). From the beginning the diary was a reflective and reflexive document, including my observations and opinions (Irvine & Gaffikin, 2006). Through the use of diary, I always gave an account of the day and note down all the activities which happened in the field, like the conversions and the observations. Montgomery and Bailey (2007) observes that field notes requires observational sensitivity, putting in place specific contexts in which it occurs like describing and interpreting data based on observational experience, with observation being the source of data that are not sorted or written. The diary also was used to record some personal thoughts feelings and

challenges of a particular research process during the field. This would help me figured out how to handle the following day.

This helped me plan for the following day as well as keeping track of the progress of the field work. These further aided the analysis particularly by giving me the facts on the ground such as the actions of my participants during the interviews, the observations I could not remember and different scenarios during the field.

4.6.6 Archival Records

Before I headed out for fieldwork, I needed to find out more about the place. This is because I was going to do ethical research in a rural area with a different culture, customs in comparison to what I was used to. So I needed to carefully prepare and familiarise myself with the research site. I collected and read data from the MGLSD, online sources, newspaper clips and reports from Uganda National Bureau of Statistics (UBOS).

The main objective of reviewing such literature was to get a good background of Kalisizo as a community, their population, livelihood and culture. This not only helped me during the initial stages but it also supplemented on further research tools such as interviews.

4.7 My Role as a Researcher

Every place I visited that is from the local council chairman, to the school and then the community, I made it clear that I was a student. I presented my introduction letter to every person that was included in the study. I continually reminded my participants who I was (a student) the problem arose from their perception of me as someone who was working for a donor organisation (Abebe, 2009), there to help their children with school fees. As a result, many parents in the village sent children to me with an aim of being registered in my organisation.

With time, most of them realised that I was not from a donor organisation but a student who needed their help. I built good rapport with most of them and one of them offered to introduce me to all the families I visited every evening from Monday to Friday. This allowed the families I visited to trust me easily as I was moving with someone they knew and trusted. Though I got there trust easily due to Mark (not real name), most parents I met could not leave me alone with their children. This was maybe because the parents or carers questioned the safety of their own

children with me alone (Alderson & Morrow, 2011d). Or maybe they were just interested in the research, as a researcher who was both a stranger and an outsider I could not ask the guardians to give us privacy in their own homes.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical research issues usually involve moral issues that are to be followed and considered during research. These involve respect of research participants throughout the project, partly by using agreed standards, protecting the researchers and their institutions as well as the good name of research (Alderson & Morrow, 2011b). The ethical issues also relate to practical skills and intellectual virtue of identifying and responding to what is most important in a situation (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014). The ethics of undertaking research are complex but particularly so when working with children (van Blerk, 2006). I will present the ethical struggles during my fieldwork and how I dealt with them.

4.8.1 Access and Building Rapport

As Ennew *et al* argues that it is not easy to make contact with children to find out about their lives and opinions, because gate keepers such as parents and teachers may deny you access to children (Ennew *et al*, 2009). Children may easily be accessed through schools (Alderson, 2008), as an institution you only need access from one gate keeper (the headmaster/ headmistress in the case of Uganda) to have access to a number of children. Using a school, I was able to access children who in return helped me to locate other children in the village. This gave me easy access to homes of different children without difficult or denial from their gatekeepers.

As a Muganda that spoke the same language with the people I was about to carryout fieldwork with, I thought it was going to be easy to have access. But to the participants I was still a stranger and an outsider who was coming from a different place and from a city yet my participants were from a village. Therefore building rapport[13] was not easy especially in the first days as I was both an insider and an outsider. An insider because I was a fellow Ugandan who spoke the same language and an outsider because I was coming from a different part of the country.

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[13] Rapport means a trusting relationship between the researcher and the participants (Ennew *et al* 2009: 2.9)

Being an outsider who was not attached to the research setting, it enabled me to make what was familiar to my participants strange to me thus drawing in-depth information (Bartunek & Louis, 1996). As Apentiik & Parpart (2006) argue, as an outsider I had a disadvantage of the tendency to produce knowledge from a position of power and privilege in relation to the participants in a rural setting (Apentiik & Parpart, 2006). This was eased by my use of participant observation to build rapport at the beginning of the research.

As an insider, I was able to understand the nuances of cultural and social environments within which my participant's actions, behaviours and realities had to be contextualised (Skovdal & Abebe, 2012). I was also familiar with the language and this enabled me not miss any information as the participants could not use a different language from Luganda[14].

In Uganda's case especially in rural areas where children are seen as 'belonging' to the community who are in need of protection', it entailed me going through a number of gatekeepers like the school administrators as they hold high respect from the community, parents, guardians and community leaders. I found it easy to earn that trust without going through many of gatekeepers.

Though the school may look like an easy place to access children, it was not the case for me. On the third day I went to seek permission and consent from the two schools in the area. I was not successful with the first school. I managed to get access from the second school and within no time I had a go ahead to carry out the research. Since the concept of doing research with children is new, adults may see children as unable to give their opinions thus as part of access, it is important for the researcher to inform gatekeepers on the value of viewing children as competent and capable of expressing themselves. With the help of the director I got the two classes to work with me, that is to say primary five and primary six. On the first two days the participants seemed shy and reserved, after introducing myself and why I was there. On the second day we began with naming and some ice breakers and on the third day going on we were discussing as old friends. I respected participant's privacy and free choice in the process of seeking access (Alderson, 2008).

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[14] Luganda was a language that is spoken by the locality where I carried out my fieldwork.

4.8.2 Informed consent

Informed consent is a process that ensures that one knows what it means to take part in research so that they are able to make a deliberate and conscious agreement to take part or not to (Alderson & Morrow, 2011a). This is a vital issue during field work because as a researcher you are required to explain the purpose of the study, its objectives and intentions to the participants, if they do not understand your purpose, consent will not be granted. Ennew *et al* (2009a) argues that informed consent means that a participant has agreed to take part in research, after being informed and understanding the research aims, methods and processes, topics, the usage of data and withdrawal from research at any time. They go on to say that, it is not always easy to make contact with children to find out about their lives and opinions.

With the help of the director of the school and the parents I managed to receive consent easily and therefore I had access to the children but this did not guarantee that children too had consented to being my participants. One of the ethical dilemmas I faced was that without personal explanation these children did not completely understand my project, although they are competent social actors and capable of giving their informed consent. I agreed with Bogolub and Thomas that the ability to give informed consent depends on the quality of the explanation (Bogolub, 2005), thus I tried my best to simplify the explanation to easy words and sentences as I had to read out word by word from the consent form. I ensured in advance and renegotiated throughout the research process as I told the participants that they could freely withdraw and discontinue from the research at any time of the process or to tell me to stop whenever they felt like without any justification (Backe-Hansen, 2012).

4.8.3 Power relations

In an attempt to create a balanced power relation with the participants, I employed the adult-child model (James *et al* 1998 cited in Abebe 2009). I sat on the floor together with the children in a circle and assured them that I was interested in learning from them and that there is no wrong answer. Although as a researcher I was able to recognize the importance of power differentials and how they could affect the research (Abebe 2009), the power balance was always interrupted by the arrival of the teachers into the research space. This was a true manifestation that research projects cannot erase the context of adult power that children face in their homes, schools and communities (Alanen & Mayall 2001, Punch 2002, Kjørholt 2004, Irwin 2006 cited in Abebe 2009, p458). Though the teachers never entered into the classrooms,

because they always stood in the windows, I observed that their presence always affected the concentration of the participants as they seemed to consciously recognize their presence.

Coincidently the message was communicated loud and clear, and most of the time the teachers asserting their authority over the children, could tell them to concentrate on our discussion and not mind about their presence. As a result, the atmosphere had changed and the children being aware of their teachers' presence felt the superiority they have over them. As a researcher, I could not send away the teachers but rather I had to make sure that somehow they realise on their own that they were affecting the children's concentration. I did this by engaging the teachers in a discussion and made sure I don't mention anything to do with school work. I believed that engaging the teachers at that moment would help in two ways. First the children ceased being the focus of attention and this helped the children to relax and recollect their thoughts. Secondly the teachers would realize that they had diverted my attention from the children to them, thereby leaving me and the children to continue our conversation.

4.8.4 Privacy and Confidentiality

As Alderson and Morrow (2011) asserts that, if a researcher is a guest to the family, it is usually difficult for him/her to request for a private space for interviews such as the children's bedroom. This is because the parents or carers may question the safety of their own children with the researcher alone (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). The level of privacy and confidentiality was often under threat because research was carried out in the compound, living room and classrooms which were all shared spaces. The teachers, parents and guardians of these children were interested in knowing what we were doing and the fact that children holds an inferior social status in the community (cf. Abebe 2009) made it more difficult. I was the outsider and the stranger I could not ask the parents to leave us alone, so I decided to do a tactful arrangement and follow up visits (Alderson & Morrow, 2011), despite the few days I had, I adhered to this suggestion and it helped in a way that I sometimes got the children alone especially at home. Though I had promised my participants that I would not tell anyone about what we had discussed, I felt like I disappointed them when I couldn't tell their guardians to leave us alone during most discussions.

Confidentiality is a right that has to be honoured by the researcher to both adults and young in regard to the information that is given to him/her by the participants. My research endeavoured to uphold confidentiality for all participants during and after the field work. All collected data

was kept in confidence and anonymity of participants was a priority in the whole process. I used letters and pseudo names to distinguish the participants but not real names, this was because I wanted the participant to be anonymous. I used a research assistant who I made sure she signed a confidentiality agreement. In addition to this, I made sure that unauthorised people cannot access the data on my computer and records by logging off every after use and using a password that is only known by me. (Alderson & Morrow, 2011d).

4.8.5 Reciprocity:

In regards to reciprocity there is a crucial debate about the properness of giving money or other incentives to participants for their involvement in research (Ennew *et al*, 2009). As Lange and Jones states that research is a two-way street and the researcher cannot just take due to the valuable time of young people (Lange, 2009). Moreover, Grenier in Lange and Jones on the other hand argues that research is 'a two-way street' in which a researcher has to give back something to the community for the time they wasted (Abebe, 2009). As a researcher one cannot just come and take away from the community without giving back (Skovdal & Abebe, 2012). I bought a pack of chocolate, biscuits and also printed out pictures that my research assistant took and gave them to the community. In addition, I returned the diaries that the children used, I returned them to the children at school, bought some scholastic materials and shared among them after the fieldwork. For the key informants I promised them a copy of my thesis after writing, this not only made their parents and guardians happy but it made the children too feel appreciated.

4.9 Challenges Faced during the Research Process

During the fieldwork, I faced some challenges as discussed below:

Timing of the fieldwork: First and foremost, I went for fieldwork in time when elections were about to be held in Uganda. Each household I went to; thought I was a politician who was there to give them something. This made it difficult for me as some household would not even wait to hear my reasons of why I was there. They would just tell me to go away as they were tired of politicians whereas some thought they would get something from me such as money. Fortunately, I was prepared for this as I was warned by the local chairman about what some villagers might expect from me given the time frame I had gone there.

Perception of the community/Emotional attachment: Another challenge was that most households I visited viewed me as someone from a donor organisation (cf. Abebe 2009). In this regard many guardians especially grandparents who had grandchildren to look after, could tell me touching stories about their livelihoods and survival. This became so difficult for me, first I could not help them but then I felt so attached to them that I asked myself to what extent should one immerse oneself and compromise their values and standards in order to acquaint themselves with a community (Nalumaga E, 2015). I had to keep explaining to the participants that I was a student doing research, and I am not affiliated to any donor organisation. But despite all the efforts, most guardians could not understand. Some would even send children to where I was staying to tell me how they didn't have school fees or that they were orphans.

Excessive demands: In addition, spending time with the participants especially during the process of building rapport was so tiresome. This is because I was not used to farming or harvesting. Though it was an exciting experience for me, it was also tiresome that after a week I fell sick and I was down for over three days. We would go to the farms very early and leave at almost 16:00 hours and that was extreme for me. With this privacy was always interrupted by the adults who at times wanted to be part of the exercise. This affected my children participants as they became shy and reserved, or looked at their guardians as if asking for a go ahead with what they were to tell me.

Limitation to privacy: I faced a challenge of privacy many times. Most household I visited we did not have privacy; most times the guardians could be there all through the times of our discussions. As a researcher I could not ask them to leave, in one way or another the data was biased to some extent. Fortunately, I could speak the same language as the participants and this was a blessing because no words could be put in their mouth. But still most of the children I interviewed in such a situation appeared so reserved and shy at all times they kept looking at their guardians as if to ask for approval of what they had said. Just as Young and Barret, I had to be reflexive and flexible (Young & Barrett, 2001) to find ways of working with the children without their parents.

