



International
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Children working in the commercial and subsistence agriculture in South Africa

**A child labour-related rapid
assessment study**

2007

**Judith Streak, Andrew Dawes,
Deborah Ewing, Susan Levine,
Sharmla Rama & Lameez Alexander**

Human Sciences Research Council

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PO Box X117
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Email: virgil.seafield@labour.gov.za

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Programme Towards the Elimination of the
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c/o International Labour Organisation

Box 11694
0028 Hatfield, Republic of South Africa

Email: tecl@tecl.org.za

Web : www.child-labour.org.za

Reference Group for the Agriculture project

Chair: Department of Labour

Members:

Department of Agriculture

Department of Labour

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AgriSA

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**Project team: Judith Streak, Andrew Dawes, Deborah Ewing,
Susan Levine, Sharmla Rama and Lameez Alexander**

Contact Address:

Child, Youth Family & Social Development (HSRC)

Private Bag X9182, Cape Town, South Africa

Phone 021 466 7870 (Judith Streak); 021 4667862 (Andrew Dawes)

Emails: 65Hjstreak@hsrc.ac.za or 66Hadawes@hsrc.ac.za



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Abbreviations used

ANOVA	Analyses of Variance
BCEA	Basic Conditions of Employment Act (No.75 of 1997)
BOR	Bill of Rights
CLPA	Child Labour Programme of Action
CSG	Child Support Grant
CRC	[United Nations] Convention on the Rights of the Child
CYFSD	Child Youth Family and Social Development Programme
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LFS	Labour Force Survey
SAYP	Survey of Activities of Young People
SSSA	Social Surveys Africa
TECL	Programme Towards the Elimination of the worst forms of Child Labour
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations [International] Children's [Emergency] Fund

Executive summary

"Children are taking home food from the school feeding scheme to feed their families"

[Teacher, Mpumalanga research site]

"We don't have enough money for food and clothes. Some of us give money to our mothers when we work. Some of us give all our money to our mothers for food".

[Boy, Western Cape research site]

"We could manage without the children, but not very well ... Children play a vital role"

[Cattle farmer and parent, KwaZulu-Natal research site]

"Because we are suffering and we need money we can go and work on a farm but it is not a nice job"

[Youth, Mpumalanga research site]

"...poverty is the major obstacle (to) the realisation of children's rights"

[Kofi Anan, UN Secretary General, UN General Assembly, 2002]

Terms of reference

The primary focus of the research was to investigate the *causes, nature and impact* of work and labour by children aged 12-16 in commercial and subsistence agriculture in three purposely selected sites located in the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga. A secondary focus was to shed light on additional, non-agricultural work activities of these children.

The primary research questions addressed in all three sites and for the study sample as a whole were:

- What is the **incidence** and **nature** of commercial and subsistence agricultural work by male and female children aged 12-16¹?
- In what **other** economic and non-economic work are these children engaged?
- What are the principle **causes** of their working in subsistence and commercial agriculture?
- What are the **conditions** under which they work in subsistence and commercial agriculture and what is the impact of this work on their well-being? This question addresses the extent of agricultural child *labour*, as opposed to acceptable child *work*.

¹ This study could not assess the prevalence or incidence of child work and labour in South Africa or indeed in the regions and schools in which it was conducted. Funds did not permit this. The term "incidence" is used in a limited sense to refer to the incidence of child work and labour in the population of children in the school grades surveyed.

- What are the opinions of local stakeholders and children as to the **enforcement of recent policy and legal provisions** designed to prevent children under the legal age from working in commercial agriculture?

Context

Child rights framework

The South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996), in Section 28 of the Bill of Rights (BOR) affords all children, defined as persons aged 0-17, a comprehensive set of indivisible rights, including justifiable socio-economic rights. In addition, it gives all children the rights “to be protected from exploitative labour practices” and “not to be required or permitted to perform work or provide services that (i) are inappropriate for a person of that child’s age; or (ii) place at risk the child’s well-being, education, physical or mental health or spiritual, moral or social development” (Republic of South Africa, Constitution, section 28). The Constitution also requires that the child’s best interests be considered of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child.

The South African government has ratified the two leading international Conventions relating to child work and labour, namely the ILO Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Convention of 1973 and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention of 1999 (both ratified by the South African government in 2000).

Legal framework

The primary legislation governing child work and prohibiting child labour is the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) (No.75 of 1997). This:

- Prohibits the employment of children until the last school day of the year in which they turn 15, or if they have already completed Grade 9 (and have turned 15). (Employment of children in contravention of this provision would constitute child labour.)
- Allows the employment of children aged 15-17 years, but they may not do work that is: exploitative; hazardous; otherwise inappropriate for their age; detrimental to their schooling; or detrimental to their social, physical, mental, spiritual or moral development. (Department of Labour, 2003). (The latter terms are not spelled out or defined in any regulations or provisions of the Act. However, where 15–17-year-olds or younger children work under such conditions, this would constitute child labour.)

Policy framework – the Child Labour Programme of Action

A strategy to prohibit child labour and protect the rights and well-being of working children, the Child Labour Programme of Action (CLPA), has been developed under the leadership of the Department of Labour and supported by the International Labour Organisation’s (ILO) Programme Towards the Elimination of Child Labour (TECL). The CLPA was submitted to Cabinet for approval in 2003. Although it has not yet been approved by Cabinet, it has been noted and approved by the implementation committee of the CLPA, which comprises key government departments, NGOs, business and organized labour. The CLPA recommends 131 action steps, some of which constitute new policy and others of which call for more effective implementation of existing policy. The CLPA has recently been updated, and this updated version (known as CLPA-II) was also approved by the Implementation Committee of the CLPA.

The (limited) knowledge base on child work and labour in South Africa

There is a small evidence base on child work and labour in agriculture in South Africa. It is primarily generated by the Survey of Activities of Young People (SAYP) conducted by Statistics South Africa in 1999 as part of the CLPA development process. In addition there are a very limited number of research studies conducted by academics and NGOs. These suggest that children of poor families are particularly likely to do a range of domestic,

subsistence agricultural and other forms of work and labour. Child work in subsistence agriculture emerged from the SAYP as more prevalent than child work in commercial agriculture. Commercial agricultural work was found to involve more hazards than subsistence agricultural work but both were identified as high risk sites for child labour. The SAYP covered children age 5-17.

Study design and methodology

Operational definition of child work and labour

The concepts of child work and labour are challenging to operationalise for measurement purposes. The definitions for this study were in the first instance guided by the legal and policy provisions stated above, by those commonly used in academic studies and by the recommendations of international development agencies such as the ILO and UNICEF.

- **Activities of children that may be referred to as work** are defined broadly to include paid or unpaid employment in agriculture and other sectors; they may include domestic activities (e.g. childcare, collecting firewood or assisting with the family livestock);
- **Acceptable child work** is defined as work activities that are not in breach of law and policy and which are not detrimental to the child's well-being;
- **Child labour** is defined as work activities that are in breach of law and policy and which are detrimental to the child's well-being (for example work under age or under hazardous conditions, or which is believed or known to have a detrimental impact on child wellbeing and development, including work which has a negative impact on schooling and health).

Research sites and their selection

The study was conducted at three sites. Their selection was determined by several factors: the need to cover several types of agriculture in at least three provinces; a high probability of finding children with experience of work and labour in both commercial and subsistence agriculture; access to the sites; and fieldwork costs. The three sites were as follows:

- **Site 1 — Worcester Municipality, Slanghoek, Rawsonville and Worcester area in the Western Cape**

This Boland agricultural region close to Worcester is dominated by commercial agricultural production of grapes for winemaking and for export as table grapes. There is very little subsistence agriculture. The economy reflects deep structural inequalities, with high levels of poverty and the legacy of the rural apartheid economy. The study children mainly speak Afrikaans, and those who are working in agriculture mostly live on white-owned wine farms. Involvement of children in commercial agricultural work has been commonplace in this area for many years.

- **Site 2 — uThukela and uMzinyathi district municipalities, Msinga/Weenen border area in Kwazulu-Natal** (including part of the Mchunu and Mthembu traditional authority areas)

This deep rural area is one of the poorest in South Africa and has mixed agriculture (i.e. cattle, maize, oranges, sugar cane) undertaken both commercially and at subsistence level. Illegal dagga cultivation is apparently a source of income for many households due to limited livelihood opportunities and constraints on farming due to the terrain and lack of water. Community land and agricultural ownership are common in the African community, while white people are the main owners of the commercial farms. The study was conducted close to three farms where returned labour tenants acquired land under the land reform programme, and four neighbouring settlements. Child participation in subsistence and commercial agriculture, as well as in other work activities, has long been a way of life and is generally accepted as being necessary for long run survival of households and the traditional way of agricultural life.

- **Site 3 — Nkomazi municipality, area around and east of Malelane in Mpumalanga** (part of the Maputo Development Corridor)

The area is rural and the economy is dominated by agriculture and tourism. Like the KwaZulu-Natal site, there is a mix of commercial and subsistence farming. The majority of commercial farms are privately (white) owned but the number of black owned farms (private and community owned) is growing. The predominant agricultural activity is cultivating sugar cane, citrus fruit, bananas, mangoes, litchis and forestry plantations. Subsistence agriculture plays a key role in providing income and supplementing the diet of the black population. There is a great contrast between the large-scale, privately owned, commercial irrigation farming of the Onderberg area to the north and the under-developed Kangwane (ex-homeland) area to the South. Much of this site is extremely impoverished and unemployment is high. At this site, children are most likely to work in subsistence agriculture and seasonal commercial agriculture when they can find such work.

Study design

Qualitative and quantitative research methods were used.

The quantitative component consisted of the generation of questionnaire-based data from children attending schools in each site. Data were examined for each type of work at each site and for the sample as a whole.

The study included a control group design that enabled comparisons to be made between different groups of children on key socio-economic and family circumstances and psychological indicators as follows:

- Children working in agriculture (subsistence and commercial) with those that were not working in agriculture.
- Children working in commercial agriculture, with those working in subsistence agriculture.
- Children working in commercial agriculture, with those working in both subsistence and commercial agriculture.
- Children *labouring* in commercial agriculture with those *labouring* in subsistence agriculture (labour as defined above).

It is important to note that the study could not assess the prevalence or incidence of child work and labour in South Africa or indeed in the regions and schools in which it was conducted. Funds did not permit this.

A multi-stage recruitment procedure was used as far as possible within a purposive approach. First, areas in which research had indicated that child work in agriculture was evident were identified; second, typical schools in these areas with the appropriate grades (and which gave permission) and which were attended by children living on farms and communal agricultural areas, were selected; finally, grades with age-appropriate children for interviewing were selected. While these children are likely to be representative of the population of their age attending the grade in such schools, it was not practically possible to randomly select children for participation to ensure representivity. If possible, however, a class within a grade was randomly selected. In addition, there was some parental or caregiver refusal of consent for children to participate, and the study is therefore not adequately representative of children working in agriculture in South Africa.

A questionnaire designed to show the causes, nature, incidence and impact of children's work was administered to boys and girls aged 12-16 in during school time. It provided the following information:

- Child's circumstances (socio-economic and family).
- Economic and non-economic work activities, particularly those in subsistence and commercial agriculture (privately owned and community owned).

- Causes of child work in different types of agriculture.
- Conditions and impact of child work in the different types of agriculture. Child labour indicators were assessed across three domains: *hazardous conditions* (e.g. long working hours, excessively hot or cold conditions; working with dangerous tools and substances; fear of assault by supervisors or fellow workers); negative *health impact* (e.g. injury or illness at work; and *schooling impact* (e.g. a negative impact on schooling defined as the agricultural work causing children to miss school for one day a week, to be late for school or having to leave early).
- Psycho-social outcomes (e.g. anxiety and antisocial behaviour).

Questionnaires were administered to approximately 1 300 children and valid responses were obtained from 1 033 children. The balance were not included in the data analysis because there were either concerns about quality and missing data, or children did not fall within the age band 12-16.

The sample included 533 (51%) from the Western Cape, 247 (23%) from KwaZulu-Natal, and 253 (24%) from Mpumalanga. The breakdown by gender and agricultural type was relatively even.

The class questionnaire is shown as to this report.

The purpose of the qualitative component was to provide in-depth information on children's experience of work and adults' views on child work and labour at each site. The qualitative component consisted of:

- Focus groups with children aged 12-16 who have experience of work in agriculture (both school going and out-of-school children).
- Focus groups and interviews with various adult stakeholders (including parents, farmers, teachers and relevant government officials).

Details on the scope and method of the qualitative research are supplied in the main report. The qualitative method guide is in Appendix B. Key statistical analyses are presented in Appendix D.

Ethical provisions

The study was approved by the HSRC Research Ethics Committee. Each child's parent or guardian was required to provide signed consent for participation, and each child was asked to assent. There were measures to ensure confidentiality of information, and mechanisms to refer a child to a service agency should the researchers be concerned about serious problems reported by him/her. Adults had formally to consent to their own participation. The names of participating schools and individuals remain confidential.

Main findings

Incidence and nature of children's work in agriculture

- Forty five percent (45%) of the total sample of children were found to have worked in agriculture in the previous year; 50% of these children worked in subsistence agriculture only; 35% worked in both subsistence and commercial agriculture; and 15% worked in commercial agriculture only.
- The incidence of child work in agriculture as well as the predominant type of agricultural work were found to vary across sites. At the Western Cape site, 17% of children said they had worked in agriculture (the vast majority privately owned commercial agriculture only). There was no subsistence agriculture of note. At the KwaZulu-Natal site, 91% of children were found to have worked in agriculture. 54% of them worked in both subsistence and commercial agriculture, while 42% worked only in subsistence. At the

Mpumalanga site, 59% of children said they had worked in agriculture, 77% only in subsistence and 19% in both subsistence and commercial agriculture.

- Boys were found to be more likely than girls to work in commercial agriculture. Boys and girls were found to be equally likely to work in subsistence agriculture, but girls often perceived their domestic chores as subsistence work, so their engagement in subsistence agriculture may be overstated.
- Both boys and girls were found to carry out a range of different activities in agriculture. The main report describes the most common activities.
- Children work in subsistence agriculture mainly before and after school hours, over week-ends and during school holidays. Child work in commercial agriculture was found to occur during similar times except that for this type of agricultural work, peak season work emerged as more common.
- Children resent their lack of bargaining power over the timing of their work and its duration, both in subsistence and commercial agriculture.
- The study was unable to ascertain the average number of hours spent by children in an average week on agricultural work. It did establish that work in commercial agriculture tends to be haphazard with the timing and duration of work varying (particularly in privately owned commercial agriculture).

Other work activities of children at the study sites

- Children were found to be carrying a high burden of non-agricultural economic work activities in addition to their agricultural work - 38% of the total sample was found to be working in agriculture and engaging in other economic activity.
- Common non-agricultural economic activities engaged in by children emerged as working in other people's gardens (mostly done by boys), and selling goods (for example sweets, fruit and vegetables)
- In addition, the study found that domestic work or chores– in their own homes and other people's homes - are done by the majority of children in rural areas. Domestic work outside the child's own home has not been highlighted before in the research conducted on child work and labour in South Africa. Sixty percent (60%) of the sample said they had worked in someone else's home over the past year (45% of them for pay). The finding that most children spend many hours on domestic chores in their own homes is similar to that in other studies (including the SAYP). Girls were found to be doing mainly laundry, cleaning and childminding, whilst boys were found to mainly collect firewood (as well as help with cooking).
- Work in school gardens during school time also emerged as common – particularly at the Mpumalanga study site.
- Boys were found to be more likely than girls to do non-agricultural economic work.
- Girls were found to be more likely than boys to do domestic work (in someone else's home and in their own homes).

Causes of child agricultural work

- Poverty emerged as the main cause of child work in agriculture. The study highlighted the difficult socio-economic and family circumstances of these children. A number of non-income indicators, gathered via the class questionnaire, were used to measure child poverty. They were hunger, parental status, parental education and employment status, and an index of assets or goods important for meeting child needs. Children working in agriculture were found to have more hunger, higher parental unemployment and lower education status than children not working at all. They also had a lower score on the a child good / asset index. Children working in agriculture were found to be significantly less likely to have both parents alive than children not working at all. Children working in both kinds of agriculture were found to be in households with fewer assets, higher hunger, lower parental education status and were significantly less likely to have both parents

alive than children working only in subsistence agriculture or only in commercial agriculture. No significant differences were found across the latter two groups for these variables

- Poverty emerged as extensive and deep in all the sites, but was most severe in the most rural site, the one in KwaZulu-Natal. Insufficiency of income and associated child difficulties was reflected most notably in accounts by children and adults of experiences of hunger and reference to the importance of the primary school nutrition scheme and school garden schemes in alleviating hunger. The majority of children who participated in the focus groups reported difficulties in getting basic goods (such as school uniforms) and social services such as health care and schooling. Regarding schooling, the cost of school uniforms emerged as a critical barrier and with regard to health care, quality as well as lack of access (for example to dental services) were common themes.
- The duty to help the family, the need to learn important things for the future, and parental interest in keeping children occupied with “constructive” activity (out of risky behaviours) also emerged as causes of child work in agriculture.
- At the Western Cape site, parental alcohol abuse, a by-product of the outlawed “dop system” (part-payment in cheap wine in lieu of cash) used in the past to pay workers on some wine farms, emerged as a particularly negative aspect of the living circumstances of children and cause of child work and labour in agriculture.
- The causes of agricultural work were found to be viewed differently by different groups. Parents for example, framed the causes of child work in terms of duty and obligation whereas children and teachers focused more on poverty (and in the Western Cape alcohol abuse) as causes. Farmers highlighted cultural practice as a cause of child work in agriculture, and the beneficial role of work in providing a better livelihood for children and their families.

Child labour in agriculture

- The incidence of child labour was measured by counting the number of working children who were under the legal age, and those (of any age) reporting that they worked in hazardous conditions, or experienced negative health outcomes associated with work, or whose work impacted negatively on their schooling. Using these criteria, child labour was found to be extensive, both amongst children aged 12-14 and 15-16.
- Boys were found to be at higher risk of being involved in child labour than girls.
- Large numbers of children younger than 15 were working in commercial and subsistence agriculture. The opinions expressed in the child and adult focus groups suggest that the extent of employment of children younger than 15 in commercial agriculture has decreased over time. However, this was not tested through quantitative analysis.
- The total amount of child labour was found to be higher amongst children working in commercial agriculture than subsistence agriculture.
- Children working in commercial agriculture were found to experience more hazardous conditions than children working in subsistence agriculture.
- Negative impacts on health and schooling were found in both commercial and subsistence agriculture. However, these negative impacts were found to be far less prevalent than hazardous conditions.
- A few hazards emerged as most commonly experienced by children working in both subsistence and commercial agriculture. They are: working when it is too hot, working when thirsty, working for too many hours, working when tired and working before sunrise or after sunset.
- The fear of abuse (physical and verbal and by fellow workers and/or the farmer) emerged as common in commercial agriculture (particularly privately owned).
- Children working in agriculture were found to experience higher levels of anxiety and depression than children not working at all. These may or may not be related to work – they could be the result of other factors in their situation.

- Children working in subsistence agriculture have lower levels of anxiety and are significantly less likely to suffer depression than children working only in commercial agriculture or in both types of agriculture. No differences were found across the “commercial” and “commercial and subsistence” groups for the anxiety and depression variables.
- Children and parents were found to have different views on child labour in agriculture. For example parents and farmers were more likely to see the work in a positive light, and stress the beneficial impact of the work on children – for example in the form of learning, keeping children out of negative activities and assisting in the meeting of basic household needs. Children and teachers on the other hand, were more inclined to highlight the negative impacts of work on child health and schooling, as well as the difficult conditions experienced by children.
- Children resent the fact that their agricultural and other work responsibilities reduce the time they have for other activities, including homework, play and sport. The paradox is that they also explained that they value their work activities and are willing to do them because their socio-economic situation, love and respect for their families, requires them to.

“We have to help because our parents cannot afford everything we need”.

[Girl research participant, Mpumalanga site]

- The study highlighted the positive economic and learning aspects of work in agriculture in poor rural communities. It underlined the most important policy point that: “the absence of work...can condemn the child to a variety of social, moral and health risks” (*ILO, cited in Department of Labour, 2003:5*).

Enforcement of policy and law

- The general consensus in focus groups of both adult and children is that there has been a reduction over time in the employment of children under the legal age in commercial agriculture.
- The reduction was stated to be in part due to better enforcement of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, prohibiting children working under the legal age. It was also stated to be a result of enforcement of the minimum wage law which has made farmers less inclined to hire women and children.
- Most of the adult research participants, across all three sites, expressed the view that conditions of work for children on commercial farms have improved substantially over time.

Summary of recommendations made in par 5 of the study

The study generated recommendations that are mostly in line with those proposed in the CLPA. They can be grouped into six categories, and are summarized below.

Poverty alleviation measures

Poverty emerged as the primary cause of children working(both ‘work’ and ‘labour’, as defined) in agriculture. First, and most importantly, the study highlights the need for more effective poverty alleviation and reduction measures to support children and their families. The study did not investigate the most cost-effective measures to pursue. However, some options, most of which are proposed in the CLPA include:

- Adjusting the design of the package of social protection measures for children affected by poverty so that children aged 15-18 become eligible for the Child Support Grant (CSG).
- Offering income support to unemployed adults living in poverty, although a basic income grant is not proposed. However, different income intervention options need to be tested for their benefit, also taking affordability into account before being implemented.

- Investigating provision of free school uniforms to identified households in poor rural communities, or alternatively doing away with the requirement that children must wear school uniforms.
- Improving the implementation of the existing social grant system to ensure that all those eligible for the pension, CSG, disability grant and other grants receive their entitlement, and especially the most vulnerable members of society.
- Extending the primary school feeding scheme to include more schools and children and introducing such a programme at secondary school level.
- Implementing additional measures to raise awareness about government's policy of not requiring children who benefit from the CSG to pay school fees.
- Implementing more effective skills development and job creation programmes aimed at developing more sustainable livelihoods in rural areas. Linked to this, improving the implementation and reach of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP).
- Improving measures designed to raise agricultural productivity in rural areas where there is a reliance on subsistence agriculture. This could go some way towards making it possible for children to spend less time on subsistence work.

Law enforcement and adjustment

The study points towards the need for more resources to be allocated to law enforcement. In particular, more resources are required to better enforce the following aspects of the BCEA:

- The prevention of employment of children younger than the legal age.
- The requirement that employers pay adults the minimum wage in commercial agriculture.
- The requirement that children aged 15-17 are paid the at the minimum wage for their work in commercial agriculture².

Whilst the findings of the study call for more effective implementation of the law and policy preventing children younger than 15 from working in commercial agriculture, it also cautions that this must occur in tandem with more effective poverty alleviation measures. If children who seek work in agriculture due to their difficult socio-economic circumstances and inability to realise basic socio-economic rights are prevented from working, and if there are no effective interventions to improve their parent's ability to provide for their needs, then there would have to be a trade-off between a child's socio-economic rights and his/her right not to have to work. This would be in breach of constitutional principles and government obligations to children.

Awareness raising measures

The study highlights the need for awareness raising measures. In this regard:

- There is a need for awareness raising measures relating to child work and labour in subsistence agriculture. In rural parts of South Africa, child participation in this form of agriculture has long been a tradition, even if such work is conducted under difficult conditions and may negatively affect children's health and schooling. Measures are required to increase care-givers' awareness of common hazards faced by children during subsistence farming work, of how to avoid such hazards, and of the negative impact this work can have on schooling and health.
- There is also a need for measures to raise awareness amongst employers of children in commercial agriculture of the most common hazards to children who are legally working, of the common negative impacts of such work on their health and schooling, and of how to avoid them. The most common hazards that emerged from the study, and which must be prevented, are: abuse (physical and verbal); working for too many consecutive hours;

² Often this is not the case because children work very short periods. To ensure that children are paid the minimum wage the employee should calculate the hourly rate implied by the minimum wage and pay that rate.

working when the weather is too hot; working when not having access to drinking water and becoming dehydrated; working before sunrise and after sunset; and difficulties in getting to the workplace. [Are these listed in order of mention?]. Two negative impacts on schooling that emerged as common and which farmers need to be made aware of are: the practice of delaying payment of children for work done during school holidays (which results in children staying out of school until payment is made; and children taking cattle to the dip on a weekly basis during school hours (common amongst boys in the KwaZulu-Natal research site).

Measures to reduce the risk of children's exposure to negative influences and of their involvement in anti-social behaviour

The study indicates that government and its development partners need to allocate more resources to programmes and facilities to occupy children in rural areas constructively when they are not in school. This recommendation is linked to the finding that parents see their children's work in agriculture as having an important role in protecting them from risky behaviours.

Measures to address alcohol dependence of care-givers on Western Cape farms

The study makes clear the urgency of more resources being allocated to social work services that can address the crisis of alcohol dependence and its impacts on children in the Western Cape wine farm area.

Adjustments to the curriculum in rural schools and other measures to connect children to work and income generation activities in local area

Finally, children not only expressed resentment about having no say about the timing and duration of work in agriculture. They also showed concern about future work and career opportunities. For a number of children, the school curriculum may not be sufficiently relevant to their rural context and probable future employment opportunities in rural areas. From this finding emerges the recommendation that adjustments to the school curriculum in rural schools should be considered so as to provide learning experiences that prepare children for viable jobs in agricultural and other locally available work.

1. Introduction

1.1 Structure of the report

The present report is the final one for the research project on child work and labour in agriculture commissioned by the Towards the Elimination of Child Labour (TECL) Programme in South Africa in May 2006. It was conducted by a team of researchers led by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)³, and is organised as follows:

- Section 1, the Introduction, explains the definitions of *child work* and *child labour* used in the study, provides an overview of the legal and policy framework governing child work and labour in South Africa, and presents the relevant key findings from the existing evidence base.
- Section 2 presents the research mandate, and the design and method of the study.
- Section 3 describes the implementation of the research project in practice.
- Section 4 presents the main findings of the study.
- Section 5 presents the recommendations that flow from the study.

1.2 Definition of child work and labour

The study adopted the concepts of child work and labour developed by academics for analysis and policy purposes and supported by the ILO and other leading international development and rights institutions.

Child work is distinguished from *child labour* by defining work as acceptable activities and labour as unacceptable activities. What is unacceptable (labour) is a function of age, various negative impacts on child wellbeing and hazardous conditions. More specifically:

- **Child⁴ work** was defined as work related activity that is acceptable. The term work was defined broadly to include work in so-called economic activities (e.g. paid employment) as well as chores or household activities in the child's home (such as collecting firewood and other fuel, fetching water, or looking after children). Fetching water is a very important component of domestic chores in some rural areas, with potentially serious effects on children's health and schooling. Clearly, depending on distance, age of child, size of the burden, etc. it can be acceptable or unacceptable. In view of previous reports I think it should be specifically mentioned.
- **Child labour** was defined as work-related activity (economic and non-economic) that is illegal, not acceptable because it is exploitative, hazardous or otherwise inappropriate for the child's age, detrimental to a child's schooling, and / or detrimental to the child's social, physical, mental, spiritual or moral development.

This distinction between child *work* and *labour* is useful for analytical and policy purposes. However, it needs to be noted at the outset that:

- Qualitative investigations into child work and labour – including that in this project – make clear that this analytical device is not used by real world stakeholders.

³ The study was conducted by Judith Streak, Andy Dawes, Sharmla Rama and Lameez Alexander from the Child Youth Family and Social Development Programme (CYFSD) at the HSRC. Other members of the team, were Dr Susan Levine (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cape Town) and Deborah Ewing (an independent consultant). Dr Levine led the fieldwork in the Western Cape and Ms Ewing at the other two sites.

⁴ A child is defined in the South African Constitution, as an individual aged 0-18, and this definition is used in the present study. The study, however, focused mainly on children aged 12-16.

- The device focuses on the negative impacts of work with the danger that the many positive aspects of work, that need to be balanced against the negative impacts, may be ignored.
- In reality the line between child work and labour is often fuzzy, subjective and heavily influenced by cultural views.

1.3 Policy context

In 1996 the Department of Labour initiated a research and consultation process to inform transformation of the legal framework and policy governing child work and labour in South Africa. The aim of this process was to align policy, law and programmes with child rights principles and obligations (Nicolaou & Durieux 2005).

The research and consultation process culminated in government (lead Department Labour), releasing the *Child Labour Program of Action* (CLPA). The strategy, which was submitted to Cabinet in 2003 proposes a range of interventions – labelled action steps – to prevent and prohibit employment of children who are under the legal working age, limit school drop-out caused by the decision of children age 15-18 to work and protect the rights (and limit negative impact) of children age 15-18 who are working⁵.

The CLPA has recently been updated and is known as CLPA-II. This updated version addresses the 2008-2012 period, after which it will be updated again.

1.4 Legal framework

The South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) states in Section 28 (2) that a child's best interests are of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child. It also says in Section 28 (1) that every child has the right:

- to family care or parental care, or to appropriate alternative care when removed from the family environment;
- to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services and social services;
- to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation;
- to be protected from exploitative labour practices;
- not to be required or permitted to perform work or provide services that
 - are inappropriate for a person of that child's age; or
 - place at risk the child's well-being, education, physical or mental health or social development"

All the rights of the child in the Constitution are interdependent and indivisible. They need to be seen in the context of the full package of justifiable socio-economic rights afforded to adults in the Bill of Rights.

The 'best interests of the child' principle implies that the perceived and experienced benefits of working in agriculture for the child – earning money, helping to meeting family basic needs, learning skills for the future – need to be carefully weighed up against any harm such work may do to children's health, development and emotional wellbeing.

The indivisibility of child rights demands that policy and programming to address child work and labour should be designed and implemented in a way that ensures that children in difficult circumstances – for example living in deep poverty – do not have to trade one right

⁵ There are 131 action steps proposed in the CLPA, organised into following categories: general action steps; those specifically designed for particular types of work (including for work in commercial and subsistence agriculture); those for particular forms of harm; and those for circumstances that are likely to increase harm.

for another (for example the right not to be engaged in child labour for basic socio-economic rights).

