AN INVESTIGATION TO THE EFFICACY OF FREE PRIMARY EDUCATION IN WITHDRAWING AND MAINTAINING CHILDREN FROM CHILD LABOUR IN KIAMBU DISTRICT, KENYA

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Abstract

It is estimated that about 250 million children aged between 5-14 years were working world wide by the year 2006, at least 120 million were working full time and close to 80 million in hazardous work. These are children who either have no education at all or have had very little education. The study was geared to investigate the efficacy of free primary education in withdrawing children from child labour and maintaining them in primary schools. The study was conducted Kiambu district. The study used descriptive survey research design, the sample size was 70 respondents comprising of: 32 pupils, four head teachers, 16 teachers, and 16 parents, Kiambu District Quality Assurance and Standards Officer (DQASO) and the Secretary of Kiambu District Child Labour Committee (SDCLC). The study employed purposive and simple random sampling design to pick the respondents. Data was collected by use of questionnaires and focused group discussion. The study employed descriptive survey statistics to analyze data obtained.

The major findings were that most schools did not have any orientation programmes for children withdrawn from child labour (CWCLs), and guidance and counseling programmes were not effective mainly because of the understaffing in the schools. The study established that most schools had various limitations in maintaining CWCLs and did not have any mechanism through which they could reach out to the children who dropped out of school. The study recommended among others that the government in conjunction with NGOs working against child labour should establish feeding programmes in the affected schools.

Key words: child, child labour, efficacy.

Background Information

Child labour practice has existed at varying extents through history, but became a public dispute with the advent of universal schooling, changes in working conditions during the industrial revolution, and emergence of the concepts of workers' and children's rights. The International Labor Organization defines child labour as some full time types of work done by children under the age of 18 for pay or otherwise, and prevents them from going to school, or interferes with their education, and/ or is dangerous to their health (ILO, 2004). It damages their physical, emotional, intellectual, social and spiritual development. The Organization's law on minimum age of 14 to 16 was ratified and adopted by member states in Minimum the Age Convention of 1973 (ILO, 2001). UNICEF (1991) defines child labour as work that exceeds a minimum number of hours depending on the age of a child and on the type of work, and whether is harmful to them. This definition differentiates between child work which consists of light work done by children above the age of 12, and child labour. Exploitative child labor exists in two main types namely bonded and non-bonded child labour. In bonded child labour, employers provide families varying amounts of money, goods and services in exchange for the servitude of the child as a bonded labourer. The child is physically forced to work in order to pay off this debt to the debtor. In extreme cases, the young children may be forced to indefinitely work off the debt whose amount keeps escalating because of false accounting, absurd interest rates and low wages (Onyango, 2003). It restrains their freedom and development and exposes the children to physical and other forms of abuse and deprives them of their basic rights. It is also called debt bondage.

In non-bonded child labour the child does not work to pay off a debt to the employer, but usually works for food and shelter on very low wage and in very poor conditions. Children may perform less controversial factory work, mining or quarrying, agriculture, helping in the parents' business, having their own small business or doing odd jobs. Some children may work as tourist guides and double it up with bringing in business for shops and restaurants where they may also work as waiters. Other children may be forced to do very tedious and repetitive jobs such as assembling boxes or polishing shoes. Rather than in factories and sweatshops, most child labor occurs in the informal sector. The most controversial forms of work include military use of children and child prostitution as has been practiced in Liberia, Somalia, Congo and Burundi among other African countries. Some may do legal but restricted work as child actors and child singers, and in agricultural work outside of the school year.

The latest data by the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2004) on child labour is that 218 million children aged 5-14 engage in child labour globally, a drop of 3 per cent from 222 million from 2004 to 2008. These children invisibly toil as domestic servants in homes, labour behind the walls of workshops, and are hidden from view in plantations. In Sub-Saharan Africa, one in three of 69 million children and 44 million in South Asia are engaged in child labour. They have failing health, and a large number not living to see their adolescence, while still more do not live beyond their thirtieth birthday, although a number of child labourers have been successfully rescued following tip-offs by insiders.Out of the total number of children in child labour, 61% are in Asia, 32% in Africa and 7% in Latin America (Ibid). Kenya has 1.7 million children involved in child labour (Mugo, 2006). Most of these children are deprived of education and normal childhood development.