Selection of participants: When I went to the school to ask for permission, the director wanted to get me only those students that they knew performed well in class. As a researcher I felt this was not necessary, so I asked him politely to just randomly pick students that I can work with. In addition, everyone wanted to be involved in the study but the director could not allow everyone and as a researcher I did not have a say in the matter.

Relations with the participants: On my first day the pupils appeared to be so reserved and answered me in a manner that showed the respect and fear for their teachers. They addressed me as madam, I asked them to address me by my name and I could not fail to notice the look on their faces at how strange and unusual it was for them to address an adult by a first name. But after sometime, they found it easy and they realised I was not a teacher but a friend who sees them as equals. By doing this I was trying to turn myself and the children into sociological equals and trying as much as possible to ignore the age of especially children. (Solberg, 1996).

Moreover, some of the participants wanted me to appear in my research with their real names. I tried to explain to them that it was not a good idea but some could not understand why I couldn't. As a researcher I overruled this wish because I considered what was best for my participants that is to stay anonymous and thus I needed to protect them from themselves and their understanding of research and its implications (Broch, 2012).

4.10 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis is the process of sorting and resorting of the data so that trends, links, similarities, gaps and contradictions become clear (Ennew *et al* 2009:7.5, Ennew *et al*, 2009b). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue that the analysis of data is not a distinct stage of research, it begins in the pre field work phase, in the formulation and clarification of research problems and continues through to the process of writing.

I went through and read the available secondary data concerning the study area. This helped me to find more literature talking about my topic as well as finding the gaps that my study will fill as well as contradict. As Hammersley and Atkinson says that data analysis feeds into the research design, data collection and report writing, it very important for one to know their data repeatedly reading it and not just knowing what it is all about (*ibid*: 158-162).

I transcribed my data immediately after the field from my local language to English for easier understanding and after that I read it. As Kvale and Brinkmann put it that transcribing of the data from audio recording to text involves a series of issues such as verbatim verses written style (Kvale, 2008). During my transcriptions I did verbatim transcription of my focused group discussions interviews and my interviews from audio recordings to written text. This helped me to get meanings out of the data as avoiding to leave out any vital data that my participants might have raised and this helped me during categorising the data.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION ONE

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will present and discuss the findings from the fieldwork. I will use the information that I gathered from the girls, boys and their guardians plus the key informants to answer the following research questions; i) what are the gendered perspectives towards work? ii) how do societal perspectives and attitudes towards gendered social roles shape girls 'tasks? iii) what are the girls' perspectives on the work roles they undertake in relation to those undertaken by boys and vice versa. iv) what are the different work roles or tasks performed by girls and how does the community in this area perceive their contributions towards it (community)? As well as link the discussion to the theories. Using data from both children and adult research participants, I will discuss the concept of the child, child work versus child labour and also link children's work to children's rights using my research context.

5.1 Understanding the concept 'child'

It was vital to understand the meaning of the concept 'child' and what people attach to it, thus helping us to understand the position of children in families as well as in the community were they are actively involved.

The UNCRC, ACRWC and the 1997 Children's Act of Uganda, all define a child as a person below the age of 18 years. Despite the existence of these documents, many Ugandans especially those in the rural areas cannot access them. Did the people understand a child the same way these documents define a child? The answer is no, when asked the participants both adults and young people, had their definitions of who a child is, which had no connection to the definition of a child in the three documents above. Their understanding of a child mainly included belonging, dependency, provision and control. Biological age has very little to do with who a child is in this local area.

In terms of dependency, the participants expressed their understanding of a child as any person who still depends on his or her family for all the basic needs. According to my participants' understanding, if a person is above the age of 18 years but still lives in his/her parents' house, that person is still a child. When asked who a child is, Jane a 13-year-old said,

"A child is any person who still lives with his/her parents in the same house. This person has no control but rather under the control of his father and mother."

The attachment of belonging that the children talked about was an interesting dimension. This is because to the adults I talked to, they expressed how a child does not grow in the eyes of his or her parents. As long as someone's parents are alive that person will always be a child to them no matter how old that person might be. Similarly, when I asked the official from the Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development he had the same understanding, he told me that he was still a child in the eyes of his parents. So age did not matter to who a child is in regards to belonging to your parent thus being a child is relational.

Furthermore, any person that cannot provide for himself or herself but rather is provided for by the relatives or parents is a child. Despite of all the different understandings of who a child is, in this community a girl is both a child and a woman at the same time. The concept of a woman come into existence when she receives her periods (menstrual cycle) during adolescent. At this point in time, a girl is no longer a girl but a woman yet a child at the same time as she is below 18 years of age and is still dependant, belong and under the control of her guardians.

As a child in this area, freedom is very limited especially freedom of speech where adults are concerned, this is because a child does not talk about, argue or speak where adults are as this is translated into respect. Thus as adults, exercising power and authority over children is common and for this reason children are supposed to be submissive to adults. To my participants in the school setting, they used the concept of age to define who a child is. Therefore, most of them defined a child as a person under the age of 18 years. Though this was their definition, some of them said it is what they are taught at school.

From the findings, it shows that the concept child is a complex one, and it can be understood differently from one person to another and from society to society. This means that even in a homogeneous community such as Rakai the understanding of who a child is differs from person to person.

5.2 Family Structure and Household composition

Family as a concept is a vital institution in the lives of children and the youth in a social system in any given context. I observed that family was not only limited to a nuclear value of father, mother and their children, but rather as a collective entity that stressed beyond extended

families and fostering relationships. This means that some families included father, mother, children, uncles, grandparents and fostered children. Though most families were comprised of different family members, there are those families that I found to have a nuclear setting of only father, mother and children but these were very few. In such a situation, this family was not living far from other family members.

From my observations I came to realise that the structures and composition of families differed from one family to the other. In this some families contained larger numbers of children between 7 and 10 children and other families had less children. Moreover, some families have more adults than children living in them whereas other families have male headed households, others are headed by female especially grandmothers or single mothers. Though family as an entity is collective in nature, I also observed that extended system of family structure is losing its strength as more young families are increasingly adopting a nuclear model.

Participants expressed how it is easier to cope with especially grandparents when they leave separately, as they can always send their children to their grandparents to help out with chores as often as it can be arranged.

> "We used to live with my mother in law but then I realised she complained a lot when it came to her grandchildren. So I and my husband decided to take her back to her house, where my children can always go after school and on weekends to help her with her chores like fetching her water, cleaning and cooking. It is just easier that way." Betty's mother.

Few of the children from the study live with both parents. This is because most children live with their grandparents or their mothers. This is partly due to unemployment that seems to force most males to seek employment opportunities in different towns or the capital Kampala. Others are orphans and lastly some children's parents both move to the city and live their children in the care of their grandparents. Among the 29 children participants, 15 of them were orphans, 10 were living with their mothers or grandparents and only 4 lived with both their parents.

> "My father left to find work in the city so that I and my siblings can go to school, so we live with our mother. He only comes back on Christmas and then goes back after New Year's Day." Betty

Another participant said that,

> "Both father and mother are in the city working, that's why we stay with our grandmother, mother visits occasionally but father comes here once or twice a year." Gerald

> "Both mother and father died of AIDS, and my other relatives didn't want us, so our grandmother took me in plus my four siblings." Sharon

According to the above extracts, caring for children and families is mainly a woman's job than it is a man's job in this area. I also observed my children participants referred to "my mother or my grandmother" when asked about anything to do with their families. It was rare for them to refer to my parents or my father.

5.2.1 Female Headed Households (FHH)

A recent study in 2010 household survey revealed that Female Headed Households (FHHs) have greatly increased in Uganda (UBOS, 2010). Furthermore, according to UBOS (2010), there was an increase in the proportion of female-headed households in both rural (from 26 per cent to 29 per cent) and urban areas (from 29 per cent to 35 per cent) in 2009-10 as compared to 2005-06. Thus women are becoming bread winners for their families due to factors such HIV/AIDS, economic hardship and deaths.

The existence of female headed household shows how likely children are bound to engage in work due to the need to support their mothers especially with domestic chores. This is because it is shown that female headed household are among the poor families in society thus the poorer the household is, the lower would be the age at which children start to participate in work activities (Admassie, 2003). This was evident during fieldwork for example a 38-year-old widow and a head of a household of six children shows how her children take up more responsibilities in order to support the livelihood of the household. She says;

> "I'm the only one taking care of my six children, I don't have a husband or an income job. My relatives are not supportive either. I struggle with farming so that I raise income to send my children to school and feed them too. So I have to share domestic chores with my children to help." Mother of six.

Abebe (2007) argues that when families live in economically precarious situations, adults must engage in alternative livelihood strategies, partly by transferring the burden of domestic work to children (2007:83). During the course of my fieldwork, I realised that not all female headed households are poor, in fact some do better than those that are headed by men. This is because in this area, cultural practices allow women to own properties of their own through inheritance or buying despite the fact it is a patrilineal community. They own properties such as land, houses and to some extent animals. In other instances, some FHHs have grown up children who live in Kampala, they receive support that can sustain them through hard times. For example, one of the grandmother I interviewed, when asked how she manages so well with her 5 grandchildren, she said;

> "I manage well because of my two daughters and three sons that live in the city, they always buy me all the necessities and help me pay the school fees for my grandchildren I stay with. For food we always do the farming together especially on Saturday, but since we have lots of land, my children in the city pay someone to cultivate the land, so that we can have enough food." one of the grandmothers.

The above shows that despite of this household being headed by a female, children in this household as well as their grandmother are privileged. This is because they receive support from their parents who work in the city. Moreover, they cultivate less land as the parents in the city pay people to farm for them. This gives the children more time for school as well as play as compared to some of their counter parts in the same village.

5.3 Types of work done by children

During the study, I looked at children's gender dimensions using three aspects, domestic work, agricultural work and trade work. Within these three aspects I show how different boys and girls can be, their autonomy in regards to the different roles and how they exercise their autonomy. Abebe (2007) argues that household division of labour is very complex and can sometime be blurred.

5.3.1 Children as Carers

Children are habitually seen as the receivers of adult work and care rather than givers in their own right, an exemption of children as givers is being child carers who look after the sick, old or disabled parents and siblings. Children take up responsibilities as carers, not only to their

siblings but also to their parents, community members and nursing care especially to grandparents who they view as vulnerable beings in society. Children are sent away to provide care for the sick family members to help with personal care and drug administering as well as becoming bread winners and take responsibility for running their households (Skovdal, Ogutu, Aoro, & Campbell, 2009). Children, both boys and girls help in the washing of clothes which include sibling clothes, their own clothes and relatives' clothes. Some girls' responsibilities are linked to cultural expectations of gender roles, whereby they are expected to take on greater proportion of the household tasks than their brothers (R. M. Evans, 2005).

Children assist their young siblings to eat, dress and use the toilet, they bath their siblings, supervise them during house chores and also accompany them to and from school. Moreover, most children mentioned how it is more of a right to them to look after their young siblings. More so these children carry on babysitting which is done both at their respective homes, neighbourhoods and at their relatives. Caring for siblings and relatives is often associated with girls. However, in Kalisizo, there were many instances where boys are to be playing this function. Girls take pride in caring and enjoy this responsibility and imitation of adult female roles which also frees mothers for shorter periods from the burden of carrying their infants (Robson, 2004).

> "I have four siblings, I have a responsibility as their adult sister to bathe them every morning, I help them dress for school, make sure they have had their breakfast and then I escort them to their school before I head to my school. This means that I have to wake up really early to make sure that we reach school early or I might be late for my morning classes." Betty.

> "Every Saturday I have to go to my maternal aunt's home. This is because she has to go to the market each and every Saturday to sell things in the market, so I stay at her home to take care of my little cousin sisters until she comes back in the evening. I bathe them, cook for them and feed them." Rachel.

> "I stay with my grandmother because both my parents are dead. But she is too old to do most of the stuff around here, so I pretty much do everything for her. I remind her to take her bath, fetch her water, cook for her and help her with everything that she might need, and I also have to look after my young brother." Joseph.

The above show how children always step into adults' responsibilities whenever there is need. They do this without supervision and because society has grown to accept this as a norm. Though in many societies, children are not or are rarely credited with the positive capacity to take on responsibilities for others, they are always viewed as dependant, lacking responsibility, and have no say. This renders children's responsibilities and contributions invisible which prevents us from detecting, and seeing the evidence that children undertake related tasks that involve elements of trust and responsibility (Morrow, 2008). Also it prevents us from seeing what maybe reciprocal relations between family members and other people in the community at large (ibid: 105).