The South African government has ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which also affords children a comprehensive set of rights – grouped as survival, protection and development rights. It has also ratified the two leading international Conventions relating to child work and labour – the ILO Convention 138 on the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment (adopted by United Nations in 1973 and ratified by South Africa in 2000) and, the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention 182 (adopted by the United Nations in 1999 and ratified by South Africa in 2000). The last mentioned distinguishes two kinds of child labour:

- Type 1 is pre-defined worst forms of labour⁶.
- Type 2 is work which by its nature or circumstances is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

There is an obligation on the state to recognize the rights in the treaties it has ratified, and to give effect to them in its Constitution.

The ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour places an obligation on each country that has ratified it to define, through research and consultation, the second type of child labour. The ILO's Recommendation 190 offers the following guidelines for informing the process to define type 2:

"a) work which exposes children to physical, emotional or sexual abuse; b) work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces; c) work with dangerous machinery, equipment or tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads; d) work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels or vibrations damaging to their health; or e) work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work which does not allow for the possibility of returning home each day" (Human Rights News, 2002).

The primary domestic legislation governing child work and prohibiting child labour is the BCEA (No. 75 of 1997). This Act:

- Prohibits the employment of younger children. Children may not be formally employed until the last school day of the year in which they turn 15, or, if they have already completed Grade 9, until they turn 15.
- Allows the employment of children age 15-17 (as long the 15-year-olds have completed Grade 9), but not to do work that is: exploitative, hazardous, otherwise inappropriate for their age, detrimental to their schooling, or detrimental to their social, physical, mental, spiritual or moral development. (Department of Labour, 2006). The latter terms are not spelled out or defined in any regulations or provisions of the Act. However, according to the BCEA, the Minister of Labour can prohibit specific activities by children between 15-17 years involved in hazardous work, formulate regulations and also address issues of inspections for 15- to 17-year-olds. (London, 2006:3).

⁶ This type of labour includes: all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as i) the sale of a child; trafficking of children, meaning the recruitment of children to do work far away from home and from the care of their families, in circumstances within which they are exploited; debt bondage or any other form of bonded labour or serfdom; forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; ii) commercial sexual exploitation, including the use, procuring or offering of a child for: prostitution, or the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; iii) use, procuring or offering of a child by others for illegal activities, including the trafficking or production of drugs.

Following recent work commissioned by TECL on hazards affecting children's work-related activities (see London 2006), new regulations are likely to be issued in the near future under the BCEA and occupational laws. The aim of these is to specify in more detail what kinds of work should be considered hazardous, and considered so hazardous that they are to be considered worst forms of child labour.

Legal provisions on child work have covered commercial agriculture only since the early 1990s. Enforcement of the law has to date been relatively weak. (*Social Surveys Africa*, 2006;12, Department of Labour, 2003). There has been only one prosecution for child labour in commercial agriculture under the BCEA. This was a particularly egregious case where the leg of a 14-year-old girl working on a farm in Ceres was severed by a machine. Labour inspectors are tasked with ensuring prohibition of employment of children younger than the working age and monitoring the conditions of children working who are within the legal age. Enforcement on farms is often lax due to a lack of human and other resources (Department of Labour, 2003).

A final point to note about the law affecting child work and labour in agriculture is the minimum wage legislation, which obliges agricultural employers not to pay employees less than a certain amount per month. This amount varies marginally from region to region and is adjusted every year.

1.5 Existing knowledge base and key SAYP findings

Not much evidence exists on child work and labour in agriculture in South Africa. It comprises a handful of qualitative studies (see for example Budlender & Bosch 2002; Bray 2003; and Levine 2003 & 2006) and is dominated by the Survey of Activities of Young People (SAYP). The SAYP is a nationally representative sample survey conducted in 1999 to provide a quantitative knowledge base on child work and labour risks for the CLPA policy development process.

Conducting a literature review was not part of the terms of reference for the present study. However, to provide some understanding of how this study fits into the available knowledge base, the primary findings of the SAYP on child work and labour in agriculture, are summarised below.

With respect to child activities in agriculture the SAYP found that:

- Subsistence agriculture is a leading area of child work and labour in South Africa, and most of the children doing many hours of work in subsistence agriculture live in former homeland areas.
- Whilst both girls and boys do subsistence work, its incidence is higher amongst boys.
- Most of the girls and boys doing subsistence agricultural work are also doing domestic work in their own homes. Girls help more than boys in the home.
- Children engaged in economic activities are often engaged in more than one activity (for example agricultural and non-agricultural work).
- Child work in subsistence agriculture exists on a larger scale than child work in commercial agriculture, but there are nevertheless large numbers of children doing work in commercial agriculture: The SAYP found that commercial agriculture ranks third, after subsistence agriculture and the retail trade, as an industry employing children. Boys were found to be slightly more likely to work in commercial agriculture than girls.
- Commercial agriculture has significant risk for children who work in it.
- There are a number of significant similarities between commercial and subsistence agriculture with respect to child work and labour. Similarities include: children often work long hours; some of the work is detrimental to schooling; there is a seasonal fluctuation in

demand for work, e.g. during harvesting; and work often involves carrying heavy loads and other heavy manual labour.

- Whilst subsistence agriculture is less hazardous than commercial labour in a number of respects, this does not mean that it does not have negative impacts on children.
- Poverty is the primary cause of child work in both commercial and subsistence agriculture but a child's perceived duty to its family, and the need to teach children valuable skills, are also causes.

2. Research brief, design and method

The research brief for the project included the following six-phase schedule of activities:

- Phase 1 – Development of research design and instruments (including a research design workshop) and identification of fieldwork sites and schools.
- Phase 2 – Fieldwork: Administration of child questionnaire in class and focus groups, and interviews with children and various adult stakeholders.
- Phase 3 – Capturing and analysis of class questionnaire data.
- Phase 4 – Capturing and analysis of focus group and interview data.
- Phase 5 – Compilation of the final report and submission to TECL for input
- Phase 6 – Presentation of the final report to reference group and information dissemination.

Prior to the completion of phase 1 the focus of the study was defined as an investigation into the causes, incidence, nature and impact of child work and labour in commercial agriculture in six purposively selected sites and to a lesser extent other kinds of work conducted by children in the study sites. A blend of quantitative research (involving administering a questionnaire to children age 12-16 in school) and qualitative research (focus groups with children and interviews and focus groups with adults) was selected. A target of achieving a total sample size of at least 300 children (50 at each of the six sites) with experience over the past year of working in commercial agriculture was set for the class questionnaire. This original research brief was informed by work that TECL had commissioned Social Surveys Africa (SSA) to conduct on how to go about investigating child work and labour in agriculture in South Africa⁷.

Towards the end of Phase 1 the focus of the study was broadened to include subsistence agriculture. In addition, the number of study sites was reduced from six to four (to facilitate more in-depth qualitative work in each site). During the course of the fieldwork the number of study sites was reduced to three with agreement of TECL.

The final research design is presented below⁸.

2.1 Focus of the study

- **Primary focus**

To investigate and enhance understanding of the causes, nature and impact of work and labour activities of children age 12-16 in commercial agriculture and to a more limited extent subsistence agriculture in four (in the end reduced to three) purposively selected South African sites.

- **Secondary focus**

To shed light on the nature of additional, non-agricultural work activities of children age 12-16 in the study sites.

2.2 Research questions

The primary research questions of the study were:

⁷ The Social Surveys Africa report, titled "Report on conceptualization of research into child labour in commercial agriculture in South Africa" can be obtained from TECL.

⁸ For more details on the research design see the Phase 1 Research Design Report submitted by HSRC to TECL in August 2006.

- What is the **incidence** and **nature** of commercial and subsistence agricultural work by male and female children aged 12-16⁹?
- In what other economic and non-economic work are these children engaged?
- What are the principle **causes** of their working in subsistence and commercial agriculture?
- What are the **conditions** under which they work in subsistence and commercial agriculture and what is the **impact** of this work on their well-being? This question addresses the **nature and incidence of agricultural child labour**.
- What are the opinions of local stakeholders and children as to the **enforcement of recent policy and legal provisions** designed to prevent children under the legal age from working in commercial agriculture, and to reduce child work in commercial agriculture?

2.3 Research method

The study design included the use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods.

The quantitative component consisted of the generation of questionnaire-based data from children attending schools in each site. Data was examined for each type of work at each site and for the sample as a whole.

The study included a control group design that enabled comparisons between different groups of children on key socio-economic and family circumstance and psychological indicators as follows:

- Children working in agriculture (subsistence and commercial) with those that were not working in agriculture;
- Children working in commercial agriculture, with those working in subsistence agriculture;
- Children working in commercial agriculture, with those working in both subsistence and commercial agriculture, and
- Children labouring in commercial agriculture with those labouring in subsistence agriculture (labour as defined above).

A multi-stage recruitment procedure was used as far as possible. First, areas in which research¹⁰ had indicated that child work in agriculture was evident were identified; second, typical schools in these areas with the appropriate grades (and which gave permission) and which were attended by children living on farms and communal agricultural areas were accessed; finally grades with age-appropriate children were selected in order to survey and interview children in the target age bands. While these children are likely to be representative of the population of their age attending the grade in such schools, it was not practically possible to randomly select children for participation to ensure representivity. If possible, however, a class within a grade was randomly selected. In addition, representivity was affected by refusal of consent to participate on the part of parents and caregivers. The study is therefore not generally representative of children working in agriculture in South Africa.

⁹ It is important to note that this study could not assess the *general* prevalence or incidence of child work and labour in South Africa or indeed in the regions and schools in which it was conducted. Funds did not permit this. The term "incidence" is therefore used in a limited sense to refer to the incidence of child work and labour *in the population of children in the school grades surveyed*.

¹⁰ The research to identify sites at which it was likely to find children working in agriculture involved telephonic and personal interviews with key informants as well as consultation of the research method report developed for TECL by SSA. The key informants are thanked in the acknowledgements.

Table 1 provides an overview of the research method used in the study.

Table 1. Research method

Method	Description
Quantitative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Administration of a questionnaire to children aged 12-16 in class in at least three schools (one primary and one secondary) at each of the study sites. The questionnaire instrument developed to gather quantitative information on the nature of child work in agricultural (and other activities) and the causes, nature and impact of child work and labour in agriculture, is provided in Appendix A. The goal was set of achieving at least 75 completed questionnaires from children who said they had worked in agriculture (subsistence or commercial). It was agreed that if $n < 75$ a fourth school would be added in the survey. The initial sampling strategy was that the survey would be administered to all children age 12-16 in the selected schools. However, as is explained below, this proved impractical and an alternative approach was used. ▪ Data cleaning and entry of the data gathered via child questionnaire into a statistical package (SPSS). ▪ Analysis of data collected from class questionnaire.
Qualitative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Focus groups with children aged 12-16 in each study site: One with at least 10 children (age 12-16) found in the class survey to be working in agriculture. The other with at least 10 children (age 12-16) with experience of work in agriculture but who are out of school – permanently or for a significant period. Three techniques were developed to assist the researchers to gather information from children in the child focus groups, namely body mapping; photo analysis; and the pyramid of support technique. There are explained in the method guide developed for the two lead fieldworkers to use in the gathering of the qualitative data. The method guide is attached to this document as Appendix B. ▪ Focus groups and interviews with adults. The adult stakeholders targeted included parents of children with experience of work in agriculture, teachers, farmers, traditional leaders, and government officials (such as social development and health officials). ▪ Analysis of data collected from child focus groups and interviews, and from focus groups with adults.

2.4 Ethics

Before the fieldwork for the project was conducted, the project was submitted to and approved by the HSRC Research Ethics Committee. The following were the primary measures introduced to address ethical concerns:

- Researchers and fieldworkers were guided by the principle that no harm be done to the participants, that there would be no inducement to participate in the research, and that all information gathered would remain confidential.
- Consent and assent forms were developed for children and adults to sign before they participated in the research. Appendix C contains the consent and assent forms used in the research.
- To maintain confidentiality, but still allow researchers to identify relevant children to participate in the focus groups with children having work experience in agriculture, a matching number system was developed for the distribution and labelling of class survey questionnaires. Each child was given a number that matched his/her questionnaire. Their names were not recorded at any stage. The number system was used to select children for focus groups on the basis of their responses to the questionnaire and their names were not required or used.

- Children participating in the in the survey were given a pen and a small notebook. The participants in a study of this nature give freely and extensively of their time and it is only reasonable that the children be given a gift in appreciation. In addition, each of their schools was given a small gift as a token of appreciation for their participation.
- Children participating in the class survey were given at least two 'stretch breaks' and assistance by the fieldworkers if they were having difficulties completing the questionnaire. This helped to ensure that they were not adversely affected by the experience and that good quality data was generated.

2.5 Study sites

The three purposively selected fieldwork sites are presented in Table 2. The sites were selected based on the scoping exercises conducted by Social Surveys which identified areas where it was highly probable that child labour would be found and which would warrant further research. It is therefore likely that the incidence, nature and causes of child work and labour at these sites are possibly higher than in other areas as they are not representative of South Africa agriculture in general. To protect the confidentiality of children and adults in the communities and schools who participated in the research, only a general geographical location of the study sites is provided, and names of participating schools are not provided.

Table 2. Descriptions of fieldwork study sites and detail of schools from which sample was drawn

Site 1 – Western Cape

Worcester municipality: Slanghoek, Rawsonville and Worcester

Schools participating in class survey: 3 primary, 1 secondary

This is a peri-urban agricultural region. It is dominated by commercial agriculture and in particular production of grapes for the export and domestic market. The majority of the farms in the area are owned by white farmers. Most of the adults (and children) who work (or labour) on the farms and participated in the research live on the wine farms. There is very little subsistence farming in the households where the children that participated in the research live. The political economy of the area reflects the deep structural inequalities in the wine industry and the rural apartheid economy. The study site (and surrounding area) is called the "last corner of apartheid" by local black residents. The discrepancy between rich and poor in the area is striking, with wealthy farmers living in close proximity to workers and their families who live in abject poverty. The dominant language of children in this study site is Afrikaans.

Site 2 – KwaZulu-Natal

uThkela and uMzinyathi district municipalities: Msinga – Weenen border area

Schools participating in class survey: 1 secondary, 1 up to grade 8, 1 up to grade 9

This is a deep rural area and one of the poorest areas in South Africa. It has a mix of commercial and subsistence farming. Commercial farming comprises both community owned farms (mostly black owners) and privately owned farms (mainly white farmers). The type of farming is mixed: maize, vegetables, fruit (oranges), and sugar cane, as well as cattle farming. The site includes part of the Mchunu and Mthembu traditional authority areas. It is characterised by high unemployment, high levels of migration for work, single-female headed households and comparatively low levels of school attendance. The fieldwork site focused on farms where returned labour tenants acquired land under the land reform programme, and four neighbouring settlements. The cultivation of dagga (marijuana) is an important source of income for many households in the area due to the extremely limited livelihood opportunities and the constraints on subsistence farming due to rocky, mountainous terrain and lack of accessible water sources. There are no tarred roads and the terrain is rugged. There is no cell phone signal in the area and very few fixed phone lines. In this site, child participation in subsistence and commercial agriculture, as well as in other work activities, has long been a way of life and is generally accepted as being necessary for long-term survival of households and the traditional way of agricultural life.

Site 3 – Mpumalanga

Nkomazi municipality: Area around and east of Malelane

Schools participating in survey¹¹: 3 primary, 2 secondary

This area is part of the Maputo Development Corridor and is dominated by agriculture. Like the KwaZulu-Natal site, it has a mix of commercial and subsistence farming. The majority of farms are privately owned by white commercial farmers but the number of black-owned farms (private and community owned) is growing. The type of farming is mainly sugar cane, but there are also citrus (grapefruit), banana, mango, litchi and forestry plantations, and some game farms. The commercial farms consist mainly of 350ha or more of irrigated land under cultivation. Subsistence agriculture plays a paramount role in providing income and supplementing the diet of the people (Nkomazi IDP, 2003). There is a great contrast between the large-scale, privately owned, commercial irrigation farming of the Onderberg area to the north and the under-developed Kangwane rural area to the South. Much of the study area is extremely impoverished and unemployment is high. Adult respondents in the research indicated that most of the children in the schools surveyed came from households that least had a plot to grow crops for subsistence.

¹¹ The data gathered from two of the schools in the Mpumalanga site was not used in analysis due to concerns about quality of data. The problem arose because the survey was administered in the two schools on the last day of the third term and children were eager to go home.

3. Project implementation — research conducted

3.1 Preparatory fieldwork activities

Preparatory field-work activities included:

- Development of research instruments – class questionnaire and focus group and interview guide.
- Development of consent and assent forms for research participants. Two assent forms were developed – one for children to sign before participating in the focus groups and one for them to sign before completing the class questionnaire¹². Two adult consent forms were developed - one for adults to consent to their own participation in the research through interviews of focus group participation, the other for adults to consent to children in their care participating in the research (either through filling out the class questionnaire or through participation in focus group). The forms are provided in Appendix C.
- Submission of the study procedure to HSRC Research Ethics Committee.
- Translation (and back translation) of the class questionnaire instrument as well as the consent and assent forms. Three versions of the instrument were developed for use in the field: Afrikaans (for the Western Cape); siSwati (for Mpumalanga) and Zulu (for the KwaZulu-Natal site).
- Piloting of class questionnaire instrument. This involved administering the questionnaire to 20 learners at Rawsonville Primary in the Western Cape site.
- Negotiation with schools and communities to conduct the research in each site. This included gaining approval from relevant education department officials for the research to be conducted in particular schools; liaising with community development workers and school and education representatives about when it would be appropriate for the survey to be conducted, and organizing with the school and various community development representatives to ensure dissemination of the consent and assent forms and completion of the forms by research participants.
- Finalization of the sampling procedure to be used for administration of the class questionnaire. The original plan was to administer the survey to all children age 12-16 in each school. However, when it became clear that that this would disrupt classes and require very large numbers to be surveyed, a different method was developed: Fieldworkers were instructed to conduct the survey in: at least one class of Grades 6 and 7 in primary schools; at least one class of Grade 8 and 9 in secondary schools; and at least one class of Grade 5 if the relevant teachers related that the majority of children in Grade 5 fell within the age group (12-16) targeted by the survey.

3.2 Fieldwork conducted, data cleaning and sample analysis

Table 3 and Table 4 provide an overview of the fieldwork conducted. The former covers the class questionnaire and the latter the focus groups and interviews.

¹² Children cannot consent to participation as they are not of the legal age for consent. Only their legal guardians may consent to their participation. The term assent is used to refer to the process whereby children are asked to agree to participation in a research study.

Table 3. Grades in which class questionnaire was administered

Site	Schools in which questionnaire was administered	Grades covered
Western Cape	School 1	7 ¹³
	School 2	6 ¹⁴
	School 3	8 & 9
	School 4	6
KwaZulu-Natal	School 5	5, 6 & 7
	School 6	6 & 7
	School 7	8 & 9
Mpumalanga	School 8	6 & 7
	School 9	8 & 9
	School 10	8
	School 11	6 & 7
	School 12	6

Table 4. Overview of focus groups and interviews conducted

Site	Child focus groups	Adult interviews and focus groups
Western Cape	<p>Focus group 1: 9 children in school, 6 boys, 3 girls (all age 12-16)</p> <p>Focus group 2: 4 children in school, 4 boys (all age 12-16)</p> <p>Focus group 3: 4 children out of school children, all boys (all age 12-16)</p>	<p>1 focus group with parents</p> <p>1 in-depth parent interview</p> <p>4 teacher focus groups</p> <p>1 focus groups with farmers</p> <p>2 in-depth interviews farmers</p> <p>1 focus group health care workers</p> <p>1 focus group social workers</p> <p>1 interview with police officer</p>
KwaZulu-Natal	<p>Focus group 1: 11 children in school, 4 girls 7 boys (all age 12-16)</p> <p>Focus group 2: 15 out of school children, 13 girls, 2 boys (one girl age 11)</p>	<p>1 focus group with 12 male cattle farmers / parents</p> <p>1 focus group with 4 teachers</p> <p>3 in-depth teacher interviews</p> <p>3 interviews with representatives from the Church Agricultural Project (CAP), a community development agency working in the study area</p>
Mpumalanga	<p>Focus group 1: 12 children in school, 10 boys, 2 girls (only 4 12-16 years, the remaining 8 older)</p> <p>Focus group 2: 19 children in school, 10 girls, 9 boys (all age 12-16)</p> <p>Focus group 3¹⁵: 10 youths aged 18-19 all of whom had had experience of work in subsistence agriculture, and eight of which also had experience of work in commercial agriculture.</p>	<p>2 in-depth teacher interviews</p> <p>1 focus group with adults (including principals, deputy principals, teachers, minister of religion, health workers, home-based care and community workers)</p> <p>2 in-depth farmer interviews</p> <p>1 in-depth interview with circuit manager for education</p> <p>1 in-depth interview with community development worker</p>

¹³ The Grade 6 students did not participate due to time constraints.

¹⁴ Grade 7 did not participate as this Primary school only went up to Grade 6.

¹⁵ This was the only focus group in the study with young people out of the age band 12-16. Whenever their data is referred to in the report the term “*youth*” is used. This focus group of older children was conducted because the children had been identified by community development workers helping to organise the fieldwork at this site as good informants about the child work and labour situation there. They spoke retrospectively about their experiences of work in agriculture.

There was little need for cleaning the data gathered from the focus groups and interviews. A decision was taken to use all the information gathered from children older than 16. This was because a method had been used in the focus groups to deal with the fact that they were over 16: they were asked to think and give a reply based on their experience of work *when they were in the age range 12-16*. Only the information gathered from the child aged 11 was excluded from the qualitative data set before analysis. Thus the qualitative sample used in the analysis can be seen by referring to Table 4 above.

The following were the primary adjustments made before analysis to the data gathered from the class questionnaire:

- Data gathered from two schools on the last day of term in the Mpumalanga site was removed from the data set due to its poor quality.
- The handful of questionnaires at each site completed by children either younger than 12 or older than 16 were removed, as well as those for which no age was provided by the child.

Table 5 below presents the final sample of data gathered from the child questionnaire administered in class.

Table 5. Overview of final class questionnaire sample

Site	Questionnaires (N)	Gender		Miss- ing	Age				
		Girls	Boys		12	13	14	15	16
WC	533 (51.6%)	302 (57%)	229 (43%)	2	45	191	189	73	35
KZN	247 (23.9%)	127 (52%)	119 (48%)	1	17	50	55	85	40
MPA	253 (24.5%)	137 (54%)	116 (46%)	0	38	48	84	46	37
all 3	1 033 (100%)	566 (55%)	464 (45%)	3	100 (10%)	289 (28%)	328 (32%)	204 (20%)	112 (11%)

It can be seen that more data were collected from the Western Cape site than the other sites. This was because of lower incidence of child work in agriculture in this site and the need to obtain a target of N = 75 child questionnaires reporting on child work in agriculture. In the Western Cape site, the low incidence of child work in agriculture found in the administration of the class questionnaire in the three schools originally selected for study led to the research having to select an additional school and class to administer the questionnaire in. Only after administration of the questionnaire in the fourth school was the target sample size for the class questionnaire in the Western Cape reached. It must be remembered that this is a purposive study. Therefore none of the regional samples is representative and this must be considered when interpreting the findings. Even if the Western Cape sample had been achieved without these further efforts, the biases attendant on non representative samples would remain.

As can be seen in Table 5, there was a larger proportion (32%) of children aged 14 in the sample than children aged 12 (10%) and 16 (11%). A relatively even distribution across boys and girls, but slightly more girls (55%) than boys (45%) is another feature of the sample.

3.3 Data analysis

3.3.1 Incidence and nature of child work in agriculture

The *incidence* of child work in agriculture was established via analysis of the data gathered in the class questionnaire in response to the question on whether the child had worked in any one or more of the kinds of agriculture in the past year. (See questions 13, 18 and 23 in Appendix A). Differences across sites and gender were explored.

To gain understanding of the *nature* of child work, the data gathered in the class questionnaire in response to the questions on when children typically do their work in the different agriculture types, how much time they usually spend on this work in an average week, and the nature of their work activities was analysed. Data gathered in the focus groups and interviews on the timing of child work (duration and when work is conducted) as well as common tasks carried out by children, was also analysed.

3.3.2 Incidence and nature of non-agricultural child work

The *incidence and nature of non-agricultural child work* was explored by analysis of the data gathered in the class questionnaire in response to the questions on non-agricultural work. Data were gathered on the following non-agricultural work activities: Non-agricultural economic activity such as selling things (See question 9 in Appendix A); domestic work in someone else's home (See question 10 in Appendix A) and domestic work in the child's own home (See question 28 in Appendix A **Error! Reference source not found.**). The nature of non-agricultural child work activities was also explored via analysis of the data gathered in the focus groups and interviews on tasks carried out by children.

3.3.3 Causes of child work in agriculture

The causes of child work in agriculture were explored using both the data gathered from the class questionnaire as well as from the focus groups and interviews.

The *analysis of the class questionnaire data* involved:

- Generating descriptive statistics on poverty indicators.
- Analysing the poverty indicator data to identify group differences. The first comparison was between two groups: children working in agriculture and those not working at all. The second comparison was between three groups: children working in subsistence agriculture compared with those working in commercial agriculture and those working in both. One-way Analyses of Variance (ANOVAs) were used to compare the groups on the following dependent continuous variables (see the statistical appendix, Appendix D for the details): Poverty index (developed from question 41 that asked about various child assets)¹⁶; father's education (developed from question 34); and mother's education (developed from question 34). For Chi-square tests, the following dependent categorical variables were tested: household hunger (developed from question 36); parental status (developed from question 32); father's employment (developed from question 35) and mother's employment (developed from question 35).
- Analysing the data gathered from children in response to the questions on the reasons for their work in the different kinds of agriculture (see questions 13.3, 18.4 and 23.4 in Appendix A **Error! Reference source not found.**).

The analysis of the focus group and interview data involved:

- Identifying key features of the poverty of children living at the sites and working in agriculture.
- Analysing the opinions gathered from adults and children on the reasons for children working in agriculture.

3.3.4 Child labour

Indicators for child labour (in addition to working under the legal age) were developed as follows:

¹⁶ The poverty index for each child was developed simply by assigning a score of one for each of the items on the list provided in question 41 that the child said he/she had and then aggregating the score for each item (1 or 0). Each item was given an equal weight (score = 1) in the computation of the index due to the absence of reliable evidence on the relative importance of the different items on the list for child well-being.

- Hazardous conditions.
- Negative impact on health.
- Negative impact on schooling.

Table 21 in paragraph 4.4 below provides a detailed description of the domains and indicators.

The ***analysis of the class questionnaire data*** involved:

- Generating descriptive statistics on the child labour indicators collected: this analysis was conducted separately for children under the legal age (12-14) and 15-16-year-olds working legally in agriculture, and explored differences across boys and girls.
- Exploring differences in child labour indicators between children working solely in subsistence agriculture and solely in privately owned commercial agriculture: Chi-square tests of significance were conducted on the following categorical dependent variables:
 - hazardous conditions (report of any condition, constructed from responses to questions 13.5 and 23.7);
 - negative impact of work on school (constructed from affirmative responses to questions 14 and 24); and
 - negative health impact (report of work related injury¹⁷ constructed from questions 15 and 25).
- Group differences in anxiety level and anti-social behaviour (continuous variables and indicators of psychological well-being), were explored using Analyses of Variance (ANOVA). Group differences in depression (a categorical variable) were examined using Chi-square tests.

Summaries of group comparison statistics are presented in Appendix D.

The ***analysis of focus group and interview data*** involved:

- Analysing opinions gathered on the conditions of child work in agriculture.
- Analysing opinions gathered on the impact of child work in agriculture.

3.3.5 Enforcement of the law preventing children under the legal age from working

To shed light on whether there has been enforcement of the policy and law prohibiting children under a certain age from working in commercial agriculture, the opinions gathered from children and adults in the focus groups and interviews were analysed.

¹⁷ Differences between the groups of children for the illness indicator in the health impact domain were not tested due to missing data.

4. Findings

4.1 Incidence and nature of child work in agriculture

4.1.1 Incidence of child work in agriculture and different agricultural types

There were 1 012 valid responses in the class questionnaire to **all three** of the questions that were used to determine whether the child had worked in agriculture in the previous year.

- 45% (n = 453) children reported working in agriculture.
- The incidence of child work in agriculture was found to vary substantially across sites. This is illustrated in the first row of Table 6 below, which shows the large variation in incidence and type of child agricultural work across sites. In the Western Cape site the incidence of child work in agriculture emerged as low compared to the other two sites - only 17% (n = 91) were found to be doing work in agriculture [especially taking the large amount of respondents in the WC site]. This compares with 92% (n = 221) in the KwaZulu-Natal site and 59% (n = 141) at the Mpumalanga site.

Table 6. Variation in incidence and type of child agricultural work across sites

Agriculture work type	Children working in agriculture type, N (%)			
	Sites			Total N (%)
	WC	KZN	MP	
Any type (subsistence, commercial only or subsistence and commercial)	91 (17%)	221 (92%)	141 (59%)	453 (45%)
Subsistence agriculture only	23 (25%)	93 (42%)	109 (77%)	225 (50%)
Commercial agriculture only	58 (64%)	8 (4%)	5 (4%)	71 (15%)
Subsistence plus commercial agriculture	10 (11%)	120 (54%)	27 (19%)	157 (35%)

Table 6 shows that of the children who were found to be working in agriculture:

- 50% (n = 225) reported working only in subsistence agriculture (i.e. not in commercial agriculture).
- 35% (n = 157) reported doing work both in subsistence and commercial agriculture.
- 15% (n = 71) reported working only in commercial agriculture.