Child labour practice manifests itself the world over, although overall figures of children at work show a decreasing trend. The International Labour Organization(ILO) provides a very cautious benchmark of 1995 with approximately one out of four children aged five to fourteen, working against one out of five in 2000 (ILO, 1996). In its more detailed analysis, the ILO refers to three categories of child labor: non-hazardous work, hazardous work, and unconditional worst forms of child labor (Ibid). Their estimates from 2000 are that 186 million children under

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fifteen years of age undertake nonhazardous work (ILO,2001). The definition of this category allows up to fourteen hours of work per week for children over five and below twelve years of age, and up to forty-three hours of work per week for children aged twelve years and above.

Hazardous work includes working hours that exceed these figures, or work that has or leads to adverse effects on the child's health or moral development. The estimate is that 111 million children in the world fall under this category, almost 60 percent of economically active children (ILO, 2004). More boys fall within these two categories than girls. The unconditional worst forms of child labor include forced and bonded labor, armed conflict involvements, prostitution, pornography, and illicit activities. A conservative calculation by the ILO estimates that eight million children below eighteen years of age are involved in these types of activities (Ibid).

The largest single groups of working children are those active in their parent's business, farms, workshops, or other endeavors. They are not represented in any of the statistics above and are rarely included in macro studies. Even with a narrower focus on children employed in paid labor, research is still difficult and relatively scarce for the developing world. Onyango (2003) points out that the growth of children's rights movements from the 1990s has facilitated new research institutions and programs, such as the Innocenti Research Centre, which operates under the auspices of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 1991).

Distribution and conditions of child labor vary from region to region. Comparative studies based on rather large samples from the World Bank household or living standard surveys around 1990 indicate that children, and in particular boys, in some countries contribute substantially to their families' income: one-third of household earnings in Ghana, one-fourth in Pakistan, and only one-tenth in Peru, in families in which children were working and not attending school (ILO, 1996). Such families are highly dependent on their working children and thus vulnerable to reduction in their children's access to jobs. In Kenya, extensive research about child labour and its extension lacks. Child labour practice gains more impetus from the following issues:

Incentives, constraints and agency: Incentive to work according to Bhalotra (2001*a*) is determined by returns that are proportionate to alternative uses of time such as school attendance. Consequently, children may work because the net returns to education are low compared to returns to work experience. However, in circumstances where incentives favour education over work, poverty constraints may compel a household to send a child to work, since the opportunity cost of schooling may be too high. Other times, adults/ parents typically take the decision for their children to work, bringing in the agency issues because some value their own comfort more than the long-term welfare of the children.

Markets and institutions: Markets and financial institutions mediate the force of incentives, constraints and agency. Faulty markets for credit, land and labour fueled by tastes and norms and underdeveloped credit markets may increase child labour. Intergenerational economic conflicts within households also lead to child labour, according to Andvig (2001). Limited access to capital markets perpetuates chronic poverty and also traps non-poor households in poverty following income shocks (Rosenzweig and Robert, 1997; Morduch, 1994). Poor households may send their children to child labour to increase family income or to recompense income losses in bad times (Jacoby and Skoufias, 1997).

Correspondingly, imperfect labour markets may also put children to work (Bhalotra and Heady, 2000). Children from land-rich families are also more likely to be forced into child labour within their own families by escalating marginal production of family labour in the value of productive assets like land or livestock as evidenced in rural Ghana and Pakistan (Bhalotra and Heady, 2000). Others may also work because they enjoy the independence that comes with it in preference to school (Delap, 2000), consequently making incentives non-material.

Supply and demand: Child labour is preferred by cost-minimizing employers since it is cheap. It is preferred for non-pecuniary reasons like their being relatively easy to control, and 'just small enough' to perform a required activity as was in the coal mine shafts in England (Kirby, 1999), and in production of matchsticks, fireworks, footballs and carpet in contemporary South Asia (Levison et al., 1996).

Poverty: Some families may sell their children for child labour to exploitive employers so as to augment their earnings. Schools may also be unaffordable for children of farmers who are not paid a fairly for their crops while some traditional families may regard their children as resources, born to them to supplement source of income. Traditional business families prefer to position their children into the family business rather than send them to school as a way of 'training them' thereby subjecting them to long hours of work and even physical torture.

