

**Modern slavery and worst forms of child labour in South Africa: case of the former  
homeland areas**

**A MINI-DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE  
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**BY**

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homeland areas**

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## ABSTRACT

Despite a progressive constitution lauded as one of the best and most forward-looking in the world, with an advanced Bill of Rights, instances of human rights violations have been detected at all levels of the South African society. The most disturbing revelations have been associated with situations in many farming communities in South Africa. On the basis of a comprehensive nationwide study initiated in June 2001 and documented in 2003, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) confirmed widespread human rights violations on South African farms. Through the efforts of the South African Human Rights Commission, many of these violations have been brought to the attention of the authorities and there are already numerous actions being taken to contain and possibly eliminate them. Among these is the Child Labour Programme of Action which was adopted in 2003 by the large number of government departments that constitute the stakeholders, particularly those that have responsibility for labour, education, provincial and local government, water services, justice, policing, prosecution, and social development.

However, the SAHRC study had limited coverage due to constraints of time and funding and did not pay adequate attention to the former independent homelands. In addition to this significant shortcoming, recent international experience reveals other forms of violations that may not be immediately obvious and therefore go undetected for a very long time. Among these, the International Labour Organization (ILO), together with various non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other bodies have drawn attention to existence of what are termed “worst forms of child labour”. The latter involves a wide range of abuses to which under-age individuals are subjected against their will and often exposed to hazards that may leave them permanently excluded from formal educational and economic opportunities. The fact that national definitions differ complicates the situation. As a result, systematic investigation is needed to see to what extent local practices compare with international norms and standards. Similarly, the fact that the former independent homelands were not adequately covered in such an important study that aimed to inform policy on the optimal direction of the transformation process also raises serious questions that must be addressed.

This mini-dissertation documents evidence based on a rapid appraisal of farm and non-farm environments in two polar regions of the province, namely the Port St John’s Municipality in the Oliver Tambo District Municipality of the former Transkei homeland and Alice in the Nkonkobe Municipality of the former Ciskei homeland. Descriptive and content analysis methodologies were employed to analyze the data obtained from interviews of employers of labour, the labourers themselves, as well as community members and “bystanders” who had opinions about the insertion of children into the

labour market. Correlational analysis and logistic regression were performed to draw inferences about the determinants of child labour in the farming system. The indication is that child labour is an established phenomenon whose discussion is however quite sensitive and elicits a wide range of emotions. The role of socioeconomic factors in influencing the decision to engage child labour seems to be quite extensive. For instance, monthly income of household has important practical implications for national and global policy on the use of child labour are foreseen and form the basis for the recommendations put forward to address the associated concerns.

**Key words: Human rights, child labour, slavery, modern-day slavery, agriculture, poverty, logistic regression.**

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AFOP	Association of Farmworkers Opportunity Programme
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARC	Agricultural Research for Development
BP	British Petroleum
CBD	Central Business District
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
CMA	Chocolate Manufacturers Association
CNN	Cable News Network
CSEC	Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
CUBAC	Children Used By Adults in the Commission of Crimes
DM	District Municipality
DRDAR	Department of Rural Development & Agrarian Reform
ECSECC	Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GGP	Gross Geographical Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights
IDP	Integrated Development Programme
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFAP	International Federation of Agricultural Producers

IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
IUF	International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant Catering Tobacco and Allied Workers Association
LED	Local Economic Development
LSU	Livestock Unit
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NUFFIC	Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation in Higher Education
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
OR	Oliver Reginald (Tambo District Municipality)
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SA	South Africa
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
UFH	University of Fort Hare
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
US	United States
WCF	World Cocoa Foundation

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background

Labour is one of the factors of production that classical theorists identified as deserving special attention as the only factor that can directly communicate its feelings and emotions about the way it is used in the production process. Labour has been defined as “any human effort that is used productively (with an output of goods or services) and for which payment is made”. These viewpoints exclude honorary work and work for enjoyment. Four special features of labour have generally been regarded as:

- (a) Perishability – since labour cannot be stored, any labour that is not used in a given period is never available for a later period. Theorists aver that today’s labour cannot be saved for tomorrow.
- (b) Inseparability from labour – labour has a unique owner and there is no scope for transferability. The labour of a father is not inherited by the son or vice versa.
- (c) Immobility – in comparison to capital and enterprise, labour is relatively immobile and special arrangements are necessary to move it from one place to the other.
- (d) Supply of labour is not adjustable in the short run since it takes many years to produce one worker.

Labour use practices have always constituted the most visible manifestation of abuses wherever they have existed. The first time the human being was treated as a tradable commodity, the purpose was to increase the stock of labour available for work of one type or the other. That practice, known as slavery, was fueled by commercial motives as has been recorded by Clarkson (1785) who opined that slavery was “introduced in the original cultivation of the European colonies in the western world...”. Slavery is a system

in which people are treated as merchandise that can be traded between buyers and sellers and drafted into work against their will. In fact, they are not consulted about the tasks to which they are assigned and the relationship is that between an item and its owner, a master and a servant, although the term servant does not begin to fully capture the position of servitude that characterizes the disposition of the slave to its owner. Slaves are characteristically held against their will from the time of their capture, purchase or birth, and do not possess or are given any right to leave, to refuse to work, or to ask for remuneration for labour services. As would be made clear later in this document, historically the practice came to assume the status of an institution which was common enough that a name was given to it, that is "slavery", and there was tacit endorsement by societies, including those that seemed to differ in all other respects. There are different attitudes to the phenomenon today, however, and deliberate actions are in place to avoid its occurrence. Despite this, there seems to still exist certain conditions in the relationship between individuals that can only be described as slavery by virtue of the complete absence of freedom of action and speech in the relationship. Examples that are frequently given of such arrangements include debt peonage or bondage, indentured servitude, serfdom, domestic servants kept in captivity and prevented from interaction with family and friends and the outside world for that matter, abduction in which individuals and often children are effectively forced to work as slaves. The phenomenon of child soldiers which assumed immense disturbing proportions from the mid-1980s in many African states are other examples of resurgence of slavery. Without a doubt, the phenomenon of forced marriage satisfies the definition of slavery when its characters of compulsion and restrictions and denials are considered.

Historians and social commentators, among them Mazrui (1993) and Chinweizu (1993), have provided evidence of the commercial interest in human beings on the African continent pre-dating colonialism which reinforced and exceeded it in terms of the exploitation of the human being. Adams (1999 and 2000), has sketched a certain

historical account of the origins and demise of slavery, with some characterization of the different forms of slavery that existed from the Ancient times to the Middle Ages. According to Adams (1999), the world has know at least three forms of slavery, namely “chattel slavery” in which one person is owned by another; “land slavery” in which a person is attached to a piece of land and is owned along with the land by the landowner with resources sold together; and “tax slavery” which was a phenomenon where the state enslaved the citizenry through excessive and punitive taxation. In “chattel slavery”, the individual is treated as personal property of an owner. The individual is a “chattel” which in the English language is a term that describes a movable property other than land and buildings. It also refers to furniture, domestic animals and other property which an owner can keep or transfer by trade or gift. It was the most visible form of slavery in the past but is today the least prevalent; in fact, its absence today is what gives the impression that slavery has been completely eliminated.