5.3.2 Domestic Chores

Children help with domestic chores in different households. Domestic chores are chores that are only limited to the confinements of a home that are done by children. Children as young as 3 years old engage into chores as a way of preparing them for their adulthood. These include; farming, cooking food, washing clothes and dishes, sweeping the compound, cleaning the house, weaving mats, baskets and other crafts and fetching water. Firewood collecting which is done on Sundays is the most important source of domestic fuel in as it is used to cook food.

Figure V: Children performing some of the domestic chores

According to the participants, the degree of work load and the hours spent on chores differ from one child to another and from household to household. This is due to different factors and some these factors include; family status whereby children from poor families tend to take on heavier workloads and spend long working hours in order to meet their needs as well as those of their family households, than those in the relatively rich families. This is because those in relatively rich households can afford to get extra help through hiring maids or an extra help from the neighbourhood who can work in exchange for food. But those in poor families have to meet their responsibilities by themselves without the help from an outsider. The following is an extract from an interview I carried out with Joan,

> Viola: Does anyone help out your mother whenever you are at school?

> Joan: No one does, it is only myself and my four siblings, and we have to do all the house chores as our mother cannot manage all chores alone. So we give her a hand especially in the morning before we go to school and in the evening after school.

> Viola: what do you do before going to school and after school?

> Joan: I wake up very early and also wake up my siblings. Three of us go to the borehole to fetch water and then the other two, one washes the dishes and the other cleans the compound. After that we go to school. When we come back in the evening, we prepare food for supper, wash the dishes, fetch fire wood and sometimes go to grandmother's house to help her fetch water.

The above shows how girls can largely replicate and substitute their mothers, this is through the evident intelligence that is associated with qualities such as self-sufficiency, obedience, respect especially towards elders, attention to detail, willingness to work and effectively manage younger sibling and livestock (see Lancy, 2012:34, 2008: 168). When I talked to their counter parts in relatively rich families, it was a different case. This is because they only had chores in the evening after school and on weekends.

> Nancy: I wake up in the morning with my other three siblings and we prepare for school. Then when we come back from school in the evening we do our respective chores as each day we have a different chore for each and every one us. We do everything in turns, so the one that is supposed to cook gets on it, another one washes dishes, another the compound and the last one gets firewood.

The above shows the difference between poor households and relatively rich households. Looking at what they do on a daily basis, the children from poor households have a lot to accomplish before and after school whereas their counterparts from relatively rich families have little or nothing to do before or after school.

While the vast majority of children participate in unpaid household labour, the workload of girls within a home tends to be greater insofar as they perform a wider range of chores and dedicate more time overall to their multiple tasks (Chant & Jones, 2005). Girls are particularly affected by domestic work because the exercise is considered to be an essential component of their upbringing, where many believe that girls should be prepared for their future roles as mothers and wives (Admassie, 2003). Thus, while the boys may only be expected (or asked) to sweep the compound, to run errands and/or to accompany younger brothers and sisters (especially the latter) to school, girls regularly perform a wide range of activities including cooking, cleaning, washing, sewing, minding younger siblings and so on. (Chant & Jones, 2005: 191). These occupations which are gender segregated, with boys more likely in the higher status occupations, girls may have fewer work choices and their prospects may be more constrained unlike their brothers. They may feel a 'triple burden' of responsibilities, to do chores, earn money and do well in school (Martin Woodhead, 1998). Findings from the study area show that girls are more involved in unpaid domestic work than their counterparts the boys. For instance, according to UBOS (2013) domestic chores in Uganda are mainly performed in one's own home where girls tend to be heavily involved than boys.

This gender disparity stems mainly from the domestic labour is deemed fundamentally to be 'women's work' in accordance with the normative ideal that in adulthood women should be the principal 'homemakers' in the household tasks (Chant & Jones, 2005). It goes ahead to argue that in most rural households, there is no major differences in children's involvement in employment by sex as it was traditionally. Thus suggesting that today gender considerations do not play an important role in the assignment of children's work responsibilities in Uganda (UBOS, 2013). This proved to be true especially among families that had more boys than girls. These boys performed the same chores as girls would do such as cleaning, cooking and child minding, though this was less common compared to the girls involved.

The involvement of both girls and boys in domestic chores have different impacts on both sexes, the net result is that many young girls and boys spend up to four or more hours a day in a combination of paid and unpaid work. For instance, girls' domestic work participation rates

tend to be higher due to the process of preparing them to become good wives in the future. Thus as females they are required to learn cooking and other skills from their mothers or from their elder sisters through increased participation in household activities, this situation leads to greater school non-attendance, irregularity and drop outs (Admassie, 2003). Though this is not a sole factor to the reasons why girls' education is affected in this area.

5.3.3 Agricultural work

Agricultural work is done by both girls and boys. Under agriculture the tasks that children perform include animal rearing, ploughing, weeding, harvesting and poultry. According to UBOS (2013), the activity of livestock, diary workers and labourers occupy a high proportion of children in rural areas and it is done by boys. Other agricultural work such as digging, planting, graving, harvesting and processing are done by both boys and girls.

One morning during field work, I decided to join a family to go to the garden. This family had four girls and five boys who were in between 6 to 15 years of age. I was told we were going to harvest ground nuts. We arrived in the garden after walking for about an hour at around 8 am in the morning. We split among two groups, whereby one group was to remove the ground nuts from the ground and the other to remove the ground nut from the plant into the sack. We did this from the time we arrived until 17 hours. We did not have anything to eat or drink while in the garden irrespective of the six-year-old girl we were with. And on our way back home each child was to carry something either firewood, food, ground nuts and leaves for the pigs at home.

I found this extreme as an adult, working for long hours without food, carrying heavy loads and all these affected all the children I was with. When I asked the children how they felt about all this, I was told that it was nothing that they were used to working and helping out as it was their responsibility. Though, this seemed to be a very long day for the children, they had domestic chores waiting for them at home which included cooking, feeding the pigs, fetching water, cleaning the house and washing the dishes.

5.3.4 Trading work

According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) (2013) more boys are involved in economic activities than girls. Though trading of goods and services in this area is mainly done by boys, girls too are involved too, though what they do is in most cases different. For example, boys do brick laying, back cloth marketing, animal herding, coffee selling, construction work

and substance farming. Whereas girls are in the markets selling crafts, food and vegetables such as tomatoes, sweet and Irish potatoes, dodo, weaved stuff and also in services such child minding, farming for other people, cleaning and so on.

In trading, older children show autonomy as well as agency while performing their tasks at hand without the influence of any adult. Unfortunately, when it comes to the money earned, it is always the adults to decide what happens to the money. In such a case children have no say to whatever happens to the money and thus their agency is thinned.

During the study, it was important for me to note that with the notion of age and gender, children tend to possess different responsibilities, for instance I observed that the older girls in a home exercised more authority over their young siblings especially in the absence of the mother, and in most cases continue to exert this authority even when the mother is around as mothers tend to leave most obligations to the elder daughters with less or no supervision. Though boys are less likely to be left in charge of a home, sometimes they are in cases where there is no girl in the household, boys tend to stand in for their mothers. Boys have more time to carry on with trading in this area than girls, they are free to come back after 21 hours in the night and they will not be questioned unlike girls who are always expected to be home by 18 hours. This gives boys more freedom to carry out trade especially because their movements are not as limited as those of girls. As Haspels and Suriyasarn (2003) argues that girls are more vulnerable in different ways, face different problems and may have different copying strategies so do boys (Haspels and Suriyasarn, 2003 in Lange 2009: 2).

Children not only perform household chores but also take on paid work in order to support the livelihoods of their families. Though most of them are income generated work, some work is paid in kind whereby children do work in exchange for food mostly. Such types work includes; farming, collecting water for neighbours, cooking for the elderly, running errands and rearing animals. Whereas income generating work include; cultivating crops and produce for sale such crops mainly include calabashes and passion fruits, rearing of livestock especially cattle, casual agriculture, fishing, selling cooked food especially chapatti and chips which are local delicacies in this community. They also make and sell back cloth which is made and sold in the Ugandan Capital city Kampala. Girls weave things like baskets, mats, jewellery and many others. Many children in this community also do wood work where they make round stools and decorate and after sale them.

Figure VI: Products made and sold by children

5.4 Reasons for children's Unpaid and Paid work

In the following section, I will present and discuss the factors which compel children to engage in both paid and unpaid work. The data I present here is both from the children participants as well as the adult participants.

5.4.1 Religious Reasons

In the Ugandan society, religion has a high place in the lives of the people and the participants in my study are not an exception. Christianity which is the largest religious community holds its teachings, beliefs and activities with high reverence. It is in such teachings that parents are urged to train and to make sure that their children turn out to be responsible citizens of tomorrow. The parents I talked to used Bible verses to show me how God supports work and thus if parents do not teach their children the ways of God through the Bible they stand accountable to God. Thus children are taught how to work and behave in society as a way to have a long life as well as blessings from God. When I asked parents why their children should work, they said;

"Children should learn to work when they are still young, as a Christian I am told by the bible in Proverbs 22:6 that I should train up my child in the way that he should go, so that even when he is old he will not depart from it thus it is for the children's own good in the future to work." Christian parent.

"My child (referring to me) the Bible tells us as Christians in second Thessalonians 3:10 that he who will not work shall not eat. So that means that everyone should work in order to get something to eat. If children do not work, they will not eat, who wants that for his or her own child. That is why children must learn how to work and do it under self-supervision." Richard's parent.

"The Bible tells us in Titus 2:5 that as parents we have a duty to teach our children to be self-controlled and working at home. Therefore, as a parent it is my duty to make sure that my children work so that as a parent I receive an everlasting and a blessed life in this world." Grandmother

The above shows the value parents put in religion and how it translates into a way for parents to encourage their children to perform and engage into work. Such teachings are also used by religious leader to instil a sense of responsibility and a good attitude towards work. When I talked to the children about the reasons why they should work, they told me about the teaching from their church leaders which encourages them to work and to respect their elders so as to have blessings from God. Thus some children engage into working for the purposes of fulfilling what their religion teaches them.

5.4.2 Education

It was discovered that some children engage in both paid and unpaid work so as to pay for their education. Children especially those who do not stay with their parents engaged into unpaid domestic work so as to be rewarded through payment of their school fees or scholastic materials. Whereas others involve themselves in commercial work so as to get money to facilitate their schooling. This means that though the government introduced Universal Primary Education in 1997, it is not entirely free. Children are often expected to provide for their lunch and to pay a development fee for the school. And as such most parents find themselves unable to pay such fees unless the children engage into work to pay for themselves and also for their young siblings in the family.

"I go to a 'bonna basome' school, meaning a school with a Universal Primary Education programme. It is supposed to be free but it is not. Each term I need to raise thirteen thousand shillings (approximately 4 USD) per term. My grandmother cannot afford it because she is not working. So I work on people's farms to raise that money for me to be able to attend school and also buy scholastic materials." Rose

This means that most children cannot afford school if they do not work. Making work a necessity for some children in order to attend school. This means that work and school go hand in hand for such children, therefore by stopping the children from working may mean putting a stop to their schooling. More of the linkage between work and school is talked about in chapter six under school, work and play.

5.4.3 Economic Hardships

Poverty is one of the main causes of children's paid and unpaid work. Economic hardships that most families especially those in rural areas find themselves force them to seek alternatives to cope with it and in most cases, it is the children that have to engage into work so as to help out with the situations in their households. During the study I found out that Kalisizo was undergoing a shift from a coffee and matooke economy which were the source of income for this area to passion fruit growing and making of backcloth as the main source of income. I was told that in the recent years this area was hit by pests that destroyed both the crops that were a source of living to many.

The increased shift has rendered families with few resources to bear children's productive and reproductive afflictions especially with most of these families being female headed households. In such a situation there is what Abebe (2015) calls 'infantilisation of household labour', whereby children act as shock absorbers for their households, putting in more hours in unpaid activities producing food, or caring for their siblings, when adult men and women take on more arduous and specialised chores (Abebe, 2015). This is an excerpt from my field notes;

"Life is so hard nowadays compared to recent years. Right now I and my siblings have to contribute to the family well-being by helping on the farm to plant passion fruit seedlings and also getting materials to make backcloth. My father is worried because almost everyone is doing the same in the village right now and because of that most of us might not gain much profits in the passion fruits yet we have put in a lot. Since we have no coffee or matooke, getting food is also a problem." Ronald says.

The above shows how children become shoulders for their parents to lean on during difficult times for the survival of their families. As Abebe (2015) argues that children must adapt to the seasonal nature of their livelihoods by engaging in other income generating activities when agricultural activities are restricted. Moreover, this shift also has encouraged many young men and women to drop out of school and take on paid work outside their families. They have opted to going to the city to look for other opportunities in order to be able to support their families back in the village. Other children have involved themselves into weaving and selling their finished products in the market which is their every Saturday. When asked why they do all this they said that they have a responsibility to their families' well-being.