Child abuse: This is more often done to the girl child, who is sold to an employer as domestic help, or as a bride to an old man. The girl has probably been abused at home, and is sold in an effort to hide the abuse.

Lack of proper educational facilities: Parents may be forced to send their children to work instead of in place of a home-based education and a happy and innocent childhood. According to UNICEF's 1997 State of the World's Children Report, parents of child labourers are often unemployed or underemployed, and are desperate for secure employment and income. Yet it is their children, more powerless and paid less, who are offered jobs since they are easier to exploit.

Other socioeconomic factors that influence the rate of child labour include economic growth (though not always with a decreasing effect on child labor); the adult labor market (for women in particular); parents' level of education; access to school as well as other community facilities and household composition (Mugo, 2006). Culturally, it is widely accepted in the developing world that children engage in work. Taking a share in the family income generation or in household duties is not only vital for survival or comfort but also an integral aspect of the child's moral and physical education.

The largest group, over two-thirds, of economically active children is found within primary production, particularly in agriculture. Manufacturing industry, trade, and domestic services are less hazardous but also count a smaller proportion of laboring children, with a total share of one-fourth (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001). Children employed in construction, transportation, and mining are exposed to very high health and safety risks, but the proportion of children in these business sectors is relatively small, below 10 percent (Ibid). The unpaid work that most children undertake within the family does not generally appear to be safer or more favorable to their health than paid work. Finally, although long-term effects of child labor cannot be clearly identified, there seems to be a correlation between inferior health standards in adulthood and child labor, particularly for women (Mugo, 2006).

The problem of child labour in Kenya dates back to the pre-independence time. This is the time when Africans bordering white settlement areas sent their children to work on the farms and in the homes of the Europeans settlers for a source of income to enable them pay the poll tax imposed on them by the colonial Government. Studies have shown that children work for a variety of reasons, the main one being poverty. Children provide a source of income for their poor families. According to a study conducted by Kamara (2003) on the "relationships between social-economic status of families and child labour," children work to help their families uplift their income. As kinship ties broke due to the shift to monetary economy, parents had no relatives to turn to; hence their children became the best alternative.

Sifuna (2004) observes that the introduction of free primary Education (FPE) was in line of children right to education as stipulated in the Children's Act 2001 and in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). It was intended to keep children from poor social-economic backgrounds from failing to participate in primary education or dropping out from school due

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to inability to pay school levies or buying learning materials. The children's Act of 2001 spells out that the provision of education is the duty of both parents and the state (Ibid).

Governments have targeted to eliminate child labour by 2016 (ILO, 2010), but in reality the situation is worsening. One in eight children in the world is exposed to worst forms of child labour which endanger children's physical, mental health and moral well being. The progress is described by ILO Director-General as uneven, neither fast nor comprehensive enough to reach the set goals. This demands a re-energized campaign and a resolute effort beyond the affected families, since child labour permeates beyond the family to become a societal, a cultural, and a human rights issue. It requires concerted action, political will and financial resources by everyone.

To this front, major international agents in the field, in particular the ILO, UNICEF, and the World Bank, have reached a consensus to focus efforts to curb the worst forms of child labor (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2001). All the three organizations assist governments in developing policies and strategies, and they also support implementation programs. Other measures to combat child labor have been developed by both individual companies and business sectors, often in cooperation with non-governmental organizations. These initiatives include the promotion of investment and trade principles, demands on suppliers in developing countries, and the labeling of products (Onyango, 2003). Despite these efforts, given the many and complex interests embedded in child labor issues, strategies to combat the adverse effects of child labor must operate at many different levels and include all stakeholders, including children themselves. However in Kenya, the subject of child labour is not open to discussion as most people including educationists, government officials and policy makers behave like it does not exist. However, a close check in sampled areas show child labour is thriving, which was the case in Kiambu District, hence conception of this study.

Statement of the Problem

According to Sifuna (2004) education related problems have persisted even after the introduction of free primary education (FPE) and Kiambu District has not been left out. Estimates indicate that approximately three million children in Kenya are out of school (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2003; Sifuna 2004). Some of these children quit child labour after the introduction of FPE, and then got back to the practice again. This makes the objective of achieving universal primary education and education for all (EFA) elusive. Studies carried out on the relationship between child labour and school attendance have focused on withdrawal of children only. The aspect of maintenance in school, their participation in the learning process and even the reverse option of re-joining child labour among cohorts has hardly been investigated. Subsequently, this study sought to investigate the efficacy of FPE in withdrawing children from child labour and maintaining them in primary schools in Kiambu District.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study were to:

- 1. Establish re-socialization process provided by the schools for children withdrawn from child labour.
- 2. Find out levels of participation in the learning process of children withdrawn from child labour.
- 3. Identify school circumstances which influence drop out of children to re-join child labour after the introduction of FPE.
- 4. Find out the schools' efforts to reach out children in child labour.