Table 6 also shows that the differences across sites in the type of agricultural work being done by children were as follows:

- At the Western Cape site, only 17% (n = 91) said they had worked in agriculture and the vast majority of those were found to be working only in privately owned commercial agriculture.
- At the KwaZulu-Natal study site, 91% (n = 221) said they had worked in agriculture in the previous year. 54% of those indicated that they had worked in subsistence and commercial agriculture (mostly community owned) and 42% indicated they worked only in subsistence agriculture.
- At the Mpumalanga site, 59% (n = 141) said they had worked in agriculture, with 77% of those indicating they worked only in subsistence and 19% saying they worked in both subsistence and commercial agriculture (mainly privately owned).

The questionnaire data were also analysed to reveal numbers of children working:

- Only in privately owned commercial agriculture.
- Only in community owned commercial agriculture.
- In community-owned plus privately-owned commercial agriculture only.

- In subsistence agriculture plus privately owned commercial agriculture.
- In subsistence agriculture plus community owned commercial agriculture.
- Subsistence plus community owned commercial agriculture and privately owned commercial agriculture.

It was found that:

- 31% worked in subsistence plus community owned commercial agriculture.
- 27% worked only in privately owned commercial agriculture.
- 23% worked in subsistence plus community owned commercial agriculture and privately owned commercial agriculture.
- 15% worked in subsistence plus privately owned commercial agriculture.
- 3% of children worked only in community owned commercial agriculture.
- 1% worked both in community owned plus privately owned agriculture.

4.1.2 Gender and age of children working in agriculture¹⁸

1.1.1.1 Findings on gender distribution from class questionnaire

The gender of the children who reported working in agriculture is presented in Tables 7-9. The primary findings were as follows:

- Girls and boys were equally likely to report having worked in subsistence agriculture. This is different from the SAYP finding that boys were more likely than girls to do subsistence farming work. However, this finding may be due to girls thinking of their domestic house work as subsistence agriculture – the analysis of the descriptive data gathered from girls in the class questionnaire on their subsistence activities suggests this.
- Boys were more likely than girls to report work in commercial agriculture (both community and privately owned).

Table 7. Gender of children working in subsistence agriculture

Gender	Total sample by gender, N	Working in privately owned commercial agriculture, N (%)
Girls	566	212 (37.4%)
Boys	464	174 (37.5%)
Total girls and boys	1 030	386 (37.0%)
Missing	3	1

Table 8. Gender of children working in community owned commercial agriculture

Gender	Total sample by gender, N	Working in privately owned commercial agriculture, N (%)
Girls	566	62 (10.9%)
Boys	464	72 (15.5%)
Total girls and boys	1 030	134 (13.0%)
Missing	3	1

¹⁸ In the description of gender and age of children working in agriculture children were included in the sample even if they had not answered all three of the questions on whether work had been conducted in agriculture in the past year. This approach was different from that used to report the incidence of child work in the different kinds of agriculture and the group comparison. This needs to be noted as it explains why the number of children reported as working in the three different types is higher in the sections describing the age, and sex of children working in the different agricultural types as well as the nature of activities conducted in the types, than is reported in Section 4.1.1 above.

Table 9. Gender of children working in privately owned commercial agriculture

Gender	Total sample by gender, N	Working in privately owned commercial agriculture, N (%)
Girls	566	72 (12.7%)
Boys	464	78 (16.8%)
Total girls and boys	1 030	150 (15.0%)
Missing	3	0

1.1.1.2 Findings on gender from focus groups and interviews

The focus groups and interviews confirmed that whilst both girls and boys work in commercial agriculture, and that boys are more likely to do this kind of work. Similar to the SAYP, the data also suggests that boys are more likely to work in subsistence agriculture¹⁹.

1.1.1.3 Findings on age from class questionnaire

The age profile of children working in agriculture is presented in Table 10, Table 11 and Table 12. What is of most interest from these data are numbers of children under the legal age of 12-15 years working in agriculture:

- 33% of 12-14 year olds (N = 235) worked in subsistence agriculture in the past year.
- 10% of 12-14 year olds (N = 75) worked in community owned commercial agriculture in the past year.
- 15% of 12-14 year olds (N = 107) worked in privately owned commercial agriculture in the past year.

Table 10. Age of children working in subsistence agriculture

Age	Sample by age cohort (N)	Working in subsistence agriculture, N (%)
12	100	56 (56%)
13	289	81 (28%)
14	328	98 (30%)
15	204	103 (50%)
16	112	49 (44%)
12-14	717	235 (33%)
12-16	1 033	387 (37%)

Table 11. Age of children working in community owned commercial agriculture

Age	Sample by age cohort (N)	Working in community owned commercial agriculture, N (%)
12	100	8 (8%)
13	289	34 (12%)
14	328	33 (10%)
15	204	39 (19%)
16	112	21 (19%)
12-14	717	75 (10%)
12-16	1 033	135 (13%)

¹⁹ As explained in the executive summary of this report, the class questionnaire found, to the contrary, that boy and girls are equally likely to work in subsistence agriculture. However, this finding should be accepted with caution, and is thought to be explained by girls regarding housework/domestic activities as subsistence activities.

Table 12. Age of children working in privately owned commercial agriculture

Age	Sample by age cohort (N)	Working in privately owned commercial agriculture, N (%)
12	100	18 (18%)
13	289	40 (14%)
14	328	49 (15%)
15	204	27 (13%)
16	112	16 (14%)
12-14	717	107 (15%)
12-16	1 033	150 (15%)

1.1.1.4 Findings on age from focus groups and interviews

Whilst most farmers – particularly at the Western Cape site – denied employing children under the legal age, it was confirmed in the qualitative study that children younger than 15 reported that they are still seeking and doing work in commercial agriculture. Many children aged 12-14 also do work in subsistence agriculture – most commonly over week-ends and in school holidays, but a large proportion do such work every day (see Table 13 below).

At the Western Cape site in particular the difference in opinion of farmers and children (and to a lesser extent parents and teachers) on the practice of employing children younger than 15 was stark. In the words of the lead fieldworker from this site, Dr Levine:

“There was a striking discrepancy between the perspectives of children working in commercial agriculture and adults who were mostly unable to address the question due to their denial of the practice.”

4.1.3 Timing of child work in agriculture

Two aspects of timing were investigated: *when* children work in agriculture and the *average duration (hours)* of work.

1.1.1.5 Class questionnaire findings on when children conduct agricultural work

Children who said they worked in agriculture were then asked: “When did you do this work?” They were given six response options and asked to endorse as many as appropriate. The findings are presented in Table 13, Table 14 and Table 15 and can be summarised as follows:

- For all three types of agricultural work, work over the week-ends and school holidays emerged as predominant.
- For each type, there were children who reported doing the work every day. For subsistence agriculture, work before and after school emerged as common (more so than for the other two types).
- A larger proportion of children working in privately owned commercial agriculture than in other agricultural settings reported working during the busy farming season.

Table 13. When children work in subsistence agriculture

When	Children who said yes to work time option, N (%)
Every day	62 (16%)
Once a week	75 (19%)
On week-ends	178 (46%)
Before school	14 (4%)
After school	87 (23%)
During school holidays	169 (44%)
During busy farming season	34 (9%)

Table 14. When children work in community owned commercial agriculture

When	Children who said yes to work time option, N (%)
Every day	12 (9%)
Once a week	21 (16%)
On week-ends	58 (43%)
Before school	8 (6%)
After school	11 (8%)
During school holidays	60 (45%)
During busy farming season	9 (7%)

Table 15. When children work in privately owned commercial agriculture

When	Children who said yes to work time option, N (%)
Every day	34 (23%)
Once a week	22 (15%)
On week-ends	44 (30%)
Before school	4 (3%)
After school	21 (14%)
During school holidays	99 (66%)
During busy farming season	31 (21%)

1.1.1.6 Focus group and interview findings on when children do agricultural work

The focus groups and interviews confirmed that whilst most of the work done by children occurs in school holidays and over week-ends, many work every day, before and after school (particularly in subsistence farming, but also to some extent in community owned commercial agriculture).

At the KwaZulu-Natal site, where children are mostly engaged in both subsistence and community owned private commercial agriculture, child participants explained that they do the work mostly at weekends and in school holidays, but also to a lesser extent before and after school. The few children found to be working in privately owned commercial agriculture at this site said that they mainly worked during school holidays.

At the Mpumalanga site, both children and adults said that children primarily work in subsistence agriculture before school, at week-ends and in school holidays. Commercial agricultural work (mainly on fruit farms) occurs mainly during the school holidays and “when work is available” – such as during peak seasons.

An additional important insight to emerge is that work in privately owned commercial agriculture is very sporadic. For example it emerged in the Western Cape site that children are no longer employed as seasonal workers on a regular basis as in the past. Instead, their hours (and wages) are irregular and their pay, if any, is given informally without any regulation either by parents or anyone else.

1.1.1.7 Class questionnaire findings on average duration of work in agriculture

Children who said they worked in one or more of the three kinds of agriculture were asked: “More or less how much time do you think you spent doing this in a week”? The responses to this question indicated that children’s estimation of the hours worked is not reliable. For example, many said that they worked more hours than were possible in an average week when other demands on their time – such as school – were factored in. Also, the reason for the reporting of high numbers of hours by children could be explained by children reporting

the hours that they spent on agricultural work over the **past year**, not for the average week, or for a **specific (uncommon) week** (for example during harvest time).

1.1.1.8 Focus group and interview findings on average duration of work in agriculture

It was not possible in the focus groups and interviews to establish a sound understanding from children of the amount of time spent on average in a week by children on their agricultural work. The following findings are worth highlighting:

- Children said that a particularly unfavourable aspect of agricultural work is lack of power over when they do their work, for how long, and for what remuneration.
- Children working in commercial agriculture reported that such work is often too “intense”. By this they meant that it usually starts too early – as early as 7 am – and continues until too late, for as long as work is available.

4.1.4 Activities of children working in agriculture

1.1.1.9 Class questionnaire findings on agricultural activities

Subsistence agriculture

To shed light on the nature of the activities of children working in subsistence agriculture, those who said they did this type of work were asked to describe their activities. Descriptions produced by many children were broad – for example they said that they “helped in the garden” or “helped in the plot”. The most common activities were: watering the vegetable garden; planting (maize and other vegetables); ploughing; weeding; cleaning; looking after the cattle; looking after other animals (e.g. goats); attending to fences.

Three additional findings are worth noting:

- Many children described their work in a way that reflected feelings of responsibility and ownership for subsistence activities. This suggests that many children saw their subsistence activity as beneficial.
- The descriptions of activities made clear that in children’s minds, the divide between subsistence agricultural activities and domestic work (chores) is fuzzy. Many described their work as fetching water, collecting firewood, cooking, washing and looking after children. As already pointed out, this could explain why boys and girls are equally likely to do subsistence work (a finding which is contrary to the SAYP finding of higher incidence of such work amongst boys).
- Children’s descriptions of their activities also reveal that separating work into commercial and subsistence agriculture can be artificial. For example, there were some children who indicated that their work on plots at home was helping to produce food that was not only for the family pot but was also sold. For example, a 13 year old girl from the Mpumalanga site wrote:

“I help with the vegetable garden and after harvesting we sell and eat some of the veggies.”

Commercial agriculture

Similar to the sections above, children who worked in commercial agriculture (community owned and privately owned) were presented with a list of different activity options relating to crop and stock farming and were asked to indicate the activities that described their work. They could choose as many options as appropriate.

The primary findings about child activities in community owned commercial agriculture were:

- Work with crops is more common than work with animals.
- Girls and boys carry out a wide range of activities.
- The most common activities in stock farming are herding, feeding and dipping.
- The most common activities in crop farming are planting, harvesting, clearing fields and weeding.
- Boys are more likely than girls to be involved in dipping and herding animals. Girls on the other hand are more involved in feeding animals than boys.

The primary findings for activities in privately owned commercial agriculture were as follows:

- As in the case of community owned commercial agriculture, work with crops is more common than work with animals, and boys and girls carry out a range of activities in each kind of agriculture.
- With respect to work with animals, the most common activities are: herding, feeding animals, cleaning animal pens and other. The most common crop activities are: harvesting, weeding, cleaning fields and sowing.
- Gender differences are similar to those in community owned commercial agriculture.

1.1.1.10 Findings on child activities in agriculture from focus groups and interviews

The findings on common activities of children in agriculture are presented by site below.

Western Cape site findings

In this site, where children were reporting on their work activities in privately owned commercial wine farming, the following were the most common activities: planting; maintaining the vines (for example by weeding); harvesting; and helping parents to prune vines in July. In addition, children said they sometimes pick up stones in river beds to make walls in the vineyards and boys said that they work in farmers' gardens.

Children related that their activities do not include spraying the plants with pesticides, or operating tractors and other mechanical equipment. Regarding the latter, only one boy reported working with an electrical machine (a saw). The boy was younger than 15 years.

Children's body maps from the focus groups indicated that they use shears, spades, shovels, rakes and brooms in the vineyard.

Kwa-Zulu Natal site findings

At this site the majority of children said they were involved in subsistence work and community owned commercial agriculture (mainly cattle farming). One of the farmers described the many tasks of children as follows:

"In the mornings when they get up, girls fetch water and boys get the cattle. Children go to school; then in the afternoons, they go and look for the cattle. They also feed the livestock. Boys also plough using cattle".

The picture right is a self portrait drawn by a 14 – year-old out-of-school girl in a child focus group in KwaZulu-Natal. It shows her hoeing the field – a common child activity in rural areas.



Dipping and minding cattle emerged as activities conducted mainly by boys. Farmers (who are also parents of children who work on such farms) explained that the precise age at which boys began participating in these activities differed. They said it depended on the child – one child of six might be ready and able to help take out the cattle, while another child age 9 might not cope physically or emotionally. The teachers in the KwaZulu-Natal site confirmed that it is common for boys to be involved in dipping cattle, and said that this weekly activity often caused absenteeism.



The photo left of two boys at the weekly cattle dip, one in his school uniform, illustrates the cattle dipping activity that many young boys (and not many girls) are involved in in the KwaZulu-Natal site.

Mpumalanga site findings

The majority of children and youth who participated in the focus groups in the Mpumalanga had experience of work on commercial farms (mostly during the school holidays) as well as work in subsistence agriculture. The primary commercial agriculture activities were picking and packing citrus fruit (June/July) and/or mangos and litchis (December / January) and on banana farms. Working on sugar cane farms was reported less frequently. It was explained that this work was not a common child activity due to it being too physically demanding (and dangerous). (All the children and youth said that they had started doing this work when they were between the ages of 11 and 13).

The primary subsistence activities reported by children and youth were weeding; watering and harvesting.

Children highlighted their work in school gardens (often done on a daily basis) as another significant agricultural activity.



The photograph is of spinach growing in a school garden at the Mpumalanga study site. (It was taken through a classroom's broken window pane.) Most of the children who participated in focus groups at the Mpumalanga site explained that work in school food gardens is one of their key work activities. Cultivation of school vegetable gardens, done during school hours and as part of the curriculum, emerged as common at the Mpumalanga site. All children in schools with vegetable gardens reported benefiting from the food grown.

4.2 Non-agricultural work activities carried out by children

4.2.1 The heavy additional work load of children working in agriculture

The study found that most children working in agriculture (subsistence and/or commercial) also have much other work (mostly domestic responsibilities).

1.1.1.11 Class questionnaire finding on heavy work burden of children

The class questionnaire (see Appendix A) asked the following five questions to explore incidence of child work in agriculture and other areas (excluding domestic work in children's own homes):

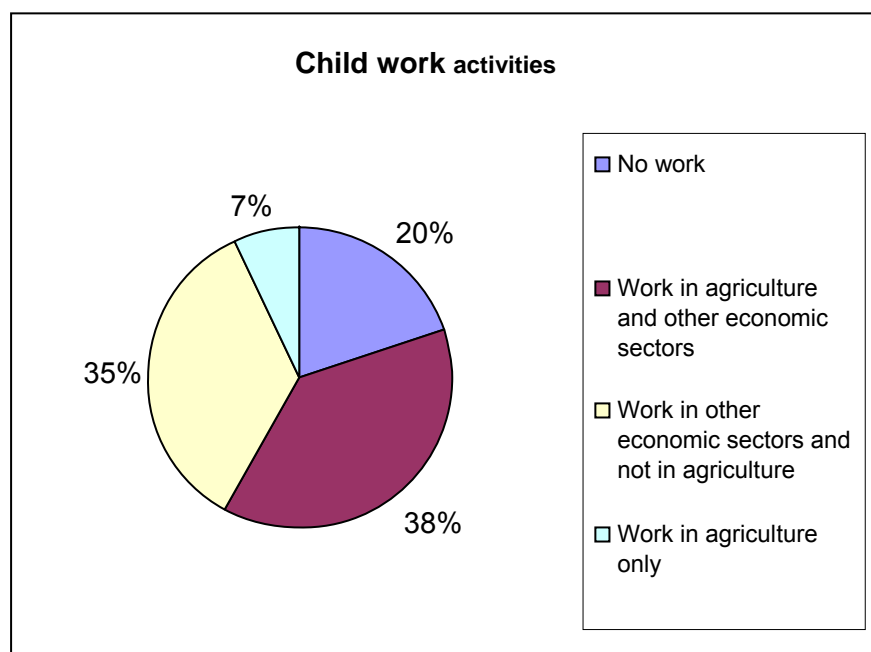
- “In the past year, did you sell things, make things for sale, repair things, guard cars, and operate a donkey cart or other transport business (e.g. help on a taxi), catch wild animals or sell fish?” – Question 9 .
- “In the past year, did you do any domestic work (for example washing clothes, caring for children, sweeping the yard) for someone in another house or place who does not live with you?” – Question 10 .
- “In the past year, did you work on the family plot or community owned lands to help to grow vegetables, fruit or other food or animal products (including milk from cows or meat from animals) for the family to use”. – Question 13.
- In the past year, did you do work on the community lands to help produce vegetables, fruit or other farm products that were sold?” This question was asked to count the number of children working in community owned commercial agriculture. – Question 18.
- “In the past year, did you do work on a farm that is not owned by your family or your community, but is owned by a farmer (a black or white farmer) and produces farm products that were sold”? This was asked to count the number of children working in privately owned commercial agriculture. – Question 23.

There were 1 021 valid responses to **all five** of the questions. The results indicate that:

- 200 (20%) of the children did not do any of these types of work.
- 393 (38%) reported working both in agriculture of some kind as well as in other types of work listed above.
- Only 69 children (7%) said they worked only in agriculture.
- 359 (35%) reported undertaking work only in sectors other than agriculture.

The latter finding that 35% of children work in non-agricultural sectors is important. It highlights the necessity for children living in poor rural areas to work to help meet their and their family’s basic needs.

Figure 1. Agricultural and other work done by children



The description above excludes domestic work carried out by children in their own homes. The class questionnaire also asked about this activity (See question 28 in Appendix A). As

is reported in paragraph 4.2.1 below, the overwhelming majority of children did domestic work, and thus most children working in agriculture are also doing this kind of work.

1.1.1.12 Focus group and interview findings on the heavy child work burden

"I worked on the vegetable garden, looked after the children, swept at home and washed clothes".

[1-year-old girl from KwaZulu-Natal research site]

The focus groups and interviews confirmed the above findings and clarified that children carry this workload due to a combination of economic necessity, cultural practice and sense of duty to the family (see paragraph 4.3 below).

4.2.2 Nature of non-agricultural work activities of children

1.1.1.13 Findings from the class questionnaire on nature of non-agricultural work

These findings are based on responses by children to question 9, 10 and 28 (see Appendix A), and were analysed to shed light on incidence of the various non-agricultural work activities of children.

With respect to **non-agricultural economic work** (Question 9) the results were as follows:

- 40% (n = 413) of the sample did non-agricultural economic work in the past year.
- Comparing sites, a far larger proportion of children at the poorest study site, KwaZulu-Natal, reported conducting non-agricultural economic work than at the other two sites. However, the proportions were still relatively high at the Western Cape and Mpumalanga study sites.
- The incidence of non-agricultural economic work was higher for boys (46.9%) than girls (34.4%).

With respect to **domestic work in someone else's home** (Question 10) the main findings were as follows:

- 60% of children did domestic work in other people's homes in the past year; 45% said they had been paid in cash and 55% said they had not.
- Comparing sites, the incidence of this kind of work was found to be similar, with the incidence in Mpumalanga being slightly higher than at the other two research sites.
- The incidence of domestic work in someone else's home was higher for girls (62.7%) than boys (57.3%).

The results from the class questionnaire in response to the question on **domestic work in the child's own home** are presented in Table 16. The table includes data on the number and percentage of girls and boys found to be doing different domestic activities. The primary findings were as follows:

- At all three sites, an extremely high - and similar proportion (94%) – of children were found to have done domestic work over the previous year.
- At all three sites, activities such as cooking and cleaning emerged as the most common, with collecting firewood as second. At the KwaZulu-Natal site this activity was far more common than at the Western Cape or Mpumalanga sites.
- Looking after others in the home also emerged as a significant activity, as did preparation for cultural activities. Again, it was at the KwaZulu-Natal site, that children were most likely to report spending time on these activities.

- With respect to gender, girls were found to be more likely to do work in the home than boys. 98% of girls reported doing some kind of domestic work compared to 90% of boys. For six of the seven different kinds of domestic work activities investigated, the incidence emerged as higher amongst girls than boys. The only activity which boys were found to be more likely to be involved in than girls was looking after disabled or sick individuals in the home. However, for this activity the incidence was found to be relatively low for both boys and girls, and only slightly higher amongst the former (13%) than the latter (11%).

Table 16. Incidence of child domestic work in children’s own homes

Activity	Total all three sites	Sites			Children who said yes to the activity, N (%)	
		WC	KZN	MP	Girls	Boys
Fetching firewood	457 (46%)	172 (33%)	165 (69%)	120 (50%)	269 (49%)	188 (42%)
Housekeeping activities such as cooking or cleaning	846 (84%)	431 (81%)	198 (84%)	217 (91%)	519 (94%)	325 (73%)
Looking after children	379 (38%)	190 (36%)	110 (47%)	79 (34%)	257 (47%)	122 (28%)
Looking after disabled, old or sick	116 (11%)	49 (9%)	41 (17%)	26 (11%)	59 (11%)	57 (13%)
Looking after others	296 (30%)	113 (22%)	100 (43%)	83 (35%)	180 (34%)	116 (26%)
Helping prepare for cultural ceremonies (e.g. circumcision)	240 (24%)	109 (21%)	80 (35%)	51 (22%)	135 (25%)	103 (23%)
Any other kinds of housework	801 (80%)	388 (74%)	203 (88%)	210 (88%)	461 (84%)	339 (77%)
Yes to any of the above domestic activities	893 (94%)	475 (94%)	206 (94%)	212 (95%)	510 (98%)	281 (90%)

1.1.1.14 Nature of non-agricultural activities from focus groups and interviews

As already pointed out, the qualitative work confirmed that many of the children in the study sites conduct a range of other economic and domestic activities sometimes in addition to agricultural activities. Activities that emerged as common from the focus groups were:

- Selling of goods after school (e.g. sweets).
- Casual labour (e.g. at car washes).
- Working in other peoples homes.
- Working in other people’s gardens. For example, one adult in an Mpumalanga site focus group shared her experience of a boy who is very much valued for the role he plays in the family by bringing in R500 a month from his work in different families’ gardens.

The child focus groups also confirmed that the majority of children were involved in a variety of domestic activities in their own homes.

The child focus groups and adult interviews highlighted gender differences in children’s activities in their own homes:

- Confirming the SAYP findings, girls are more likely than boys to do domestic work in their own homes, and carry out activities such as cooking, laundry and looking after children and others.
- Boys are more likely to clean the yard and fetch firewood.

A critical point to emerge from the child focus groups is that whilst children say that their work often leaves them too little time for homework and play, they see it as a duty to their families.



The photograph showing a girl completing the class questionnaire in a school at the KwaZulu-Natal site illustrates the reality of many children in rural areas doing non-agricultural economic work to supplement family income. She has a packet of suckers at her feet next to her desk. She explained that she would be selling them after school to generate much-needed income.

4.3 Causes of child work in agriculture

4.3.1 Class questionnaire findings on causes of child work in agriculture

1.1.1.15 Poverty indicators

Hunger – household and child

Children were asked to report on whether their household “ever runs out of money to buy food”. Of the total number of valid responses (997):

- 38.4% said yes.
- The rate emerged as highest in the KwaZulu-Natal site (67%) followed by Mpumalanga (35.4%) and Western Cape (31%).

A more strict measure of household hunger includes frequency. Children who said that their households had run out of food were also asked whether this had happened over the previous month:

- 193 (20%) responded yes.
- Comparing sites, the rate emerged as highest in KwaZulu-Natal (35%), followed by the Western Cape and Mpumalanga sites, which had similar hunger rates (15% and 14% respectively).

To gather data on the incidence of child hunger, they were asked “are you ever hungry because there is not enough food in the house”? There were 992 valid responses:

- 201 or 20.26% children said yes.
- Comparing sites, the by far the highest rate of child hunger was evident in KwaZulu-Natal (49%), followed by the Western Cape (13%) and then Mpumalanga (8%).

A stricter measure was used to shed light on how frequently children experience hunger. They were asked whether they had been hungry in the past month because there was not enough food in the house:

- 11 % of the children said yes.
- Again, KwaZulu-Natal (24%) had the highest past month hunger rate followed by the Western Cape (8%) and the Mpumalanga site (6%).

Unemployment

Children were asked about their parents' employment status – first fathers and then mothers. There were 937 valid responses:

- 15.8% of children said that their father was unemployed.
- 8 % did not know their father's employment status.
- Comparing provinces: Unemployment rate of fathers emerged as highest at the KwaZulu-Natal site (44%), followed by the Mpumalanga site (16%) and Western Cape site (6%).

There were 965 responses to the question on mothers' employment status:

- The rate of unemployment for mothers emerged at 37% at the total sample level - higher than for fathers.
- Again, there were stark variations across sites, with a similar order to that which emerged for fathers: The unemployment rate for mothers emerged as a staggering 71% at the KwaZulu-Natal site, followed by Mpumalanga (38%) and Western Cape (24%).

Parents' education status

Children were asked about the education status of their mothers and fathers.

There were 956 valid responses to the question on fathers' education:

- 15% said their fathers went to college after school; 31.5% of children said that their fathers went to high school; 9% said that their father's only went to primary school; 11% said their father had never been to school at all, and 23% said they did not know their father's level of education.
- Comparing sites, 35% of children at the KwaZulu-Natal site said that their fathers had never been to school, compared to 9% in the Mpumalanga site and 3% in the Western Cape; 26% of the KwaZulu-Natal children who answered this question said that he had only been to primary school, compared to 19% in the Western Cape and 12% at the Mpumalanga site.

There were 978 valid responses to the question on mother's education status:

- 12.7% said that their mothers had been to college after school; 33.4% said their mother had completed high school; 23.7% said their mothers had only been to primary school, and 16.5% said that their mothers had never been to school. The rest (13.5%) did not know.
- Looking across sites, it is once again at the KwaZulu-Natal site that children emerge as worst off. In this site 53.6% said that their mothers had never been to school, as compared to only 3.2% in the Western Cape and 11% in Mpumalanga. With respect to mother having attended primary school only, the results were 26% for Western Cape, 23% for KwaZulu-Natal and 11% for Mpumalanga.

Death of parents

There were 1010 valid responses to the question on whether parents were alive:

- 76.9% indicated that both parents were alive; 18% said that their fathers were no longer alive; 8.7% said that their mother was no longer alive.
- At the KwaZulu-Natal site, a smaller proportion of children were found to have both parents alive than at the Mpumalanga and Western Cape sites.

Presence of adult caregivers in child's home

Children were asked which adult caregivers live with them. There were 971 valid responses and the results are presented in Table 17 below (they are similar across sites).

Table 17. Presence of adult caregivers in the child's home

Adults in the child's home	Sample of children %	Site		
		WC	KZN	MPA
I live with both parents	50.9%	51.3%	48.3%	52.5%
I live with my mother (my father does not live in our house)	31.2%	31.0%	33.6%	29.3%
I live with my father (my mother doesn't live with us)	2.9%	1.9%	5.5%	3.02%
I live with adult relatives (neither my father nor my mother lives in my house)	11.7%	13.6%	10.1%	9.0%
I live with adults who are not my relatives (neither my father nor my mother lives in my house)	2.16%	1.9%	1.8%	0.5%
I live in a place with no adults	0.7%	0.1%	0.4%	0.4%
I live in a children's home	(only 2) 0%	0%	(N = 1) 0%	(N = 1) 0%

1.1.1.16 Differences in poverty indicators between children working in the various types of agriculture and those not working

These findings are based on an analysis of comparisons between groups of children as referred to in paragraph 3.3 above.

Children working in agriculture compared to children not working

Children working in agriculture were found to differ in the following ways from those not working at all:

- They have fewer material assets (lower score on poverty index)²⁰;
- Their mothers and fathers have lower levels of education;
- More of them have experienced hunger;
- They are more likely to have unemployed fathers and mothers, and
- They are less likely to have both parents alive.

Children working in subsistence agriculture only, compared to those working in commercial agriculture and to those working in both types

- Children working in both subsistence and commercial agriculture were found to have a higher level of poverty (as measured by the poverty index) than children working in either

²⁰ The poverty index was constructed from the question 41 in the class questionnaire, which asked children whether they have various material items. Each item was given equal weight when determining each child's poverty index score. It is possible that the difference found was affected by different poverty levels in the three sites. This was however, not investigated in the study.

subsistence or commercial agriculture. No difference was found in the poverty index between the latter two groups.

- Children working in both subsistence and commercial agriculture were found to have parents with lower levels of education than children working either in subsistence or commercial agriculture. No significant differences were found for this indicator across the latter two groups.
- Children working in both types of agriculture were found to experience more hunger than children working in subsistence or commercial agriculture only. No significant difference emerged in the level of household hunger across children working only in subsistence and children working only in commercial agriculture.
- Children working in both types of agriculture were less likely to have both their parents alive than children working in subsistence agriculture only or children working in commercial agriculture only. No significant difference was found for this indicator across the latter two groups.