Bonded labour or peonage is the other form of slavery which emerged with the abolishing of chattel slavery and as a reaction by former slave owners to retain their advantage and sustain their illegal and inhuman control over their fellow human beings. This is perhaps the earliest manifestation of what is now known as “modern day slavery” (ILO, 1930). An illuminating article by Carper (1976) has clearly shown how former slave-endemic states in America quickly enacted laws that allowed them to secure involuntary from the former slaves who were alleged to be indebted to their former masters for unspecified amounts that they were required to settle through forced unremunerated labour over a period that may be undefined and unspecified. The practice of peonage has also been aptly described by Daniel (1989) and Woodruff (2003) in respect to the American experiences in the immediate post-Slavery era and even later. In his book, *The Shadow of Slavery- peonage in the South 1901-1969*, Daniel (1990) argues that peonage has been an important and continuing theme in the history of post-slave era labour relations in the Southern States of the United States but many historians chose to ignore its existence or its relevance to the relevance of the

discussion of the continuing slavery of the black people in America even in modern times. Those laws required the peon to pledge himself/herself to repay the debt. It is a known fact that offsprings of a peon are made to accept obligation for defraying the debt since the bondage is hereditary and passed from generation to generation, and children were obliged to settle the indebtedness allegedly incurred by their parents. Evidence of this system has been found in many societies today and it is considered to be widespread today. Crais (1992) has documented the early history of the Eastern Cape Province through the emergence of the slave trade, its abolition and its replacement with the era of debt peonage. Table 1.1 presents the chronology of the Eastern Cape as developed by Crais (1992).

**Table 1.1: Chronology of the Eastern Cape**

c. 300-450 AD	Beginning of pastoralism
c. Fifteenth century	Beginning of agriculture
c. Sixteenth century to c.1775	The Era of Big Men
1652	VOC establish settlement at Cape Town
1658	First slave imported
1687-1770	European trade and plunder in the Eastern Cape
1770s	First permanent European settlement in the Eastern Cape
1779	The first war of dispossession along the frontier
1795	First British Occupation
1799-1803	Khoikhoi rebellion and wars of dispossession
1806	Second British Occupation
1807	British abolition of the slave trade
1809	Caledon Code entrenches debt-peonage
1811-12	British and colonial forces push Xhosa west of the Fish River
1818	The Battle of Amalinde
1820	Arrival of 5,000 British Settlers
1828	Peonage abolished
1829	Formation of the Kat River Settlement
1834-5	Large-scale war of dispossession
1834-8	Slavery abolished
1836-40	The "Great Trek"
1846-7	War of dispossession and the establishment of empire over Western Xhosaland
1851-3	War of dispossession and widespread revolt of peasants and workers.
1853	Representative rule
1856	Promulgation of the 1856 Masters and Servants Act, abolished in 1974.
1856-7	Xhosa Cattle-Killing
1865	British Kaffraria incorporated into the Cape Colony
1867	Diamonds discovered in Griqualand West

**Source: Crais (1992), *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-Industrial South Africa: The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865***

According to Crais (1992), the first slaves were imported into South Africa in 1658 shortly after the arrival of the Dutch in the Cape Colony and the establishment of the Dutch commercial interests there. The available historical information on the phenomenon suggests that the number of slaves grew from just one slave at the

beginning to several hundreds (Welsh, 1998). From all indications, slavery may have lasted for nearly two hundred years during which several wars were fought, including those that dispossessed the indigenous population and created further hardships for them and placed them in the uncomfortable situation of mounting indebtedness. According to Crais (1992), debt-peonage was established in 1809 by force of the Caledon Code which was aimed at increasing the labour supply for the benefit of the colonial administration in the colony that was emerging at that time.

The main purpose of the Caledon Code was to replace the erstwhile system of forced labour with an arrangement that institutionalized a master-servant relationship, making the white settler to assume “absolute control” over their “labourers” who were black (Erasmus, 1995). Although slavery was abolished in 1834-1838, problems remained in the form of wars and cattle-killing campaigns that spawned intense hostility and antagonism that persists today. One aspect of the labour relations at that time that caused considerable misery was the introduction of the tax system which required the indigenous population to pay tax in the form of money to the authorities. In time, a form of slavery emerged that involved individuals mortgaging themselves or members of their families as a way of defraying the tax burden.

According to Adams (1999), it was this last form of slavery (tax slavery) that brought about the end of the Roman Empire, heralded the Middle Ages and “shaped civilization for more than a thousand years”. Obi (2006) had reviewed earlier accounts, notably Gibbons (1776) that blame the runaway inflation that befell the Roman Empire as a citizen reaction to high taxes for the final downfall of the Empire. Seeing the end of formal slavery with the emancipation movement brought joy to the vast majority of people all over the world.

But the sensibilities of people are now being acutely affronted by the emergence of new forms of slavery. The international news media has in recent years been chronicling instances in which human beings, especially young men and women, have been deployed to roles which they would ordinarily not be willing to undertake. The most prominent of the news media that is currently championing this cause is the Cable News Network which has been implementing a project entitled “The CNN Freedom Project – Ending Modern Day Slavery” (CNN, 2012).

This CNN Project has regularly updated the viewing public with news and information on cases of abuse of women and children by individuals and groups in an exploitative and predatory relationship with labour. This media interest has no doubt been instrumental to the restoration of the prominence and topicality of the abuse of the human person in contemporary times. On 22 November, 2013, news emerged of the rescue of three women who had been held in captivity in London for 30 years and possibly subjected to both physical and psychological abuse over that period (CNN, 2013). There is no doubt that the subject of slavery remains an emotive one today; the Oscar (the annual American Awards Ceremony to honour achievements in the film industry) for Best Picture was won in 2014 by the epic movie entitled: “**Twelve Years a Slave**” which is based on an 1853 book entitled: *Narrative of Solomon Northup*. The book narrates the experience of a citizen of New-York, kidnapped in Washington in 1841 and made to go through untold hardship as a slave for 12 years before he was rescued (Wilson, 1853).

But the development community has been aware of such abuses for some time now. In this category are activities that are now collectively referred to as “Modern-day Slavery”. Several definitions of this modern forms of slavery have been provided in the instruments of the ILO and other United Nations organizations. Some of the better-known definitions have been summarized by the Anti-Slavery International and adapted as shown in the Table below.

**Table 1.2: Definitions of Modern-day Slavery in International Conventions**

Convention/Instrument	Definition
The Slavery Convention (1926)	“slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.”
International Labour Organization (ILO) Forced Labour Convention (No. 29),	“All work or service that is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily.”
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948,	“No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.”
Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, The Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, 1956,	“Debt bondage, serfdom, forced marriage and the delivery of a child for the exploitation of that child are all slavery like practices and require criminalisation and abolishment.”