Significance of the Study

Although Kenya ratified the International Labour Organization Convention 138 of 1973 on minimum age for employment and convention 182 of 1999 on the worst forms of child labour, the country is yet to have a child labour policy. The study findings are therefore expected to add more input towards the development of the country's policy on child labour. They will assist teachers and school managers in Kiambu district to identify school circumstances which cause drop out of children to child labour and develop adequate strategies on how to deal with them.

Assumptions of the Study

The study is based on the following assumptions:

- 1. Free Primary Education has played an important role in withdrawing children from child labour.
- 2. In the study schools, there are children who were previously engaged in child labour, and who consciously perceive the value of education.
- 3. The schools have mechanisms and processes that influence maintenance of children to ensure completion of their course.
- 4. There are school related factors that lead to drop-out of children to rejoin child labour.

Conceptual Framework

Children are involved in various activities to provide for their needs and to supplement the family income. Such activities include drug peddling, child prostitution, herding, coffee and tea picking and domestic work among others. Factors that contribute to child labour include poverty, rigid traditions, ignorance, child abuse, orphanhood and negligence. Following the introduction of FPE in 2003, children previously engaged in child labour enrolled in schools mainly because there were no school levies to pay. However, with time most children fell back to child labour, hence chronic absenteeism, and poor performance and eventually dropped out of school. Factors that attracted children withdrawn from child labour (CWCL) back to child labour include ready money, peer influence, poor law enforcement, high demand for labour, drug abuse and trafficking, and negligence and ignorance on the part of parents and guardians. The relationship between the independent and dependent variables is outlined in the conceptual frame work shown below. Child labour is caused by poverty, rigid traditions, ignorance, child abuse, orphanhood, negligence and misfortunes. There are however intervening variables that attract children back to child labour even after being withdrawn and enrolled to schools. These include ready money, peer influence, poor law enforcement, and high demand of labour and drug abuse. This is diagrammatically presented in figure 1 below.

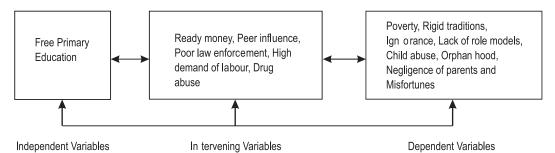


Figure 1: Conceptual frame work showing factors that lead children to child labour

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Methodology of Research

The study used descriptive survey design. The target population comprised of 3328 pupils and 53 teachers in four purposely selected primary schools that recorded the highest number of children withdrawn from child labour and enrolled to schools in Kiambu district. The study sample size included 32 pupils, four head teachers, 16 teachers, and 16 parents, Kiambu District Quality Assurance and Standards Officer (DQASO) and the Secretary of Kiambu District Child Labour Committee (SDCLC). Purposive sampling was applied in selecting the schools, head teachers, teachers, parents, District Quality Assurance and Standards Officer and the Secretary, Kiambu District Child Labour Committee. Simple random sampling was used to select the pupils. The target primary schools and respondents are as indicated in the table 1 below;

Table 1.Target schools and respondents.

Sampled Pri. schools	Head teachers	Teachers	Pupils	Parents	Others	Total respondents
Rongai Rwaka Riabai Benson Njau	1 1 1 1	4 4 4	8 8 8 8	4 4 4 4	DQASO SDCLC	17 17 17 17 1 1 1
TOTAL	4	16	32	16	2	70

Instruments

The study used questionnaires, which were administered to sampled head teachers, teachers and parents, Kiambu District Quality and Assurance Officer and the Secretary of Kiambu District Child Labour Committee. Also focus group discussions (FGD) were employed to establish from the pupils factors which led them into child labour and to identify the problems they experienced in school as they adjust to school life.