The comparison of poverty indicators across the different types of agriculture and between children working in agriculture and not at all is clearly suggestive of poverty being the driving cause of child work in agriculture.

1.1.1.17 Responses to the question on reasons for children working

Children who said they worked in any one of the types of agricultural were asked in the class questionnaire *why they did this work*. They were given different options for their response and asked to indicate as many as necessary. (See questions 13.3, 18.4 and 23.4 of the class questionnaire in Appendix A).

Subsistence agriculture

The results are presented in Table 18. There were 383 of the 387 children working in subsistence agriculture who answered the question and the primary reasons for working emerged as “duty to help my family” followed by “to learn things I need to know”.

Table 18. Reasons for children working in subsistence agriculture

Reason	Yes response, N (%)
Duty to help my family	229 (59.7%)
To learn things I need to know	175 (45.6%)
Duty to help my community	45 (11.7%)

Commercial agriculture

These results are presented in Table 19. Of the 135 children who said they worked in community owned commercial agriculture 132 responded to this question. The two most commonly reported reasons for working were “to earn money for myself” and “to earn money for my family”. These were followed by “To learn things I need to know” and “Because it is my duty to my family”.

Table 19. Reasons for children working in community owned commercial agriculture

Reason	Yes response, N (%)
To earn money for myself	56 (42.4%)
To earn money for my family	58 (43.9%)
To learn things I need to know	41 (31.0%)
Because it is my duty to my family	31 (23.4%)
Because it is my duty to my community	7 (5.3%)
To get something other than money for my work	16 (12.1%)
Obligation to farmer	4 (3.0%)
For free	20 (15.1%)

Privately owned commercial agriculture

The results to for children working in privately owned commercial agriculture are presented in Table 20. Of the 150 children doing this type of work, 147 children responded to this question. The most common reasons were the same as those for community owned commercial agriculture. However, a larger proportion of children working in privately owned commercial agriculture said they did it “to earn money for myself” whereas more of those engaged in community owned commercial agriculture worked “to earn money for my family”.

Table 20. Reasons for children working in privately owned commercial agriculture

Reason	Yes response, N (%)
To earn money for myself	104 (70.7%)
To earn money for my family	53 (36.0%)
To learn things I need to know	42 (28.5%)
Because it is my duty to my family	20 (13.6%)
Because it is my duty to my community	12 (8.1%)
To get something other than money for my work	9 (6.1%)
Obligation to farmer	4 (2.7%)
For free	16 (10.8%)

4.3.2 Focus group and interview findings on reasons for children working in agriculture

“We are pushed by the situation, not by our parents”

(Youth, Mpumalanga site)

1.1.1.18 Key findings on the child poverty situation

The qualitative component of the research generated six noteworthy features of the poverty situation of children. These are listed below.

Key finding 1 – Deep poverty

Many of the children living in the study sites and working in agriculture are affected by deep poverty. This was reflected most clearly in the accounts of hunger and its impact on children, and references to the significant role of the primary school feeding programme in children’s lives. The value of the feeding scheme was explained by one teacher at the Western Cape site as follows:

“There is nothing for the children to eat at home, and so they come to school to eat. We give them two slices of bread and milk. There are about 870 students at the school, and 1/3 of these students have been identified as needing food in the day. They are hungry... Soya mince will be available soon, but we are waiting for the gas to cook it.”

As another example, a teacher from the Mpumalanga site said

“Children are taking home food from school feeding schemes to feed their families.”

The depth of poverty was also reflected in comments of farmers and teachers about parents’ inability to pay for schooling. For example, one farmer in Mpumalanga said

“At one school, you may have 50% not paying. Even if you ask parents to pay R10, they can't. Some are getting a grant but need all that money to buy food.”

Finally, the depth of poverty was reflected in references to the importance of grant income where participants spoke about the significant role of the grants in helping meet basic needs. Both adults and children spoke of the need for more income support and other measures to buttress the family income.

Key finding 2 – Insufficient access to basic services in many households

The second key finding was that many of the study children live in households that have insufficient basic services – such as electricity, basic sanitation and running water. This problem was most apparent at the KwaZulu-Natal site where the vast majority of homes were found to be without electricity and not to have running water. Moreover, television, radio and regular magazines or newspapers were rare.

Key finding 3 – Difficulties in accessing, and poor quality of, social services

The third key finding is that due to income poverty and service access problems (too distant and too costly to reach), many children do not fully realise their rights to health, education and social welfare services. At the Mpumalanga and Western Cape sites (but particularly the former), inferior schooling (related to insufficient infrastructure), emerged as a significant problem. In most of the schools that participated in the research, classrooms were overcrowded. Children frequently either had no desks or had to share desks. In one of the schools, the teacher to learner ratio was 1:80. The photograph below shows a boy completing the class survey questionnaire during the study in Mpumalanga, and sharing his desk with three other children.



The photo left is of a boy participating in the class survey in the Mpumalanga site. Poor quality of school infrastructure and high student to teacher ratios emerged as critical challenges for children found to be working in agriculture. The boy was sharing the desk with three other children.

At the KwaZulu-Natal site, problems of access to schooling faced by many rural are explained by the lead fieldworker:

“Children from the different areas have to walk up to 5km to attend primary school and sometimes further to attend their secondary school. Children from one community have to cross the Tugela River to get to and from school. They can be seen wading across, with their shoes and their books on their heads, saving on the fare for the small ferry boat and braving the crocodiles that are reported to bask just upstream”



Photograph above: Children walk long distances to and from school in Msinga. They often arrive tired and hungry, having been up since before dawn performing household chores without eating. They arrive home to more chores, working in the vegetable gardens and bringing home the cattle.

Insufficient access to social welfare and health services was highlighted most in the Western Cape. This was also the site at which children appeared to need these services most, due to the extent of alcohol abuse by parents working and living on farms. Foetal alcohol syndrome (FAS), tuberculosis (TB) and poor dental hygiene emerged as three of the most common health problems faced by children living and working on farms at the Western Cape site. A dentist interviewed there said:

“Tooth decay due to insufficient diet is common and...most children have their teeth extracted by the age of ten”.

At the outset of the research it was expected that low literacy levels would be a challenge for conducting the research (especially the class survey component). The problem of low literacy levels turned out to be even more serious than anticipated, particularly in schools where children were affected by FAS, but in all of the schools and sites.

Key finding 4 – High school drop-out at higher grade levels

"I had to leave school in order for me to fight poverty at home"

[Youth, Mpumalanga site]

"I would say maybe 30-40% of learners are dropping out at Grade 9. You don't find children leaving school to go and work on a farm; they are leaving school to do anything to get money and may work on farm in harvesting season to get extra money. A lot of children are not motivated to stay in school – parents do not praise them and tell them they are doing well. So they don't see the point of struggling to stay at school. They also leave because they see other children have cell phones and certain clothes, which puts peer pressure on them to get the same things".

[Teacher, Mpumalanga site]

The qualitative research showed a general high rate of school drop-out, especially at adolescence and in the transition from primary to high school. For example, at the KwaZulu-Natal site the community facilitator observed the established pattern in the area of girls being taken out of school at adolescence. She said this was not necessarily a reflection on the quality of education. Causes of drop-out included the need to earn money to supplement family income, difficulties in finding the money to pay for school uniforms, and the view that completion of education does not necessarily guarantee employment. (School is not seen as having much value in this regard).

Key finding 5 – Limited sport and recreational facilities for children after school

Insufficient and in most cases non-existent recreational, sport and cultural facilities and programmes to occupy children when they are out of school, emerged as a fifth notable feature of the children's situation. This is particularly problematic in that many parents have to leave home early in the mornings, return home late and are not available to supervise and spend time with children in the day.

This aspect of children's circumstance was highlighted at the Mpumalanga site by adults' explaining that they value child work – including in agriculture – for the role it plays in keeping children out of more risky anti-social behaviours.

Key finding 6 – Parental alcohol dependence and its harsh impacts

The sixth key finding about the poverty situation that is critical to note, to understand children's lives as well as the reasons for their working, is alcohol abuse by parents and the negative psychological and economic impact of this on children. This problem was most prevalent in the Western Cape site where adults are struggling with the legacy of the dop system on farms. The problem of alcohol abuse as a factor influencing child choice and development outcomes was mentioned by children as well as by all the farmers, teachers, health and other government officials that participated in focus groups or were interviewed. One boy explained the situation as follows:

"On the farms when the adults get drunk they start fighting with the children ... It causes me a lot of stress to see my mother drunk. I get beaten when I ask my mother why she drinks"

Various adult role-players explained how alcohol abuse worsens the situation of poverty being experienced by children (parents working on farms spend much of meagre income earned on alcohol) and is associated with child abuse and neglect. For example, a principal of school commented:

"The problem is that parents are drinking. They drink on the weekends and they drink during the week".

An extreme example given in one of the adult interviews is that farmers take workers to shop for food on Friday afternoons, and workers trade the food for liquor at the shebeens on Saturday mornings.

Discussions with children in the Western Cape focus groups suggested that alcohol addiction continues to be the main contributor to their distress. In the words of the lead fieldworker who conducted the focus groups at the site:

"They understand hunger, abuse and their increased domestic responsibility as the direct result of adult drinking".

Due to alcohol abuse in the Western Cape study site, many of the children working in agriculture are living in a context where their development is placed at risk by insufficient championing of education and parental guidance. The situation was described as follows by a social crimes officer interviewed at the Western Cape site:

"The parents drink a lot on farms. They don't worry about the children. Parents send children to school but the children don't go. She doesn't know what grade her child is in. There is no control over children. Children don't respect their relatives. The children are in terrible condition, with unwashed clothes".

1.1.1.19 Opinions on causes of child work drawn from focus groups and interviews

In the focus groups and interviews children and adults were asked why children work in agriculture. The opinions reinforced the quantitative findings that poverty is the primary driver, and that duty to help the family plays a key role. Moreover, they generated important additional insights as they highlighted the following additional causes of child work in agriculture:

- Insufficient access to recreational facilities for children after school.
- Care-giver alcohol abuse (which emerged mainly at the Western Cape site).
- Parental belief that children need to learn agricultural skills for survival in rural areas.

The focus groups and interviews also made it clear that the reasons for children working in agriculture are seen differently by different role-players. A brief overview of how the different stakeholders perceived them is provided below.

Farmers' perspectives

Commercial (mainly white) farmers in the Western Cape explained the reasons for child work in agriculture (commercial) as linked to what they perceived to be traditional African modes of production. They said that child work is part of African culture. As one farmer said:

"We used to have kids working on the farm. We never paid them. They were absorbed in the social and economic structure of the household ... It is a touching thing to see a family working together. It is in their culture".

At the KwaZulu-Natal site farmers (mostly black and co-owners of commercial farms) emphasised duty of children to assist their families, tradition and the need to learn important skills for the future.

The learning aspect of work in agriculture was most apparent for work conducted by boys in agriculture – such as looking after cattle. In the words of one cattle farmer

“There is a deliberate effort to teach children, to pass on to the next generation; it is what boys have to do”.

Teachers’, social workers’ and crime officers’ perspectives

Teachers at the Western Cape site highlighted poverty (and hunger) as well as lack of care-giver ability to provide effectively for the economic and other needs of children as the primary reasons for children working in agriculture.

Teachers at the KwaZulu-Natal study site highlighted poverty as the primary reason for children working in agriculture (and other work). In the words of one teacher:

“Most of the children do some kind of work...They are helping their families and gaining skills...It is a way to help the family survive”.

However, they also pointed towards duty, and the traditional rural way of life. As one teacher explained:

“It is both about helping the family and training the child”.

Teachers at the Mpumalanga site flagged poverty as the primary cause of child work in commercial and subsistence agriculture. In the words of two teachers:

“Most of the parents are not working so children have to work to support their families”

“Those who stay at school and work in holidays do it mainly to get money for clothes for Christmas or new school uniforms. It’s to patch up here and patch up there”.

Social workers at the Western Cape site framed the causes of child work in agriculture within a historical context of racial oppression. One woman from the Victim’s Support Unit said

“Nothing has changed in Rawsonville since the end of apartheid.”

Parent perspectives

Interestingly, parents at the Western Cape site did not distinguish between farm work – commercial – and domestic work in their explanation of causes, which focused on poverty and duty. From the perspective of parents, the social geography of work transcends such boundaries of home and vineyard, and thus the cause of child labour is the assumed role that children play in the family. One of the mothers in the focus group said that she “relies on her children to wash dishes, cook food, look after the house, cut wood, clean the garden and work in the vineyard”. The women also said:

“It is not nice to see how bad children have it on farms, but my children must help because there is no money.”

It emerged from the adult interviews in the Western Cape that many of the mothers know “how difficult they get under the farmer” and that they suffer in many instances, due to farm

work. However, it also became apparent that they see no alternative to letting their children suffer.

In the KwaZulu-Natal parents explained that in this remote rural traditional area it is a customary duty of children to learn and assist with essential tasks such as caring for livestock and crops (whether subsistence or commercial), regardless of the socio-economic status of the household. The interplay of duty, learning and need is expressed neatly in the following explanation by one farmer parent:

"It is very important. They are learning but they are also helping us. But they are taught respect."

At the Mpumalanga site parent perceptions were similar to those in KwaZulu-Natal. However, at this site, there was also a reference to how parents value work for keeping children busy and out of risky activities where there are limited after-school recreational facilities for them.

Children's and youths' views

Children and young people highlighted three causes: poverty (economic need of them and their families), duty to their parents, and duty to the farmer (on whose land many of their parents lived).

On the poverty theme, the following is illustrative:

"We don't have enough money for food and clothes. Some of us give money to our mothers when we work. Some of us give all our money to our mothers for food".

[Child participant, Western Cape]

"(We work)...To get money to buy food and clothes; ...To support my family, my brothers and sisters".

[Child research participants, KwaZulu-Natal]

"We have to help because our parents cannot afford everything we need".

[Child research participant, Mpumalanga]



This drawing by a boy shows him working in the family vegetable garden. He said that he is sometimes injured (*limala*) using tools but liked that work "because it gave me food."

4.4 Child labour in agriculture

4.4.1 Findings from class questionnaire

Table 21 presents the labour indicators for which class questionnaire data were gathered and explored to shed light on incidence and nature of child labour in the different types of agriculture.

Table 21. Indicators used to investigate incidence and nature of child labour

Domain	Indicator	Definition
Schooling	Negative impact on schooling	Child report of often missing school for one day a week due to the agricultural work
		Child report of often being late for school or having to leave school early due to the agricultural work
Health	Negative health impact	Child report of being injured in the past year when doing agricultural work
		Child report of having an illness caused or made worse due to agricultural work in the past year
Hazardous conditions	Fatigue	Child report of activity being too tiring
	Time	Child report that too many hours spent on activity
	Timing of work	Child report of work before sunrise or after sunset
	Heat	Child report that working conditions too hot
	Cold	Child report that working conditions too cold
	Dust	Child report that working conditions too dusty
	Noise	Child report that working conditions too noisy
	Lighting	Child report that working conditions too poorly lit
	Dangerous substances	Child report of working with dangerous substances
	Dangerous machinery or tools	Child report of working with or close to dangerous machinery or tools
	Dangerous animals	Child report of working close to or with dangerous animals
	Thirst	Child report of suffering from thirst
Bad treatment by fellow workers or adults	Child report of being badly treated by fellow workers or adults	

1.1.1.20 Child labour indicator findings for children age 12-14

Table 22 provides descriptive data on the findings for the various labour indicator domains for children below the legal age category (i.e. age 12-14). To recap, a labour indicator in this context is an indicator of an activity's being in the category of labour, as defined, and not just work.)

Table 22. Child labour indicator findings for children age 12-14²¹

Labour indicator	Children reporting indicator, N(%)	Gender breakdown	
		Girls	Boys
Subsistence agriculture work			
Negative impact on schooling	77 (33%)	37 (27%)	39 (39%)
Negative impact on health	108 (46%)	62 (46%)	45 (46%)
Hazardous conditions	193 (82%)	110 (80%)	82 (83%)
Total labour (any one indicator)	202 (86%)	115 (84%)	85 (87%)
Community owned commercial work			
Negative impact on schooling	16 (21%)	8 (21%)	8 (33%)
Negative impact on health	64 (85%)	35 (92%)	28 (69%)
Hazardous conditions	66 (88%)	34 (89%)	32 (94%)
Total labour (any one indicator)	66 (88%)	34 (89%)	32 (94%)
Privately owned commercial work			
Negative impact on schooling	40 (37%)	21 (39%)	19 (35%)
Negative impact on health	66 (62%)	33 (62%)	33 (61%)
Hazardous conditions	96 (90%)	46 (86%)	50 (92%)
Total labour (any one indicator)	96 (90%)	46 (86%)	50 (92%)

Subsistence agriculture

- 86% of the children working in this form of agriculture endorsed at least one labour indicator. More boys than girls undertake labour as captured by these indicators.
- 82% reported working under a hazardous conditions; 46% reported a negative health impact and 33% a negative school impact.
- The most commonly reported hazardous conditions were working in conditions that are too hot (55%) or too tiring (39%); when thirsty (36%); for too many hours (29%); before sunrise and/or after sunset (23%).

Community owned commercial agriculture

- 88% of the children working in this form of agriculture endorsed at least one labour indicator – a slightly higher proportion than for children working in subsistence agriculture. Girls and boys were equally likely to endorse any one labour indicator, excepting for in the health domain, where reporting by girls was more common.
- 89% of children reported working in one or more hazardous condition – a higher proportion than in subsistence agriculture. Again, hazardous conditions were reported more frequently than negative health and education impacts. Negative health impact was higher in this group than for subsistence work but the negative impact on schooling was lower.
- The most commonly reported hazardous conditions were: Too hot (79%); too tiring (57%); working for too many hours (46%); thirst (45%); being badly treated by fellow workers or adults (42%); working before sunrise and/or after sunset (36%).

²¹ The total number of children age 12-14 found to be doing work in the three different types of agriculture was as follows: subsistence agriculture work 235 (136 girls 98 boys); community owned commercial 75 (38 girls 36 boys); privately owned commercial 107 (53 girls 54 boys). The addition of girls and boys age 12-14 working in subsistence and community owned commercial agriculture does not add up to the total number of children in the age cohort found to be doing work in the type due to missing data.

Privately owned commercial agriculture

- 90% of the children working in this form of agriculture endorsed at least one labour indicator – a larger proportion than for those working in subsistence and community owned commercial agriculture. Boys working in this form of agriculture were more likely to endorse a labour indicator than girls.
- As was the case for the other two types of agricultural work, hazardous conditions were frequently reported. Negative impact on schooling emerged as high – 37%, and higher than for the other two types.
- The most commonly reported hazardous conditions were: thirst (60%); very hot conditions (55%); very tiring work (49%); working for too many hours (44%); working before sunrise and/or after sunset (35%); badly treated by fellow workers or adults (32%).

1.1.1.21 Child labour indicator findings for children age 15-16

Table 23 provides descriptive data on the findings for the various labour indicator domains for children 15-16.

Table 23. Child labour indicator findings for children age 15-16²²

Labour indicator	Children reporting indicator, N(%)	Gender breakdown	
		Girls	Boys
Subsistence agriculture			
Negative impact on schooling	54 (35%)	19 (25%)	35 ²³ (46%)
Negative impact on health	74 (49%)	37 (49%)	37 (49%)
Hazardous conditions	129 (85%)	60 (78%)	69 (90%)
Total labour (any one indicator)	133 (87%)	62 (81%)	71 (93%)
Community owned commercial agriculture			
Negative impact on schooling	13 (21%)	1 (4.1%)	2 (33%)
Negative impact on health	46 (77%)	21 (88%)	25 (69%)
Hazardous conditions	55 (91%)	20 (83%)	35 (97%)
Total labour (any one indicator)	56 (93%)	20 (83%)	36 (100%)
Privately owned commercial agriculture			
Negative impact on schooling	14 (32%)	6 (25%)	8 (33%)
Negative impact on health	27 (63%)	15 (49%)	12 (50%)
Hazardous conditions	41 (95%)	18 (78%)	23 (94%)
Total labour (any one indicator)	42 (97%)	18 (81%)	24 (94%)

Subsistence agriculture

- 87% of children of the children working in this form of agriculture endorsed at least one labour indicator – almost exactly the same as reported by the younger age cohort working in subsistence agriculture.
- The ranking of the different indicator domains as well as their values was also similar across the two age cohorts working in subsistence agriculture.
- Negative impact on schooling emerged as slightly higher amongst the older age cohort.
- As was the case for children 12-14 working in subsistence agriculture, boys were more likely to report any one labour indicator than girls.
- The most commonly reported hazardous conditions were: very hot working conditions (65%); very tiring work (51%); thirst (39%); working for too many hours (38%); working with dangerous substances (26%).

²² The total number of children age 15-16 found to be doing work in the three different types of agriculture was as follows: subsistence agriculture work 152 (76 girls 76 boys); community owned commercial 60 (24 girls 36 boys); privately owned commercial 43 (19 girls 24 boys).

²³ The addition of girls and boys age 15-16 working in subsistence agriculture does not add up to the total number that reported working in this type due to missing data.

Community owned commercial agriculture

- Reporting of at least one labour indicator was higher – at 93% - than for the younger age cohort. It was also higher than reported by children aged 15-16 working in subsistence agriculture. More boys than girls in the 15-16 age cohort reported at least one labour indicator. The reporting of hazards was also higher amongst boys.
- Reporting of hazardous conditions and negative health impact was also higher for children aged 15-16 working in subsistence agriculture. However, the negative impact on schooling was lower.
- The most commonly reported hazards reported by children aged 15-16 working in community owned commercial agriculture were: very hot working conditions (76%); very tiring work (63%); working for too many hours (50%); thirst (43%); being badly treated by fellow workers or adults (38%); working with dangerous substances (36%).

Privately owned commercial agriculture

- 97% of children working in this type of agriculture endorsed at least one labour indicator. This is a higher proportion than reported by children in this age cohort working in the other two types. It is also higher than reported by children age 12-14 working in privately owned commercial agriculture. Boys working in this form of commercial agriculture were more likely to endorse labour indicators than girls.
- 95% of these children reported experiencing hazardous conditions, which is also higher than reported by the same age cohort (and the 12 – 14 cohort) in the other two types of agriculture.
- The most commonly reported hazardous conditions in this form of commercial were: very hot working conditions (69%); work that was too tiring (60%); thirst while working (58%); working for too many hours (41%); working before sunrise and/or after sunset (37%); and being badly treated by fellow workers or adults (30%).
- The findings presented in the next two sections are derived from group comparisons and statistical analyses.

1.1.1.22 Differences in labour indicators between children working in private commercial agriculture only and working in subsistence agriculture only

The primary findings, based, as explained in section 3.3 on Chi2 analyses of differences in frequencies are:

- Children working in privately owned commercial agriculture experience more hazardous conditions than those working only in subsistence agriculture.
- The negative impact of agricultural work on schooling is the same for children who only work in subsistence agriculture and for those who work solely in private commercial agriculture.
- Children working solely in subsistence agriculture and children working solely in privately owned commercial agriculture have the same levels of work-related injury²⁴.

1.1.1.23 Differences in psychological wellbeing indicators for children working in different types of agriculture and not working at all

The primary findings were:

- Children working in agriculture have higher anxiety levels than children not working at all (based on analysis of variance of group differences).
- Children working in agriculture are more likely to be depressed than children not working at all (based on Chi2 analyses of differences in frequencies).

²⁴The comparison of differences across the two groups of children only considered the former due to too many missing data in for the question on work related illness.

- Children working in subsistence agriculture have lower anxiety levels than children working only in commercial agriculture or both commercial agriculture and subsistence (based on analysis of variance of group differences). No difference emerged across the latter two groups.
- Children working only in commercial agriculture have higher mean levels of anti-social behaviour than children working in subsistence agriculture only. No significant difference was found between children working in both types of agriculture and any of the other two groups (based on analysis of variance of group differences).
- Children working in commercial agriculture, and those who do subsistence agriculture in addition to this type, are more likely to experience depression than those who only do subsistence agriculture (based on Chi2 analyses of differences in frequencies).

4.4.2 Qualitative findings on conditions and impact of child work in agriculture

1.1.1.24 Conditions of child work in agriculture

Western Cape site

All of the children who participated in the focus groups had experienced work only in privately owned commercial agriculture. The accounts of conditions (and impact) of agricultural work in this site thus refer only to this type (and in relation to work on commercial vineyards).

The two focus groups highlighted the following hazards:

- Not being able to choose when and for how long you want to work.
- Working in the sun and getting a headache from thirst.
- Working when you feel tired.
- Being afraid that the farmer will beat you or shout at you. For example, one boy, responding to a photo shown in one focus group said: “You can see that they are afraid that the farmer might beat them, and tell them to leave the farm if they don’t do a good job”.



The picture is a body map drawn by a child who participated in a focus group in the Western Cape site. It shows the sore head she gets from being exposed to the sun for long periods when working in the vineyards.

As pointed out above the children did not report having to work with pesticides, dangerous machinery or other mechanical equipment. Only one boy reported having to use an electric saw to cut the vines (and he had cut his hand quite badly).

Children reported how a common hazard of agricultural work – being afraid of the farmer and being abused by him – carried over into children’s general experience of life on the farm. For example one boy explained that while they were swimming with friends in a dam, the farmer threw stones at them. He said: “the farmer called his dog to chase us out of the water and he hit us with a cane”. The story was prompted by a photograph of boys washing a car. The response indicates the internal stress that these children associate with conditions on the farm. It highlights the contradiction that children living and working on farms face between fearing and relying on the person who provides some form of protection by way of employment and a place to live. It is in this contradiction, between fear and dependency, that the conditions of work of children in the winelands have to be understood.

KwaZulu-Natal site

The most commonly reported hazardous conditions of work in agriculture (in all three types) that emerged from the qualitative work at the KwaZulu-Natal site were:

- Working in the sun and getting headaches as a result.
- Suffering heat and thirst.
- Occasionally suffering injuries.
- Dangerous travelling – Children said they suffered because they have to walk through thick bush to reach local roads, and the roads to the nearest towns are not tarred or lit.
- Snakes.
- Being forced to work even when you are tired (it became clear that children are tired not only or even because of their agricultural work, but also other activities, most notably domestic chores).

Children who participated in the focus groups did not raise ill treatment by supervisors as a problem. Perhaps this is because most of them reported working in subsistence and / or community owned commercial agriculture. Only a few worked in privately owned commercial agriculture (and for brief periods in the year – such as school holidays)

Children generally accepted with stoicism the need to work for food or money because of the difficult circumstances of their household; they also expressed pride at being able to assist. However, they showed resentment about the duty to work for no remuneration, and not being able to choose tasks, simply because an older person required or requested the work. The resentment was not about helping but because adults did not seem to value the work or recognise the needs of children to rest or to be rewarded.

Parents (who were also farmers) presented child work in agriculture in a positive light – as something that was necessary, valuable for adults and also for their children’s future. In the words of one adult research participant:

“It is about a boy’s future...building a kraal, taking responsibilities as an adult man.”

One of the farmers expressed the view that children were exploited by commercial farmers outside the area because they were not paid enough, but the cattle farmers (parents) did not view the work that children did for them (without remuneration) in the same light – they saw it as having a long-term benefit to the child, aside from the short-term benefit to themselves.

Teachers on the other hand, expressed the view that working conditions were often unacceptable – including in subsistence and community owned commercial agriculture.

Mpumalanga site

Nearly all of the children who participated in the focus groups at this site worked on commercial fruit farms (mostly during school holidays) as well as in subsistence agriculture at home.

Children and youths highlighted the following as hazardous conditions associated with work in commercial agriculture:

- Having to walk long distances to work. For example one boy said: “There is not transport to the farm. We walk across the river to get there; we leave at about 6 am and it takes up to an hour to reach the farm”.
- Heat
- Thirst
- Difficulty climbing trees and fear of falling fruit (for example mangoes).
- Having to travel on dangerous transport to get to work. In the words of one youth who participated in a focus group: “Sometimes you can’t get home – the truck breaks [down] and there is no taxi, and no money anyway”.
- Being paid too little for work and sometimes not being paid what was promised for a task (again the powerlessness comes in)
- Being harshly treated by older farmers and supervisors (for example managers employed by the farmer), indunas. One youth, reporting on his past work – when he was a child – on a fruit farm said for example: “I don’t like it when they treat me bad, like shouting at me while I’m working and using harsh words”. Another youth explained: “If you get cut or hurt, they ask you why – are you stupid?”

Children working in subsistence agriculture explained that this work was often tiring for them, and that they got sore heads, sore arms, backs and bodies from the work. However, they did not want to complain about the work because they saw it as necessary for family survival as well as to fulfil duty to the family.

The adults who participated in the focus groups did not identify hazardous conditions associated with child work in agriculture. Instead, they focused on how conditions had improved since their own childhood experience and how children (and families) would be worse off if children in poor households did not work. One adult participant described the improved situation of children who work in agriculture today – as compared to when he was a child – as follows:

“We worked from morning to dusk with our bare hands. Now they have tractors for the hard jobs so it is easier.”

Another adult participant in the Mpumalanga focus group said:

“We used to work for no pay, even to stay at the farm and at home. It was a lot of work but not paid. They used to give us the reject oranges and tomatoes. Today children are being paid.”

1.1.1.25 Impact of child work in agriculture

Western Cape site

At this site, adult respondents viewed children’s work activities in commercial agriculture (and other areas) as part and parcel of their overall life circumstances, and were more inclined to comment on the impact of farm life in general than of actual agricultural work. In the words of the lead fieldworker at the site:

“Taking into account all points of view, child work emerged from the data gathered as the least pernicious aspect of children’s lives on farms. Children’s well being and sense of emotional security is affected more adversely by the larger context of poverty and social inequality.