**Source: Anti-Slavery International (2014).**

As can be seen from Table 1.2, the International Labour Organization (ILO), has documented this phenomenon for a very long time. Perhaps the first ILO Convention to mention these occurrences that could be seen as slavery was the 1926 Slavery Convention which was then followed by the 1930 Forced Labour Convention. In more recent years, the ILO has addressed itself to the question of abuse especially the numerous cases of the abuse of young men and women. In 1999, the ILO adopted a recommendation specifically dedicated to the issue of child labour entitled: “Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation No. 190” (ILO, 1999). The most significant contribution of the recommendation has been in the identification of the types of hazards that should be included in national legislations against the pre-mature insertion of children into the labour market. That recommendation builds on the earlier Convention No. 182 (ILO, 2011) in which the ILO provided a “pre-definition” of worst forms of child labour to include, among others:

- (i) All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as
  - a. The sale of a child;
  - b. 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;
  - c. Debt bondage or any other form of bonded labour or serfdom;
  - d. Forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict.
- (ii) Commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC), including the use, procuring or offering of a child for:
  - a. Prostitution, or
  - b. The production of pornography or for pornographic performances.
- (iii) Use, procuring or offering of a child by others for illegal activities, also known as children used by adults in the commission of crime (CUBAC), including the trafficking or production of drugs;
- (iv) Work by its nature that is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

The question has often been raised as to what constitutes “abuse” in the context of labour use. In the specific context of child labour, Bosman-Sadie and Corrie (2010) have catalogued a number of actions that cause harm or ill-treatment that are sometimes deliberately inflicted on a child as follows:

- Assaulting a child or inflicting any other form of deliberate injury to a child;
- Sexually abusing a child or allowing a child to be sexually abused;
- Bullying by another child;
- A labour practice that exploits a child; or

- Exposing or subjecting a child to behaviour that may harm the child psychologically or emotionally.

In 2002, the ILO released a comprehensive handbook for parliamentarians to guide national legislations on worst forms of child labour. The document (ILO, 2002), addressed several key questions “concerning child labour and its worst forms”, 7 of which were summarized as:

- a. Question 1: What is meant by child labour and the worst forms of child labour?
- b. Question 2: What are the causes of child labour?
- c. Question 3: Why is it urgent and important to take action against the worst forms of child labour?
- d. Question 4: How do international labour standards and other international treaties address the worst forms of child labour?
- e. Question 5: What programmes should be implemented to eliminate the worst forms of child labour?
- f. Question 6: Who can make the difference, in the country and in the international community?
- g. Question 7: What is the role of parliamentarians?

In terms of elucidating the problem, the document was timely and very helpful. But it went further than the proposed 7 generic measures that can be taken by law-makers to try to influence change in a positive way:

- a. Measure 1: Ratify ILO Convention Nos. 138 and 182.
- b. Measure 2: Adopt and enforce legislation to prohibit the worst forms of child labour.

- c. Measure 3: Establish programmes to eliminate the worst forms of child labour.
- d. Measure 4: Monitor and evaluate progress towards the elimination of the worst forms of child labour.
- e. Measure 5: Provide the financial and human resources needed to eliminate the worst forms of child labour.
- f. Measure 6: Mobilize public opinion and form alliances to eliminate the worst forms of child labour.
- g. Measure 7: Promote international cooperation to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of child labour.

Based on the foregoing, the different forms of slavery can be summarized. The Anti-Slavery International's website has provided detailed descriptions of the features and characters of these various forms and a summary is presented in Table 1.3.

**Table 1.3: Types of modern-day slavery and their features**

Types of Slavery	Description and Features
Bonded labour	This type of slavery affects millions of people around the world, with biggest numbers in South East Asia. People become bonded labourers by taking, or being tricked into taking, a loan for which they are unable to ever pay off. Some bonded labourers receive basic food and shelter as 'payment' for their work, but due to penalties and exorbitant interest rates, no matter how hard they work they are never able to pay off the loan, which can even be passed down on to their children.
Child Slavery	This type of slavery affects an estimated 5.5 million children around the world. Child slavery includes the worst form of child labour and child trafficking
Early and forced marriage	This type of slavery predominately affects women and girls who are married without choice, forced into lives of servitude often accompanied by physical violence and have no realistic choice of leaving the marriage
Forced labour	This type of slavery affects people who are illegally recruited by individuals, businesses or governments and forced to work - usually under the threat of violence or other penalties.
Descent-based slavery	This type of slavery involves people who are either born into a 'slave' class or are from a 'group' that society views can be used for slave labour
Trafficking	This type of slavery involves the transport of any person from one area to another for the purpose of forcing them into slavery conditions. Trafficking involves transporting people between borders but can also affect

**Source: Anti-Slavery International (2014)**

Undoubtedly, the ILO has been instrumental in moving this phenomenon from a propaganda item to be used by politicians to whip up sentiments and emotions to the

top of legislative and policy agenda where action has a chance of being taken to bring about lasting change.

Recent events around the world have also played an important role in re-awakening interest in the phenomenon of child labour, the most powerful of which is the “child soldier” phenomenon. Around the world wars have been fought, individuals have normally been conscripted into combatant roles by the authorities to boost the available manpower for the prosecution of the war. However, the use of children in wars became widespread in armed conflicts that have erupted across the continent of Africa from the late 1970s and well into the present Millennium. One of the most powerful images of the abuse of children in that form has come from places like Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The sight of children carrying assault rifles and causing the deaths of countless fellow citizens, including women and children, remains an extremely offensive one and a reality that humanity cannot forget.

For the agricultural sector, the use of child labour is probably not new. Abuses seem to have escalated in recent years and world attention has finally turned to it with the discovery of shocking treatments that children are subjected to in many farms. The Cocoa Industry of Ivory Coast in West Africa has been in the news for the extreme abuses of children who are made to work for the production of Chocolates that they have never even seen nor eaten. According to the online magazine “Slave Free Chocolate”, the CNN aired for the first time on January 20, 2012, a programme in which the plight of children working in cocoa farms of Ivory Coast were highlighted (CNN, 2012). It is now known that many of the Chocolate companies in the United States and Switzerland, such as Hershey, Nestle and Guittard have started implementing programmes to ensure “slave free chocolate” and engage in fair trade (Slave Free Chocolate, 2012). But these are not the only cases of child labour use on farms on the continent. For one case that makes the headlines and gets world attention, there are a

large number that go undetected and undocumented and therefore continue. A number of disturbing images of this condition have been widely publicized.



**Figure 1.1: Child working in cocoa farm in Cote D'Ivoire**

As is clear from Figure 1.1, the cocoa industry in Cote d'Ivoire deploys children to the arduous task of harvesting cocoa pods using crude hand tools, such as machete. Figure 1.2 also shows children involved in the cultivation of the field for crop production, using hand hoes which often lead to serious injuries to their bodies. The children often have to work very long hours and do not use protective clothing, leading to injuries to their bodies, some of which can be quite severe. The CNN documentaries have shown videos of these young children working in conditions that are deplorable, to say the least. There have been reports that some of these children are made to perform these tasks free of charge and sometimes as settlement for debts owed by their parents. A study of the hybrid corn farming in Argentina found that children are often exposed to quite hazardous conditions such as handling pesticides without protection and

performing heavy and arduous tasks that carry tremendous risks (Fair Labour Association, 2012).