Data Analysis

The study employed descriptive survey statistics to analyze data obtained. The design dictates how the variables are to be measured in testing their relationship. Data was mainly qualitative in nature, and different responses were thematically identified and analyzed to check their adequacy, usefulness and consistency. The findings were presented by use of tools namely frequency tables, graphs and pie charts according to Gray (1981).

Results of Research

The findings are presented and discussed as per the objectives of the study:

1. Re-Socialization Programmes provided by the schools for CWCL

Most teachers who were interviewed said that their schools did not have any orientation processes for their children enrolled in school from child labour. In most schools, children are enrolled by the head teachers and the class teachers are usually informed through a note. This means that most teachers do not understand the children's background in order to be able to assist them. In some schools however, the guidance and counseling teachers talk to the children when need arises. Most teachers admitted that this process is hampered by understaffing in most schools, large enrolment in schools and inadequate training of teachers in guidance and counseling issues.

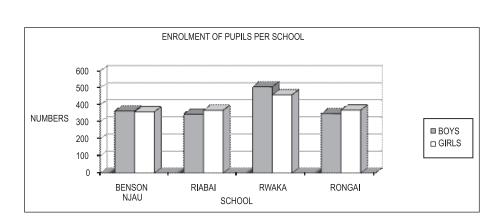
All teachers interviewed admitted that providing orientation processes and re-socialization skills to CWCL is important because the children have been exposed to a very hostile environment and could be experiencing a lot of difficulties both at home and at school. They also felt these processes should be continuous since the children have various needs at different levels of development. Teachers felt that if these processes are put in place, they could help to determine the appropriate class for each child admitted in school from child labour. They would also ensure children adjust well in the learning process. This is important because in most schools, they consider age as a determining factor during admission.

All the head teachers admitted that although the schools did not have orientation nor resocialization programmes for CWCL, they had others that support them although they are inadequate. However, the study established that it is only one school that had a feeding programme which catered for about 500 children out of a population of 962 pupils enrolled. Other schools had income generating projects such as bull keeping that supplement school efforts to provide uniform to the CWCLs.

The DCLC secretary said that his committee supported the CWCL through buying of school uniforms, furniture, laboratory equipment and occasionally paid fees for transition to secondary school. He also pointed out that his committee had extended its income generating activities to families to empower them and support their children in school. They do this by providing short seminars on the effect of child labour on the learning process of the child and on their development and providing cash handouts to most needy families. They were also supporting some school feeding programmes to ensure CWDL were retained in school to complete their studies.

2. Participation of CWCL in the Learning Process

All the sampled schools had high enrolment. Rwaka Primary School had the highest enrolment. Both Rwaka and Rongai, which are nearer Limuru town, had a higher enrolment of girls than boys. This is an implication that more boys are involved in hawking since the town is more attractive to boys for child labour. The head teachers lamented that the enrolment kept fluctuating depending on the season, especially during fruit harvesting. The information was presented as shown in Figure 2 below.



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Figure 2: Enrolment of pupils in schools selected for this study.

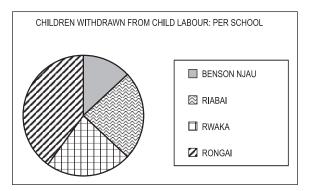


Figure 3: Children withdrawn from child labour per school.

Rongai had the highest percentage of children withdrawn from child labour and enrolled in schools with 40% according to the pie chart below (Figure 3). However, the total number of children enrolled from child labour does not necessarily correspond to the total number of school enrolment. Benson Njau had the highest number of children withdrawn from child labour while Rwaka and Riabai had almost an equal number of children who had been withdrawn from child labour. This high number could be explained by the fact that Rongai is nearer Limuru town, hence the large number of pupils.

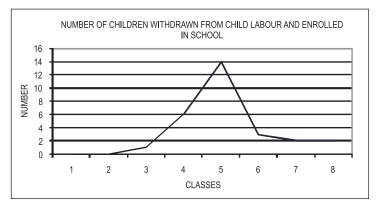


Figure 4: Number of children withdrawn from child labour and enrolled per class.

According to figure 4 above, most children who were withdrawn from child labor were between classes five and six. There were fewer CWCLs in classes seven and eight. The number was much less for CWCLs in class three, and none were enrolled in classes one and two. This can be explained by the fact that in classes one to three, children were too young to engage in any meaningful work for payment. At classes five and six, the pupils were old enough to contribute substantially to the family income through child labour, while in classes seven and eight, they were keen to sit the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE).