“Interviews with key stakeholders suggest that the predicament of children in the Western Cape has far more to do with poverty and psychological distress in environments that do not respect their individual concerns and personalities. Child work is folded in with other social pressures for children on farms, and cannot be viewed in isolation.”

Teachers stressed the negative impact of poverty on children’s health, school performance, and emotional distress. They expressed concern that children are expected to study when there is an abusive environment at home and when they are hungry. They said the weekends are the worse time for most children due to alcohol abuse. One teacher said:

“There is a lack of food and the houses are too small on farms. Sometimes a [whole] family shares one room.”

Within this context, teachers said that they felt farm work had a negative impact on children if it led them to miss school. None of the children attending the in-school focus group said that their commercial agricultural work caused them to miss school.

Police officers favoured child work in agriculture (and other areas) as their view is that in the context of poverty, such work at least keeps children out of crime. A key theme to emerge from the Western Cape qualitative work was that the decrease in employment of children over the recent past (see below) has resulted in an increase in crime levels. The view was expressed that, in the context of deep poverty, alcohol abuse by parents, and of reduced employment opportunities, children are being forced to break into houses to steal food.

Health care workers focused on negative impacts of the farm way of life on children rather than on the negative impact of agricultural work per se on their health. They emphasized how the poor conditions on farms and alcohol abuse resulted in poor nutrition, foetal alcohol syndrome (FAS), poor nutrition and dental disease.

Parents and farmers tended to highlight the positive economic and other impacts of work, rather than negative impacts. They expressed concern that the reduction of child work in the vineyards over the recent past – linked to the development and enforcement of stronger legislation against employing children under 15 – caused psychological and economic hardship for children. They said that children are bored when there is no work for them on the farms and their feelings of self-worth and belonging depreciate when they are prevented from assisting parents on the farms.

It became clear from the discussions with children that they had conflicting feelings about the work they do, and its impact on them. On the one hand, they spoke of the negative health and psychosocial impacts of their work in agriculture and their life on the farm. Regarding negative impacts, children raised firstly negative health impact associated with their work. They said they did not like the work because it caused them to have sore heads (from sun exposure), to be dehydrated and to have sore arms and backs. Children also highlighted injuries caused by their work on farms. Of the twelve participants in the focus groups convened with children who had worked on the vineyards and were still in school, seven said they had been injured in work-related accidents. Most of these injuries occurred while helping their parents to prune vines. The injuries were: cutting wrists or arms with

secateurs, shears or saws while pruning vines or fixing fences (in most cases the injuries required stitches); falling off tractors or being bumped by tractors; falling out of trees; being bitten by farmer's dog; being injured by a machine being used when helping to pack tomatoes.



Drawing left of injuries to a child's hand caused by 'wire-cutters' used to fix a fence on a farm.



Drawing left of a boy cutting vines with an electric saw which cut his hand.

Children also flagged negative psychological impacts of work and life on the farm. They spoke about how bad they felt about being shouted at by the farmer and sometimes being hit by him when they work. For example one boy said:

"When I don't get something right the farmer yells at me."

Another boy said:

"Farmers must go to jail. Children should be able to go to the police and lay a charge against the farmer and if the child gets hurt, then they should lay a claim against him."

Children also revealed that a negative impact of life and work on the farm is living in close proximity but in such different social and economic worlds to the farmers' children. Moreover that they feel distressed about how their parents are treated and have to live – compared to the way of life of the farmers for whom they work. As an illustration one boy said:

"Farmers don't talk in a friendly voice and they beat people".

Another said:

"My ma's ears were pulled ... She cut the grapes wrong and then my mother's ear got thick".

And another boy said:

"I can see how the farmer's child is rough with that 'auntie'. He shows her what to do even though he is younger than she."

In addition to speaking about their psychological stress related to treatment by farmers (of them or their parents) children highlighted how they felt bad about how they are treated by their families and other adults when they drink. One boy said:

"On the farms when the adults get drunk they start fighting with children...It causes me a lot of stress to see my mother drunk. I get beaten when I ask my mother why she drinks."

Children who participated in the focus groups explained how they aspired to lives different from those of their parents, but could not see a way to escape from their present life and environment. One young boy said that he wanted to become the president of South Africa when he grew up so that he could feed all the hungry people and make sure everybody had a good job. Knowing that there are few options open to them has a negatively effect on the emotional well-being of children on farms at the study site and is one of the reasons for their feeling depressed and being drawn to liquor and drugs.

The paradox of the situation of children found to be working in agriculture is that despite reporting many negative aspects of their situation, they stressed the value of agricultural work in helping to meet basic needs. The contradiction between wanting to work for money, but not enjoying the work and being tormented by the situation was reflected in children's complex body map drawings. One boy on a farm, who spoke about his difficulties, also drew a rainbow in his hand which suggested a sense of being content with his situation.

KwaZulu-Natal site

At this site, as in the Western Cape site, the negative health (including psychological) and sometimes school impact of work in agriculture needs to be viewed against the positive impact of the work. However, in this traditional rural community the positive dimension to work emerged not only as economic – providing for family needs – but also enabling children to learn critical skills required for the future. As in the Western Cape, whilst a long list of negative health and broader wellbeing impacts was generated from the discussions with children and teachers, it also became clear that the impact of not being able to work, was in the context of poverty generally viewed as more problematic than the negative factors associated with working in agriculture (or other areas).

Children stressed the positive economic impact of their work and how it helped to support their families:

"We get money to buy food and clothes."

"We are able to support our families, mainly brothers and sisters."

When asked about the impact of their work on their schooling, children said that their agricultural work often caused them to be late for or absent from school, but they did not comment on the implications for their educational performance and achievement. Children said the time they were most absent from school was harvest time.

Regarding health impact, children said that their work in subsistence and commercial agriculture did sometimes cause injury– cuts, bruises, sprains to fingers, legs and other body parts. As in the Western Cape, children in KwaZulu-Natal spoke of headaches being

caused by too much exposure to the sun. There were a few of more serious injuries mentioned – such as being dragged by oxen whilst pulling a plough.

The views of the children in the out-of-school focus group were similar to those in the in-school focus group. The only difference was that those children not attending school were more stressed than other children about their lack of time to play. The reasons for being out of school were cited as having no time to attend, and economic need. Only one of the boys expressed a desire to go back to school.

Teachers expressed concern about the impact of child work in agriculture on school attendance and performance²⁵. They said that most children were doing both domestic and agriculture-related work and that

“It makes them tired; ...They don't have enough time...It can interfere with their school;... When it is time for cattle to be disinfected [i.e. dipped], a lot of children are absent. It is the older ones, and around 30-50 are away for dip day on a Monday or Tuesday. It happens all year round.”

One of the teachers was concerned not only about the negative impact on schooling, but on the broader development of children:

“Children who have to work are very affected – they can't take part in extra-murals – soccer, music.”

The teachers said it was not common for children to drop out of school completely to do agricultural work, but that some did leave school without matric to go and work on timber plantations or as domestic workers.

Cattle farmers and parents mentioned the following benefits of childrens' working: gaining skills, learning responsibility and respect, and investing time and energy for their future needs. The only negative impact mentioned by farmers was that children sometimes get injured – for example being kicked by cattle.

²⁵ It needs to be noted that whilst agricultural work was seen as a cause of absenteeism and school-related difficulty other factors were also highlighted. These included: need to do other chores at home – such as looking after children - death in the family and cultural ceremonies. Moreover, agricultural work was less important than these other factors in causing children to miss school.

The photo above is of boys playing soccer at the KwaZulu-Natal study site:. Boys working in agriculture (subsistence and commercial) that participated in the focus groups did not complain about lack of a proper pitch or kit but about having insufficient time to play.

Mpumalanga site

As at the other two sites, both positive and negative impacts of child work in agriculture were highlighted in the focus groups and interviews. Moreover, as at the other two sites, the positive impacts identified by children, youth and adults were related to preventing the negative impacts of not working in agriculture.

The Mpumalanga site highlighted negative health impacts of child work in subsistence agriculture. Children who participated in the Mpuamalanga focus group explained that their work in subsistence farming often caused them to become tired and sore. For example, one 14-year-old girl said about working in the family vegetable garden

"I don't like this work because I get pains around my waist when I am weeding with a hoe and I also get sore hands."



This is a drawing of the girl showing her working in the family vegetable garden.

Additional negative health impacts of subsistence agricultural work identified by children were: getting headaches, getting cut, falling from trees.

Some of the children said that they enjoyed their work in the vegetable gardens because they were learning.

With respect to the negative impact of work in commercial agriculture:

- As in the Western Cape, psychological impacts were commonly cited by children.
- Negative health impacts mentioned included: too much sun exposure, minor injuries, being sore due to falling mangoes and from falling out of trees and being tired and feeling sick from the hard work.

- Regarding impact on schooling, children said that their work in agriculture only affected schooling negatively when they were not paid on time at the end of the school holiday. They then could not pay for school uniforms. It became clear from conversations with children and adults at this site – as in the KwaZulu-Natal site - that agricultural work was not a cause of children’s leaving school, even though some of the children and youth working in commercial agriculture have left school (for a variety of other reasons).
- As at the KwaZulu-Natal site, children also raised the matter of not having enough time to play and relax, particularly in the holidays, as a negative impact.

The youth participants at the Mpumalanga site also flagged the positive impacts of work in commercial agriculture. In this regard:

- They expressed the view that work in commercial agriculture as a way to ensure that they would be able, one day, to buy nice things such as cell phones and the latest clothes.
- Explained how working actually enables them to attend school.

Teachers, like children, mentioned the positive impact of agricultural work done by children in poor households as it provides children with money to cover schooling costs. Moreover, they also highlighted the negative impact of late payment for work on commercial farms. In the words of one secondary school teacher:

“Some children come late in January term because they are waiting for their money or they are still working. The admission process takes until February”.

Another teacher said children might miss one or two weeks of school because they had to wait to be paid for that holiday work, or their parents were waiting to be paid.

Adult participants in the focus group only identified positive impacts of work in agriculture (subsistence and commercial). These included the following:

“A boy learns a lot of things that help him when he finishes school.”

“Children gain skills and trustworthiness.”

“They gain exposure to the world.”

“...A sense of importance.”

“It uplifts the home.”

“They learn skills to make gardens – dirty hands bring them a beautiful plate of food on the table, but they don’t like to see themselves getting dirty.”

“They learn where the things they buy in the market come from.”

“It teaches them important skills (that) will not leave them...even without a job they can still produce food.”

A cause for concern – and echoing some of the views expressed by adults at the Western Cape study site - some parents argued that that if children worked less this would be a bad thing, not only due to loss of desperately needed income but also because their would be more social problems among children. In the words of two different adults:

"There would be more crime, due to children being on the streets."

"There would be more teenage pregnancy."

Of course, there is no evidence to support this assertion. However, it is important as it suggests that not enough is being done to provide recreational opportunities for children from vulnerable families.

The adult perceptions of the benefits of child work in agriculture, and failure to identify hazards or negative impacts, need to be seen in the context of parents' own past experience of work in agriculture when they were children, to which we now turn.

4.5 Enforcement of law and policy

As explained in the introduction, the question of enforcement of the law and policy preventing children under the legal age from working in commercial agriculture was only investigated in the focus groups and interviews. Strong conclusions on this issue are therefore not possible as this was a purposive study on a small scale. The issue of change over time in conditions of child work in agriculture was also explored.

4.5.1 Is reduction in employment of children younger than legal age in commercial agriculture linked to enforcement of policy?

A general consensus emerged from all three sites that since the late 1990s there has been a noticeable reduction in employment of children under the legal age by commercial farmers. For example, a group of youths who participated in a focus group at the Mpumalanga study site said that when they first started working on commercial farms – from around 2000 – it was common for children of 13 to be employed. Moreover, that nowadays, farmers took fewer children and mostly from age 15 and above, although they did sometimes find 14-year-olds picking fruit.

At all three sites, it emerged that awareness of the law prohibiting employment (the BCEA) of under-age children and employers' fear of being penalised for breaking the law was a key factor in reducing child employment.

Two additional reasons for reduction in employment of children under age were: first, reduction in the amount of work available in general on farms, due to farmers selling up, moving out or changing land use; and second, enforcement of the minimum wage law. The latter, it was argued, makes farmers less inclined to employ women and children (because they are generally seen to be less productive).

An additional finding that needs to be noted is that there is a general perception that children are less interested than their parents in developing careers in agriculture and staying in the agricultural areas. Adults expressed concern about this trend, particularly at the KwaZulu-Natal site. In the words of one cattle farmer / parent there:

"What has changed is the number of children going to school and wanting to do other things instead of cattle farming. We are not happy about it."

Parents explained that they did not want their children to go to the towns. They said that once they leave rural homes and go to work and/or live in town, they don't respect their parents any longer.

Teachers saw the perceived lack of interest in agriculture in a less negative way. In the words of one teacher:

"I think children are no longer interested in cattle because coming to school modernises them. They want to go and work elsewhere."

However, as has been shown above, the apparent reduction in employment of children in commercial agriculture over time, and children themselves being less willing to remain in rural areas, need to be seen in the context of the reality that due to poverty, there are still large numbers of children – both over and under 15 – seeking employment in commercial agriculture. The words of a commercial farm manager, interviewed in the Mpumalanga site illustrate this clearly:

"In the December holidays, farmers do still employ children (under 18s) to help them pay their school fees...It is not the farmers who are looking for the children but the children who are looking for work."

"Children who are younger than 15 do come and cry for work but we don't hire them. We have contractors (to manage the picking) who may hire younger children, but they are told not to."

4.5.2 Have there been improvements in conditions of commercial agricultural work for children?

The focus group discussions with adults generated the consensus that there has in general been improvement over time in the conditions of employment in commercial agriculture. This finding emerged from the accounts of child experiences by research participants who worked on commercial farms in the 1960s, 70s and 80s, and their opinions about how conditions experienced by their children today differ from theirs.

"I did farming work. It was very harsh; we were lashed. They would strip a banana leaf and sjambok you with the stalk while you were weeding. One day, I rolled on the ground and kicked over my food container while trying to escape the induna who was hitting me like that. I worked every holiday from when I was 10 to 14, to pay my school fees and buy my uniform. In fact, the major income in our house was from my head, carrying tomatoes to sell."

[Female Primary School Principal, Mpumalanga site]

"In the mornings I would fetch water to cook and wash. Then I would fetch the cattle. I regarded this as learning to work – that was the good part – but it delayed boys from going to school. Some of us only started Grade 1 at 10, or even 15 years. We were embarrassed to go to school with the younger ones. Fees were a problem and we worked on the farms in the holidays. The farmers used abusive language and behaviour – they would kick you in the back. I hated the farmers."

[Male minister of religion, Mpumalanga site]

5. Recommendations

The study generates recommendations that mostly support those proposed in the CLPA. They can be grouped into six categories, summarized below.

5.1 Poverty alleviation measures

“At least we need local projects to support livelihoods”

[Teacher research participant, KwaZulu-Natal]

“Here in the rural areas, we need farms where parents can work and earn enough money so they don't have to let their children work”

[Farm manager research participant, Mpumalanga]

“If the government would give support grants...open job opportunities for our parents...we would not need to work”

[Girl research participant, Mpumalanga]

Poverty emerged as the primary cause of children working(both ‘work’ and ‘labour’, as defined) in agriculture. First, and most importantly, the study highlights the need for more effective poverty alleviation and reduction measures to support children and their families. The study did not investigate the most cost-effective measures to pursue. However, some options, most of which are proposed in the CLPA include:

- Adjusting the design of the package of social protection measures for children affected by poverty so that children aged 15-18 become eligible for the Child Support Grant (CSG).
- Offering income support to unemployed adults living in poverty, although a basic income grant is not proposed. However, different income intervention options need to be tested for their benefit, also taking affordability into account before being implemented.
- Investigating provision of free school uniforms to identified households in poor rural communities, or alternatively eliminating doing away with the requirement that children must wear school uniforms.
- Improving the implementation of the existing social grant system to ensure that all those eligible for the pension, CSG, disability grant and other grants receive their entitlement, and especially the most vulnerable. This is a different recommendation because it is about improving implementation of existing income support not offering additional income support) members of society.
- Extending the primary school feeding scheme to include more schools and children and introducing such a programme at secondary school level.
- Implementing additional measures to raise awareness about government's policy of not requiring children who benefit from the CSG to pay school fees.
- Implementing more effective skills development and job creation programmes aimed at developing more sustainable livelihoods in rural areas. Linked to this, improving the implementation and reach of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP).

- Improving measures designed to raise agricultural productivity in rural areas where there is a reliance on subsistence agriculture. This could go some way towards making it possible for children to spend less time on subsistence work.

5.2 Law enforcement and adjustment

Second, the study points towards the need for more resources to be allocated to law enforcement. In particular, more resources are required to better enforce the following BCEA that:

- Presents employment of children younger than the legal age in commercial agriculture.
- Requires employers to pay adults the minimum wage in commercial agriculture.
- Requires children aged 15-17 to be paid the minimum wage for their work in commercial agriculture²⁶.

Whilst the study supports better enforcement of the BCEA, at the same time it yields the warning that this must occur in tandem with more effective poverty alleviation measures. It makes clear that if children who work due to poverty are forced to stop working without interventions to improve the socio-economic status of their families, they will simply be made to trade one constitutional right (the right not to have to work) for others, and will in all probability be made worse off.

5.3 Awareness raising measures

5.3.1 On hazards and negative impacts associated with child work in subsistence agriculture

"It is about a boy's future...building a kraal, taking responsibilities as an adult man."

[Cattle farmer / parent, KwaZulu-Natal site]

"It teaches them important skills and they [i.e. the skills] will not leave them...even without a job they can still produce food."

[Adult, Mpumalanga site]

"I don't like this work because I get pains around my waist when I am weeding with a hoe and I also get sore hands."

[Girl, Mpumalanga site]

In rural parts of South Africa, child participation in subsistence agriculture has long been a tradition. This is despite the fact that such work is often conducted under difficult conditions and may have negative impacts on health, schooling and other long-term development prospects. The third intervention area highlighted by the study is measures to improve awareness amongst children's caregivers (parents, guardians or others) of common hazards faced by children working in subsistence farming, and how to avoid such hazards, and also awareness about the negative impact this work can have on children's schooling and health.

²⁶ Often this is not the case because children work very short periods. To ensure that children are paid the minimum wage the employee should calculate the hourly rate implied by the minimum wage and pay that rate.

5.3.2 On most common hazards experienced by children working legally in commercial agriculture

The study also highlights the need for measures to raise awareness amongst employers of children in commercial agriculture about the most common hazards experienced by children who are over the age of 15 and legally working, as well as common negative impacts on their health and schooling and how to avoid them. The most common hazards that the study highlighted and which action must be taken to prevent, are abuse (physical and verbal), working for too many consecutive hours, working when it is too hot, working when thirsty, and difficulties in getting to the workplace. An example of negative impact on schooling that emerged, and which farmers and teachers need to be made aware of, is the practice of delayed payment of children for work done in a school vacation. (As the money is often needed for school fees, uniform etc., delaying payment can actually prevent the children concerned from going to school when it reopens.)

5.4 Measures to reduce the risks of exposure to negative influences and anti-social behaviours

“There are no places where children can go after school, like libraries. No magazines, no TV. Their parents don't read. There is no information for the children, no entertainment.”

[Teacher, Western Cape site]

The study highlighted the absence of recreational facilities and opportunities to engage in constructive activities after school for children living in poorly resourced rural communities. It also revealed that in this context, many parents fear that their children will become involved in anti-social and risky behaviours, and this is one of the reasons why they encourage them to do agricultural and other work. This highlighted a fifth area of intervention for government and its development partners: development of programmes and facilities to occupy children constructively when they are not in school.

5.5 Measures to address alcohol dependence of caregivers

“There is not enough food for children because parents buy liquor with their wages.”

[Nurse, Western Cape site]

Fifth, the study makes clear the urgency of resources being allocated to social services which can address the crisis of alcohol dependence and its impacts on children in the Western Cape wine farm area. This recommendation emerged from this study which found extensive alcohol dependence among parents of children living and working on commercial wine farms at the Western Cape study sites, and that it is one of the factors causing children to work.

5.6 Adjustments to curriculum in rural schools and other measures to connect children to income generation activities in local areas

“There is no work here – people are going to Durban, to Joburg, to try to get work... If children want to stay here when they leave school, I think there should be an agricultural learning area, so they can farm crops or engage in agriculture as a

way of earning a living. It would be wise for us to help give them a love of agriculture.”

[Teacher, KwaZulu-Natal site]

“I think the government should at least have a technical school here so that from Grade 9 children can go there and get skilled to earn a living.”

[Teacher, KwaZulu-Natal site]

Children not only expressed resentment about their lack of power over timing and duration of work in agriculture, but also showed concern and disheartenment about feeling lack of control over long-term career opportunities. From this finding emerges the recommendation that adjustments should be made to the school curriculum in rural schools, and other measures be taken to make children more aware of and connected to long-term sustainable income earning opportunities (including, but not only, in agriculture).

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Appendix A. Class questionnaire

1. Research site No: _____
2. Questionnaire No. _____ Please keep your card with this number on it.
3. School No: _____
4. What language do you speak at home (pick one)?
 Zulu Xhosa Siswati
 Afrikaans English Other
5. What is your sex boy girl
6. How old are you? Years
7. In what grade/class/standard are you? _____



Me and my activities!

This form has questions about where you live and what you do helping around the home and also about work. It also asks you about your health and safety. By answering the questions, you will be helping us with research on the lives of children your age who live in areas like yours. The research is going to be used to try to help improve the lives of young people living in farming areas of South Africa.

The answers you give are confidential.

We will not write down your name

This means that we will not tell anyone what you write in this form.

This booklet has 4 sections. It is not a test. We want to know what you think. There are no right or wrong answers.

Please read each question carefully before you answer. To answer yes or no to a question, **colour in** the box. If you do not understand something, please ask the people who are running this session.

Introduction: Stuff I do in a normal week

8. Please circle the ones you usually do



playing an instrument



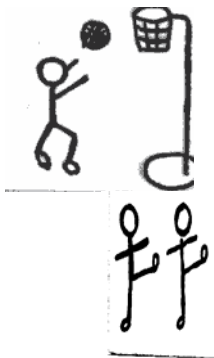
singing



playing a game like marbles or dice



listening to music



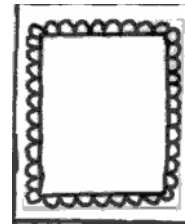
playing netball
dancing



playing soccer



swimming



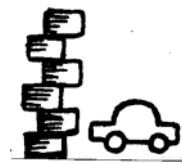
doing another sport



socializing with friends
doing housework



using the computer



playing with toys



going out with family



watching TV



job outside the home



reading

YOUTH CLUBS AND GROUPS

Do you go regularly to any youth groups?



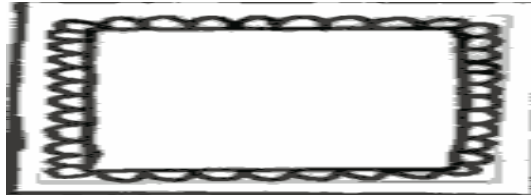
Music, theatre or dance



sports



Support group



another kind of activity, draw

Section 1:

My non-agricultural activities

Think about all the different work activities that you may be doing now or have done over the past year. Then, answer the questions below. If you have done any of these things **colour in the YES** box.

If you have not done any of these things that is OK. Just **colour in the NO** box, and go on to the next question.

Here comes the first question.

9. In the past year, did you sell things, making things for sale, repair things, guard cars, operate a donkey cart or other transport business (e.g. help on a taxi), catch wild animals or sell fish?

Yes

No

Only answer this next question if you answered **Yes**. If you answered **No** go straight on to **question 10**.

9.1. When did you do this work? (Colour as many boxes as you need to answer the question)

9.1.1 Every day

9.1.2 Once a week

9.1.3 On weekends

9.1.4 Before school

9.1.5 After school

9.1.6 During school holidays

9.2. More or less how much time do you think you spent doing this in a week?

_____ Hours

9.3. Now we want to know why you did this work (you may colour more than one box).

I did this work:

9.3.1 To earn money for myself

9.3.2 To earn money for my family

9.3.3 To get something other than money for my work such as food, goods or somewhere to sleep

9.3.4 For free - without getting any money or any other reward (like food)

9.3.5 To learn things I need to know

9.3.6 It is my duty to my family

9.4. Next we want to know how you feel about this work. Please colour in one of the boxes below. If I could choose, I would like to do (pick only one):

- More of this kind of work
- Less of this kind of work
- None of this kind of work

10. In the past year, did you do any domestic work (for example washing clothes, caring for children, sweeping the yard) for someone in another house or place who does not live with you?

- Yes
- No

Only answer this next question if you answered **Yes**. If you answered **No** go straight on to **question 11**.

10.1. When did you do this work? (colour as many boxes as you need to answer the question)

- 10.1.1 Every day
- 10.1.2 Once a week
- 10.1.3 On weekends
- 10.1.4 Before school
- 10.1.5 After school
- 10.1.6 During school holidays

10.2. More or less how much time do you think you spent doing this in a week?

_____ Hours

10.3. Now we want to know why you did this work (you can colour more than one box).

I did this work:

- 10.3.1 To earn money for myself
- 10.3.2 To earn money for my family
- 10.3.3 To get something other than money for my work such as food or somewhere to sleep
- 10.3.4 For free - without getting any money or any other reward (like food)
- 10.3.5 To learn things I need to know
- 10.3.6 It is my duty to my family

10.4. If I could choose, I would like to do (pick only one):

- More of this kind of work
- Less of this kind of work
- None of this kind of work

Important: Only answer question 11 below if you answered **Yes** to any one of questions 9 or 10. If you answered **no** to **all** of them, go straight on to question 12.

11. Did any of the work activities in questions 9 and 10 result in any of the following problems in the past year? (colour in as many blocks as you need to)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 11.1 I often had to miss a day of school | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 11.2 I was often late for school or had to leave early | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 11.3 I did not have enough time for my homework | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 11.4 I found it difficult to concentrate or was tired at school | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 11.5 I did not have enough time for play, sports and resting | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |

12. In the past year, did you have to go out to beg for food or money?

- Yes No

Only answer this next question if you answered **Yes**. If you answered **No** go straight on to **question 13**.

12.1 When did you do this activity? (Colour as many boxes as you need to)

- 12.1.1 Every day
12.1.2 Once a week
12.1.3 On weekends
12.1.4 Before school
12.1.5 After school
12.1.6 During school holidays

12.2 More or less how much time do you think you spent doing this in a week?

_____ Hours

12.3 Now we want to know why you did this activity (you may colour more than one box).

I beg for money and food:

- 12.3.1 To get money or get food for myself
12.3.2 To get money or get food for my family

12.4 If I could choose, I would like to do (pick only one):

- More begging for money and food
 Less begging for money and food
 No begging for money and food

Section 2:

My agricultural activities

Many children do work in agriculture. For example they help to grow vegetables or fruit, pick fruit, take care of the chickens, cows or goats, fix fences and many other things.

Now we want to ask you more about your agricultural activities. **Important:** Only answer these questions if you did agricultural work in the past year. If you did not do any agricultural work, please go straight to Section 3 and answer those questions.

13. In the **past year**, did you work on the family plot or community owned lands to help grow vegetables, fruit or other food or animal products (including milk from cows or meat from animals) **for the family to use?**

Yes

No

Only answer this next question if you answered **Yes**. If you answered **No** go straight on to **question 18**.

13.1 When did you do this work? (colour as many boxes as you need to answer the question)

13.1.1 Every day

13.1.2 Once a week

13.1.3 On weekends

13.1.4 Before school

13.1.5 After school

13.1.6 During school holidays

13.1.7 During the busy farm season (like when there is fruit picking or harvesting).

13.2 More or less how much time to you think you spent doing this in a week?

_____ Hours

13.3 Now we want to why you did this work (you may colour more than one box).
I did this work:

13.3.1 To learn things I need to know

13.3.2 Duty to help my family

13.3.3 Duty to help my community

Next we want to know about the type of activities / tasks you did if you worked in the past year on the family plot or community owned lands to help produce farm products for the family to use.

13.4 Please describe your activities

13.5 Now we want to know whether, in doing these activities you experienced any of the following difficulties? (Colour as many boxes as necessary).

13.5.1 The work was too tiring for me

Yes No

13.5.2 I worked for too many hours

Yes No

13.5.3 I worked before sunrise or after sunset (i.e. when dark outside)

Yes No

13.5.4 It was too hot for me when I was working

Yes No

13.5.5 It was too cold for me when I was working

Yes No

13.5.6 It was too dusty for me when I was working

Yes No

13.5.7 It was too noisy for me when I was working

Yes No

13.5.8 When I was working, the light was bad (I could not see what I was doing properly)

Yes No

13.5.9 I worked with dangerous substances (like chemicals and sprays)

Yes No

13.5.10 I worked with or close to dangerous machinery or tools

Yes No

13.5.11 I worked with or close to dangerous animals

Yes No

13.5.12 I suffered from thirst

Yes No

13.5.13 I was badly treated by fellow workers or adults

Yes No

13.6 If you have answered **Yes** more than five times to the question above **circle** the four that were **hardest** for you.

14. Next we want to ask you if your work on the family plot or community lands to produce farm products for the family to use resulted in any of the following problems for you in the past year? (you may colour more than one box)?

14.1 I often had to miss school for one day a week

Yes No

14.2 I was often late for school or had to leave early

Yes No

14.3 I did not have enough time for my homework

Yes No

14.4 I found it difficult to concentrate or was tired at school

Yes No

14.5 I did not have enough time for play, sports and resting

Yes No

15. Were you ever injured in the past year while working on the family plot or community owned lands to produce farm products for your family to use?