**Figure 1.2: Children hoeing the field for crop production**

Even in situations where the activity to which the children are deployed does not result in visible physical injury, there are still enduring negative consequences. One obvious effect is on the career prospects of children that are inserted into the labour force at an early stage on tasks that are so arduous that they are sapped of all energy to do virtually anything else. For children in this category, the idea of ever going to school and successfully completing an educational programme is out of the question. For those who manage to be in school, it is usually the case that they are unable to devote the required amount of time to their school work. The upshot is that failure and drop-out rates are high among such child labourers who ultimately live out their lives as farm workers and casual workers.

Figure 1.3 shows children involved in the post-harvest activities in cocoa production – after harvesting of the cocoa pods, they sit on the ground in the cocoa plantation to break open the pods and remove the beans which are then carried to the homestead for drying (Figure 1.4) before they are sold to middlemen for eventual export to Europe and North America.



**Figure 1.3: Children engaged in post-harvest activities of the cocoa industry**

The crucial element of the engagement of these children in the tasks outlined above and shown in the figures is that they are largely either completely unremunerated or rewarded at rates that worsen the exploitative, and even predatory, relationship between the employer and the child labourers. In many instances, the wage is in kind, sometimes in non-food items with minimal commercial value. Ironically, the work performed by the children is known to contribute in no small way to the building and sustenance of a multi-billion industry. Table 1.4 categorizes farm activities on the basis of their arduousness. Similar categorizations for non-farm work are possible and can

serve as an important guide to designing interventions to address the problem of child labour and modern-day slavery.



**Figure 1.4: A child spreading out cocoa beans to dry before they are exported**

**Table 1.4: Categorization of farm activities by arduousness**

Work severity	Farm operations			
	Seed bed preparation	Sowing	Weeding and inter-cultivation	Harvesting
Light work	Laddering (two workers)	Broadcasting seeds/fertilizer, scaring birds, ridging	Fertilizer broadcasting	Grain cleaning, grading, drying, pounding, winnowing
Moderately heavy work	Walking behind animal-drawn implement, levelling soil surface with wooden rake, laddering (one worker), digging soil with spade, bush cutting	Manual uprooting of seedlings (squatting and bent posture), transplanting seedlings (bent posture), walking on a puddled field	Manual weeding with sickle and hand hoe, channel irrigation, knapsack spraying of pesticides, weeder operation in wet and dry soil	Cutting crops, harvesting paddy, wheat, plucking vegetables, manual winnowing, cutting sugarcane, pedal-thresher helper, carrying load.
Heavy work	Ploughing, water lifting, hoeing dry soil, bund trimming wet soil, spade work, disc harrowing		Weeder operation in dry soil	Grain threshing by beating, pounding grain
Extremely heavy work	Bund trimming of dry soil	Germinating seeder operation in puddled field		Pedal threshing, carrying load on head or yoke (60-80 kg)

**Source: Based on data from Nag, Sebastian and Marlankar 1980; Nag and Chatterjee 1981.**

In the case of South Africa, there are indications that the practice of using children to perform farm work is widespread and involves one form of abuse or the other. The International Labour Organization has documented evidence that suggests that children living on farms also face particular problems that range from engaging in arduous work to limited nutrition and sometimes going without food (ILO, 2000; Department of Labour, 2010). According to the foregoing sources and reports, children of farm workers who live on large-scale commercial farms are more likely to suffer from stunted growth and be underweight than any other children in South Africa (ILO, 2000; Department of Labour, 2010; Times Live, 2011). It was found that this situation is more prevalent in the parts of South Africa designated as the former homeland areas where it has been shown that children do actually show symptoms of wasting which can only be attributed to extreme hunger and starvation (Human Rights Watch, 2001). There are persistent reports of the continuing use of child labor for farm work and non-farm work, especially during school holidays (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Fair Labour Association, 2012), often making access to education difficult. Figure 1.5 shows children carrying farm produce and fuel wood from farms in Cote d'Ivoire.



**Figure 1.5: Children carrying farm produce and fuel wood in South Africa**

Instances where children are engaged in mining activities have been reported for countries where illegal artisanal mining of valuable minerals is common. This was the case in Sierra Leone prior to bitter conflict that engulfed the country for many years from the middle 1990s. Figure 1.6 shows that such activities are still going on in the West African country of Mali with children being involved in the artisanal mining of gold for rich entrepreneurs and middlemen



**Figure 1.6: Children work in an artisanal gold mine in Mali**

The other common instance of child labour use is in the construction industry. In Figure 1.7, some children are shown working with their mother to gather and carry stones and gravel that is sold to construction sites.



**Figure 1.7: Children working in a construction quarry**

Perhaps the most insidious of the actions that distinguish the present-day forms of slavery is the phenomenon of human trafficking. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC), “human trafficking” is the “acquisition of people by improper means such as force, fraud or deception, with the aim of exploiting them” (UNODC, 2014). Certain individuals take it upon themselves to take advantage of the desperation of others for employment and income to sell hope which is eventually not realized. In this situation, individuals are smuggled into countries for which they are not nationals or legal residents with the promise of ample remuneration for specified jobs. When these jobs fail to materialize, the trafficked individual who has now been made to break a national law by illegal entry, is now compelled to perform tasks for the benefit of the trafficker and further compromise their safety and reputation. In terms of the monetary value and size of the activity, it is estimated that the global business in human trafficking is worth about US\$32 billion per annum (The Presidency, 2010; Citizens for

Community Values, 2014). Another basis for evaluating the scope of the Modern-Day Slavery and its related aspects is the statistics released by the American non-profit organization: *Citizens for Community Values* which suggests that while chattel slavery accounted for 9 million slaves over a 300 year period, 1600 – 1900, the Modern-Day Slavery accounts today for more than 21 million slaves (Citizens for Community Values, 2014). The annual volume of the trade is also alarming; it is estimated that up to 800,000 persons may be trafficked annually and that an overwhelming majority of these persons are women and minor children (Citizens for Community Values, 2014). It is also estimated that the bulk of these trafficked individuals are exploited sexually, and as much 18% of them are compelled to work against their wills (Citizens for Community Value, 2014).

It is now known that these trafficked persons may become involved in any, some or all of the following:

- prostitution
- money laundering
- drug transporting
- forced labour on farms and homes
- assassinations (engaged as hired killers)
- Kidnappings.

One difficulty in checking these abuses seems to arise from some of the very actions that are made to address them. For instance, while the ILO Convention on Worst Forms of Abuses makes a strong case against child labour and provides a broad-sweeping definition of the different kinds that exist, it leaves in the hands of the member countries the task of providing a country-specific definition of worst form of hazards. This, no doubt, creates serious problems for international monitoring because national records that are usually the first ports of call for international records do not raise any alarm bells. Similarly, since national research agenda in many poor countries are driven by

state priorities, these issues are never raised or investigated even when anecdotal evidence may point in the direction of their existence.