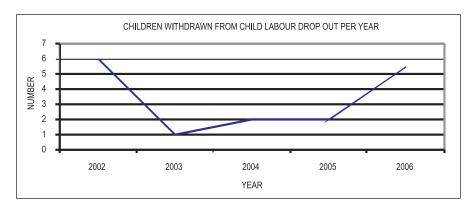


Figure 5: Annual dropout rate of children withdrawn from child labour.

The graph above indicates that there was a very high dropout rate for children withdrawn from child labour in 2002. This could mainly be attributed to failure to pay the various levies by schools prior to FPE in 2003, when the dropout rate dropped drastically. Thus many children enrolled in school in 2003 were retained throughout that year. In Riabai for example, no child dropped out of school in 2003. In 2004, all the schools experienced a higher dropout rate than in 2003. This means that the needs of the children were not catered for in the programme as high-lighted earlier. The rate of dropout went even higher in 2006. The children continued to drop out of school even after being withdrawn from child labour. This means that FPE had not provided all the necessary requirements to CWCLs in order to maintain them in school up to completion. Overall, Rongai had the highest number of CWCLs dropping out of school.

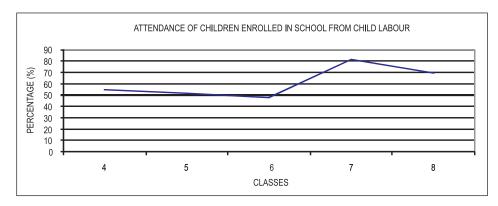


Figure 6: School attendance of children withdrawn from child labour.

As shown in figure 6 above, the class attendance among most CWCLs was less than 70%. This had the implication that most children combined schooling and child labour. There were more children in classes five and six who were absent from school most of the time. The highest rate of absenteeism in class five was witnessed in Riabai Primary School. Although

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Riabai had a higher incidence of dropout among CWCLs, it did not have extreme incidences of absenteeism. The implications here could be that the CWCLs lacked enough participation in effective learning due to frequent absenteeism.

3. Circumstances that Influence drop-out of Children to rejoin child labour

Most schools have inadequate physical facilities like desks, toilets and teaching and learning materials. The government policy of spending according to vote head was cited as a major limitation of the school to maintain CWCL. In some cases, schools were supposed to spend in areas that are not a priority to the individual school, for example paying electricity bills instead of lunch for needy pupils.

The specific needs of the individual schools are not addressed in allocation of FPE funds. It is assumed that the kshs.1020 allocated to each child per year is enough regardless of individual needs of each school. However, CWCL have more unique problems like basic necessities both at school and at home. Head teachers cited delay of the grant money provided to the schools as another limitation of the school to maintain CWCL in the learning process. This makes the schools unable to plan and in such cases, children are supposed to buy learning materials as they wait for the grant allocation. Children withdrawn from child labour usually miss classes at such times because they cannot provide learning materials or cannot participate effectively in the learning process.

Another limitation which makes children to drop out of school is the government's policy on issuing books to children. The government requires that when pupils lose books issued to them they must do replacement. Most CWCL are unable to afford the replacement and eventually drop out of school. Children also drop out of school due to lack of school uniform. However, some schools have income generating programmes which assists the children who are at risk of dropping out of school. The head teachers further said that the generated income is not enough to cater for all the pupils, hence some end up dropping out. Teachers pointed out that some children dropped out of school due to lack of individualized attention because of understaffing. For example, the teacher-pupil ratio in Benson Njau is 1: 59; Riabai is 1:47; Rwaka is 1:60 and Rongai is 1:60. This is far much higher than the recommended ratio.

Curriculum workload was cited as another limitation of the school in maintaining CW-CLs. Teachers said that there was a heavy workload in the curriculum at every level such that children did not have enough time for recreational activities such as play. They were also given a lot of homework. Usually, the home environment for CWCLs is not conducive for them do their homework. Some are overburdened because their parents and guardians assign them duties after school in the evenings and weekends. In some instances, these children lacked fuel, furniture and adequate food in order to sustain their studies. This hindered their concentration and motivation in the learning process.