Yes No

15.1 If you answered yes to being injured, what was the main cause of your most serious injury in the past year while doing this kind of work? (Colour as many boxes as necessary)

15.1.1 Machinery or tools

15.1.2 A fall or something falling on you

15.1.3 Getting burnt

15.1.4 Getting ill from pesticides

15.1.5 Electric Shock

15.1.6 Being injured by (or falling from) a vehicle such as a truck or a tractor

15.1.7 Being hit or beaten

15.1.8 Being hurt by an animal

15.2 If you answered yes, we want to know if your injuries ever caused you

15.2.1 To stay in bed at home for a day or more?

Yes No

15.2.2 To need to go to the nurse or doctor?

Yes No

15.2.3 To have pain for more than one week?

Yes No

15.2.4 To have any permanent injury (for example loss of hearing)

Yes No

15.2.5 To have any other health problem?

- Yes No

16. Next we want to know whether you have had any illness caused or made worse in the past year because of doing work on the family plot or community owned lands to help produce farm products for the family to use.

- Yes No

16.1 If you answered yes to the illness question, what kind of work were you doing when the illness was caused or made worse?

Please describe work activities:

17. Finally, about your work in the past year on the family plot or community lands to help produce farm products for the family to use we want know how you feel about this work. (Please colour one of the boxes below).

If I could choose, I would like to do (pick only one):

- More of this kind of work
 Less of this kind of work
 None of this kind of work

BREAK 1:

Questions 13 – 17 above were about your work activities to help produce farm products for the family to use, either on the family owned plot or community owned lands. Questions 18 - 27 are about your work activities to help produce farm products that are sold. Before you answer questions 18 – 27 you will have a short break.

18. In the past year, did you do work on the community lands to help produce vegetables, fruit or other farm products that were sold?

Yes

No

Only answer this next question if you answered **Yes**. If you answered **No** go straight on to **question 23**.

18.1 When did you do this work? (colour as many boxes as you need to answer the question)

18.1.1 Every day

18.1.2 Once a week

18.1.3 On weekends

18.1.4 Before school

18.1.5 After school

18.1.6 During school holidays

18.1.7 During the busy farm season (like when there is fruit picking or harvesting).

18.2 More or less how much time do you think you spent doing this in a week?

_____ Hours

18.3 What kind of farm did you work on (colour relevant boxes and then explain type)?

18.3.1 Farm producing crops

18.3.1.1 What kind of crops, explain?

18.3.2 Farm producing livestock (including chickens)

18.3.2.1 What kind of livestock, explain

18.3.3 Mixed farm (producing crops and livestock)

18.3.3.1 What kind of mixed farming, explain

18.4 Now we want to know why you did this work. I did this work (you may colour more than one box). **I did this work:**

18.4.1 To earn money for myself

18.4.2 To earn money for my family

18.4.3 To get something other than money for my work such as food or somewhere to sleep

18.4.4 For free - without getting any money or any other reward (like food)

18.4.5 To learn things I need to know

18.4.6 Because it is my duty to my family

18.4.7 Because it is my duty to my community

18.4.8 Obligation to farmer (for example in return for ability to live with my family on the farm)

18.5 If you got paid with money for this work, how much did you usually get in a week?

_____ Rands

18.6 Next we want to know about the type of activities you did in the past year on community lands to help produce farm products that were sold (colour as many boxes as you need to).

18.6.1 Activities / work with animals

18.6.1.1 Feeding animals

18.6.1.2 Cleaning animal pens

18.6.1.3 Herding animals

18.6.1.4 Grooming animals

18.6.1.5 Milking cows / goats

18.6.1.6 Sheering

18.6.1.7 Slaughtering animals

18.6.1.8 Dipping animals

18.6.1.9 Other

18.6.2 Activities / work with crops

18.6.2.1 Clearing fields

18.6.2.2 Weeding

18.6.2.3 Planting

18.6.2.4 Sowing

18.6.2.5 Pruning

18.6.2.6 Harvesting

18.6.2.7 Spraying

18.6.2.8 Other

18.7 In doing these activities, did you experience any of the following difficulties? (Colour as many boxes as necessary)

18.7.1 The work was too tiring for me

Yes

No

18.7.2 I worked for too many hours

Yes No

18.7.3 I worked before sunrise or after sunset (i.e. when dark outside)

Yes No

18.7.4 It was too hot for me when I was working

Yes No

18.7.5 It was too cold for me when I was working

Yes No

18.7.6 It was too dusty for me when I was working

Yes No

18.7.7 It was too noisy for me when I was working

Yes No

18.7.8 When I was working, the light was bad (I could not see what I was doing properly)

Yes No

18.7.9 I worked with dangerous substances (like chemicals and sprays)

Yes No

18.7.10 I worked with or close to dangerous machinery or tools

Yes No

18.7.11 I worked with or close to dangerous animals

Yes No

18.7.12 I suffered from thirst

Yes No

18.7.13 When I was working, I was afraid one of my fellow workers might hurt me

Yes No

18.7.14 When I was working, I was afraid one of my supervisor might hurt me

Yes No

18.8 If you answered **Yes** more than five times in the question above about difficulties, then please **circle** the four difficulties that were **hardest** for you.

19. Next we want to ask you about whether your activities / work on community lands to help produce farm products that were sold resulted in any of the following problems for you (you may colour more than one box)?

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 19.1 I often had to miss school for one day a week | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 19.2 I was often late for school or had to leave early | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 19.3 I did not have enough time for my homework | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 19.4 I found it difficult to concentrate or was tired at school | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 19.5 I did not have enough time for play, sports and resting | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |

20. Now we want to know whether your activities on the community lands to help produce products that were sold ever caused you to be injured?

Yes No

20.1 If you answered Yes, what was the main cause of your most serious injury? (Colour as many boxes as necessary)

- 20.1.1 Machinery or tools
- 20.1.2 A fall or something falling on you
- 20.1.3 Getting burnt
- 20.1.4 Getting ill from pesticides
- 20.1.5 Electric Shock
- 20.1.6 Being injured by (or falling from) a vehicle such as a truck or a tractor
- 20.1.7 Being hit or beaten
- 20.1.8 Being hurt by an animal

20.2 If you answered Yes did your injuries ever cause you (you can colour more than one)

- 20.2.1 To stay in bed at home for a day or more?
 Yes No
- 20.2.2 To need to go to the nurse or doctor?
 Yes No
- 20.2.3 To have pain for more than one week?
 Yes No
- 20.2.4 To have any permanent injury (for example loss of hearing)
 Yes No
- 20.2.5 To have any other health problem?
 Yes No

21. Next we want to know whether you have had any illness caused or made worse in the past year because of doing work on the community lands to help farm products that were sold??

Yes No

21.1 If you answered Yes, what kind of work were you doing when the illness was caused or made worse?

Please describe the work activity:

22. Finally in relation to your work activities in the past year on community lands to help produce farm products that were sold we want to know your feelings about this work. Please colour one of the boxes below.

If I could choose, I would like to do (pick only one):

22.1 More of this kind of work

22.2 Less of this kind of work

22.3 None of this kind of work

23. In the past year, did you do work on a farm that is not owned by your family or your community, but is owned by a farmer (a black or white farmer), and produces farm products that were sold?

Yes

No

Only answer this next question if you answered **Yes**. If you answered **No** go straight on to **question 28**.

23.1 When did you do this work? (colour as many boxes as you need to answer the question)

23.1.1 Every day

23.1.2 Once a week

23.1.3 On weekends

23.1.4 Before school

23.1.5 After school

23.1.6 During school holidays

23.1.7 During the busy farm season (like when there is fruit picking or harvesting).

23.2 More or less how much time do you think you spent doing this in a week?

_____ Hours

23.3 What kind of farm did you work on? (colour relevant boxes and then explain type)

23.3.1 Farm producing crops

23.3.1.1 What kind of crops, explain?

23.3.2 Farm producing livestock (including chickens)

23.3.2.1 What kind of livestock, explain?

23.3.3 Mixed farm (producing crops and livestock)

23.3.3.1 What kind of mixed farming, explain

23.4 Now we want to know why you did this. I did this work: (you may colour more than one box).

23.4.1 To earn money for myself

23.4.2 To earn money for my family

23.4.3 To get something other than money for my work such as food or somewhere to sleep

23.4.4 For free - without getting any money or any other reward (like food)

23.4.5 To learn things I need to know

23.4.6 Because it is my duty to my family

23.4.7 Because it is my duty to my community

23.4.8 Obligation to farmer (for example in return for ability to live with my family on the farm)

23.5 If you got paid with money for this work, how much did you usually get in a week?

_____ Rands

23.6 Next we want to know the type of activities you did in the past year on a farm owned by a black or white farmer to help produce products that were sold (colour all relevant activities).

23.6.1 Activities / work to do with animals

23.6.1.1 Feeding animals

23.6.1.2 Cleaning animal pens

23.6.1.3 Herding animals

23.6.1.4 Grooming animals

23.6.1.5 Milking cows / goats

23.6.1.6 Sheering

23.6.1.7 Slaughtering animals

23.6.1.8 Dipping animals

23.6.1.9 Other

23.6.2 Activities / work to do with crops

23.6.2.1 Clearing fields

23.6.2.2 Weeding

23.6.2.3 Planting

23.6.2.4 Sowing

- 23.6.2.5 Pruning
- 23.6.2.6 Harvesting
- 23.6.2.7 Spraying
- 23.6.2.8 Other

23.7 Now we want to know whether you experienced any of the following difficulties while doing these activities over the past year (Colour as many boxes as necessary).

23.7.1 The work was too tiring for me

- Yes No

23.7.2 I worked for too many hours

- Yes No

23.7.3 I worked before sunrise or after sunset (i.e. when dark outside)

- Yes No

23.7.4 It was too hot for me when I was working

- Yes No

23.7.5 It was too cold for me when I was working

- Yes No

23.7.6 It was too dusty for me when I was working

- Yes No

23.7.7 It was too noisy for me when I was working

- Yes No

23.7.8 When I was working, the light was bad (I could not see what I was doing properly)

- Yes No

23.7.9 I worked with dangerous substances (like chemicals and sprays)

- Yes No

23.7.10 I worked with or close to dangerous machinery or tools

- Yes No

23.7.11 I worked with or close to dangerous animals

- Yes No

23.7.12 I suffered from thirst

- Yes No

23.7.13 When I was working, I was afraid one of my fellow workers might hurt me

- Yes No

23.7.14 When I was working, I was afraid one of my supervisors might hurt me

- Yes No

23.8 If you answered **Yes** more than five times in the question above, please **circle** the four difficulties that were **hardest** for you.

24. Next we want to ask you about whether your work in the past year on a farm that is owned by a farmer (black or white farmer), that produces farm products that were sold resulted in any of the following problems for you? (you may colour more than one box)

- 24.1 I often had to miss school for one day a week Yes No
- 24.2 I was often late for school or had to leave early Yes No
- 24.3 I did not have enough time for my homework Yes No
- 24.4 I found it difficult to concentrate or was tired at school Yes No
- 24.5 I did not have enough time for play, sports and resting Yes No

25. Now we want to know whether you were ever injured in the past year while doing any work on a farm owned by a farmer (a black or white farmer) that produces farm products that were sold?

- Yes No

25.1 If you said yes, what was the main cause of your most serious injury in the past year? (Colour as many boxes as necessary)

- 25.1.1 Machinery or tools
- 25.1.2 A fall or something falling on you
- 25.1.3 Getting burnt
- 25.1.4 Getting ill from pesticides
- 25.1.5 Electric Shock
- 25.1.6 Being injured by (or falling from) a vehicle such as a truck or a tractor
- 25.1.7 Being hit or beaten
- 25.1.8 Being hurt by an animal

25.2 If you said yes, did your injuries ever cause you

25.2.1 To stay in bed at home for a day or more?

- Yes No

25.2.2 To need to go to the nurse or doctor?

- Yes No

25.2.3 To have pain for more than one week?

- Yes No

25.2.4 To have any permanent injury (for example loss of hearing or a limb)

- Yes No

25.2.5 To have any other health problem?

- Yes No

26. Now we want to know whether you had any illness caused or made worse in the past year because of your work on a farm owned by a farmer (a black or white farmer), that produces products that were sold?

Yes

No

26.1 If you answered yes, what kind of work were you doing when the illness was caused or made worse?

Please explain work activity

27. Finally, about your work in the past year on a farm owned by a farmer (black or white), that produces farm products that are sold we want to know how you feel about this work. (Please colour one of the boxes below).

If I could choose, I would like to do (pick only one):

More of this kind of work

Less of this kind of work

None of this kind of work

BREAK 2:

**You have nearly finished answering all the questions in the booklet. Thank you!
Before you answer the rest, we are going to have another stretch break.**

Section 3:

My non-agricultural home activities

Now we want to ask you about things you have done at home over the past year.

28. In the past year did you (colour as many as you need to):

28.1 Fetch any firewood for the household where you stay?

Yes No

28.2 Help in housekeeping activities such as cleaning or cooking?

Yes No

28.3 Look after children?

Yes No

28.4 Look after disabled, old or sick adults?

Yes No

28.5 Care for others who are not disabled, old or ill?

Yes No

28.6 Help prepare for cultural ceremonies (e.g. funerals; circumcision)

Yes No

28.7 Do any other kinds of housework?

Yes No

29. If you answered Yes to any of these questions (in other words you did work in the home), how often did you do this work? (you may colour more than one box).

29.1 Regularly every week

29.2 During school holidays

29.3 Sometimes when I should have been at school.

30. More or less how many hours do you think you spent doing all these activities in a week?

_____ Hours

31. Did any of your home activities / duties sometimes result in any of the following problems in the last 12 months? (You may colour more than one box)

31.1 I often had to miss school

Yes No

31.2 I was often late for school or had to leave early

Yes No

31.3 I did not have enough time for my homework

Yes No

31.4 I found it difficult to concentrate or was tired at school

Yes No

31.5 I did not have enough time for play, sports and resting

Yes No

We come now to the last few questions!

Section 4:

My home and family life

32. Please colour as many boxes as you need to from the options below.

32.1 Both my parents are alive

32.2 My father is no longer alive

32.3 My mother is no longer alive

33. This question is about who you live with. Please colour only one box.

I live with both my parents

I live with my mother (my father doesn't live in our house)

I live with my father (my mother doesn't live in our house)

I live with adult relatives (neither my father nor my mother live in my house)

I live with adults who are not my relatives (neither my father nor my mother live in my house)

I live in a place with no adults

I live in a children's home

34. This question is about your parent's education

34.1 Father

Did not go to school

Went to primary school

Went to high school

Went to college after high school

Don't know

34.2 Mother

Did not go to school

Went to primary school

Went to high school

Went to college after high school

Don't know

35. This question is about your parent's work

35.1 Father

- Employed
- Unemployed
- Don't know

35.2 Mother

- Employed
- Unemployed
- Don't know

36. Does your household ever run out of money to buy food?

- Yes
- No

36.1 If yes, has it happened in the past month?

- Yes
- No

37. Are you ever hungry because there is not enough food in the house?

- Yes
- No

37.1 If yes, has it happened in the past month?

- Yes
- No

38. During the past year, how often have you been so worried about something that you could not sleep at night? (Colour only one box).

- Never
- Sometimes
- Most of the time
- Always

39. During the past year, did you ever feel very sad or hopeless for at least two weeks on every day?

- Yes
- No

40. During the past year, how many times (if any) have you...

40.1 Been drunk or very high from using alcoholic beverages or using drugs (marijuana, [insert local terms], etc)?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>at least once a week</i> | <i>at least once a month</i> | <i>a few times in the past year</i> | <i>never</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|

40.2 Been abused or assaulted by somebody?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>at least once a week</i> | <i>at least once a month</i> | <i>a few times in the past year</i> | <i>never</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|

40.3 Threatened someone seriously or beaten up somebody?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>at least once a week</i> | <i>at least once a month</i> | <i>a few times in the past year</i> | <i>never</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|

Now the very last question!

41. Please tell us whether or not you have the things in this list (only colour the boxes with things you have).

41.1 I always have three meals every day

41.2 I have some sports equipment (e.g. soccer ball, netball)

- 41.3 I have a warm coat for when it is cold
- 41.4 In my house there are enough rooms so that girls and boys over 10 do not have to share a room
- 41.5 I have my own school books
- 41.6 I have other books of my own
- 41.7 I have shoes that I can wear everyday
- 41.8 I have all the uniform items I have to have for school
- 41.9 I have at least 2 Rand a week to spend on what I like
- 41.10 I have some new clothes (not second-hand or from older brothers or sisters)
- 41.11 I have my own bed or sleeping matt (I do not have share it with anybody)
- 41.12 I have time at least once a week to play with friends or a sport

We are finished.
Thank you for your time!
Please keep your card safe.

Appendix B. Qualitative field methods

1. Introduction

The purpose of the qualitative research conducted with both children and adults in the form of focus groups and individual interviews, is to provide in-depth information on the *causes*, *nature* and *consequences* of their work in commercial and subsistence agriculture to compliment information provided by the class survey.

The interviews and focus group questions are informed by the research goals and questions set out above and will be closely linked to the issues explored in the questionnaire used in the children's class survey. Furthermore, while the class survey focuses on generating data to assist in analyzing the recent past (past year) and *current* situation of children working in commercial agriculture, the qualitative research is designed to provide data on the manner in which children's agricultural labour may have *changed over time* as a consequence of the enforcement of ILO Convention No. 182, and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act in which section 42 prohibits children from working under the age of 16 years. As the consequences of greater legal protection for working children have not yet been established in South Africa, it remains a critical task to highlight the unintended consequences of such protection for children who might remain dependent on waged and unwaged work. The qualitative research tools are therefore designed to enable exploration of not only the causes, nature and consequences of child labour, but also to highlight the conditions under which the campaign to eradicate child labour may be beneficial or cause unintended harm. In that regard, this initiative intends to extend the debate catalyzed by the UNCRC when they ratified article 32 of the Child Labour Convention by emphasizing that children must be protected from hazardous and harmful work rather than excluding them from work altogether (Woodhead 2004).

The in-depth inquiry that will constitute the qualitative work will also assist in providing information that can be used to challenge or confirm common perceptions about child labour in South Africa. These are often based on conjecture rather than on situated research.

The research will address cross-cutting issues such as gender and HIV/AIDS. For example, it will look at whether girls and boys are affected differently as workers by labour regulations and household impacts of HIV/AIDS. It will look at conceptual issues from children's perspectives – particularly children's understanding of childhood in terms of age and roles; and their perceptions of the chores/work/labour divisions. Finally, it will look at children's most urgent needs and rights in the context of their experience of work, and their understanding of the responsibility of different duty-bearers to meet these. The focus groups will as far as possible be construed and conducted in a way that there is balance in the information supplied in terms of subsistence and commercial agriculture.

2. Focus Group and Interview Participants

2.1 Children

As pointed out in the report above, the qualitative research component is to include two child focus groups in each research site (the gender balance and age range of children surveyed as well as balance between subsistence and commercial agriculture will be taken into account as far as possible in selection of children for the focus groups):

- Focus Group One: approximately 10 school-going children (aged 12 – 16 years) will be drawn from participants in the class survey who state in their questionnaires that they work/have worked in agriculture, and

- Focus Group Two: approximately 10 out-of-school children (aged 12 – 16 years) who work in agriculture. Identification of this group will depend on local conditions. They may be identified through discussions with school-going children who have friends and/or siblings who are not in school due to work demands. They may also be identified in consultation with teachers who have recorded prolonged absence or dropping out from school. Semi-structured open-ended interviews with the parents of children from the school study and farmers will also help us to identify this second group of participants.

In sum, qualitative data will be collected for approximately 60 to 80 children across all four sites.

2.2 Adults

Focus groups or semi-structured interviews (depending on the availability of the interviewee) will be conducted in each site with:

- Parents of children who live on farms or who are working in agriculture;
- Teachers in the schools selected for the class surveys;
- Farmers and other key informant adults including health and social service workers; ministers of religion; community leaders, union officials.

3. Ethics

Research with minors has to pass ethical scrutiny. This is challenging when working with 'illicit' populations such as child workers and with children who may not be living under adult supervision. However, this research will ensure that no harm is done to participants, that no inducement to participate is used and that all records remain confidential. These conditions must apply to both adults and children.

Prior to participation, consent for the child to participate written and signed consent will be obtained from each child's parent or guardian. Children will also assent to participation through signing a consent form designed for this purpose. Adult participants, children, and their parents, will be fully informed as to the nature of the research orally and via the consent form that they will sign. Consent and assent forms have been designed by HSRC and can be accessed on request.

Participation will be voluntary and both adult and child participants have the right to withdraw at any time.

The interview schedules and practical arrangements will promote the children's physical and emotional safety and comfort, taking account of their needs for rest, refreshment and exercise, and other demands on their time. The community development workers deployed as assistants in the fieldwork will assist in this process.

Most important, is to ensure that harm is not done to participants, and here children are a particular concern. It can occur that children disclose instances of maltreatment or abuse in focus groups or interviews. The field team will make provision for this and ensure that children are referred to relevant professional support services. These arrangements for referral will be made with an appropriate stakeholder such as a social worker, teacher or health worker.

Children who participate will be informed of these arrangements as follows:

“All the things you say in this meeting will be kept confidential. We are recording what you tell us, but no names will be written in the report we make and we will not tell anyone about what a particular child said. However, if any of you tells (name of interviewer) about something very bad that has happened to you at home, while working or even somewhere else (e.g. you have been badly beaten often or have been sexually assaulted), then it is my duty to see if we can find a way to help you. I will discuss this with you after the session and will make arrangements for you to have help with this problem.”

The research design and ethical provisions have already passed through the HSRC ethics committee. A requirement of the committee is that there is referral information for research participants should the need arise.

While there will be no inducement to participate, in the case of the children, there will be modest direct benefits:

- The focus group sessions will have both educational and entertainment value.
- After the focus groups the children will be given an input on rights and work;
- Possibly a film or other recreational closing activity will be conducted after the focus group;
- Children will be given lunch after or during the focus group;
- Child will be given a small gift, such as a book or pencil case.

4. Gathering information from children: method for child focus groups

4.1 Overview of method to be used in child focus groups

The focus groups with children will be organised to facilitate gathering the following categories of information from children:

1. Child descriptions of the *nature* of child work being conducted in commercial agriculture (community owned or privately owned) and subsistence agriculture
2. Information about *when* the different types of agricultural work are conducted and the time being spent on the activities.
3. Child explanations of *why* these agricultural activities are conducted by children (this will include child views on the different reasons for work in subsistence and commercial agriculture).
4. Child views about the *conditions of work* (informed by the categorization of conditions in the class questionnaire) in the two different types of agriculture
5. Child accounts of the *dangers / hazards* associated with doing work in commercial and subsistence agriculture, including illness and injury associated with such work
6. Child views about the *impact* of work in commercial and subsistence agriculture on *school attendance and performance*.
7. Child views about the *benefits of work* in commercial and subsistence agriculture – including relative to other activities – and child *preferences* (do children want to do more or less of this work?)
8. Child views about whether child work in agriculture (subsistence and commercial) has *changed* over the recent past
9. Child awareness and understanding of *child rights* – particularly in relation to work in agriculture.

The focus groups will be run using two interrelated strategies.

- *Strategy 1* – Fieldworker led discussion informed by questions linked to the above nine categories of information.
- *Strategy 2* - Participation in photo analysis and either body mapping or pyramid of support activities, the purpose of which is also to gather information falling under the categories listed above.

In 4.2 below the body mapping, pyramid of support and photo analysis are described.

4.2 Body mapping, pyramid of support and photo analysis activities

Body Mapping

Body Mapping is an innovative research tool for eliciting life stories (Morgan and the Bambanani Women's Group 2003). A narrative therapist, Jonathan Morgan created the concept of body mapping for people to express their fears and hopes about living with illness. With the publication of *Long Life*, a book produced by women from the Bambanani group living with HIV/AIDS, body mapping quickly evolved into a participatory qualitative research tool.

Assuming that the body is the immediate site of lived experience, body mapping lends itself to capturing the everyday experiences of children who work in the sphere of commercial agriculture. Professor Leslie London's research on the impact of work on children's health gives us good reason to be concerned about the health hazards for children associated with commercial agriculture (London 2006). We have less qualitative information about how children perceive their health, or the conditions that underpin their role in divisions of labour by gender and age. We have even less information about the conditions that underpin the ability for children living in similar socio-economic contexts to avoid work in the agricultural sector

The following discussion highlights body mapping as a key research tool for generating much needed information about the specific causes, nature, and consequences of child labour from the perspective of children who work in commercial agriculture.

Stage One:

Students will assist one another by drawing the outlines of their bodies on sheets of paper. The facilitator will then guide the students through a series of questions that will help students to fill in the spaces inside and outside their body map.

Directions for children:

1. Draw any injuries you have suffered while working. Mark them on your body map in any way you like. These injuries can be physical and/or emotional.
2. Identify areas on your body where you may feel physical or emotional well being /and or pain that are associated with the work you have done on farms.
3. On the outside of your body map write sentences or words that relate to the images you draw on the body map and how they are associated with your work.
4. On the outside of your body map, draw your home, or a place where you feel safe.
5. Draw the type of work you do, and create a symbol that reflects how you feel about the work you do.
6. Identify your most important relationships –friends, family, teachers, etc...
7. Identify events in your life that have special significance for you.

8. On the outside of your body map you can write sentences or words or symbols that relate to the images you draw inside the body map.

Stage two:

Once the body maps are complete students will present them to the group. This presentation begins the process of moving from pictures to narrative. Students will have the chance to ask the presenter questions about the body map, and in this way, generate discussion (Hecht 1998).

Body mapping will cover some of the nature and consequences issues and provide a visual situational analysis that can generate life stories and discussion about work. It could also address some issues of self-image, vulnerability and resilience.

Photo analysis

Drawing on visual anthropology, photo elicitation will be used to generate data about children's perceptions of work (Rich and Chalfen 1999). Locally (site) relevant photos of children working will be displayed as the basis of group discussion.

Questions that will be used include:

- How would you describe the work this child is doing?
- What might be good about the child doing this work?
- What might be bad about the child doing this work?

Photos may also look at other things that children need or want to do apart from working. We will ask:

What do children need to do apart from working?

This activity will address, in a non-threatening way, the harm versus benefit factors (from the table). Photos will be shown with tick boxes that enable children to tell us whether work ever stops them from doing certain activities (school, play, rest, study, etc...) or if work enables them to do these things.

Pyramid of Support

Children will be asked:

- What special protection do children need?
- Do children here get protected?
- How?
- By whom?

Then they will do the 'pyramid game':

Children will be shown a 'pyramid' of people, with the child on top, supported by immediate family, then friends, community members, professionals/service providers, leaders etc, right up to the president. Then they will be given cut-out people and asked to make a pyramid that shows who, in real life, actually supports the child and what has happened to the other people.

This activity will provide information about the extent and sources of support to children that may mitigate or exacerbate the impacts of work. It will enable children to demonstrate the degree of consensus around sources and levels of support to working children in the area through a short activity rather than a lengthy discussion. It will give a visual impression of the

gaps in support to children. It will also assist children to prioritise needs for support/protection and to identify duty-bearers. (The pyramid can also be upended in the event that children are supporting other people, and this graphically reflects the actual burden on children).

Children's debates arising from the techniques

The practical, body-mapping activity and the visual/verbal photo analysis will help prepare the children to express and debate ideas and experiences about their experience of work and its impact upon them. Debate will be important to explore some conceptual issues from a children's perspective.

Exploring Gender differences in children's work from a child's perspective

We will ask the question why children work with separate groups of girls and boys answering the same questions and drawing up lists of reasons:

- What work do girls do? Why? Could boys do this? Why?
- What work do boys do? Why? Could girls do this? Why?

We will compare the lists and then facilitate a discussion around gendered divisions of labour at both the level of unpaid household activity and waged work on farms.

Exploring Age differences in children's work from a child's perspective

- What is a child?
- When do you stop being a child? Why?

TOPIC SPECIFIC PHOTOS WILL BE USED TO FACILITATE THESE
QUESTIONS/DEBATES.

5. Method for gathering information from adults

Child labour happens in the context of adult employers and a social life that is largely determined by adults (parents and teachers). It is absolutely essential to have the perspectives of key adults in each community not only because they determine to some extent the conditions under which children live, but also, as adults will have some time depth experience to the phenomenon of child labour practices in the selected field sites. While children must be respected for their agency as makers of history and culture and as individuals with the ability to provide critical and accurate data about their lives, it is also true that some children might not fully recognize the full impact of work on their physical well being. Some might not know that they suffer from chronic upper respiratory infection from pesticide contact (for example) and so health care workers will be able to provide critical information in this regard. All adult stakeholders will provide different points of view, some that resonate with the experiences of children and some that provide radical departures.

Interviews or focus groups (if this is most practical) with stakeholders will take the form of semi-structured open-ended discussion led by the lead fieldworker / researcher (additional members of the fieldwork team may be involved in the discussion / interview and where needed a translator will be present). Interviews and focus group discussions will be recorded using a notebook rather than a tape recorder or video due to the time consuming nature of transcriptions and for reasons of protecting the respondent.

As a means to establish the perspectives of the adult interviewees on the causes, nature and impact of child work and labour in commercial and subsistence agriculture, core questions for each respondent have been constructed according to the adult's position and relationship to child workers. Directly below we list the key questions to be asked, either via interviews or in focus groups, of the most significant adult respondent groups. As can be seen, there is some variation across the different categories of adult. This is to reflect different relationships with the child and hence knowledge about the causes, nature and impact of child work in commercial and subsistence agriculture.

The questions asked of additional stakeholders, for example trade union representatives, religious leaders and others deemed appropriate to the site will be similar to those listed below, but slightly amended for the person's particular knowledge about and relationship with the child.