At the same time, poor countries are by definition home to extremely poor people who are desperate to earn a livelihood regardless of how they do so. These poor households therefore find themselves in an unfortunate dilemma. What does a poor household do when the only opportunity available to earn the most basic means of sustenance is an exploitative one? To whom does the household report the exploitation if everyone is facing the same situation? Are there instances where reporting forms of abuse have produced any beneficial results? Questions like these cannot be easily brushed aside and demand answers as quickly as possible.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

There is a strong reason for concern about the current and prospective conditions of rural households in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa as in many other provinces of the country. The battle for political emancipation or liberation was fought on the assumption that there would be a dramatic improvement in the circumstances of the majority of the people within a short time. In nearly two decades since the epoch-making event of South Africa's smooth political transition, very little has changed in the condition of the rural dwellers who incidentally are almost entirely of the black race. In fact, poverty has deepened in many instances and the pauperization of the rural population is progressing rapidly. On the basis of almost all available indices, the picture is gloomy. Just as the rate of unemployment is growing, rising inflation affecting food and fuel prices in response to global financial crisis is hardly abating, thus worsening conditions for households whose incomes have fallen drastically in recent years. Some statistical evidence of the foregoing situation is presented below.

For instance, South Africa is one of the few countries in the world whose Human Development Indices (HDI) actually deteriorated since the early 1990s, having fallen from 0.735 in 1990 to 0.653 in 2004 (UNDP, 2006). In 2011, this index fell to 0.619 (UNDP, 2011). Despite what can only be described as a half-hearted improvement of the HDI to 0.629 in 2013, according to the UNDP Human Development Report 2013 (UNDP, 2013), there is hardly any doubt that the last 20 years have featured worsening welfare performance for the most part. In terms of unemployment rates, while the broadly defined unemployment rate in the country stood at about 31% in 1993 (on the eve of the inception of majority rule in 1994), it had deteriorated to about 38% by 1997, rising to about 39% in 2005. Whereas, nationally, the government had hoped to lower unemployment to about 14%, it still hovered around 25-40% in 2011 (The Economist, 2011). The latest figures released by Statistics South Africa in July 2013 suggests that the country still posts an unemployment rate of 25.6% (StatsSA, 2013). More recent reports (StatsSA, 2013b) in the last quarter of 2013 suggesting some decrease in unemployment in South Africa do nothing to assuage the concern of the development community and policy makers about this explosive situation.

On 4 November 2013, Goldman Sachs, the US-based leading global investment banking and management firm, released a report entitled *Two Decades of Freedom – 20 year Review of South Africa* which asks some pointed questions about what South Africa has done with its freedom and what needs to be done (Goldman Sachs, 2013). The report identifies what it describes as “South Africa’s Triple Challenge” represented by the scourges of high HIV prevalence, frighteningly high rate of unemployment, and an equally high proportion of the population living below both nationally and internationally defined poverty line (Goldman Sachs, 2013). The report corroborates all the existing information on these problems but draws attention to the reality that while 85% of the black population are poor, 87% of the white population are either in the middle or upper income classes (Goldman Sachs, 2013).

But as disturbing as those numbers may seem in the context of the transformation that was promised at the inception of the new dispensation, the trends that have been observed in the pace of the transition for blacks and whites make the situation even more worrisome. For instance, in nearly 20 years of democracy largely managed by the black population, the proportion of black people that have made the transition from poor to middle class is only 14% from a mere 7% at the eve of democracy in 1993. For the whites on the other hand, the number has fallen in absolute terms from 4.2 million in 1993 to 3 million today because 1.2 million have either emigrated or become super-rich (Goldman Sachs, 2013). The report puts that statistics alongside the Inaugural Speech made by President Nelson Mandela in May 1994 when he affirmed that "...the people of South Africa have spoken...They want change! And change is what they will get. Our plan is to create jobs, promote peace and reconciliation, and to guarantee freedom for all South Africans". Just a few short months before the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of those pledges and promises, the report considers that it is timely to raise questions as to how far things have changed and what is needed to realize those dreams (Goldman Sachs, 2013).

Amidst all these, cases of abuse of labour (regardless of age) on farms in South Africa have been reported and some information coming from work done by the South African Human Rights Commission gives reason for worry. Close to a decade ago, the South African Human Rights Commission published its findings on human rights violations in farming communities (SAHRC, 2003). Among the findings of the Commission were complaints that farm evictions were going on and that farm workers lacked access to diverse social services, education, health care, social security grant and safety and security (SAHRC, 2003). The Commission's report was prepared at the end of a nationwide information-gathering process that was often marred by disruptions by protesting farmers. This somehow underscored the extent of frustration and anger that existed, and provided some idea about how serious the matter was at that time (SAHRC, 2003).

Expectedly, the government has been active in the formulation of policies and implementing programmes to fight the scourge of poverty and also to address cases of abuse across all levels of society. The Land Reform programme that was introduced by the incoming black-led government incorporates an aspect that explicitly addresses farm abuses, including farm evictions. Other programmes have more directly tackled the worst forms of destitution and poverty so that people are not in a situation where they are too vulnerable to resist abuse. South African government priorities in this respect are aligned with international development goals such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) where the issue of women and children has been given a prominent place (United Nations, 2000). Granted that there are now serious concerns about the MDGs not being achieved by the target date of 2015 (Nelson, 2002; United Nations, 2005; Murphy, 2006; LIDC, 2008; Stokke, 2009), but a large number of initiatives have been taken at both national and global levels to deal with these issues. In 2010, the South African government launched the National Growth Path which the new President Jacob Zuma had hinted at during his inaugural address in 2009 with the promise of creating decent work for all. The document on the New Growth Path specifically emphasized the necessity for reducing inequality and overcoming poverty in all its forms (RSA, 2011). The key elements of the New Growth Path call for a fundamental restructuring of the South African economy to enhance labour absorption and productivity to more drastically energize the economy and provide opportunities for productive work that is remunerated more adequately. An even more relevant step in the context of targeting the youth and children who might be victims of exploitation is the Accord 6 of the New Growth Path which specifically identifies a role for the youth under the Youth Employment Accord (RSA, 2013). Under this Accord, youth employment and skills development are to be prioritized and constitutes one of the initiatives through which the government plans to deliver 5 million jobs by 2020 (RSA, 2013). But it may seem that these programmes and policies have not gone to the heart of the problem and its root causes. It is possible that the fundamental problems have not been interrogated in order to come up with clearer insights about what is really happening on farms and the extent to which the alleged abuses are impacting on people's livelihoods.