> "I cannot just sit home when I know there is something I can do to help them. It is my responsibility as the elder sister to make sure that my siblings and my mother have food on the table at the end of the day. Weaving helps partly with what we need such as buying paraffin for our lamps at night and also buying surplus food for my family. Sometimes we get food from our uncle and also from our grandmother but it is not so often." Kanana 15-year-old girl.

In addition, children also explained how work means everything to them as they are able to earn and support their families and for them to be able supplement their families financially is vital to them. Children tend to express pride in the contributions they make through their work (Boyden, 2009). For instance, Moses a 16-year-old boy said;

> For me being able to support my family is everything and I can't see myself without working. This is because working means I can run our house, we can have food and my siblings can go to school. Without work I cannot do all these things.

Children do different types of work to support their families during those times that their support is really needed. Thus activities and responsibilities of children are generally bound up with earning an income or production that has an important value to family collectives and both men and women benefit substantially from the both the paid and unpaid labour of boys and girls (Abebe, 2013).

5.4.4 Cultural reasons

Gullestad (1992) refers to culture as the meaning dimension of social life (Gullestad, 1992). Thus culture embeds the way of life of people in a certain context. This can be in the way they

dress, their beliefs, their eating habits, the food and the way they interact. Children and adults are always part and partial of the culture they find themselves in and culture can be different from time, place and context.

Kalisizo is a place that values its culture and through this they ensure the continuity of their cultural values from one generation to the other. This is ensured through children's productive and domestic works within the household which constitute the core of social reproduction and also comes to the fore in the continuation of societal and cultural systems themselves. Ali Mazrui, a social historian in his television series 'The Africans' gave the triple concept of children's work in Africa. I will only refer to one which is the indigenous perspective on children's work, which maintains that children's work in families is part of household production and as an ongoing process of vocational education and socialization. In relation to this perspective, culturally children are expected to contribute while learning the necessary skills that will enable them be active members of their community, and at the same time maintain subsistence economies and ensure the continuity of certain cultural skills. (cf Abebe, 2007:82).

I found out that children's work is incorporated within the culture of the people in this area. For instance, traditionally says one grandmother that girls are always supposed to start helping their mothers at an early age. This is because by them helping their mothers, they also learn how to work and how to behave in society. Girls as young as six years old start learning how to peel, cook, clean both the house, kitchen and the compound as well as washing both dishes and clothes. This is seen as a continuous socialization process on the way to womanhood. When I asked one of the mothers why this is important especially to girls, she said;

> In the Baganda culture, all girls must learn how to work especially domestic work. This is because as a mother I am preparing her for her tomorrow. She is going to marry in another family where she has to do all this type of work for her in-laws and her husband. If she doesn't learn it will be my fault as a mother for not teaching her.

Moreover, when I asked the girls to tell me about their favourite chores, it was always cooking, cleaning and washing, their main reason for loving such chores was because culture assigns them to girls. They also referred to what they learn from their respective homes as a way to ensure continuity and becoming responsible persons in the future. They also mentioned domestic chores that they thought were for boys such as fetching water and firewood, making

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backcloth and hunting. This is because traditionally among the Baganda these chores that were meant for men or boys. The elder men in the family are supposed to incorporate such roles to the young boys in the family.

Thus culture as an aspect of society is one of the reasons why children are engaged in work and most children perform various jobs without thinking of it as work, this is because they consider work as part of their everyday lives as well as their cultural obligations. (Poluha, 2004 cited in Abebe, 2007:85). Therefore, for someone to understand why children do what they do, one needs to be situated in the context in which this type of work takes place to understand it fully.

5.4.5 Factors that influence what children do in the respective homes

There are several factors that shape what children do, when, why and how. Some of these factors go beyond their lives at present and instead stretch back to the past. It is linked to traditional household division of labour and gender as a structuring force. Gender was a vital factor by which most parents, guardians or elders in a home used to allocate chores to their children, and it is still an important factor in most homes today. Gender division of household labour shapes who is the children to do chores with and where. The notion that boys' roles were different from that of the girls.

Some parents and grandparents shared some of their experiences about how it used to be during their times and how domestic chores were distributed among boys and girls. When asked with whom did they do their chores with and how chores and roles where distributed among children during their days. A 70-year-old grandmother said the following.

> "In my days, all girls were supposed to learn from their mothers on how to behave and how to work. If you had an elder sister or sisters, you were supposed to learn from them. It was always their duty to teach you what was there to learn in regards to domestic responsibilities and chores. Almost all domestic chores and responsibilities were left in the hands of girls or women. These included cooking, cleaning the house and compound, looking after children and so on. In most cases we do this after farming."

Further when I asked why boys did not engage in the same activities as girls she said;

"Girls had to learn domestic chores that prepared them for their future as wives and carers to their future families. For boys, they were considered strong and their duties were to support the girls. The boy's duties included fetching water and firewood, hunting with their fathers and uncles, rearing and grazing animals and all of which responsibilities where considered unladylike in nature."

Looking at what used to be and what I observed from the findings, It becomes apparent that today most of such responsibilities are changing and this due to different factors such as child position in the family, the age of the child, the number of children in the home and their composition (Abebe, 2007), family economic status, poverty, parents' profession and many others are becoming more vital in deciding what children are to do in a home and with whom.

For example, in one case of a family composed of a grandmother and a grandson who live alone in a small house where a boy almost does every household chore, these include tasks ranging from cooking, to cleaning. This shows that if a boy is the only child at home, he will do exactly the same chores that a girl does depending upon household composition and birth order in the family. Thus gender division of labour can be reworked, meaning that gender intersects with other social variables to shape household division of labour as seen under chapter six.

Moreover, elder siblings in this village act as a source of knowledge, they instil and teach their young siblings about what is to be done in regards to household chores. Thus young ones learn by observing what their elders are doing and after imitate what the adults do. This type of learning is referred to as side by side learning through pitching in and observing by Paradise and Rogoff (2009). They argue that children's daily activities are primarily structured by adult work activities which in turn revolve around the immediate work needs of the household and the families' participation in social and religious events within the household and the larger community (Gaskins 1999:33 cited in Paradise and Rogoff, 2009: 106). When asked with whom the children perform their work most of them said it was their mothers, grandmothers and their fellow elder siblings. Fathers and uncles were left out. This shows how the traditional socialisation of children which was based on gender where women taught girls what to do and men taught boys is eroding. With women being responsible for both ensuring that boys and girls are taught about their responsibilities, which was not the case in the past as both men and women used to take part in the grooming and teaching of their sons about their roles and

responsibilities. More on the erosion of gender responsibilities can be found in chapter 6 where I discuss it in detail.

5.4.6 Who decides what is done

In this section I talk about who decides what is done in different homes. During the study I found out that women in this area held an upper hand in what work children performed when they are at home and in the market. This is mainly because domestic jobs are generally assigned to women, who, at the same time, are responsible for managing the everyday household welfare and economics (Abebe, 2007).

Nearly all the children in this study said that their mothers, grandmothers and their aunties decided and assigned domestic chores to them. However, none of them mentioned a male figure in all household chore decisions. Moreover, it was the women that were mentioned when asked the children who taught them how to work. This is demonstrated by the following excerpt from fieldwork.

> Viola: Who decides what is done in your home?
>
> Helen: It is always my mother that assigns us with what to do and she taught us everything we know.
>
> Viola: What about your father?
>
> Helen: He doesn't involve himself with domestic chores, and I think he does not care about what is done in regards to domestic work, provided he comes home and there is food to eat.

Other participants mentioned that it is their mothers, 5 mentioned grandmothers and 3 mentioned their aunties. In some cases, some children did not mention their fathers at all. When asked why, they said they were paternal orphans and the female in their lives where the only living figures they have grown up with thus being the only one to teach them.

> Rachel: I have lived with my grandmother since I was a child and she has taught me all that I know especially working. I started working alongside her when I was about three years old, we could do most chores together and that is how I learnt what I know.
>
> Viola: What about your parents? I mean your mother and Father?

Rachel: My grandmother told me that my father died when my mother was a months old with my pregnancy, and my mother is in the city working so that she can be able to pay my school fees.

During field work, it was observed that some boys did the same work as girls and vice versa. I asked parents why this was so and I was told that both boys and girls need to learn all domestic chores regardless of their gender. According to one parent boys should learn how to cook and clean just as girls do fetch water and firewood. When I asked why, she explained that

"These days' children need to know how to fend themselves, just in case their parents are dead they will always have someone to take them on because they do know how to work, thus it is very important for their future comings and jobs if they knew how to do everything."

When I asked the female parents whether their husbands engaged in the assigning of domestic chores to their children, most of them said that it is not the men's duty to teach children how to work but rather it is theirs as women. For instance, one grandmother said,

"It is our tradition as women to teach our children how to work. Men have no responsibilities in such a task. In fact, if your children grow up without knowing how to work, they will never blame your husband for it but rather you as a mother. The society will blame you, your relatives will do the same and your husband too. Therefore, to avoid such in the future you as a woman need to train your children from a very young age how to work. And if you have a business a side such as selling food stuffs and other things in the market, your children have to learn too." Grandmother.

Thus it is the women that decide on which work roles children both girls and boys should undertake in the homes as well as in the market. The women take on all home economies and responsibilities for the smooth running and well-being of their family livelihoods. Therefore, children in this area achieve their future lives and aspirations through the women they grow up with rather than their fathers.

5.5 Child work versus Child labour

Child labour and child work are two concepts that can easily be understood by people from the minority world as different. In Uganda, the two concepts mean the same thing and its meaning

cannot be separated in the local languages. Therefore, to define child work and child labour in Uganda using local languages could mean any work done by children. Whereas the International Labour Organisation (ILO) define child labour as that work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development, interferes with their education and is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children (http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/lang--en/index.htm accessed on 19. 12.2015).

Not all work done by children is child labour thus children's participation in work should not always be termed as child labour. Most activities done by children are children's work for example helping their parents around the home such as cooking, cleaning, caring for siblings and so on, assisting in family businesses such going to the market every Saturday to carry out trade and so on. Such activities contribute highly to the development and to the welfare of their families. Certain activities might keep children away from school for some days, as Chant and Jones (2005:194) argue, networks gained through work allow young people to develop opportunities that are or might be absent from formal education. Moreover, work provides children with skills and experiences which help children to be productive members both to their families and the society as well as preparing them for their adult life.

From the finding, most children miss school on a Saturday which is a school day as it is the market day for this area. Since school is always half day on this day, most parents find it less inconveniencing for children to miss school on this day. Some of the children I interviewed told me that without them carrying out trade on each Saturday they would not be able to attend school. This is because the money got here is important to them as it helps them to pay for school fees and uniforms.

According to ILO any activity that prevents children from attending school is considered to be child labour. However, what if preventing these children from this kind of arrangement means no education? In my view, this will create more harm than good to such children if they are denied this one day off school to help them raise money to meet the school requirements and fees.

The Ugandan Government in its effort to combat child labour and also help children who have to engage in other business to access school, created what is called the 'social protection approach'. This approach is to promote safety nets and empowering vulnerable children and

households to meet their basic needs and prevent children from engaging in child labour (Bank, 2000). Though this has helped in a way as it has supported such families into getting small scale income generating projects, most of these households cannot do away without the help of their children in running such income generating businesses.

I also observed that during holidays, children spend longer hours working especially on their farms without anything to eat or drink. On one fieldwork day I decided to go to the farm with one of the households I was interviewing, we left home to go to their farm which was approximately an hour away from home. We arrived at the farm at around 8 o'clock and started to harvest ground nuts, we did that till 17 hours in the evening, with us were 5, 7 and 9 years old children but they did not seem hungry or bothered by the long hours of work on empty stomachs. So I decided to ask them if they were not hungry, I was told they were fine, that they are used to such. On our way back home all these children carried food, plants for the pigs and firewood. To me this was extreme as an adult, I was too exhausted to talk but they were all fine. According to ILO, the practice of carrying heavy loads and working for longer hours by young children is child labour but to these children, these are their responsibilities to their families.

In my view, what looks exploitative and harmful to a child in the minority world might not be the case in the majority world. For anyone to understand what and why children in different contexts are involved in different types of work, we need to understand it from the children's point of view and from their time and place. But not to judge according to where we do come from. Thus there is always a need to explore and understand the contexts that makes children themselves engage in work and the dynamics that may turn work into exploitation, this requires devoting analytical attention to the shifting forms and relations of children's work and the more differentiated perspectives on how its meanings reflect political-economic and cultural transformations, and reveal social inequalities (Abebe and Bessell 2011: 770-778).