Teachers:

Teachers will be asked:

1. Their views about the nature and extent of child work in commercial and subsistence and commercial agriculture in the area, including the frequency and timing of the work (for example whether the work is conducted mainly after school, in school holidays, over week-ends and how much of their time children of different ages tend to spend on this type of work).
2. What sorts of work they believe to be appropriate for girl children and boy children and at what age boys and girls could be expected to do domestic chores and work in an agricultural setting;
3. At what age a girl and boy child is old enough to go out and earn money to help support the family;
4. Whether or not they know about the new legislation relating to child work, and if so, whether they have experience that since it has been enacted they have or have not seen any changes both positive and negative;
5. Effects of children's agricultural (commercial and subsistence) work as well as other work on school attendance, performance and drop-out (the extent to which work keeps children out of school altogether);
6. Effects of children's agricultural work on their health.
7. Whether there is discrimination against 'farm' children at school;
8. Views on the future prospects for children living and working on farms;
9. Outreach from the school to parents of children who work;
10. Their views about the reasons for child work in commercial and subsistence agriculture.

Parents:

Parents will be asked

1. Whether they rely on their children's work, and if so, what forms of work do they require their children to do; Also ask if they think their children have a duty to work in the home and assist family and or community with agricultural work;
2. What sorts of work they believe to be appropriate for girl children and boy children and at what age boys and girls could be expected to do domestic chores and work in an agricultural setting;
3. Whether they think children's work is of benefit to the child or not and why;
4. At what age a girl and boy child is old enough to go out and earn money to help support the family;

5. Whether or not they know about the new legislation, and if so, whether they have experience that since it has been enacted they have or have not seen any changes both positive and negative;
6. Whether their income is enough to support their family and whether they receive grant / social assistance income;
7. Whether they worked as children and how they felt it affected their lives (benefits and risks);
8. Whether children are different to when they were young and should the children of today be expected to do the same as when they were young – why and why not;
9. Their views on their children's education and how education might be related to their future aspirations for the children;
10. Their views on how they and their children are treated by their employer
11. Their experience of the impact of pesticide contact on child health and wellbeing on farms, and also their views on the risks to child safety of different types and conditions of work. For example, adults views will be explored on: what is a working environment that is too hot, too cold, too dusty or too light / dark; their views on appropriate and inappropriate tasks for children in relation the risks of injury and health impact; their views on appropriate forms of discipline for working children.

Farmers / employers:

Employers will be asked:

1. Their views about the nature and extent of child work in commercial and subsistence and commercial agriculture in the area, including the frequency and timing of the work (for example whether the work is conducted mainly after school, in school holidays, over week-ends and how much of their time children of different ages tend to spend on this type of work).
2. Whether they rely on children's labour, and if so, what forms of labour/work they require children to do and when children perform their work;
3. What sorts of work they believe to be appropriate for girl children and boy children and at what age boys and girls could be expected to do domestic chores and work in an agricultural setting;
4. At what age a girl and boy child is old enough to go out and earn money to help support the family;
5. Whether or not they know about the new legislation, and if so, whether they have experience that since it has been enacted they have or have not seen any changes both positive and negative; What are their views of the legislation (if they know about it);
6. Their views on the role of farmers in the education of children living on their farms;
7. Their experience of the impact of pesticide contact on child health and wellbeing on farms, and also their views on the risks to child safety of different types and conditions of work. Researchers will explore farmer views on for example: what is a working environment that: is too hot, too cold, too dusty or too light / dark; their views on appropriate and inappropriate tasks for children in relation the risks of injury and health impact; their views on appropriate forms of discipline for working children.
8. Their views about the reasons for child work in agriculture.
9. Their views about how legislation and policy should be developed to protect children working and living in agricultural settings in South Africa.

Health and social workers:

Health and social workers will be asked:

1. Their views about the extent of child work in commercial and subsistence and commercial agriculture in the area, including the frequency and timing of the work (for

example whether the work is conducted mainly after school, in school holidays, over week-ends and how much of their time children of different ages tend to spend on this type of work).

2. What sorts of work they believe to be appropriate for girl children and boy children and at what age boys and girls could be expected to do domestic chores and work in an agricultural setting; Whether they think children's work to the child or not and why;
3. At what age a girl and boy child is old enough to go out and earn money to help support the family;
4. Whether or not they know about the new legislation, and if so, whether they have experience that since it has been enacted they have or have not seen any changes both positive and negative;
5. Their experience of the impact of pesticide contact on child health and wellbeing on farms, and also their views on the risks to child safety of different types and conditions of work. Explore their views on: what is a working environment that: is too hot, too cold, too dusty or too light / dark; their views on appropriate and inappropriate tasks for children in relation the risks of injury and health impact; their views on appropriate forms of discipline for working children.
6. Their experience of injury and mortality as well as impacts on school and psychological functioning associated with child work;
7. Their views about the impact of child work in commercial agriculture (and other work) on child school attendance and performance
8. The nutritional status of children from farm areas;
9. The condition of these children's teeth;
10. Rates of respiratory illness, TB, HIV, and other infectious disease;
11. Incidence of Foetal alcohol Syndrome (FAS), and other health issues related to alcohol in the farm community;
12. Incidence of domestic abuse in the farm community.
13. Their views about the causes of child work in commercial and subsistence and commercial agriculture in the area.
14. What kind of additional support children and their families who are living in agricultural settings and working and are at risk require.

Appendix C. Consent and assent forms

ILO/TECL STUDY ON CHILD WORK IN COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE:

CONSENT FORM FOR ADULT PARTICIPATION IN FOCUS GROUPS

Hello, I am I am from the Human Sciences Research Council. We study a range of issues affecting South Africans, including the development of children and families. We are conducting research on child work on farms in your area. We are doing research in four areas of South Africa on child work in commercial agriculture. We are trying to improve understanding about how many children are doing this work, the type of activities they do on farms and the positive and negative things about this work for children and their families.

We are working for a programme in government that wants to use the information gathered from the research to improve the laws and policies managing child activities in commercial agriculture.

As part of the research, we are gathering the views of children and adults in the area: parents of children who work on farms, teachers, health and social workers, religious representatives, traditional leaders, farmers and trade union representatives.

We would like to speak with you to gather your views about the child work situation. We want to ask you questions about the extent to which child work on farms happens in your community, the type of work children do on farms and when they do it, as well as the impact that this work has on children and families. We also want to ask for your views about the causes of this work and whether you think that the extent of child farm work in the area has decreased over time. The interview should take about one hour of your time.

We will NOT ask you for any personal information about yourself or your family. We will NOT be asking you your name and will not tell anyone that is was you who gave us a particular piece of information. In the reports we are going to write about the research, we will NOT be linking the views about the child work situation to particular names of people. In other words, you will be anonymous in the research and all the information you give us will remain confidential.

Please understand that you can decide whether or not you want to talk to us to help us with this important research about child activities in commercial agriculture and how to improve the policy and laws relating to them. If you do not want to, that is fine, just tell us you do not want to participate.

If you say yes, and at some point you do not want to continue, you may tell us that you don't want to go on. If you say yes but change your mind later on, we will accept your decision and there will also be no penalties and or other problems.

Do you want to participate? (If Yes, ask person to read form below and sign)

ADULT CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE:

PLEASE READ AND SIGN

I hereby agree to participate in research regarding child work in commercial agriculture. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can leave the discussion at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively.

I understand that this is a research project that will not benefit me personally.

I have received the telephone number of a person to contact should I need to speak about any issues which may arise in this interview.

I understand that the researchers will keep personal information that arises in the group discussion confidential. Also, that the researchers cannot be held responsible for how other participants in the group discussions use any information arising.

.....
Signature of participant

Date:.....

ILO/TECL STUDY ON CHILD WORK IN COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE:

PARENT / CAREGIVER CONSENT FORM FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF A CHILD IN QUESTIONNAIRE AND FOCUS GROUP RESEARCH

Hello, I am I am from the Human Sciences Research Council. We study a range of issues affecting South Africans, including the development of children and families. We are conducting research on children's activities, including work on commercial farms in this area of the country. The research is also being conducted in three other parts of the country.

We are working for a programme in government that wants to use the information gathered from the research to improve the laws and policies managing child activities in commercial agriculture to the benefit of children and their families.

One of the ways in which we are gathering information in our research study is asking all children age 12 -16 in three schools in this area to complete a questionnaire. The questionnaire asks children about what they do with their time, whether they do work on farms, and if so what they do on farms and how they feel about their farm work activities. We will also ask them some basic questions about their health and who they live with at home.

We are also holding discussions with groups of children age 12-16 that have experience of work on farms. In these groups the children will do some safe activities and will be asked some more questions about working on farms and helping the family at home.

The purpose of this letter is to ask your permission for the child in your care to participate in the research by completing the questionnaire and by joining a group discussion. Please note that not all the children will be in a group discussion – only a few will be selected.

The questionnaire that children will be completing in class will take no longer than an hour and will be supervised by a teacher and other adults. The group discussion will take about an hour and a half.

The school has given permission for us to interview the children and administer the questionnaire. All the information will be kept confidential. At the end of the research we will write a report, but no child's name will appear in that report. So should your child participate in the research, the information he/she supplies will be confidential. Your child's name will not be recorded and there will be no "come back" from the information he/she supplies.

If you don't want your child to participate, please do not sign the form below. If you are happy to let your child participate, please sign the form.

Do you want your child to participate? (If Yes read form below and ask carer to sign)

CHILD CONSENT FORM: PLEASE READ AND SIGN. PLEASE SEND THIS FORM BACK TO SCHOOL WITH YOUR CHILD

I agree to the child in my care a questionnaire and joining group discussions relating to child activities, including work on farms in this area. I understand that I am not being forced to give permission for the child in my care to participate in the research. Also, that I understand that my child will also be asked if he or she wants to participate, and that if he or she does not want to, that will be fine. Nobody will be forced to participate and nothing will happen to them if they do not want to.

I understand that my child will not get any reward for participating in the research.

I understand that the researchers won't take my child's name and that there will be no come backs for what he/she says. Everything she or he tells the researchers will remain confidential. However, the researchers cannot be held responsible for the way in which other children participating in the child focus groups use any information that arises.

CHILD'S NAME:

SCHOOL..... GRADE.....

.....
Signature of participant

Date:.....

ILO/TECL STUDY ON CHILD WORK IN COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE:

ASSENT FORM FOR A CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN A FOCUS GROUP

Hello, I am I am from the Human Sciences Research Council.

Your parent / mother / father / carer has given us permission to ask you to join other young people in a group discussion. In the group we will do some activities together and talk more about farm work activities: what sorts of things you do, how you feel about these activities and also why you do them. This will take about an hour and a half of your time.

We will write a report about what happened in the group discussion. But we will not use your name in the report so nobody can find out what you said. We will also not tell anyone else what you said. But if you tell us you are in danger, we will discuss this with you because we want to help you. We may have to speak to your parents or guardian about these things if they do not know about it and you are in danger.

We would very much like you to join the group discussion. However, just because your parent / mother / father / carer etc has given us permission to talk to you, does not mean you have to do it. It is not a problem if you don't want to. All you have to do is say so. Also, even if you agree, you can decide to stop at any time if you want to. Just tell me if you want to do this.

Do you want to participate? (If Yes read form below and ask child to sign)

CHILD ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE

READ TO CHILD AND ASK CHILD TO SIGN.

I agree to participate in a group discussion. I understand that I will be asked questions about myself and about children working on farms in this area. I understand that I am not being forced to do this, and that I can leave at any time if I don't want to continue. I know I will not be punished for this. I understand that I won't get anything for myself if I join the group discussion.

I understand that the researchers won't tell anyone about personal things that we talk about in the group. However, I understand that if I discuss some danger to myself that my parents don't know about, then the researchers will talk to me about it and may have to inform my parent or guardian. Also, that the other children in the group will hear the things I say.

.....
Signature of participant

Date:.....

ILO/TECL STUDY ON CHILD WORK IN COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE:

ASSENT FORM FOR A CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN A SURVEY

Hello, I am I am from the Human Sciences Research Council.

Your parent / mother / father / carer have given us permission to ask you to complete a questionnaire in class about the type of activities you do. We will ask you some questions about what you do around the home, about work you may do to help the family, and about work on farms. You will also be asked how you feel about these activities and why you do them. We will also ask you some questions about your home and who you live with.

The questionnaire will take about an hour to fill in. You do not have to put your name on the questionnaire. So nobody will know who filled it in.

When we have gathered everybody's answers, we will write a report about what everyone has written. We will not use your name in the report. We cannot do that because your name will not be on the questionnaire. Nobody can find out what you said.

We would very much like you to complete the questionnaire. However, just because your parent / mother / father / carer etc has given us permission to talk to you, does not mean you have to do it. It is not a problem if you don't want to. All you have to do is tell me. Also, even if you agree to fill in the questionnaire, you can decide to stop at any time if you want to. Just tell me if you want to do this.

Do you want to participate? (If Yes read form below and ask child to sign)

CHILD ASSENT FORM: READ TO CHILD AND ASK CHILD TO SIGN.

I agree to fill in the questionnaire and I understand the sorts of questions that I will be asked. I understand that I am not being forced to do this, and that I can leave at any time if I don't want to continue. I know I will not be punished for leaving. I understand that the researchers won't tell anyone about what I write in my questionnaire.

.....
Signature of participant

Date:.....

Appendix D. Statistical analysis

CHILD WORK

FREQUENCY TABLES

BY TYPE OF WORK

Category	Frequency table: Group1 (MANOVAbackup)			
	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
None: Q9ORQ10 = No AND Q13Q18ORQ23 = No	200	200	19.36	19.36
EcoOnly: Q9ORQ10 = Yes AND Q13Q18ORQ23 = No	359	559	34.75	54.11
AgriOnly: Q9ORQ10 = No AND Q13Q18ORQ23 = Yes	69	628	6.68	60.79
AgriEco: Q9ORQ10 = Yes AND Q13Q18ORQ23 = Yes	393	1021	38.04	98.84
Missing	12	1033	1.16167	100.0000

BY TYPE OF AGRICULTURE

Category	Frequency table: TYPEOFAGRI: =Group3 (MANOVAbackup)			
	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Subsistence only	225	225	21.78122	21.7812
Private Commercial only	61	286	5.90513	27.6864
Community Commercial Only	7	293	0.67764	28.3640
Private plus Community	3	296	0.29042	28.6544
Subsistence plus Commercial	157	453	15.19845	43.8529
No Agriculture	559	1012	54.11423	97.9671
Missing	21	1033	2.03291	100.0000

BY TYPE OF AGRICULTURE WITH FURTHER BREAKDOWN OF "ALL AGRICULTURE" GROUP

Category	Frequency table: AGRITYPE (MANOVAbackup)			
	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Subsistence only	225	225	21.78122	21.7812
Private commercial only	61	286	5.90513	27.6864
Community commercial only	7	293	0.67764	28.3640
Private plus community	3	296	0.29042	28.6544
Subsistence plus private	34	330	3.29138	31.9458
Subsistence plus community	69	399	6.67957	38.6254
All agriculture (x3)	51	450	4.93708	43.5624
No agriculture	559	1009	54.11423	97.6767
Missing	24	1033	2.32333	100.0000

FREQUENCIES PER RESEARCH SITE

BY TYPE OF WORK

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVAbackup) Marked cells have counts > 10				
Group1	Q1RESEAR Western Cape	Q1RESEAR KwaZulu-Natal	Q1RESEAR Mpumalanga	Row Totals
None: Q9ORQ10 = No AND Q13Q18ORQ23 = No	148	8	44	200
Column Percent	27.82%	3.25%	18.11%	
Row Percent	74.00%	4.00%	22.00%	
Total Percent	14.50%	0.78%	4.31%	19.59%
EcoOnly: Q9ORQ10 = Yes AND Q13Q18ORQ23 = No	293	12	54	359
Column Percent	55.08%	4.88%	22.22%	
Row Percent	81.62%	3.34%	15.04%	
Total Percent	28.70%	1.18%	5.29%	35.16%
AgriOnly: Q9ORQ10 = No AND Q13Q18ORQ23 = Yes	12	31	26	69
Column Percent	2.26%	12.60%	10.70%	
Row Percent	17.39%	44.93%	37.68%	
Total Percent	1.18%	3.04%	2.55%	6.76%
AgriEco: Q9ORQ10 = Yes AND Q13Q18ORQ23 = Yes	79	195	119	393
Column Percent	14.85%	79.27%	48.97%	
Row Percent	20.10%	49.62%	30.28%	
Total Percent	7.74%	19.10%	11.66%	38.49%
Column Totals	532	246	243	1021
Total Percent	52.11%	24.09%	23.80%	100.00%

BY TYPE OF AGRICULTURE

		2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVA) Marked cells have counts > 10			
Group3		Q1RESEAR Western Cape	Q1RESEAR KwaZulu-Natal	Q1RESEAR Mpumalanga	Row Totals
Subsistence only: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No		23	93	109	225
	Column Percent	4.32%	38.59%	45.61%	
	Row Percent	10.22%	41.33%	48.44%	
	Total Percent	2.27%	9.19%	10.77%	22.23%
Private Commercial only: Q13SUBSI AND Q18COMME = No AND Q23COMME = Yes		57	2	2	61
	Column Percent	10.71%	0.83%	0.84%	
	Row Percent	93.44%	3.28%	3.28%	
	Total Percent	5.63%	0.20%	0.20%	6.03%
Community Commercial Only: Q13SUBSI AND Q23COMME = No AND Q18COMME = Yes		1	5	1	7
	Column Percent	0.19%	2.07%	0.42%	
	Row Percent	14.29%	71.43%	14.29%	
	Total Percent	0.10%	0.49%	0.10%	0.69%
Private plus Community: Q18PLUSQ23 = Yes to both AND Q13SUBSI = No		0	1	2	3
	Column Percent	0.00%	0.41%	0.84%	
	Row Percent	0.00%	33.33%	66.67%	
	Total Percent	0.00%	0.10%	0.20%	0.30%
Subsistence plus Commercial: Q13PLUSQ18ORQ23 = Yes to both		10	120	27	157
	Column Percent	1.88%	49.79%	11.30%	
	Row Percent	6.37%	76.43%	17.20%	
	Total Percent	0.99%	11.86%	2.67%	15.51%
No Agriculture: Q13PLUSQ18ORQ23 = No to both		441	20	98	559
	Column Percent	82.89%	8.30%	41.00%	
	Row Percent	78.89%	3.58%	17.53%	
	Total Percent	43.58%	1.98%	9.68%	55.24%
Column Totals		532	241	239	1012
	Total Percent	52.57%	23.81%	23.62%	100.00%

BY TYPE OF AGRICULTURE (INCL. BREAKDOWN OF "ALLAGRI") PER RESEARCH

AGRITYPE	2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVA) Marked cells have counts > 10			
	Q1RESEAR Western Cape	Q1RESEAR KwaZulu-Natal	Q1RESEAR Mpumalanga	Row Totals
Subsistence only	23	93	109	225
Column %	4.32%	39.08%	45.61%	
Row %	10.22%	41.33%	48.44%	
Total %	2.28%	9.22%	10.80%	22.30%
Private commercial only	57	2	2	61
Column %	10.71%	0.84%	0.84%	
Row %	93.44%	3.28%	3.28%	
Total %	5.65%	0.20%	0.20%	6.05%
Private community only	1	5	1	7
Column %	0.19%	2.10%	0.42%	
Row %	14.29%	71.43%	14.29%	
Total %	0.10%	0.50%	0.10%	0.69%
All commercial agri	0	1	2	3
Column %	0.00%	0.42%	0.84%	
Row %	0.00%	33.33%	66.67%	
Total %	0.00%	0.10%	0.20%	0.30%
Subsistence plus private	8	19	7	34
Column %	1.50%	7.98%	2.93%	
Row %	23.53%	55.88%	20.59%	
Total %	0.79%	1.88%	0.69%	3.37%
Subsistence plus community	1	60	8	69
Column %	0.19%	25.21%	3.35%	
Row %	1.45%	86.96%	11.59%	
Total %	0.10%	5.95%	0.79%	6.84%
All agriculture	1	38	12	51
Column %	0.19%	15.97%	5.02%	
Row %	1.96%	74.51%	23.53%	
Total %	0.10%	3.77%	1.19%	5.05%
No agriculture	441	20	98	559
Column %	82.89%	8.40%	41.00%	
Row %	78.89%	3.58%	17.53%	
Total %	43.71%	1.98%	9.71%	55.40%
Totals	532	238	239	1009
Total %	52.73%	23.59%	23.69%	100.00%

SITE

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF GROUP DIFFERENCES: CHILD WORK

To test for group differences on certain dependent variables, two types of analyses were used depending on the type of variable: One-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) and Chi-square tests of significance.

Group differences on the following dependent (continuous) variables were analysed using one-way ANOVAs:

- 1) Poverty Index
- 2) Father's Education
- 3) Mother's Education
- 4) Anxiety
- 5) Anti-Social Behaviour

For Chi-square tests, the following dependent (categorical) variables were tested:

- 1) Household Hunger
- 2) Parental Status
- 3) Father's Employment
- 4) Mother's Employment
- 5) Depression

In addition, two sets of groups were contrasted for each dependent variable. The first set compared "Children working in agriculture" with "Children not working at all". The second set compared "Children working in subsistence only" with "Children working in commercial farming only" and "Children working in commercial and subsistence farming".

The results are presented for each dependent variable by sets of comparison groups.

1. Poverty Index

- Agriculture vs. No work

Univariate results indicate significant group differences, specifically, children working in agriculture possess *fewer* material assets ($M = 7.26$), on average, that provide for their basic needs than children who do not work at all ($M = 9.16$).

Effect	Descriptive Statistics (MANOVAbackup)			
	Level of Factor	N	Q41PovertyIndex Mean	Q41PovertyIndex Std.Dev.
Total		642	7.852025	3.087123
COMPARISON1	Agriculture	443	7.264108	3.103822
COMPARISON1	No work	199	9.160804	2.617785

Effect	Univariate Tests of Significance for Q41PovertyIndex (MANOVAbackup)				
	SS	Degr. of Freedom	MS	F	p
Intercept	37044.85	1	37044.85	4222.423	0.000000
COMPARISON1	493.99	1	493.99	56.306	0.000000
Error	5614.95	640	8.77		

- Subsistence vs. Commercial vs. Both types of agriculture

Univariate results show significant group differences for the level of poverty. Post hoc tests reveal that children working in both subsistence and commercial agriculture report a significantly higher level of poverty (M = 6.18) with regard to basic material possessions than children working in subsistence (M = 7.54) or children working in commercial agriculture (M = 8.62).

There are significant differences in poverty levels between children working in subsistence only and children working in commercial agriculture only.

Descriptive Statistics (MANOVAbackup) Exclude condition: Group2=1				
Effect	Level of Factor	N	Q41PovertyIndex Mean	Q41PovertyIndex Std.Dev.
Total		438	7.257991	3.105265
"Group2"	SubAgri	220	7.536364	2.817678
"Group2"	ComAgri	71	8.619718	2.748330
"Group2"	AllAgri	147	6.183673	3.339306

Univariate Tests of Significance for Q41PovertyIndex (M Sigma-restricted parameterization Effective hypothesis decomposition Exclude condition: Group2=1					
Effect	SS	Degr. of Freedom	MS	F	p
Intercept	19622.97	1	19622.97	2191.254	0.000000
"Group2"	318.36	2	159.18	17.776	0.000000
Error	3895.48	435	8.96		

Unequal N HSD; variable Q41PovertyIndex (MANOVA Approximate Probabilities for Post Hoc Tests Error: Between MS = 8.9551, df = 435.00 Exclude condition: Group2=1				
Cell No.	Group2	{1} 7.5364	{2} 8.6197	{3} 6.1837
1	SubAgri		0.078760	0.000329
2	ComAgri	0.078760		0.000025
3	AllAgri	0.000329	0.000025	

2. Father's Education

- Agriculture vs. No work

Univariate results show significant group differences for father's education. Children who did not work at all reported a significantly higher (although only slightly so) mean level of education for their fathers (M = 2.99) than children working in agriculture (M = 2.33).

Descriptive Statistics (MANOVAbackup)				
Include condition: Q34_1DADEDU<5				
Exclude condition: COMPARISON1=3				
Effect	Level of Factor	N	Q34_1DADEDU Mean	Q34_1DADEDU Std.Dev.
Total		480	2.533333	1.014989
COMPARISON1	Agriculture	332	2.328313	1.041748
COMPARISON1	No work	148	2.993243	0.778072

Univariate Tests of Significance for Q34_1DADEDU (N)					
Sigma-restricted parameterization					
Effective hypothesis decomposition					
Include condition: Q34_1DADEDU<5					
Exclude condition: COMPARISON1=3					
Effect	SS	Degr. of Freedom	MS	F	p
Intercept	2898.918	1	2898.918	3091.613	0.000000
COMPARISON1	45.260	1	45.260	48.268	0.000000
Error	448.207	478	0.938		

- Subsistence vs. Commercial vs. Both types of agriculture

Univariate tests show significant group differences for father's education. As with the poverty index, children working in both types of agriculture reported significantly lower levels of father education (M = 2.03) than children working in subsistence only (M = 2.43) or children working only in commercial agriculture (M = 2.74).

Again there were no significant differences between children working in subsistence and children working in commercial agriculture.

Descriptive Statistics (MANOVAbackup)				
Include condition: Q34_1DADEDU<5				
Exclude condition: Group2=1				
Effect	Level of Factor	N	Q34_1DADEDU Mean	Q34_1DADEDU Std.Dev.
Total		329	2.334347	1.043595
"Group2"	SubAgri	158	2.430380	1.060988
"Group2"	ComAgri	53	2.735849	0.812189
"Group2"	AllAgri	118	2.025424	1.033307

Univariate Tests of Significance for Q34_1DADEDU (I)					
Sigma-restricted parameterization					
Effective hypothesis decomposition					
Include condition: Q34_1DADEDU<5					
Exclude condition: Group2=1					
Effect	SS	Degr. of Freedom	MS	F	p
Intercept	1536.008	1	1536.008	1490.472	0.000000
"Group2"	21.262	2	10.631	10.316	0.000045
Error	335.960	326	1.031		

Unequal N HSD; variable Q34_1DADEDU (MANOVAba Approximate Probabilities for Post Hoc Tests Error: Between MS = 1.0306, df = 326.00 Include condition: Q34_1DADEDU<5 Exclude condition: Group2=1				
Cell No.	Group2	{1}	{2}	{3}
		2.4304	2.7358	2.0254
1	SubAgri		0.268108	0.006189
2	ComAgri	0.268108		0.000931
3	AllAgri	0.006189	0.000931	

3. Mother's Education

- Agriculture vs. No work

Univariate tests show that children who do not work at all report a significantly higher mean level of education for their mothers (M = 2.83) than children working in agriculture (M = 2.16).

Descriptive Statistics (MANOVAbackup) Include condition: Q34_2MOMEDU<5 Exclude condition: COMPARISON1=3				
Effect	Level of Factor	N	Q34_2MOMEDU Mean	Q34_2MOMEDU Std.Dev.
Total		541	2.362292	1.011957
COMPARISON1	Agriculture	375	2.157333	1.038970
COMPARISON1	No work	166	2.825301	0.770414

Univariate Tests of Significance for Q34_2MOMEDU (MA Sigma-restricted parameterization Effective hypothesis decomposition Include condition: Q34_2MOMEDU<5 Exclude condition: COMPARISON1=3					
Effect	SS	Degr. of Freedom	MS	F	p
Intercept	2856.671	1	2856.671	3069.355	0.000000
COMPARISON1	51.340	1	51.340	55.162	0.000000
Error	501.651	539	0.931		

- Subsistence vs. Commercial vs. Both type of agriculture

Univariate tests show significant group differences for mother's education. Again, children working in both types of agriculture reported significantly lower mean level of mother's education (M = 1.8) than children working in subsistence only (M = 2.29) and children working in commercial agriculture only (M = 2.52).

There were no significant differences in mother's education between children working in subsistence only and children working in commercial agriculture only.

Descriptive Statistics (MANOVAbackup)				
Include condition: Q34_2MOMEDU<5				
Exclude condition: Group2=1				
Effect	Level of Factor	N	Q34_2MOMEDU Mean	Q34_2MOMEDU Std.Dev.
Total		371	2.164420	1.041011
"Group2"	SubAgri	183	2.289617	1.103566
"Group2"	ComAgri	63	2.523810	0.779933
"Group2"	AllAgri	125	1.800000	0.958830

Univariate Tests of Significance for Q34_2MOMEDU (Sigma-restricted parameterization)					
Effective hypothesis decomposition					
Include condition: Q34_2MOMEDU<5					
Exclude condition: Group2=1					
Effect	SS	Degr. of Freedom	MS	F	p
Intercept	1490.837	1	1490.837	1469.416	0.000000
"Group2"	27.606	2	13.803	13.605	0.000002
Error	373.365	368	1.015		

Unequal N HSD; variable Q34_2MOMEDU (MANOVAbackup)				
Approximate Probabilities for Post Hoc Tests				
Error: Between MS = 1.0146, df = 368.00				
Include condition: Q34_2MOMEDU<5				
Exclude condition: Group2=1				
Cell No.	Group2	{1}	{2}	{3}
1	SubAgri	2.2896	0.392392	0.000373
2	ComAgri	0.392392	2.5238	0.000180
3	AllAgri	0.000373	0.000180	1.8000

4. Anxiety

- Agriculture vs. No work

Univariate tests show that children working in both types of agriculture reported significantly higher levels of anxiety ($M = 0.64$), on average, than children not working at all ($M = 0.40$). On a positive note, mean anxiety levels for both groups were relatively low (the min score for anxiety is 0 and the max. score for anxiety is 4).

Descriptive Statistics (MANOVAbackup)				
Include condition: Q34_2MOMEDU<5				
Exclude condition: COMPARISON1=3				
Effect	Level of Factor	N	Q38HOMEL Mean	Q38HOMEL Std.Dev.
Total		620	0.566129	0.781747
COMPARISON1	Agriculture	429	0.641026	0.818475
COMPARISON1	No work	191	0.397906	0.663956

Univariate Tests of Significance for Q38HOMEL (MANOVA) Sigma-restricted parameterization Effective hypothesis decomposition Include condition: Q34_2MOMEDU<5 Exclude condition: COMPARISON1=3					
Effect	SS	Degr. of Freedom	MS	F	p
Intercept	142.6503	1	142.6503	237.9577	0.000000
COMPARISON1	7.8116	1	7.8116	13.0307	0.000331
Error	370.4771	618	0.5995		

- Subsistence vs. Commercial vs. Both types of agriculture

Univariate tests show significant group differences for anxiety.