Any programmes to bring about a sustainable improvement in the conditions of the resource-poor households that are potential candidates for various forms of abuses must be based on clearer understanding of the current situation to ascertain whether or not remedial actions are necessary. Similarly, it is important to know, where such abuses are confirmed, their degree of severity. In many instances, the severity is obviously high and immediate remedial action must be taken. In the context of the food sector of South Africa, it is important to determine what the implications are for food security and the progress towards poverty alleviation so that the appropriate degree of action can be taken. According to the South African Human Rights Commission (2003), South Africa has one of the “most progressive” Constitutions in the world with a Bill of Rights that is reputed to be “the most advanced” in the world. These should mean that human rights violations will have no place in such a country given such a favourable legislative and policy environment. That such cases still exist calls for a systematic and careful investigation in order to be sure that all concerned have a common understanding of what is going on as a basis for developing effective procedures to deal with them decisively.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

In the light of the foregoing, it is important to undertake a systematic enquiry to answer the following key questions:

- a. What is the current situation on South African farms with special reference to incidence of the Worst Forms of Child Labour as defined by the ILO and national human rights organizations?
- b. How are families’ livelihoods affected by such situations?
- c. How can families realize livelihoods in the absence of such practices if they exist?

- d. Where instances of such abuses are present, is it possible to prosecute the perpetrators?
- e. What other remedial actions are possible to deal with the problem?

#### **1.4 Purpose of the Study**

The basic goal of this study is to derive a basis for confirming or refuting claims that there are practices on South African farms that meet the ILO definition of Worst Forms of Child Labour. Much of what is known to date is based on hearsay and anecdotes that seem to appeal mostly to emotions and fuel racial stereotypes in South Africa. Given how close South Africa came to destroying itself by means of an equally evil practice from which it has thankfully been saved, there is strong intellectual and political interest in seeing that no new evils emerge to replace the earlier one. If, however, the prevalence of these Worst Forms of Child Labour is confirmed, it will be helpful to demonstrate the extent of the violations of human rights and their impact on welfare such as food security and other household livelihood indices.

#### **1.5 Objectives of the Study**

The broad objective of this study was to review the evidence of the existence of Worst Forms of Child Labour in South Africa, with particular attention to farming and non-farming environments and to assess the extent of their impact on food security with particular reference to the Eastern Cape Province. More specifically, the study addressed the following main specific objectives:

- a. Determine the current patterns of child labour use in the farming system, taking account of both gender and age distributions of farm labour;

- b. Determine the current patterns of child labour use in the non-farm occupations, taking into account both gender and age distributions;
- c. Identify cases where instances of Worst Forms of Child Labour exist;
- d. Explain the incidence of Worst Forms of Child Labour;
- e. Undertake specific case studies to compare the cost and return structures and diverse welfare indices on farms that use, and those that do not use, child labour;
- f. Recommend necessary changes to improve the situation.

## **1.6 Assumptions**

This study is largely exploratory at this stage and takes off from the standpoint that child labour is non-existent in South Africa, or at least not at the scale that can be picked up by statistical analysis. To that extent, a set of null hypotheses are formulated in the expectation that the results will form a basis for accepting them or to fail to reject them. Therefore, the study hypothesizes as follows:

- a. Given South Africa's highly progressive constitution lauded as one of the best in the world in terms of protection of human rights, there are no cases of Worst Forms of Child Labour in South Africa.
- b. As a result of the far-reaching measures to promote economic empowerment in agriculture and democratize the agricultural sector to increase opportunities for all South Africans, the Worst Forms of Child Labour will not have any negative impact on food security and other measures of household welfare.

## **1.7 Significance/Rationale**

There are many good reasons why a study of this nature is important at this stage in the socio-economic life of this country. Nearly two decades of work at the policy level to bring about a full rehabilitation of the previously-disadvantaged population of South Africa, notably the black population residing in the former homelands, have produced very little change in their circumstances. It is important to find out why this is the case and what is the reason behind this “ailment not responding to treatment” so to speak (see for instance Friedman, 2011 in respect to the killing of Andries Tatane in Ficksburg). This is as important to policy makers and development practitioners as it is to the intellectual and academic community that is hungry for answers to this seemingly intractable problem. This study should throw more light on the phenomenon and help to clarify matters somewhat.

Further, the government is still grappling with the question of how to make the reform programme work faster and deliver real benefits to the people. In recent years, the phenomenon of service delivery protests has become almost normative in this country. Provinces, district and local municipalities are in a virtual contest to outdo one another. This has resulted in destruction and disruption of normal life in the name of protesting for services that were promised but not delivered. Many of these services are in the realm of basic needs and their absence can be interpreted to mean an abuse of one form or the other. It is intended for this study to implement a sufficiently comprehensive exploratory process that generates insights that touch on the multi-dimensional nature of the disadvantages confronted by South Africans in the new dispensation. Such an approach would contribute to the emergence of practical guidelines to tackle the problem once and for all.

Finally, there are many grey areas in the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour that need to be clarified in the national context. It is important to see to what

extent the requirement for national definition of what constitutes worst forms of hazard may be contributing to insufficient international detection of abuses in a particular country until things have gone out of hand. A well-structured study will be able to reveal the obstacles and constraints to policy-relevant national definition where standards are inconsistent, and norms and value systems, may sometimes be at variance with established international standards and practice. There are strong international development interests in understanding the situation of children given the prime place for such issues in current international commitments, including the Millennium Development Goals to which world leaders are committed.

### **1.8 Delimitation**

The subject-matter of this research has important practical implications for national legislation on a very crucial aspect of human rights and development and therefore deserves to have as wide a coverage as possible. It should also be comprehensive enough and sufficiently funded to address all dimensions of the problem. This is particularly crucial given the shortcomings of the Human Rights Commission's study that was inconclusive (SAHRC, 2003). Unfortunately, both time and money are in drastic short supply to do a detailed study that has a wider geographical coverage than two towns in two local municipalities in the Eastern Cape. There is also a tight schedule for the degree programme to which this research is linked. It will therefore only be sufficient to study a small area and only a limited number of cases. But the necessary caveats will be provided so that the results are not taken to be conclusive in any way and that further work would be required to gain sufficient confidence to make definitive statements about the findings.