Another limitation of the school to maintain CWCL in the learning process is negative attitude of some teachers towards CWCL. One of the teachers gave an example where a colleague called the learners names, and this led to the pupils to drop out of school or be perpetually absent. There were also notable language barriers especially for pupils who came from other communities such as from Western and Rift Valley. Some of these pupils were not able to communicate in any other language apart from their mother tongue, and this made them uncomfortable and at times led to dropping out of school.

The SDCLC felt that since the main cause of child labour was poverty, parents needed to be empowered economically so as to provide basic necessities such as food, shelter, clothing and love to their children. He also pointed out that a programme known as COMAGRI (Commercial Agriculture) programme against child labour that was introduced in 1997-2008 failed to address this issue. He further said that a new programme expected at the end of 2008 known

as 'Time Bound programme on the worst forms of Child Labour' has been through partnership with several other organizations. This was intended to empower parents through micro-finance assistance to support their children in school. These sentiments were supported by parents who felt that child labour was a result of poverty where the households lacked basic necessities for their children. They felt that if they were supported through income generating projects, they would be able to support their children at home and school.

To ensure that children did not drop out of school, the SDLCL felt that schools should have enough learning materials all the time. This would ensure that all the children were adequately involved in the learning process and that they fully enjoyed it. He also pointed out that more teachers should be trained in guidance and counseling skills to help the pupils. They also needed less teaching workload so that they could help the learners withdrawn from child labour and those who were at risk of dropping out of school. He also felt that the number of teachers in schools should be increased in order to provide individualized attention to CWCL and those at risk of dropping out of school. This was important because most schools were understaffed. The Secretary to the District Child Labour Committee felt that the government needed to institute stiff measures on the schools which were still charging levies since such an act encouraged absenteeism and eventual drop out of school by learners who could not pay them.

4. School Efforts to reach out to Children in Child Labour

The process of identifying children in child labour and withdrawing them lacked proper coordination. This is because the role of the teachers in identifying them was limited to following up only those who dropped out of school. The duty of the classroom teacher was to identify those who had dropped out of school to join child labour, which they then reported to the head teacher. The findings of this study indicated that, the role of the head teacher was then to report to social worker in the area or the provincial administration. These were three lines of duty which lacked coordination; among the class teacher, head teacher and provincial administration or social worker. At the most, the head teacher can only call the child's parents or guardians who may be reluctant to come to school especially when they have their children working as child labourers. The DQASO pointed out that parents were usually faced with a dilemma on either taking their children to school without the basic needs or allow them to earn as child labourers and supplement the family's meager income.

Conclusion

The study established that most schools did not have any orientation nor re-socialization programmes and so the pupils were unable to adjust easily to school life. Although some schools have guidance and counseling programmes, they are not effective mainly because of the understaffing in the schools, large enrolment and inadequate training of teachers in guidance and counseling issues. Most of the schools had various limitations in maintaining CWCLs. One of the reasons is that school allocation per child per school is not done according to the needs of the individual child per schools, large enrolment and delay in disbursement of government grants and caning students.

Most children were absent from school, and this affected their participation in the learning process. Many children combined child labour and schooling. They missed a lot within the learning process and dropped out or performed dismally. Most of the schools did not have any mechanism through which they could reach out to the children who dropped out of school. They also lacked institution based programmes like feeding programme and guidance and counseling which could contribute to retention and completion of school by CWCLs. Necessities like geometrical sets, school bags and enough exercise books were also lacking for these children.

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Recommendations

This study makes the following recommendations;

- 1. The government in conjunction with NGOs working against child labour should establish feeding programmes in the affected schools. This would attract more children from child labour and maintain them in school.
- 2. There should be harmonization of services for CWCLs by the agents involved in withdrawing CWCLs from child labour. The children's background should be understood well especially by the school and teachers who have to play a major role in the withdrawing process and assist them better in order to adjust well in school.
- The government should categorize CWCLs as children with special needs in education. This will attract more allocation of funds for each pupil under the FPE. This allocation will help to address the different needs of the CWCLs like school uniforms, school bags, and geometrical sets among others.
- 4. Guidance and counseling should be strengthened in primary schools especially those that enroll CWCLs to ensure the pupils' retention in school. Thus teachers handling the guidance and counseling unit should be adequately trained and given regular induction courses. Such services should be extended to parents and guardians so as to equip them with skills to effectively assist their children while at home.

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