5.5.1 Children's work and children's rights

The need to recognise children as rights holders instead of objects of adult charity gave birth to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNRC) in 1989. After the UNCRC's birth it paved way for another regional legal instrument for children's rights called the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of Children (ACRWC). With the adoption of

these two legal instruments by different governments and non-governmental organisations such as UNICEF, gave rise to the rights based approach which is a tool dealing with children.

The UNCRC's article 3 which outlines the importance of the best interest of the child and Article 12 that stresses the vitalness of expression of children's opinions especially on issues concerning them. This means that in today's era children's voices should be the central and part of their daily lives. Therefore, while seeking to understand the responsibilities of children and how they produce and reproduce their knowledge and agency towards work, I sought the children's responses themselves. This is because understanding gendered perspectives, experiences and why they engage into work I needed to listen to them, and also that not every work done by children is not a danger to them. For example, the ILO through its International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) which is an instrument that intends to eliminate child labour, states that not all work done by children is child labour and such work include activities such as helping their parents around home, assisting in a family business or earning pocket money outside school hours and during school holidays (ILO, 2002).

ILO stresses that it is only against work that interferes with children's development, schooling and general well-being. The findings show how there is a growing demand to involve work and school despite the fact that work may sometimes interfere with the children's schooling. This is done in order to help out their parents, pay for their education and financial fees as well as improving their daily lives. This is due to the increasing financial hardships or poverty that has increased in rural areas such as Rakai, Kalisizo. This means that there is an increasing need for the children to help out their families. This has undermined children's rights such as the right to education, health care and so on.

Though Uganda as a signatory of both the UNCRC and ACRWC has tried to realise such rights and to make sure children enjoy their rights through important steps such as the children's statue of 1996, the introduction of Universal Primary Education, Universal Secondary Education, social protection approach among others, children rights are far from being realised in Uganda. For example, additional fees introduced by schools prevent a serious number of children from attending school due to poverty, thereby leaving them with only an option of engaging into work. White (2002) argues that while the rights language, in particular the universal rights of the child sounds clear within the global community, neither does it resonate with the children's daily lives in many local contexts nor does it transform directly into the daily contexts of children and their families (White, 2002).

For instance, the participants knew about their rights as children but to them they were not that important to them or they think that realisation of these rights is a fantasy or in vain hope as long as their parents are poor (see also Abebe & Tefera, 2014), thus in such a rural context upholding the rights of childhood is a privilege of the rich and practically non-existent for the poor (H. Montgomery, Burr, & Woodhead, 2003). For the adults, children's rights are seen as not in existent, this is because children's rights are interdependent with those of a wider family network with whom they collaborate and in which mutual and long term livelihoods strategies are set (Abebe, 2013).

Furthermore, the belief by many laws set by different governments such the Ugandan government that children's work only equates to paid work, and the implication that these laws sanctify unpaid work especially in the home as being under parents' supervision regardless of its consequences for the well-being of the children (Nieuwenhuys, 1996). This means or shows that children working in homes are less likely to face any harm or risk of rights abuse than those working outside the homes. This is absurd because according to my observation many children worked for long hours, carried heavier loads than their ages should carry and all this on empty stomachs yet they were under their parents' supervision.

In circumstances where adults have more control over children, they especially in the majority world are expected to do whatever they are told without denial, refusal, questioning or arguing with the adults. Though both the UNCRC and ACRWC advocate for children to be listened to as well as be free to express themselves, many children do not have that freedom to choose what, when and who to do work with. More so they both advocate for children's right to be protected from all the forms of work that hinders them from attending school for instance, but what if such kind of work keeps them in school. As we saw above that most children miss school on a Saturday to engage into work so as to be able to pay for their scholastic needs. This means stopping them might keep them away from school thus doing more harm than good.

As Bourdillon (2006) argues that children should have the right to the benefits arising from work appropriate to their age, whether it is paid or unpaid, because vulnerable children often are harmed rather than protected when prevented from working. Weston (2005:433) goes on to say that everyone should respect and promote the rights of working children to organise themselves. Thus in my view, for anyone to understand why children especially in the global south engage into work and why some children rights are not as important to them, we should

first study and understand children and their work in their respective contexts before we come out with judgement.

5.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the above empirical data showed us how children's work should always be understood in their time, place and context. This is because children are always misunderstood or judged according to what they do, how long they do it and with whom. In addition, the attribution of gender to understanding what girls or boys do is also contextual, and therefore for someone to understand them, he needs to study and understand them in regards to their context.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION TWO

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss some of my major research findings by relating them to the research questions I raised in chapter one on two research questions, i) how do girls and boys in this area combine work, play and leisure? ii) Does the work done by girls and boys in this community affect their education and leisure? iii) To what extent does tradition shape the daily work activities done by girls? The discussion is cross cutting among themes of work, school and leisure. I will talk about school verses work, work school and play, play verses work, work verses children rights in regards to my study area. I will show the different strategies children employ to finish their work play and school.

6.1 Interdependency and intergenerational relationships in a home

My research shows how children with the help of their elders such as parents, grandparents and other guardians make and continue to make important contributions towards the improvement of their homes as well as society at large. This means that in every society there are young and older generations which are part of a larger macro-structure. Qvortrup (2000) argues that different generational groups are always influenced differently in society (Qvortrup, 200

In most Ugandan societies children are seen as subordinates to their elders. This subordination in society is grounded in a patriarchal system of relationships whereby being an elder is vested with power to exercise authority and control over children (Abebe, 2007). This kind of power in most cases over shadows the active child in a society, and thus children remain to be looked at as dependants who only depend on adults for their survival, forgetting that adults too are powerless at a certain point and therefore depend on children.

Though to some extent children are dependent on their families, they also contribute to varying degrees within households. Thus, rather than seeing dependence and independence as polar opposites, we could use ideas about responsibilities within families to develop a more nuanced approach to the study of the interdependencies of family members (Morrow, 2008). This implies that children as well as their guardians are interdependent on each other. For example, many parents in my study rely on their children's support towards domestic chores and some on their economies. More so parents can be able to carry out other business ventures away from home as they trust other responsibilities to their children. Children supplement through their paid and unpaid work onto the well-being of many households.

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When asked about the importance of children's contributions, most parents showed how relieving it is to have an extra hand to help with some responsibilities whether at home, running errands or helping out in the market. Moreover, in some households both parents and children found it interesting when they worked together. This support looked to be more appealing to the children as they showed how happy they became to work with their mothers or grandmothers. A 14-year-old girl told me how happy she always feels when she works with her mother. When I asked her why, she explained that, she is able to complete her work quickly when she works with her mother and therefore has more time to relax than when she has to do all the chores alone.

Other children regard it their responsibility to help their aging or single parents. An 11-year-old girl said that she feels responsible to help her mother as she is a single mother with 6 children and she cannot do everything on her own. Therefore, both adults and young people need each other for the well-being of their families thus generational interdependence is a central organising principle of family life in rural Rakai, Kalisizo (see also Abebe, 2013).

6.1.2 Generational division of labour

In rural Rakai just like in rural Bolivia (see Punch, 2001), some jobs are generational specific, relegated to children. These jobs include washing dishes, fetching water and fire wood. These kind of tasks are mainly for children; therefore, adults do not engage in these tasks. For those children who go to school, they have a responsibility of fetching water from the borehole that will last those staying at home the entire day till they come back from school in the evening.

This is done every early morning where children go to the water point and fetch the water in regard to how much a respective family might need. In most cases when they come back from the borehole, they wash the dishes and then prepare for school. When they come back from school, they eat the food that was kept for them and then wash the dishes. Amazingly adults keep all the dishes they use during the day for the children to wash when they get back from school.

> "I know there is no one to fetch water and wash the dishes apart from me and my sister. Though we have adults at home that mount to five, they do not help. Sometimes it is annoying coming back home from school and find a pile of utensils and dishes you have to wash yet you did not use them. But we are now used, me and my young sister wash

the dishes and after go to the borehole. From there we can then do our homework, when the dishes are not many we even get time to play." Frida.

Furthermore, fetching fire wood is a chore that is left to only children in this village. It done by boys more than girls. This is done only on weekends especially on a Sunday, children fetch firewood enough to last a household for a week. And when there are many children in a household they can fetch firewood that can last for two to three weeks.

Other chores in a home such as rearing animals, trading, cleaning, cooking and so on, are chores that are mainly dominated by adults. Though they are not generational specific to adults as children can also engage in them too. This is because adults have the authority and control over who, with whom and when a specific task is to be done. Therefore, by having that control they end up exercising authority over children to do what might have been their work to do.

6.2 Fostering and children's work

For the purpose of this study, I will refer to fostering as an exercise whereby a child lives with other people who are not her/his biological parents, who are either blood related or not. It can also be the provision of parental care and nurturing to a child by an adult who is not the child's natural or adoptive parent (Kasedde *et al,* 2014). I will mainly talk about fostering which is not institutional in nature but the one where a child lives with a relative or any other person who is not a biological parent. This is a common exercise due to different reasons such as death of parents, poverty and cultural. During the study I found that fostering was mainly carried out by maternal and less by paternal relatives.

Most of the adults I interviewed about what they consider before they fostered a child, said that they consider the abilities of the child in terms what he or she can do. This meant that children who did not know how to work find it hard to get someone to adopt them. This is also an evidence of biological parents fostering out their children as a way to enhance their children's prospects of moving forward and succeeding in life (Serra, 2009) For example,

> Her parents came to me asking if my family can take on two of her siblings, we agreed but realised that her brother was not helpful at all. He could not do anything beneficial to us, so we decided to send him back to his family. We stayed with her sister because she is hard working, she helps a lot with the domestic chores. It motivates us to meet her needs in time. Foster parents who are not blood related.

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I also learnt that children in these situations often are made to work more than the biological children they find in such homes. They are usually faced with long hours of working and lots of work compared to the children that are related to the foster parents.

> Molly: I stay with Mr. and Mrs Magambo, they treat me well yet they are not related to me but that means that I have to work for it. I wake up very early to fetch water, make breakfast and help the children to dress for school and have their breakfast before I prepare myself for school. In the evening when I come back, I again have a lot of chores to do before I go to bed. I am always the first to wake up and the last one to go to bed.

> Viola: Are you the only child at home?

> Molly: No I am not. Mr. Magambo has six children but they do not work as much. I do all the chores; they only help on weekends.

Such children usually live and regularly work for long hours thus being exploited but then they cannot leave such homes. This is because if they do, they might end up missing out on school and other benefits such clothes that come with this arrangement.

Furthermore, some children are living a good life yet they are fostered. These are mainly those that live with their blood relatives especially grandmothers. In the interactions I had with some of these children, they said that they worked just as any other child in the village, they said they have time to read their books and play. Take for example this 10-year-old boy. He lives with his grandmother after the death of both his parents. He said that he wakes up in the morning and prepares for school. He says that he only has chores in the evening, and it is only fetching water and washing the dishes. Apart from Saturdays where he goes to the farm with his grandmother, and also it is his turn to cook on the weekends.

Though there is exploitation involved in some foster homes, all the children were really happy to have a place to call home. Above all most of them had a chance to attend school which was not the case with their previous homes. Thus they were grateful to their foster parents who could afford to send them to school and provide for them in one way or another.

In my view, children who live in such arrangements especially with families of which they are not related by blood may be able to get their essential needs but they will always lack emotional

needs such as love and the bond that children usually have with their biological or blood related relatives.

Fostering is a common practice in Uganda, like in many other places in Africa. As Ansell and Van Blerk (2004) argues that relatives who accept children accept to do so out of a sense of obligation to provide care, particularly when they perceive no other relative is able or willing to take on the child (Ansell & Van Blerk, 2004). Relatives I talked to that had fostered children in this area were mainly grandmothers, with only two paternal aunties and one maternal aunt. Other foster parents where not related in any way to the children. They explained to me how they could not afford to provide for their children and grandchildren and the main reason for such an arrangement was poverty. As Bass (2004) argues that fostering of this kind provides a means by which poor families can secure support for their children (Bass, 2004). In such arrangements children work and they are rewarded by meeting their needs in form of paying school fees, scholastic materials, clothes, shelter and food. This shows that some children are incorporated into some households as workers (Young & Ansell, 2003).

6.3 Children's work, school and play

Children tend to integrate work, school and play into their daily lives. Just as Bolivian children in Punch (2003) children carry out much unpaid work for their households from an early age as well as going to school for approximately seven years of primary education. I observed that some children miss school on some days especially during seasonal businesses. During my bachelor's field work with children in Nyendo for example, I realised that some children between the ages of 8 to 15 always miss school on a Tuesday. This is because Tuesday is the market day for Nyendo. They engage in different kinds of work for example polythene bag vending, selling clothes and shoes, selling food and carrying luggage for people. When asked why they were not at school, most of them told me that, they earn their school fees through doing that kind of work (Nakazibwe, 2011). Though this happens, to most children combining school, work and play is the order of the day. In most societies school is not seen as work but rather a place where children go sit, learn and come back home (see Qvortrup, 2001) thus when children come back home, they do chores in compensation with what they missed during their time at school.