## 1.9 Definition of Concepts

The full range of key concepts that will be examined and explained in this study will emerge at the end of the detailed review of literature. However, preliminary survey of the literature conducted at the pre-proposal phase has revealed a sample of concepts that will be defined and explained in the research some of which are listed below:

- a. **Slavery** is a system under which people are treated as property to be bought and sold, and are forced to work. Slaves can be held against their will from the time of their capture, purchase or birth, and deprived of the right to leave, to refuse to work, or to demand compensation. Historically the institution was called "slavery" and was accepted by societies; in more recent times slavery is not acceptable, but conditions tantamount to slavery although not called such continue, with debt bondage, indentured servitude, serfdom, domestic servants kept in captivity, adoption in which children are effectively forced to work as slaves, child soldiers, and forced marriage.
- b. **Chattel slavery:** Chattel slavery, so named because people are treated as the personal property, chattels, of an owner and are bought and sold as commodities, is the original form of slavery. It is the least prevalent form of slavery today.
- c. **Bonded labor:** Debt bondage or bonded labor occurs when a person pledges themselves against a loan. The services required to repay the debt, and their duration, may be undefined. Debt bondage can be passed on from generation to generation, with children required to pay off their parents' debt. It is the most widespread form of slavery today.
- d. **Human trafficking:** is the illegal trade in human beings to work as slaves, in many cases providing sexual services.

e. **Labour:** Labour is viewed as one of the key factors of production. It is more specifically defined as any **human effort** used **productively** (with an **output of goods or services**) for **which payment is made**. Honorary work and work for enjoyment are excluded. It has a number of special features which are usually considered in analysing issues of labour utilization in the production process and these include

- **Perishability** - cannot be stored, today's effort cannot be saved for tomorrow;
- **Inseparability from labour** - cannot be transferred by owner;
- **Immobility** as compared to capital and enterprise;
- **Supply of labour not adjustable** in the short run (on average it takes up to 20 years to produce a worker depending on the nationally determined legal age for employment).

f. **Forced labor:** is when an individual is forced to work against their will, under threat of violence or other punishment, with restrictions on their freedom. It is also used to describe all types of slavery and may also include institutions not commonly classified as slavery, such as serfdom, conscription and penal labor.

g. **Child Labour:** There are many definitions of child labour, but in general, it represents the use of persons below the legal age for employment in activities for which payment is normally made. In many national legislations, a child is anybody below the age of 15 years of age and who normally would not be eligible to vote or be voted for and should be actively going to school to receive education in preparation for entry into the workforce at a later stage. For this reason, the use of child labour is viewed as a violation of human rights and deprives the child of access to education when the child needs it most. In extreme cases, as a result of performing tasks for which such a child is physically unsuited for, child labour can result in serious injury or even death.

h. **Worst Forms of Child Labour:** Whilst child labour takes many different forms, the international community has identified some forms of child labour that seem to exceed the bounds of rationality and so offensive that they must be eliminated without delay. The definition of these forms of child labour has been provided by the ILO in Article 3 of **ILO Convention No. 182** and includes the following:

- all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children

i. **Hazardous Work:** Labour that jeopardizes the physical, mental or moral well-being of a child, either because of its nature or because of the conditions in which it is carried out, is known as “hazardous work”. Guidance for governments on some hazardous child labour activities which should be prohibited is given in the ILO Recommendation No. 190 which concerns the “Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour 1999”. The following four categories of work are generally considered as hazardous by the ILO’s definition:

- work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse;
- work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces;
- work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads;
- 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;
- work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.

j. **Resource Allocation:** This term is used to assign the available resources in an economic way. It is part of resource management. In project management, resource allocation is the scheduling of activities and the resources required by those activities while taking into consideration both the resource availability and the project time

k. **Poverty Alleviation:** This term refers to the process of improving the living conditions of people who are already poor. Aid, particularly in medical and scientific areas, is essential in providing better lives, such as the Green Revolution and the eradication of smallpox. Smallpox. Problems with today's development aid include the high proportion of tied aid, which mandates receiving nations to buy products, often more expensive, originating only from donor countries. Nevertheless, some believe (see for instance Peter Singer in his book *The Life You Can Save*) that small changes in the way each person living in affluent nations lives his/her life could solve world poverty (Singer, 2009).

- l. **Food Security:** This is a measure of ensured access to essential nutrition. It refers to a household's or country's ability to provide future physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food that fulfills the dietary needs and food preferences for living an active and healthy lifestyle. It is a measure of resilience to future disruption or unavailability of critical food supply due to various risk factors including droughts, shipping disruptions, fuel shortages, economic instability, wars, etc. Food security assessment is divided into the self-sufficiency rate (S) and external dependency rate (1-S) as this divides the largest set of risk factors. Although countries may desire a high self-sufficiency rate to avoid transport risks, this may be difficult to achieve especially for wealthy countries, generally due to higher regional production costs. Conversely, high self-sufficiency without economic means leaves countries vulnerable to production risks.
- m. **Conventions:** a convention in this sense refers to a treaty or an agreement in international law, which legally binds the state parties when they willingly consent to it by ratification.
- n. **Ratification:** Ratification is the act which signifies the consent of a state to be bound by a treaty. This is normally expressed through signature or ratification.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

In general, a literature review offers the opportunity to clarify concepts by exploring alternative definitions and conceptions that are found in the literature and practice that involve the concept. It is also an important opportunity to present the relevant theories and concepts underpinning the subject-matter of the research and to show the relatedness of those theories and concepts to the situation being examined in the study. It is also a way of validating the assumptions made by appealing to authorities on the subject to establish sufficient theoretical and conceptual anchor for the work.

For these reasons, the present chapter has drawn on the literature on labour utilization in agriculture and non-agriculture and associated problems. Further, questions have been raised about the age structure of the farm labour and whether or not these have constituted help or hindrance to the development process in any setting, both domestic and international. The chapter begins by reviewing literature that attempts to clarify the concept of child labour, drawing on the ordinary English language definitions and perspectives as well as those of different organizations. This is followed by a review of the relevant theoretical and conceptual issues. The relevance of the concept to agricultural labour utilization in developing countries is highlighted. How the issue of child labour entered the human rights lexicon was then explored. The links with slavery and wider freedoms, as well as the notion of modern-day slavery, are then elaborated. Some attempt was also made to review some of the historical landmarks on the subject of slavery, particularly in respect to its origin, early reactions, abolition, and contemporary response. The specific problem of the worst forms of child labour is new and has come from the work of international development agencies such as the

International Labour Organization (ILO) and documented in conventions and recommendations of the organization to member governments. This chapter presents reviews of these documents. In addition, the chapter examined the background reports and commissioned studies in many countries that have informed those conventions and recommendations.

## **2.2 Meaning of Child Labour – Clarifying the Concept**

The term “child labour” has long dominated the development literature and has generally been used in different contexts by different individuals and organizations. The ILO remains the most authoritative organization on the subject of labour, whether the discussion is on its use or its abuse, although other organizations and individuals have paid attention to the phenomenon and have their different views on what constitutes child labour. Taking the ILO’s definition first, “child labour” is the “employment of children in any work that deprives (them) of their childhood, interferes with their ability to attend regular school, and that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful” (ILO, 2012).

A crucial part of a literature review on an important subject such as this is to establish its significance or extent. Much of the available information on how much of a problem child labour constitutes has been provided by the ILO as well as a number of other international organization and bilateral bodies that are involved in international development. In the case of the information available from the ILO, the Bureau of Statistics of the organization has frequently released quite disturbing figures about the phenomenon. In 1995 for instance, the ILO indicated that as many as 120 million children the world over were engaged in paid employment on full-time basis (ILO, 1996; Ashagrie, 1998; Basu, 1999). Since then, the situation has worsened even as ILO (2012 and 2013) suggests that the number of children in paid employment has been on the decline. For instance, the *Global child labour trends 2008 – 2012* published by the ILO’s

International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) shows that in 2008 the number of children in employment stood at 215 million, with 115 million of these doing hazardous work (Diallo *et al.*, 2013). The same publication showed that in 2012, the number of children in employment was 168 million out of whom 85 million were involved in hazardous work (Diallo *et al.*, 2013). Of course, this seemed to be an improvement but was still higher than the numbers in the mid-1990s.