Children working in subsistence only reported the lowest levels of anxiety (M = 0.37), significantly lower than children working in Commercial agriculture only (M = 0.80) and significantly lower than children working in both types of agriculture (M = 0.97).

There were no differences in mean anxiety levels between children working in commercial agriculture only (M = 0.80) and children working in both commercial and subsistence agriculture (M = 0.97).

Descriptive Statistics (MANOVAbackup) Exclude condition: Group2=1				
Effect	Level of Factor	N	Q38HOMEL Mean	Q38HOMEL Std.Dev.
Total		423	0.650118	0.820671
"Group2"	SubAgri	206	0.373786	0.640954
"Group2"	ComAgri	71	0.802817	0.785943
"Group2"	AllAgri	146	0.965753	0.927841

Univariate Tests of Significance for Q38HOMEL (MANOVA) Sigma-restricted parameterization Effective hypothesis decomposition Exclude condition: Group2=1					
Effect	SS	Degr. of Freedom	MS	F	p
Intercept	177.9765	1	177.9765	296.2905	0.000000
"Group2"	31.9308	2	15.9654	26.5788	0.000000
Error	252.2867	420	0.6007		

Unequal N HSD; variable Q38HOMEL (MANOVAbackup) Approximate Probabilities for Post Hoc Tests Error: Between MS = .60068, df = 420.00 Exclude condition: Group2=1				
Cell No.	Group2	{1}	{2}	{3}
		.37379	.80282	.96575
1	SubAgri		0.002806	0.000022
2	ComAgri	0.002806		0.422230
3	AllAgri	0.000022	0.422230	

5. Anti-Social Behaviour

- Agriculture vs. No work

No significant differences for anti-social behaviour between children working in agriculture (M = 3.74) and children doing no work at all (M = 3.83).

Descriptive Statistics (MANOVAbackup)				
Include condition: Q34_2MOMEDU<5				
Exclude condition: COMPARISON1=3				
Effect	Level of Factor	N	Q40_1HOM Mean	Q40_1HOM Std.Dev.
Total		619	3.765751	0.695610
COMPARISON1	Agriculture	424	3.735849	0.738049
COMPARISON1	No work	195	3.830769	0.589493

Univariate Tests of Significance for Q40_1HOM (MANOVA)					
Sigma-restricted parameterization					
Effective hypothesis decomposition					
Include condition: Q34_2MOMEDU<5					
Exclude condition: COMPARISON1=3					
Effect	SS	Degr. of Freedom	MS	F	p
Intercept	7647.394	1	7647.394	15842.71	0.000000
COMPARISON1	1.203	1	1.203	2.49	0.114857
Error	297.830	617	0.483		

- Subsistence vs. Commercial vs. Both types of agriculture

Univariate tests show significant group differences for anti-social behaviour.

Post hoc tests show only one significant group differences i.e. children working in commercial agriculture only reported higher mean levels of anti-social behaviour (M = 3.50) than children working in subsistence agriculture only (M = 3.85).

There were no significant differences in anti-social behaviour between children working in both types of agriculture (M = 3.67) and any of the other two groups.

Descriptive Statistics (MANOVAbackup)				
Exclude condition: Group2=1				
Effect	Level of Factor	N	Q40_1HOM Mean	Q40_1HOM Std.Dev.
Total		419	3.732697	0.741881
"Group2"	SubAgri	211	3.848341	0.565462
"Group2"	ComAgri	68	3.500000	1.000000
"Group2"	AllAgri	140	3.671429	0.799666

Univariate Tests of Significance for Q40_1HOM (MANOVA)					
Sigma-restricted parameterization					
Effective hypothesis decomposition					
Exclude condition: Group2=1					
Effect	SS	Degr. of Freedom	MS	F	p
Intercept	4567.285	1	4567.285	8518.891	0.000000
"Group2"	7.029	2	3.515	6.556	0.001574
Error	223.033	416	0.536		

Unequal N HSD; variable Q40_1HOM (MANOVAbackup)				
Approximate Probabilities for Post Hoc Tests				
Error: Between MS = .53614, df = 416.00				
Exclude condition: Group2=1				
Cell No.	Group2	{1}	{2}	{3}
		3.8483	3.5000	3.6714
1	SubAgri		0.015309	0.107058
2	ComAgri	0.015309		0.359327
3	AllAgri	0.107058	0.359327	

6. Household Hunger

- Agriculture vs. No work

Chi-square tests show that hunger levels are significantly dependent on whether a child works in agriculture or not. Specifically, children working in agriculture were more likely to report hunger (47%) than children not working at all (21%).

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies			
Marked cells have counts > 10			
Include condition: COMPARISON1<3			
COMPARISON1	Q36HOMEL	Q36HOMEL	Row Totals
	no	yes	
Agriculture: Yes to Q13 or Q18 or Q23	233	208	441
Column Percent	60.52%	83.53%	
Row Percent	52.83%	47.17%	
Total Percent	36.75%	32.81%	69.56%
No work: No to Q13 Q18 Q23 Q9 and q10	152	41	193
Column Percent	39.48%	16.47%	
Row Percent	78.76%	21.24%	
Total Percent	23.97%	6.47%	30.44%
Column Totals	385	249	634
Total Percent	60.73%	39.27%	100.00%

Statistics: COMPARISON1(2) x Q36HOMEL			
Exclude condition: COMPARISON1=3			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	37.82356	df=1	p=.00000
M-L Chi-square	39.94552	df=1	p=.00000

- Subsistence vs. Commercial vs. Both types of agriculture

Chi-square tests showed that children's hunger levels were significantly dependent on the kinds of agricultural work they were involved in.

Children working in both types of agriculture were more likely to report having experienced hunger (64%) than children working in subsistence only (35.5%) or children working in commercial agriculture only (45.6%).

There were no significant differences in household hunger between children working in subsistence only and children working in commercial agriculture only.

		2-Way Summary Table: Observed Fr Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Group2>1		
Group2		Q36HOMEL no	Q36HOMEL yes	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No		140	77	217
	Column Percent	60.61%	37.56%	
	Row Percent	64.52%	35.48%	
	Total Percent	32.11%	17.66%	49.77%
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes		37	31	68
	Column Percent	16.02%	15.12%	
	Row Percent	54.41%	45.59%	
	Total Percent	8.49%	7.11%	15.60%
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes		54	97	151
	Column Percent	23.38%	47.32%	
	Row Percent	35.76%	64.24%	
	Total Percent	12.39%	22.25%	34.63%
Column Totals		231	205	436
	Total Percent	52.98%	47.02%	100.00%

		Statistics: Group2(3) x Q36HOMEL(2) (MA Exclude condition: Group2=1		
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p	
Pearson Chi-square	29.61964	df=2	p=.00000	
M-L Chi-square	29.95120	df=2	p=.00000	

		2-Way Summary Table: Observed Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Group2<4 Exclude condition: Group2=1		
Group2		Q36HOMEL no	Q36HOMEL yes	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No		140	77	217
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes		37	31	68
Column Totals		177	108	285

		Statistics: Group2(2) x Q36HOMEL(2) (MA Include condition: Group2<4 Exclude condition: Group2=1		
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p	
Pearson Chi-square	2.246128	df=1	p=.13395	
M-L Chi-square	2.214029	df=1	p=.13676	

		2-Way Summary Table: Observed Fr Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Group2>2		
Group2		Q36HOMEL no	Q36HOMEL yes	Row Totals
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes		37	31	68
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes		54	97	151
Column Totals		91	128	219

Statistic	Statistics: Group2(2) x Q36HOMEL(2) (MA Include condition: Group2>2		
	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	6.714976	df=1	p=.00956
M-L Chi-square	6.665020	df=1	p=.00983

Group2	2-Way Summary Table: Observed Freq Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=3		
	Q36HOMEL no	Q36HOMEL yes	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No	140	77	217
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	54	97	151
Column Totals	194	174	368

Statistic	Statistics: Group2(2) x Q36HOMEL(2) (MA Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=3		
	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	29.53564	df=1	p=.00000
M-L Chi-square	29.88499	df=1	p=.00000

7. Parental status

NB: There were no orphans in the sample.

- Agriculture vs. No work

Chi square tests showed that children working in agriculture were less likely to report having both parents alive (71.8%) than children not working at all (84%). Thus they were more likely to report only having one parent alive (28%) than children not working at all (15.8%).

COMPARISON1	2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVAback Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: COMPARISON1<3		
	Q32PARENTSTATUS ONE	Q32PARENTSTATUS BOTH	Row Totals
Agriculture: Yes to Q13 or Q18 or Q23	126	320	446
Column Percent	80.25%	65.98%	
Row Percent	28.25%	71.75%	
Total Percent	19.63%	49.84%	69.47%
No work: No to Q13 Q18 Q23 Q9 and q10	31	165	196
Column Percent	19.75%	34.02%	
Row Percent	15.82%	84.18%	
Total Percent	4.83%	25.70%	30.53%
Column Totals	157	485	642
Total Percent	24.45%	75.55%	100.00%

Statistic	Statistics: COMPARISON1(2) x Q32PARE Exclude condition: COMPARISON1=3		
	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	11.39625	df=1	p=.00074
M-L Chi-square	12.07801	df=1	p=.00051

- Subsistence vs. Commercial vs. Both types of agriculture

Chi-square tests indicate that children's parental status is significantly dependent on the kind of agricultural work they are involved in.

Children working in both subsistence and commercial agriculture were less likely to report having both parents alive (63%) than children working in subsistence only (74%) or children working in commercial agriculture only (82%).

No significant differences were found for parental status between children working in either type of agriculture.

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVA) Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Group2>1			
Group2	Q32PARENTSTATUS ONE	Q32PARENTSTATUS BOTH	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No	57	163	220
Column Percent	45.97%	51.58%	
Row Percent	25.91%	74.09%	
Total Percent	12.95%	37.05%	50.00%
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	12	58	70
Column Percent	9.68%	18.35%	
Row Percent	17.14%	82.86%	
Total Percent	2.73%	13.18%	15.91%
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	55	95	150
Column Percent	44.35%	30.06%	
Row Percent	36.67%	63.33%	
Total Percent	12.50%	21.59%	34.09%
Column Totals	124	316	440
Total Percent	28.18%	71.82%	100.00%

Statistic	Statistics: Group2(3) x Q32PARENTSTAT Exclude condition: Group2=1		
	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	10.11151	df=2	p=.00637
M-L Chi-square	10.28963	df=2	p=.00583

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVA) Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=4			
Group2	Q32PARENTSTATUS ONE	Q32PARENTSTATUS BOTH	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No	57	163	220
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	12	58	70
Column Totals	69	221	290

	Statistics: Group2(2) x Q32PARENTSTAT Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=4		
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	2.250627	df=1	p=.13356
M-L Chi-square	2.370428	df=1	p=.12366

	2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVA bac) Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=2		
Group2	Q32PARENTSTATUS ONE	Q32PARENTSTATUS BOTH	Row Totals
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	12	58	70
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	55	95	150
Column Totals	67	153	220

	Statistics: Group2(2) x Q32PARENTSTAT Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=2		
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	8.589638	df=1	p=.00338
M-L Chi-square	9.165792	df=1	p=.00247

	2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=3		
Group2	Q32PARENTSTATUS ONE	Q32PARENTSTATUS BOTH	
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No	57	163	
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	55	95	
Column Totals	112	258	

	Statistics: Group2(2) x Q32PARENTSTAT Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=3		
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	4.889977	df=1	p=.02702
M-L Chi-square	4.848292	df=1	p=.02768

8. Father's Employment

- Agriculture vs. No work

Chi-square tests suggest that father's employment status was significantly associated with whether their children worked in agriculture or not.

Children working in agriculture were significantly more likely to report that their fathers were unemployed (31.4%) than children not working at all (6.1%).

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANO)			
Marked cells have counts > 10			
Include condition: COMPARISON1<3			
Exclude condition: Q35_1DAEMPLOY>2			
COMPARISON1	Q35_1DAEMPLOY employed	Q35_1DAEMPLOY unemployed	Row Totals
Agriculture: Yes to Q13 or Q18 or Q23	236	108	344
Column Percent	60.51%	91.53%	
Row Percent	68.60%	31.40%	
Total Percent	46.46%	21.26%	67.72%
No work: No to Q13 Q18 Q23 Q9 and q10	154	10	164
Column Percent	39.49%	8.47%	
Row Percent	93.90%	6.10%	
Total Percent	30.31%	1.97%	32.28%
Column Totals	390	118	508
Total Percent	76.77%	23.23%	100.00%

Statistics: COMPARISON1(2) x Q35_1DA			
Include condition: Q35_1DAEMPLOY<3			
Exclude condition: COMPARISON1=3			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	39.85515	df=1	p=.00000
M-L Chi-square	47.27753	df=1	p=.00000

- Subsistence vs. Commercial vs. Both types of agricultural work

Chi-square tests show that father's employment was significantly dependent on the type of agricultural work their children are involved. Father's employment level differed across all groups.

Children working in both subsistence and commercial agriculture reported the highest levels of unemployment for their fathers (47%), followed by children working in subsistence agriculture only (30%).

Children working in commercial agriculture only reported the lowest levels of unemployment for their fathers (8.3%).

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVA)			
Marked cells have counts > 10			
Include condition: Group2>1			
Exclude condition: Q35_1DADEMPLOY>2			
Group2	Q35_1DADEMPLOY employed	Q35_1DADEMPLOY unemployed	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No	119	51	170
Column Percent	50.85%	48.11%	
Row Percent	70.00%	30.00%	
Total Percent	35.00%	15.00%	50.00%
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	55	5	60
Column Percent	23.50%	4.72%	
Row Percent	91.67%	8.33%	
Total Percent	16.18%	1.47%	17.65%
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	60	50	110
Column Percent	25.64%	47.17%	
Row Percent	54.55%	45.45%	
Total Percent	17.65%	14.71%	32.35%
Column Totals	234	106	340
Total Percent	68.82%	31.18%	100.00%

Statistics: Group2(3) x Q35_1DADEMPLO			
Include condition: Q35_1DADEMPLOY<3			
Exclude condition: Group2=1			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	25.15237	df=2	p=.00000
M-L Chi-square	28.24744	df=2	p=.00000

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVA)			
Marked cells have counts > 10			
Include condition: Q35_1DADEMPLOY<3			
Exclude condition: Group2 =1 OR Group2=4			
Group2	Q35_1DADEMPLOY employed	Q35_1DADEMPLOY unemployed	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No	119	51	170
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	55	5	60
Column Totals	174	56	230

Statistics: Group2(2) x Q35_1DADEMPLOY(2) (MANOVAbackup)			
Include condition: Q35_1DADEMPLOY<3			
Exclude condition: Group2 =1 OR Group2=4			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	11.30251	df=1	p=.00077
M-L Chi-square	13.21167	df=1	p=.00028

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MAN Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Q35_1DADEMPLOY<3 Exclude condition: Group2<3			
Group2	Q35_1DADEMPLOY employed	Q35_1DADEMPLOY unemployed	Row Totals
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	55	5	60
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	60	50	110
Column Totals	115	55	170

Statistics: Group2(2) x Q35_1DADEMPLO Include condition: Q35_1DADEMPLOY<3 Exclude condition: Group2<3			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	24.44424	df=1	p=.00000
M-L Chi-square	28.02808	df=1	p=.00000

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MAN Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Q35_1DADEMPLOY<3 Exclude condition: Group2=1 OR Group2=3			
Group2	Q35_1DADEMPLOY employed	Q35_1DADEMPLOY unemployed	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No	119	51	170
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	60	50	110
Column Totals	179	101	280

Statistics: Group2(2) x Q35_1DADEMPLO Include condition: Q35_1DADEMPLOY<3 Exclude condition: Group2=1 OR Group2=			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	6.917317	df=1	p=.00854
M-L Chi-square	6.867820	df=1	p=.00878

9. Mother's Employment

- Agriculture vs. No work

Chi-square tests showed that children working in agriculture were significantly more likely to report that their mothers were unemployed (56%) than children not working at all (30.9%).

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVA)			
Marked cells have counts > 10			
Include condition: COMPARISON1<3			
Exclude condition: Q35_2MOMEMPLOY>2			
COMPARISON1	Q35_2MOMEMPLOY employed	Q35_2MOMEMPLOY unemployed	Row Totals
Agriculture: Yes to Q13 or Q18 or Q23	165	211	376
Column Percent	56.90%	79.03%	
Row Percent	43.88%	56.12%	
Total Percent	29.62%	37.88%	67.50%
No work: No to Q13 Q18 Q23 Q9 and q10	125	56	181
Column Percent	43.10%	20.97%	
Row Percent	69.06%	30.94%	
Total Percent	22.44%	10.05%	32.50%
Column Totals	290	267	557
Total Percent	52.06%	47.94%	100.00%

Statistics: COMPARISON1(2) x Q35_2MO			
Include condition: Q35_2MOMEMPLOY<3			
Exclude condition: COMPARISON1=3			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	31.03471	df=1	p=.00000
M-L Chi-square	31.67296	df=1	p=.00000

- Subsistence vs. Commercial vs. Both types of agriculture

Chi-square tests show that mother's employment is significantly associated with the type of agricultural work their children are involved in. Significant differences across all groups were found.

Children working in both subsistence and commercial agriculture were most likely to report that their mothers were unemployed (69%), followed by children working in subsistence only (58%). Children working only in commercial agriculture only were the least likely to report their mothers were unemployed (27%).

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVA)			
Marked cells have counts > 10			
Include condition: Group2>1			
Exclude condition: Q35_2MOMEMPLOY>2			
Group2	Q35_2MOMEMPLOY employed	Q35_2MOMEMPLOY unemployed	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No	79	109	188
Column Percent	48.47%	52.40%	
Row Percent	42.02%	57.98%	
Total Percent	21.29%	29.38%	50.67%
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	48	18	66
Column Percent	29.45%	8.65%	
Row Percent	72.73%	27.27%	
Total Percent	12.94%	4.85%	17.79%
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	36	81	117
Column Percent	22.09%	38.94%	
Row Percent	30.77%	69.23%	
Total Percent	9.70%	21.83%	31.54%
Column Totals	163	208	371
Total Percent	43.94%	56.06%	100.00%

Statistics: Group2(3) x Q35_2MOMEMPLOY			
Include condition: Q35_2MOMEMPLOY<3			
Exclude condition: Group2=1			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	30.72510	df=2	p=.00000
M-L Chi-square	31.24763	df=2	p=.00000

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVA)			
Marked cells have counts > 10			
Include condition: Q35_2MOMEMPLOY<3			
Exclude condition: Group2=1 OR Group2=4			
Group2	Q35_2MOMEMPLOY employed	Q35_2MOMEMPLOY unemployed	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No	79	109	188
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	48	18	66
Column Totals	127	127	254

Statistics: Group2(2) x Q35_2MOMEMPLOY			
Include condition: Q35_2MOMEMPLOY<3			
Exclude condition: Group2=1 OR Group2=4			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	18.42360	df=1	p=.00002
M-L Chi-square	18.95744	df=1	p=.00001

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVA) Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Q35_2MOMEMPLOY<3 Exclude condition: Group2<3			
Group2	Q35_2MOMEMPLOY employed	Q35_2MOMEMPLOY unemployed	Row Totals
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	48	18	66
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	36	81	117
Column Totals	84	99	183

Statistics: Group2(2) x Q35_2MOMEMPLOY(2) Include condition: Q35_2MOMEMPLOY<3 Exclude condition: Group2<3			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	29.91554	df=1	p=.00000
M-L Chi-square	30.68066	df=1	p=.00000

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANOVA) Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Q35_2MOMEMPLOY<3 Exclude condition: Group2=1 OR Group2=3			
Group2	Q35_2MOMEMPLOY employed	Q35_2MOMEMPLOY unemployed	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No	79	109	188
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	36	81	117
Column Totals	115	190	305

Statistics: Group2(2) x Q35_2MOMEMPLOY(2) Include condition: Q35_2MOMEMPLOY<3 Exclude condition: Group2=1 OR Group2=3			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	3.887363	df=1	p=.04865
M-L Chi-square	3.936494	df=1	p=.04725

10. Depression

- Agriculture vs. No work

Chi-square tests how that children working in agriculture were more likely to report being depressed (22.4%) than children not working at all (11.9%). On a positive note, the majority of children (80.8%) reported not being depressed.

		2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANO) Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: COMPARISON1<3		
COMPARISON1		Q39HOMEL no	Q39HOMEL yes	Row Totals
Agriculture: Yes to Q13 or Q18 or Q23		339	98	437
Column Percent		66.47%	80.99%	
Row Percent		77.57%	22.43%	
Total Percent		53.72%	15.53%	69.26%
No work: No to Q13 Q18 Q23 Q9 and q10		171	23	194
Column Percent		33.53%	19.01%	
Row Percent		88.14%	11.86%	
Total Percent		27.10%	3.65%	30.74%
Column Totals		510	121	631
Total Percent		80.82%	19.18%	100.00%

		Statistics: COMPARISON1(2) x Q39HOMEL Exclude condition: COMPARISON1=3		
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p	
Pearson Chi-square	9.685089	df=1	p=.00186	
M-L Chi-square	10.39254	df=1	p=.00127	

- Subsistence vs. Commercial vs. both types of agriculture

Chi-square results show that depression is significantly dependent the types of agricultural work that children are involved in.

Further tests show that children working in subsistence agriculture only were the least likely to report being depressed (15%), less so than children working in commercial agriculture only (36.6%) or children working in both types (26.6%).

There were no significant differences in depression between children working in commercial agriculture only and children working in both subsistence and commercial agriculture.

		2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (MANO) Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Group2>1		
Group2		Q39HOMEL no	Q39HOMEL yes	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No		185	33	218
Column Percent		55.22%	34.02%	
Row Percent		84.86%	15.14%	
Total Percent		42.82%	7.64%	50.46%
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes		45	26	71
Column Percent		13.43%	26.80%	
Row Percent		63.38%	36.62%	
Total Percent		10.42%	6.02%	16.44%
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes		105	38	143
Column Percent		31.34%	39.18%	
Row Percent		73.43%	26.57%	
Total Percent		24.31%	8.80%	33.10%
Column Totals		335	97	432
Total Percent		77.55%	22.45%	100.00%

	Statistics: Group2(3) x Q39HOMEL(2) (MA) Exclude condition: Group2=1		
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	16.27812	df=2	p=.00029
M-L Chi-square	15.95439	df=2	p=.00034

	2-Way Summary Table: Observed Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=4		
Group2	Q39HOMEL no	Q39HOMEL yes	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No	185	33	218
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	45	26	71
Column Totals	230	59	289

	Statistics: Group2(2) x Q39HOMEL(2) (MA) Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=4		
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	15.21200	df=1	p=.00010
M-L Chi-square	13.91013	df=1	p=.00019

	2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequen Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=2		
Group2	Q39HOMEL no	Q39HOMEL yes	Row Totals
ComAgri: Q13SUBSI = No AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	45	26	71
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	105	38	143
Column Totals	150	64	214

	Statistics: Group2(2) x Q39HOMEL(2) (MA) Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=2		
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	2.284276	df=1	p=.13069
M-L Chi-square	2.244870	df=1	p=.13406

	2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (I Marked cells have counts > 10 Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=3		
Group2	Q39HOMEL no	Q39HOMEL yes	Row Totals
SubAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = No	185	33	218
AllAgri: Q13SUBSI = Yes AND Q18ORQ23 = Yes	105	38	143
Column Totals	290	71	361

	Statistics: Group2(2) x Q39HOMEL(2) (MANOVA) Include condition: Group2>1 Exclude condition: Group2=3		
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	7.147882	df=1	p=.00751
M-L Chi-square	7.014372	df=1	p=.00809

11. School Impact

Because there are separate variables for the impact of work on school for subsistence, community commercial, and private commercial work, we were unable to compute differences between children doing agricultural work (any type) and children not working at all. Indeed, the impact of work on schooling would not apply to the latter group.

Instead we decided to analyse differences between children working in subsistence only and children working in private commercial only (the number of children doing community commercial work only was too small (N=7) to be included in the analysis).

However, Univariate tests revealed no significant differences in the impact of work on schooling between children working in subsistence work only and children working in private commercial work only.

	Descriptive Statistics (MANOVAbackup) Exclude condition: TYPEOFAGRI>2			
Effect	Level of Factor	N	SCHOOL Mean	SCHOOL Std.Dev.
Total		279	1.114695	1.197013
TYPEOFAGRI	Subsistence only	219	1.050228	1.212412
TYPEOFAGRI	Private Commercial only	60	1.350000	1.117276

	Univariate Tests of Significance for SCHOOL (MANOVA) Sigma-restricted parameterization Effective hypothesis decomposition Exclude condition: TYPEOFAGRI>2				
Effect	SS	Degr. of Freedom	MS	F	p
Intercept	271.3290	1	271.3290	190.7095	0.000000
TYPEOFAGRI	4.2323	1	4.2323	2.9747	0.085689
Error	394.0975	277	1.4227		

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF GROUP DIFFERENCES: CHILD LABOUR

Chi-square tests were performed for the following dependent variables as indicators of child labour in **subsistence** and **private commercial agriculture** (the independent variables):

1. Impact of work on school (missing school)
2. Age of child (under-15 vs. 15 and over)
3. Conditions of work (hazardous or not)
4. Work-related Injuries

Impact of work on school

No significant differences between groups were found [$\chi^2(1)=2.08$, $p=0.15$]. Similar proportions of children working in subsistence (26%) and private commercial (17%) reported having missed school as a result of work in agriculture.

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies (SUBvsPRI)			
Marked cells have counts > 10			
Include condition: TYPEOFAGRI<3			
TYPEOFAGRI: =Group3	SCHOOLIMPACT Missing school	SCHOOLIMPACT Not missing school	Row Totals
Subsistence only	55	153	208
Column Percent	84.62%	76.12%	
Row Percent	26.44%	73.56%	
Total Percent	20.68%	57.52%	78.20%
Private Commercial only	10	48	58
Column Percent	15.38%	23.88%	
Row Percent	17.24%	82.76%	
Total Percent	3.76%	18.05%	21.80%
Totals	65	201	266
Total Percent	24.44%	75.56%	100.00%

Statistics: TYPEOFAGRI(2) x SCHOOLIM			
Include condition: TYPEOFAGRI<3			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	2.079346	df=1	p=.14931
M-L Chi-square	2.201541	df=1	p=.13788

Age of child (under-15 vs. 15 and over)

No significant differences between groups were found [$\chi^2(1)=2.42$, $p=0.12$]. Similar proportions of children under the age of 15 years were working in subsistence only (61%) and private commercial only (72%).

2-Way Summary Table: Observed F			
Marked cells have counts > 10			
Include condition: TYPEOFAGRI<3			
TYPEOFAGRI: =Group3	AGE Under-15	AGE 15 and over	Row Totals
Subsistence only	138	87	225
Column Percent	75.82%	83.65%	
Row Percent	61.33%	38.67%	
Total Percent	48.25%	30.42%	78.67%
Private Commercial only	44	17	61
Column Percent	24.18%	16.35%	
Row Percent	72.13%	27.87%	
Total Percent	15.38%	5.94%	21.33%
Totals	182	104	286
Total Percent	63.64%	36.36%	100.00%

Statistics: TYPEOFAGRI(2) x AGE(2) (SU			
Include condition: TYPEOFAGRI<3			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	2.417939	df=1	p=.11996
M-L Chi-square	2.491754	df=1	p=.11445

Conditions of work

Significant differences for hazardous working conditions were found between the groups [$\chi^2(1)=9.62$, $p=0.00192$]. Almost all children working in private commercial only (97%) reported working under one

or more hazardous condition compared to 80% of children working in subsistence. However exposure to hazards is very high in both groups.

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies			
Marked cells have counts > 10			
Include condition: TYPEOFAGRI<3			
TYPEOFAGRI: =Group3	CONDITIONS no	CONDITIONS yes	Row Totals
Subsistence only	45	179	224
Column Percent	95.74%	75.53%	
Row Percent	20.09%	79.91%	
Total Percent	15.85%	63.03%	78.87%
Private Commercial only	2	58	60
Column Percent	4.26%	24.47%	
Row Percent	3.33%	96.67%	
Total Percent	0.70%	20.42%	21.13%
Totals	47	237	284
Total Percent	16.55%	83.45%	100.00%

Statistics: TYPEOFAGRI(2) x CONDITION			
Include condition: TYPEOFAGRI<3			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	9.620766	df=1	p=.00192
M-L Chi-square	12.57193	df=1	p=.00039

Work-related injuries

No significant differences between groups were found [$\chi^2(1)=0.34$, $p=0.56$]. Similar proportions of children working in subsistence only (23%) and private commercial only (19%) reported ever having work-related injuries.

2-Way Summary Table: Observed Frequencies			
Marked cells have counts > 10			
Include condition: TYPEOFAGRI<3			
TYPEOFAGRI: =Group3	INJURIES no	INJURIES yes	Row Totals
Subsistence only	172	50	222
Column Percent	78.54%	81.97%	
Row Percent	77.48%	22.52%	
Total Percent	61.43%	17.86%	79.29%
Private Commercial only	47	11	58
Column Percent	21.46%	18.03%	
Row Percent	81.03%	18.97%	
Total Percent	16.79%	3.93%	20.71%
Totals	219	61	280
Total Percent	78.21%	21.79%	100.00%

Statistics: TYPEOFAGRI(2) x INJURIES(2)			
Include condition: TYPEOFAGRI<3			
Statistic	Chi-square	df	p
Pearson Chi-square	.3414555	df=1	p=.55899
M-L Chi-square	.3499731	df=1	p=.55413