When asked if they had time to play especially on a week day, the children told me they did. They mentioned for example at school they always have breaks from class work during break

time which is 30 minutes from Monday to Friday and it is always from 10:30 hours to 11:00 hours. They also have another hour between 13:00 to 14:00 hours, at this time they have their lunch and they play after that and finally they have an hour after classes from 15:30 to 16:15 before heading home where they have co-curricular activities such as netball, football and music dance and drama.

The extracts from their diaries and recall sheets show how children perform their duties before and after school. For instance, 14 year Rita's recall sheet shows how she works before and after school. She says that she wakes up early in the morning prays, lays her bed, greets her parents, brushes and washes her face, then goes to the borehole to collect water, washes dishes and sometimes cleans the house and after she heads to school. When she gets back from school she fetches food from the garden and cooks it while washing dishes. Looking at her recall sheet, I wondered when she has time to play, so I asked her. She told me that she does play at school and apart from that most times while on their way back home from school. She further explained that though the time to play is a bit limited during week days because of work and school, she always has more time to play on the weekends especially when she and her friends go to fetch water and firewood. I asked her which games do they play and she said that, they swim in the ponds, play dodging, hide and seek and many other games. She went on to tell me that on Sunday at around 15:00 hours her friends always come home or she goes to their place and they play the entire evening.

When asked if they did any paid work during school days, some of the participants said yes. They stressed that they have to miss school especially the half day on Saturday. This is because they have to help out with buying and selling of products on this day as it the market day for Kalisizo. They stressed how important this day is in their lives, as the money earned on this day helps them buy scholastic materials, pay tuition and the surplus helps with the household necessities such as buying kerosene for their lamps at night. This shows how work goes hand in hand with school, meaning without work most children will not be able to attend school. Despite the introduction of Universal Primary Education by the Ugandan government, most schools demand that parents pay for other services such as lunch and development fees, which some children's parents might not afford if they do not engage in paid work.

Work, play and school are a central part in the lives of children. Children are able to combine work and play, play and school and school and work. They always negotiate their time to make sure they have play, school and work incorporated within their day to day lives. Girls often

play while minding siblings at home and also try to imitate their elders in doing chores at home while boys imitate their uncles and fathers' chores. Though children have time to incorporate play, work and school in their daily lives, some adults see their play as a wastage of time especially for those children that have come of age to work.

Bourdillon (2011) argues that as work can merge with leisure, so play can become work particularly when young people see the possibility of developing their talents to the extent of providing a career. Children take such opportunities especially at school. They play football, netball and music, dance and drama as an enjoyment and at the same time developing their talents, as most schools in Uganda give scholarships to children with special talents in sports and music.

Even though some work activities maybe more compatible with school attendance than others, this does not mean that children's work participation will not have undesirable implications on their schooling. Children might be able to combine farm work, domestic work and other work related activities with schooling, long hours of work will leave the children exhausted with fatigue thus they might have little mental stimulation (Admassie, 2003). Which might lead to school dropout, or hinder school enrolment, in addition to the direct and indirect costs of schooling which might be too expensive or far away from their homes (*ibid:* 178)

6.3.1 Strategies children employ to organise work, school and play

The many responsibilities children have in relation to their families and school, have made them devise and adopt different coping strategies to deal with them. They do this to spare themselves time for leisure and interaction between peers. As Woodhead (1998) found out in a study of working children in the majority world, children negotiate the limited choices despite being constrained by a series of factors, they reconcile competing pressures to work, to go to school, to do domestic chores and to play (pp. 157). Here I discuss the findings basing on what I discussed with the participants. Some of the children told me that waking up really early in the morning is one of their strategy of working, schooling and creating work to play.

Resty: I wake up very early in the morning with my siblings

Viola: How many siblings do you have?

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Resty: I have six siblings. And when we wake up we all go to the borehole. This is because if we don't then we will have to fetch water in the evening and if we do fetch together in the morning, then we always have dishes to wash and food to prepare when we return from school. There we have time to ourselves and time to do our homework before bed.

Such temporal organisation of children's work has been a strategy for a long period of time. When I asked some parents, they explained to me that waking up early was their strategy if they wanted to finish their chores in time so that they could have time to play in the afternoon. They explained that they did not have school but they had work, and farming was taking up most of their days. Waking up early and starting on it as early as 6 am, meant creating free time in the afternoon to interact as well as play with peers.

Other children employ multi-tasking as a coping strategy to finish work early and quickly. This strategy is employed by girls. Multi-tasking is especially done with chores like cooking, cleaning and washing the dishes.

"I always multitask, do some of my chores concurrently so as to finish very fast. I prepare food and put it on the cooking stones, while it is cooking, I can be washing dishes or cleaning the compound or the house, other times I can be preparing the sauce. By the time the food is ready, I am also done with other chores that I am responsible for, which creates leisure time for me." 13 year old Kanana

Some children work in the night to reduce on what they are supposed to do in the morning. Participants said that they wash dishes immediately after dinner but they said they were limited on what to perform during the night. This is due to the certain taboos that are attached to performing certain chores in the night. For example, children in this village are not allowed to sweep the compound or the house in the night. This is because it is said that when they do, they are welcoming poverty into the household.

6.3.2 School and Work

Findings of the study show that children not only do different tasks when at home but also at school. This is in form of cleaning the school compound / premises. The children that I interacted with, clean the compound on a daily basis by picking rubbish and sweeping it as

well. This means that apart from the morning work they do in their homes, they are expected to arrive early at school in order to engage into the general cleaning.

Furthermore the children told me that the activities they do at school are unisex. There are no specific tasks for girls or boys , these tasks include cleaning the compound by sweeping and picking the rubbish, fetching water for the school kitchen which is always done during their break or lunch period. This is done in turns whereby each class has a specific day for fetching water for the kitchen. This means that during a class' turn, they must forego their breakfast and lunch time breaks in order to fetch water. This is something I observed during one of my visit to the school.

On my last Friday, I arrived at this school to meet the pupil participants of primary six, little did I know that it was their turn to fetch water for the school. I arrived at 12:45pm as we always interacted between 13 to 14 hours. By the time I arrived, I was informed by one of the teachers that I had to wait for them as they had gone to collect water. Most of them came back at a quarter to 14 hours and by the time I left at 14 hours some of them had not showed up. This means that some children do not get to eat their lunch when it is their turn and neither do they have their leisure time which is entitled to them in this one hour.

Farming at school is assigned to pupils as a form punishment. For instance each child at school is expected to speak English as a bid to encourage the youngsters to be fluent in the country's official language. Due to this, the school teachers cut a backcloth and on it a bone is attached. For each pupil that is found on the school premises speaking vernacular, he or she is given this outfit to be worn around the neck. They are supposed to pass it to the next culprit they find not speaking English, at the end of the day each child that wears it is punished and this is when most of them are sent to the school farm to do agricultural work. This is done in the evening after the day's lessons are done. This has made most children hate agricultural work in this area. This is what one parent had to say about it;

> "The schools have destroyed the love for agriculture and our local language among our children. This is because they give children large pieces of land to clear, farm, plant and harvest as a punishment for speaking their mother tongue. Tell me how I can convince my children that the language is good and unique if they are punished in schools for using it. How am I going to make them love agriculture when they see it as punishment whenever you tell them to go farming? No wonder these days most young

people run away and got to the city where there is no agriculture." Local council chairman

Thus the issue of children or young people hating agriculture and their mother toungue which is mainly the source of income is blamed on schools. This is because most schools in this area use agriculture as a way to punish children at the sametime gaining from what the children plant thus a winning at the schools' end and loosing at the parents' end as children cannot stand performing agriculture both at school and at home.

6.4 Children's responsibilities and views on work

Children are of great value to the contribution of labour to both the households and community at large. In many households children's responsibilities cannot be separated from that of their families' survival. Thus as one of the values of the Baganda, a tribe that my participants come from, children are socialized and are involved at a very early age to help their elders as they go about their domestic roles. Like other places in Africa 'in childhood…girls learn to avoid laziness and to be helpful to all adults, but especially to assist their mothers…. while boys do so by working with their fathers (hoeing, planting, weeding and harvesting), gardening and pasturing animals, learn more community oriented values of wealth acquisition and its redistribution'. (Hamer and Hamer, 1994: 94 cited in Abebe 2013: 78-79). Though most children's work is gendered, the more one grows so does the work burdens. This means that what a 10-year-old girl will have lighter responsibilities than what a 15-year-old girl.

Community work is seen as a preparation of both girls and boys. This is because rural communities that are substance oriented such as Kalisizo feel that it is more important to involve children in activities that are economical, domestic and other skills that equip children with basic knowledge for their future survival (Admassie, 2003).

Children are perceived as social security for old age. This is due to the linkage between social structure and chores and on the idea that work builds character, thus many parents believe that if their children are not put to work early, they will never develop into responsible adults (Lancy, 2012). Children always learn from their parents or elders through what Paradise and Rogoff (2009) call learning by observing and pitching in, here children learn through observing and participating directly in shared social and cultural world. Through being taught and being allowed to participate in the social and cultural world of work, parents see their futures being brought to life and therefore are assured of old age security as children will be able to take care

of them through their old age. Thus parents have children, raise them so that their labour can support the household, and eventually provide an old age pension or social security (Lancy, 2009). By helping with work, children learn to contribute to their parents emotional well-being, taking care of their parents during old age becomes their priorities and securing them respectable funerals and also ease their parents' entrance into the afterlife (ibid: 31).

Working is also part of the daily responsibilities with immense contribution to the households' economies and well-being. As Abebe (2013) argues, children always expect to be rewarded after performing productive and reproductive responsibilities through praise, food, clothing, shelter and school materials and when they become of age, inheritance rights including land. Thus children work and earn their rights unlike their counter parts in the minority world who are entitled to them. (ibid: 79).

Children mentioned a range of activities which they said are their responsibilities. Through these responsibilities they are not only being productive to their households but to the societies they occupy. As Liebel (2004) argues that through their work children make an important contribution to their families and societies. In most cases children especially in the Uganda feel obliged to tend to their families and to ensure their families' good livelihoods.

Most of the participants had similar preferences when it came to what they preferred to do. Girls said that they preferred washing clothes and dishes, cleaning the compound and cooking. These were the most loved chores compared to others that are undertaken at home. When I asked the girls why they preferred the above mentioned chores, they said;

> Kanana: They are meant for girls.

> Rita: I am the only girl and so the boys always leave such tasks to me.

> Kate: It is because as a woman I need them and I need to be clean

> Joan: They are lighter than other chores.

> Frida: We are expected to be clean as women especially in our homes.

> Betty: They are safe chores because we don't need to go anywhere to accomplish them.

According to the girls, there are chores they dislike including farming, fetching both water and firewood and making back cloth. When asked why they don't like such chores, they said;

Kanana: Farming is really hectic and it needs strong people like boys to do it.

Rita: The jerry cans are too big and heavy for us to carry. Also the distance from home to the borehole is also very long.

Kate: Those chores are supposed to be for boys because they are stronger than us girls.

Joan: Fetching firewood is dangerous for us as girls because we might end being defiled or raped from those forests where we go.

Betty: Making back cloth is really hard, because it involves a lot of work which includes climbing. We are always told how it is not good for us girls to climb trees but when it comes to getting materials to get backcloth that part is forgotten. Thus it should be for boys only but not girls.

From the above discussions, girls having preferences or dislikes does not mean that they have choices on which chores to do and not to do. This is because, decisions on what is done in a home is mainly an adult's task thus having power over the children. Though girls have preferred chores they love to do, they do feel that some of the chores that are assigned to them should be meant for boys. This might be influenced with the ideas of what traditionally used to be done by girls only or boys only which is no longer the case nowadays in this village. Today domestic roles are assigned to children regardless of their sex.

6.4.1 The community perspectives and attitudes towards the work done by children

Adults that I interviewed pointed out that it is the children who stand to gain more in the different kinds of work they do, be it paid or unpaid, domestic or commercialised chores that are done outside the home. This argument was based on their own experiences as children, saying that if they had not been taught how to work they would not be what they are today. Meaning that, what they are today was determined by the type of work they were willing to learn doing as children. Women explained how domestic chores prepare children for their future especially as parents.

In an interview with a mother, when asked what she thought of work given to children, she explained that through work children learn to be responsible citizens and parents of tomorrow. She used a proverb of we reap what we sow. She said that whatever these children learn today

will be sown tomorrow when they become adults who have to fend for both themselves and their children.

Many parents explained how schools cannot teach children all the kind of skills that are needed for survival when they grow up. They mentioned for example cooking that as a woman you are expected to get the knowledge and skills of preparing the local dishes at home not at school. They also mentioned personal hygiene for the children, one parent said;

> "I know they are taught how to be clean at school because my daughter mentioned it to me but they just tell them what to do but they don't show them how to do it. As a mother I need to teach my children how to tide up their bedrooms, how to clean the house, the bathrooms and other things that go hand in hand with hygiene. If they learn now, then I am sure that their future will be bright." Betty's mother.

The above quotation shows that, schooling reinforces the useful learning impacted at home and maybe, for children be the only useful form of learning (Purdy, 1992 cited by Nieuwenhuys, 1996:244).

Furthermore, some parents explained how useful it is for the children to learn domestic chores as this allows their parent to take on other employment opportunities besides house chores to generate more income for the family well-being. The children take on chores such as looking after their young siblings, cooking, fetching water and firewood. Moreover, children also buy and sell products to earn and supplement to the family incomes.

In interview with a grandfather, we discussed the difference between the work done today and that done during their school days. Below is the conversation;

> Viola: Grandfather, what is the difference between work that is done by children today and that of your days as a child?

> Grandfather: Children of today seem hard working but not as we used to in our days.

> Viola: Grandfather I mean, what can you say about the work done by girls or boys of today and that of your days?

Grandfather: Today most children are into businesses. (He laughs) Boys especially as young as 15 years of age are dropping out of school and running to the city to look for work. Most of them hate farming. I think schools have contributed to this hate.

Viola: Why is that?

Grandfather: Schools today give our children farming as a punishment. When they misbehave at school, they are given chunks of land to till as punishment. Anyway in our days, as a boy I would wake up, wash dishes, and fetch water, till and then go to school. I would continue from where I left off on my return from school in the evening, but these days, children are barely home. They spend most of their time at school, they leave very early and come back at night. They rarely help with any chore at home.

Viola: You have only talked about boys, what about girls?

Grandfather: Hmmmm! Girls of today especially in this village look forward to getting married. I wonder what they see in marriage. In my days, girls used to wake up, go straight to the farm, come back then wash the dishes, then go to school. In the evening they would fetch water, firewood, cook and clean the compound. But today girls seem lazy and school too takes most of their time. If a girl was not attending school in my days, she would be prepared for marriage through learning house work with her mother or paternal aunt.

Viola: Are there any other tasks that you did not mention, that used to be done by children in your days?

Grandfather: Umm yes, boys used to hunt, brew alcohol, black smith and farm but these days most boys turn out to be thieves. They steal people's coffee, hunt and a few still do black smith, and brewing alcohol is fading these days because few people can afford it.

Viola: What happened?

Grandfather: The different plantain used in brewing (embidde as locally known) are no longer in existence. Those who have it sell it expensively and instead other businesses besides what we used to know are blooming.

This conversation with the grandfather shows the space difference in terms of grandfather child days and today in regards of what children can do. In the past we see that most domestic chores were being done by girls. But today there is a mash up between girls and boys, thus gender is no longer a basis on what children do at home or outside the home.

More so according to the conversation, school is blamed for the laziness and time consumption for the children. The children barely know how to do chores in a home because they spend most of their time at school that is to say from Monday to Saturday. In addition to that children do not take up the work that is locally known to the community such as brewing alcohol, black smith, and farming but rather prefer spending most of their time at school looking forward to white collar jobs. Those that drop out of school due to different reasons prefer to steal than to work. Another reason for not taking up locally known work is the resources to use became so expensive that many people, especially young people cannot afford them for instance brewing of alcohol, one needs plantain locally known as embidde. This plantain is so expensive today due to it being grown by few people compared to the 1990's.

In all, as I had set out to seek gendered perspectives from children as well as their parents. It became evident that both children and adults had similar views on certain aspects as well differences on other aspects. For example, both children and their parents discussed the importance of girls learning most of the domestic chores such as cooking, cleaning and taking care of a home because this prepares them for their future as wives and mothers. Some parents preferred teaching both their children the domestic chores regardless of the sex especially in cases where the family is composed of less girls or less boys, the parents found this okay whereas the children found it unfair especially the girls who in their views felt like some chores such as fetching water and fire wood, farming and making of backcloth should only be for boys. This is because according to them these particular chores require strength and a less harmful to the boys.

6.5 Families and society expectations from the children

Children interviewed on whether there are expectations that they are supposed to meet from family, relatives or the society at large, majority of the children said yes. Though the majority were girls compared to the boys. Looking at these expectations one realises that it is through these expectations that children learn their responsibilities and how to work hard. Meaning that

all children's expectations in this area always translates into work. This is an excerpt that demonstrates how expectations from the family translates into work.

> As a girl in my family, I am expected to learn how to do all the domestic chores as I will use these when I get married one day. I am also expected to learn how to behave well in society so as to bring honour and prestige to my family as well as attract the right man for marriage. Talking of marriage, as a girl I am expected to *visit the bush*[15] as it is another quality I must fulfil before marriage. Frida

Children learn to fulfil their expectaions to the society as well as to their families as Frida has shown. This means that girls should be able to meet all these expectations without fail or the blame will be put on the mother. For boys, some seemed to be sure of what is expected of them apart from being hard working and well behaved. A few of them talked about excellency at school, that as boys in this community they are expected to excel at school more than girls as they need to have good grades to earn them good jobs in the future and be able to look after their families.

In addition, some children said that the society as well their families expect them to work hard, be responsible as they are going to be the citizens of tomorrow, help their parents during old age when they cannot help themselves and ensure the continuity of their family names. Therefore some parents look at their children as an investment. This is what one father had to say;

> "I do whatever I can for my children, I send them to school expecting them to excel, I put a lot of effort to teach them morals and being responsible because I expect them to become good citizens for tomorrow. Their mother has taught them how to work hard, and I have helped where need be so that my children turn out to be hardworking. With this my old age will be peaceful because I will have them to take care of me."

This means that parents invest resources into their children with an expectation of children supporting their parents when they grow old. It is the responsibility of children to put to good use what is invested and expected of them to become responsible citizens as well as adults in the future. It also shows how fathers are more of supporters compared to mothers who have the

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[15] Visiting the bush is an act where teenage girls are expected to go to the push and pull their labia. This is apparently done to please their future spouses and so it is a requirement for any girl before marriage.

responsibility to impart and teach their children how to work hard. Women tend to put in more effort because if a child grows up irresponsible, culturally, the mother is blamed for this child's behaviour and laziness.

All in all, it is important to note that expectations are gender based whereby girls face more hours and more expectations in regards to domestic chores and responsibilities than their counter parts the boys. This is because they are expected to learn how to take care of their future families. Girls fulfill such expectations through being supervised by their mothers who become their role models in monitoring their the girls' progress in what Lancy (2009) calls the chore curriculum. In this, girls may find that freedom and opportunity to play by their mother's need for a helper at the nest (*ibid*: 37).

6.5.1 The erosion of gendered based work roles today

Gendered role are those roles that feature in children's day today lives and experiences through socialisation process. This means that children imitate, learn or observe what goes on around them and it is through such interactions that children's work roles in places like Kalisizo are characterised as either masculine or feminine and these may vary from community to community. Findings show the following as some of the factors that are causing the erosion of gender based work roles in Rakai Kalisizo, Uganda.

The migration of both or one of the parents to the Ugandan capital Kampala has contributed to the erosion of gendered roles. This is because children are supposed to be taught by either a male or female adult in respect to their gender. Due to this migration, the findings show that most children stay with either their mothers or grandmothers. Boys for example take on the responsibilities that are assigned to them by their guardians which sometimes are chores that are supposed to be for girls.

Age and the children composition are other factors for the erosion of gendered roles today. The findings show that young children are given different chores regardless of their sex. With time some children become comfortable with the chores they have been assigned to when young. Moreover, some families are composed of more boys than girls and verse versa. The children composition in family, in some families determine what kind of work is done by the children in such a family. This is an extract from the field notes showing how children composition has contributed to the erosion of gendered work roles today;

> We are four boys and one girl in my family. My sister is the youngest so she does not do anything at home. It is me and my other brothers that do all the chores at home. This is because we need to help grandmother especially when we don't have school. We cook, clean, fetch water and firewood and whatever grandmother instructs us to do. We love to help grandmother and since we can do all this, she does not worry when she travels because she knows we can cook and take care of the home and our young sister. Richard, 14-year-old boy.

The above shows a family that is composed of only boys and because of this, they engage into work that is supposedly for girls. Since their sister is too young to engage into work, her brothers perform the task that would have been hers.

6.5.2 Gender and other Variables in Society

In addition to the above, the division of labour in the households and the community of Kalisizo is gendered. Although children in the rural Uganda especially girls arrange or come up with strategies that help them to battle marginalisation as females, James and James (2012) argue that gender is only one aspect of a child's social identity and thus a child's experience of him or herself as male or female has to be seen in relation to other aspects of identity in wider social structures such as age, ethnicity and so on. Looking at Kalisizo as a context these social structures are seen below in details.

6.5.3 Customs and Generational power

Customs hinders especially women in this community. This is because my research site is a male dominated society where women have less or no say in matters especially affecting their community and their own household. As a girl in this community, you're seen as a weaker sex and therefore cannot engage in some types of work as they are mainly meant for boys. For instance, a 10-year aged boy will be allowed to run an errand at 20:00hours in the night but a girl of 14 years of age will not be allowed to do.

Generational power is another variable were children are expected to respect their elders no matter what the situation is. Young children have less or no say in matters concerning them especially where adults are.

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6.5.4 Birth Order and Age

Birth order is another variable that goes hand in hand with gender. The birth order of siblings will greatly affect the decisions a child can make in a home, the freedom of what to do and the responsibilities one undertakes. Elder children tend to have more responsibilities than young ones.

Age is one of the variables that goes hand in hand with gender, with age as a factor elder children tend to exercise more power, will and agency over the young ones. In this you find that young girls and boys are supposed to respect as well as do as they are told but their elder brothers or sisters. More so the more years one has in this community the more freedom she or he is given. This is because as an elder in the family there is less supervision from the Adults.

6.5.5 Poverty

This is again another variable of gender. Poverty which mainly affect women and children in Uganda has forced more women into doing extra work in order to sustain their families. This in away affects the children in this area especially girls who have to drop out of school and stay home in order for their mothers to take extra employment. This has also forced children into doing extra jobs and working for long hours especially the boys who are seen as more energetic than their counterparts the girls.

6.6 Conclusion

All in all, the findings show that girls and boys in this area integrate work, school and play into their daily lives. This has both negative and positive impacts on their education such as they are able to pay for their scholastic materials and at the same time it keeps most of them away from school at least once in a week. If we wish to understand the place of school, work or sport in the lives of young people, rather than relying on the universal values, we need to examine the particular contexts in which these activities take place and the meaning they acquire in young people's lives (Bourdillon, 2011: 106). In addition, there is interdependence and a generational division of labour in this area, where some work is specifically limited to specific generation and adults as well as children depend on each other for survival.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

In this concluding chapter I will discuss the significant findings in a summarised form, exploring the gendered perspectives and experiences of work in rural Rakai, Uganda. I will examine children's work within their families and outside their families such as the school or the market place. I conclude this chapter by proposing policy recommendations based on my fieldwork experiences and study findings.

7.1 Concluding Remarks

Children in this area make substantial work contributions to the rural production and reproduction both independently and along adults. They do so willingly by working within the structures of adult power, authority, social circles and expectations appropriate for their age and gender manners. Most children in this community are included in the adult culture and are capable self-motivated individuals with levels of flexibility within their rural environment. The understanding of how gender relations is socially constructed hitherto rooted is visible and invisible in structures and practices that shape rural children's lives especially girls.

Children's work is fundamental to the social and economic spheres of household production and reproduction. This is because children are part and parcel of a big family collective. Family collectives prove to be very vital as its networking gives children the right to collaborate and interdepend on other family members. In this reciprocation and long term livelihoods schemes are established for the well-being of children and what they ought to become in the future. This shows how work that is paid or unpaid in this community for both girls and boys becomes part of household production that ensures an ongoing process of vocational learning and socialisation.

Children's contribution towards labour to both the households and community at large are vital and therefore their responsibilities cannot be separated from that of their families' survival. Looking at the Baganda a tribe that participants belong, children are socialized and are involved into work at a very early age to help their elders both women and men as they go about their domestic roles.

Girls take up responsibilities that can as well be taken up by adults in, for example caring for their siblings and relatives especially grandparents who are as vulnerable beings in society as children. They also take up domestic chores such as cleaning, cooking, fetching water and firewood. Though they do all these chores, the study also reveals how girls had favourite and dislikes when it comes to what they do. For instance, they loved cooking, cleaning, and washing the dishes and clothes. This is because they felt these chores were safe, easy, and light and as girls they needed to be clean. On the other hand, they disliked farming, making backcloth and fetching water and firewood because they believe that such chores are arduous and should be for boys. They argued fetching firewood and water need strength, are risky and involve climbing trees to get backcloth materials.

According to the community members, the concept child is a complex one, and it can be understood differently from one person to another and from community to community. Even in a relatively homogeneous community as Kalisizo the understanding of who a child differs from person to person. In most cases it is about dependency and any person that cannot provide for himself or herself but rather is provided for by the relatives or parent is considered a child.

However, being a child means having certain expectations that boys and girls are supposed to meet. Yet in this research, these expectations are felt by girls than boys. For instance, girls have expectations from family, relatives and the society at large, yet such differences in gendered expectations is not given enough attention in research. Girls' expectations are more pronounced because most girls are required to get married and have families of their own and therefore they have to learn how to take care of a home, the children and her husband. Girls are taught nurturing responsibilities starting at an early and these become the expectations she has to fulfil as she grows up. For boys hard working and being successful at what they do at home and school among some of the things that are expected of them by families and communities.

The adults said that it is the children who gain experience which helps them in the future when they engage in the different kinds of work, this argument was based on their own experiences as children, saying that if they had not been taught how to work they would not be what they are today for instance women said domestic chores prepare children for their future especially as parents and as important persons in their respective communities. They went ahead to

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describe what children do at their respective schools, expressing how schools cannot teach children all the kind of skills that are needed for survival when they grow up.

According to the community members, the influencing factors of what children's work goes beyond day today lives and stretch back to the past. Gender which was a vital factor traditionally by which most parents, guardians or elders in a home used to allocate chores to their children. In most cases girls' and boys' roles were different from each other's. Until today this idea is still embedded in some parents' minds about what boys and girls should be doing, though some households gender does not matter thus anyone can do what the other can do.

Many families are female headed and this is due to either death of the husbands, divorce or unemployment where the partner travels to another place to look for employment opportunities. The existence of female headed household has made it possible for children to engage in work as the need arises to support their mothers especially with domestic chores and outside their homes. When asked who decides what is done in a home, all the participants pointed out that it is their mothers, grand mothers or aunties that decided what is done, who is to do it and where, thus women hold an upper hand when it comes to decisions of what children do in a home.

The finding of the study shows that, there is interdependency between generations. Children and adults are neither dependent citizens nor autonomous individuals with separate rights but interdependent beings whose daily livelihoods are intricately entwined with and are inseparable from that of the family collective (Abebe, 2013: 72). Moreover, some work is generational specific for instance children in this area are more involved in washing dishes, fetching water and firewood. Though other activities are more adult dominated, adults sometimes use their authority over the children to do what adults are supposed to do. When this happens children are left with no option but to obey.

There are different reasons that were mentioned as to why children engage into working be it paid or unpaid work. For instance, children mentioned religious reasons, were their religious leaders or the religious denominations encourages them to work. Others said that they work

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because the need to get money to support themselves at school whereas some worked due to poverty in their households, and working meant a better livelihood for them and their families and lastly others work due to cultural reasons were the value of culture and continuity of the cultural values from one generation to the other, means that children should be productive and through domestic work and work outside the home constitutes the core of social reproduction and continuation of the cultural systems.

There are gender dimensions in the different work that the children do in this place. For instance, girls tend to be more involved with domestic chores more than boys, whereas agricultural work is unisex in this area where both boys and girls engage in it. Furthermore, when it comes to trading in this area, boys are more involved than girls. This is because the market place is a bit far from Kalisizo and children are more likely to return home at night. Therefore, to ensure the safety of girls, most families prefer engaging boys in trade more than girls.

Fostering is common in this area, this is where guardians and biological parents give out their children to another family with whom they are not related, as a way to enhance their children's prospects of moving forward and succeeding in life (Serra, 2009). Fostering is done with extended relatives or with people that have no blood relations with the child. This is a way poor families can secure and support their children. Though this arrangement can help secure children's bright future, fostered children miss out on the affection of their parents and they are always exploited by their foster guardian.

Children tend to integrate work, school and play into their daily lives. According to the extracts from their diaries and recall sheets from the fieldwork, children show how they engage into work before and after school and on a market day which is a Saturday and during certain seasons such as times for planting and harvesting, a certain number of children miss school to help out their parents. Though school is missed occasionally on these days, it does not affect their education, in fact it helps them to attend facilitate their schooling through paying school financial fees and scholastic materials. Thus work, play and school are a central part in the lives of children and they always negotiate their time to make sure they have play, school and work incorporated within their lives.

Moreover, they employ certain strategies to help them accomplish what they are assigned to, this is done in order for the children to have time for other activities such as play, and home work. These strategies include; waking up very early in the morning and finish most of the work before school, multi-tasking or working concurrently such cooking food while washing dishes, working at night for instance washing the dishes after dinner and asking for help from friends who have less work to help out which is reciprocated when the friends need the help too.

There are expectations that are placed onto children in this community. Through these expectations children learn their responsibilities and how to work hard, this is because expectations that are placed on the children always translates into work. The gravity of expectations is felt by girls than boys, they face more hours and more expectations in regards to domestic chores and responsibilities than their counter parts the boys this is because they are expected to learn and practice what they are to do when they get married in the future. Parents invest resources into their children with an expectation of children investing it back into their parents when they grow old. It is the responsibility of children to put to good use what is invested and expected of them to become responsible citizens as well as adults in the future thus through this investment children become social security for the aging parents.

7.2 Policy Implications and Recommendations

The perspectives presented in this thesis and the experiences of both the children and their guardians have several research and policy implications. It is important to see the work of rural girls as well as children as a continuous sequence containing both unsafe and at the same time useful dimensions to the lives of children, their families and communities. In my view, work be it unpaid or paid is not profoundly different from other activities such as games and sports or school which at times may turn out to be harmful to children. I suggest that with the help of children's perspectives and experiences, we need to assess and determine appropriate intervention on behalf of them. This will help create appropriate interventions that will enhance children's working conditions both at home and outside their homes.

The need to link policies on child labour and childwork with the lessening of poverty, pointing out that rights based approach must confront the complexity of issues and deal with concrete real life situations. This can be done by incorporating cultural values of a respective context in

which such policies are to be implemented. In my view working with he children and at the same time the community will enable the success of such policies.

There is need to look at the effects of gendered work on the development and the lives of children especially girls who tend to be more burdened especially when it comes to domestic work. This may lead to moral judgements and thus incorporating the perspectives and experiences of children who are involved in this type of work.

This study questions the implications of fostering as a way to ensure children's 'bright' future. The study shows that most children that are fostered, end up being exploited, work for long hours and lack parental love. Since this study has not been able to explore the details of this phenomenain detail, I recommend that more research should be carried out exploring the perspectives and experiences of fostered children in a rural Ugandan setting.

In addition, this research found out that gendered roles are eroding in Uganda. I recommend that more research should be carried out on the issue, to find out the causes of this erosion and how it is affecting the people especially those living the rural areas where gendered work roles still matter to the people in such settings.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR THE CHILDREN

My name is Nakazibwe Viola a student of MPhil childhood studies in Norway. I am writing a report for my university studies in MPhil childhood studies. This report is going to be about the gendered perspectives and experiences of both girls and boys in your area.

I am interested in your views and your participation is voluntary and you do not have to answer any question you do not want to answer. Nothing will happen to you if you decide that you do not want to participate. You also need to know that there are no right or wrong answers to the questions I will ask you, I will be using my phone to record what we talk about to help me remember what you said. If you are not comfortable with anything that is being done, please let me know.

When I am writing my report I may write about some of the things that you have talked about but I will use the letters in the alphabet not your names, and if I use names, they will not be your real names. Everything we talk about will be confidential meaning it is between me and you. You are free to leave anytime you want to and also you can stop me anytime if you are tired.

Before we begin, is there anyone who wants to leave?

Thank you.

APPENDIX II: INFORMED CONSENT FOR GUARDIANS AND KEY INFORMANTS

My Name is Nakazibwe Viola from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, I am here to conduct research about gendered perspectives and experience towards work with an Emphasis on a girl Child. The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, Norwegian Social Science Data Services.

I am seeking your consent so that your child may take part in the study. The study is voluntarily, and the child is free to withdraw at any time without questions asked. The information given will be treated confidentially and it will never be traced back to your child.

- I agree to my child to participate in the interview
- I agree that information about me and my child may be obtained from the teachers.
- I agree that my personal information may be published/saved after project completion

I have received information about the project and am willing to allow my child to participate.

Sign………………………………………….

Thank you.

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW GUIDE

- Can you tell me about your typical school day and non-school day (from when you wake up till when you go to bed?

- As girl or a boy in this community what are the type of tasks or work are you assigned to?

- Where do you do those tasks from?

- With whom do you those tasks with?

- How do you do them?

- What do you think about the tasks you do?

- Do you know why you do not do the same tasks as boys or girls?

- Are there tasks you would prefer doing than what is assigned to you? If yes, any reasons?

- What are your perspectives on the work you do?

- Do experience any challenges when performing your tasks?

- If you are given a chance to choose your own task what will you choose? And why?

- Do you feel appreciated after you accomplish your tasks?

- Are their expectations from your family, relatives or the society at large that you are expected to meet?

- Do you have time for school and play?

- How do you manage to accomplish school, work and manage to play?

- Who determines the work done at home? And why?

- In your opinion, who is a child?

Adults

- How was division of work during your childhood days?

- Do you see any changes between now and then?

- Can you tell me what kind of tasks you assign to your children, are they different according to sex? If yes, why?

- What extent does tradition shape the daily work activities done by both girls and boys?

- As a grandmother, what tasks did you perform during your childhood days?

- How are societal perspectives and attitudes towards gendered social roles, shape girls 'tasks?

- Does the work done by girls and boys in this community affect their education and leisure?

- Tell me about the work you did when you were a child.

- What were your responsibilities?

- How was the work you engaged organised? Why?

- Was there a difference between the works you did as a young girl to that that your brothers did? Why?

- Where their expectations from your family while growing up?

- Is there a difference between the work done by girls or boys of today and those of your time?

- Do you think children should work or not? Why?

- Are there lessons for children when they take part in working?

- Which factors/situations make children take active part in housework nowadays?

- Should there be age specific tasks in the family?

- Should there be gender specific roles in the household?

- Who do you think should perform most domestic labour between girls and boys? Why?

- How will you describe the roles children play in the family livelihood today?

- In your opinion, who is a child?

APPENDIX IV: STANDARD OBSERVATION SHEET

Researcher (s) Name (s)..

Date of Session..

Time of Session: From...To..

Research Tool Used...

Place of data Collection..

Number Sequence of Data Collected from...To.................... ....

What factors might have influenced the collection of data during this session

Researcher (s)

Children/ adults

Characteristics of the place where data were collected:

Weather:

Interruptions/distracters:

Others:

APPENDIX V: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION INTERVIEW GUIDE

- Can you tell me about your typical school day and non-school day (from when you wake up till when you go to bed?

- As girl or a boy in this community what are the type of tasks or work are you assigned to?

- Where do you do those tasks from?

- With whom do you those tasks with?

- How do you do them?

- What do you think about the tasks you do?

- Do you know why you do not do the same tasks as boys or girls?

- Are there tasks you would prefer doing than what is assigned to you? If yes, any reasons?

- What are your perspectives on the work you do?

- Do experience any challenges when performing your tasks?

- If you are given a chance to choose your own task what will you choose? And why?

- Do you feel appreciated after you accomplish your tasks?

- Are their expectations from your family, relatives or the society at large that you are expected to meet?

- Do you have time for school and play?

- How do you manage to accomplish school, work and manage to play?

- Who determines the work done at home? And why?

- In your opinion, who is a child?

APPENDIX VI: INTRODUCTION LETTER

To whom it may concern

Our consultant:
Rannveig Singsaas
Higher Executive Officer
Telephone no.: +4773596357
E-mail: rannveig.singsaas@svt.ntnu.no

Dated:
2015-04-29

Our ref.:

Your letter dated:

Your ref.:

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

We hereby confirm that Viola Nakazibwe, born 30 May 1988, 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. She will undertake her fieldwork and data collection from June to August 2015, on the topic:

Gendered Perspectives and Experience towards Work in Rural Uganda:
An Emphasis on a girl Child. A Case Study of Kalisizo, Rakai District.

We would be grateful for any assistance given to her during this process. This includes granting interviews, assisting her in making appointments, handing out materials and making information accessible to her. 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 and Supervisor

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Rannveig Singsaas
Higher Executive Officer