Over and above the foregoing, it is important to have a common understanding of what the term, “Child” means, and who can be described as a “child”. Researchers have also tried to standardize the notion of “childhood” and what that stage of life represents. In Article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, a child is defined as every human being below the age of 18 years (Nowak, 2003:14). The epic proclamation of the Polish writer, ideologue and Orphanage owner, Janusz Korczak, that “children are not made human beings, they are born human beings” has been repeated over the years by many ideologues and development workers. They recall his heroic act of choosing to be killed along with the 200 orphans during the siege on the Warsaw Ghetto by the Nazis rather than accept the rescue he was offered (Hoffman, 2011). According to Hoffman (2011), Janusz described children as the “oldest proletariat in the world”. It is perhaps some of these acts that prompted the United Nations to adopt the Declaration on the Rights of the Child in 1959 although it took another ten years or so before a formal convention on the rights of the child was adopted as an instrument with sufficient legal clarity to guarantee the protection of the child (Nowak, 2003). Prior to all these, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights had declared that children are entitled to special care and assistance (United Nations, 1948; Brownlie and Goodwin-Gill, 2006).

Activists in the United States of America known as Progressive Reformers provided a definition of the concept of “Childhood” that drove much of the actions against child labour in the United States and eventually influenced the approach of the international

community. According to the Progressive Reformers, as reviewed by Effland (2005), "...childhood is a distinct stage of life requiring a tailored set of experiences and education to prepare for adulthood...Children needed protection from the harsh realities of the increasingly industrialized world if they were to grow and mature properly. Reformers, thus, viewed industrial work as both dangerous to a child's health and detrimental to a child's mental development".

Makwinja (2010) has reviewed some definitions that are somehow related to the foregoing notions. According to him, child labour takes place when children are employed on a sustained and regular basis. Thus, in this view, certain tasks that have all the features of exploitation and hazard may escape the label of child labour if they only occurred infrequently or on an ad hoc basis. Schrupf (2004) as reviewed by Makwinja (2010), introduces the notion of national differences in the definition of child labour by specifying that child labour would apply to individuals who are below a specific legal age. As is well known, different agencies responsible for gathering and disseminating national statistical information adopt different minimum legal ages for labour force participation. Similarly, Makwinja (2010) has suggested that even the concept of "child" is relative and who is considered a child and who is not differs from one social system to another. According to him, some societies see no difference between a child and an adult and treat them alike. There is also a sense in which the concept of child is seen as connoting continuing and life-long support for the off-spring of a family. In such a setting, the duration of childhood is almost open-ended and the notion of child labour does not have much meaning to the people. The off-spring remains subject to the guidance and protection of the parents. Even if, in those contexts, children start early in life to participate in the economic lives of their families and society, that sort of participation is designed to develop and empower the young person in preparation for adult roles. Makwinja (2010) poses the question as to whether "childhood" is universal and his answer implies that there is no universality. For instance, as Makwinja (2010) notes that local language does not even make a distinction between child work and adult work. Importantly, such languages that make

some distinction between adult and child work do not even refer to them in any sense that might suggest disapproval.

Despite the broad conception captured by the definition above, certain activities carried out by children, while meeting the definition of “work”, are not considered child labour. According to the ILO, while about 318 million children perform one kind of work or other worldwide, only 218 million are considered to be engaged in what meets the definition of child labour, and 126 million of these are involved in hazardous work (ILO, 2012). One of the most widely known instances where children’s economic activities are not considered child labour is the so-called “Amish Exception” in the United States of America (The Economist, 2004). The Amish is a religious sect that still practices life styles that were normative in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The religion approves early entry of children into the labour market as a form of apprenticeship for the young to learn a trade. Such children are permitted to stay away from formal schooling, receiving only a few years of private schooling until the age of 14 or 15 years (The Economist, 2004). But national legislation in the United States requires that such children do not work in places “containing dangerous machinery” and must be supervised by adults. The work of child artists, such as singers and actors/actresses, and other forms of creative entertainment work, do not fall within the definition of child labour. Special permits known as Entertainment Work Permits exist that allow children to be employed in the entertainment industry (California Film Commission, 2011). The protection of such child actors has become a matter of more concerted public action in the United States of America where several states have enacted laws known as the Coogan Law. The latter requires that the earnings of such children be deposited into an account which is blocked until the child is old enough to access them. The Coogan Law was inspired by the experience of Jackie Coogan who was discovered by Charlie Chaplin, the American Comedian during the 1920s. He made a lot of money that was subsequently misappropriated by the parents since minors were not supposed to control money. Jackie Coogan eventually succeeded in recovering part of his earning by suing the

mother (since the father had died at that time) and eventually championing the cause for the enactment of the law which is now in force (SAG-AFTRA, 2011).

In terms of the historical origins of the practice of using children as labourers in productive settings, there has been a large number of excellent reviews on the subject. One review by Milton Fried of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America situates the origin of child labour in the period between 1700 and 1800 when mechanization in factories first began. Before that time, all fabrication and manufacturing work was done by artful and highly skilled craftsmen who used their bare hands and physical energy to get things done. With the introduction of power-driven machines, physical strength was no longer an asset. Adult workers automatically lost their comparative advantage: all that was required was to have somebody put a machine on or off, watch that the process was going on as planned, and report abnormal developments to the maintenance crew. The latter would quickly restore the system to normal functioning. Factory owners intent to make profits from their efforts discovered the value of children who were lower cost and least likely to raise labour issues. According to Pojer (2013), the first factories sprang up in England and then the United States of America. These accounts are supported by evidence provided by Galbi (1994) who contend that, by 1810 there were as many as 2 million children who were being forced to work as many as 50–70 hours per week in factories. The majority of these children came from poor homes where parents were unable to support them and turned them over to factory owners to work and bring home some additional income for the family. These authors also found evidence of children working in the glass factory in Massachusetts in the United States of America where it was found that children under the age of 12 years were working in compounds with barbed wire fencing around them in order to keep the children from running away (Galbi, 1994; Pojer, 2013). The wages paid to these children were estimated at that time to range from less than half a dollar to about \$1.10. The situation was no different in other countries in Europe and elsewhere in the world where the British had influence through colonialism (Tuttle, 2001).

The conditions proved so offensive that many people began to speak out against it. It is considered that Charles Dickens was strongly inspired by those conditions in writing his epic novel, *Oliver Twist*. The novel publicized the phenomenon of child so widely that laws regulating the practice began to emerge. The first of these laws was passed in Britain. Evidently, between 1802 and 1878 a series of laws were passed in Britain and elsewhere shortening the hours of work for children, raising the legal age for work, and generally, improving the conditions under which children worked.

### **2.3 Theoretical and conceptual issues**

The incidence of child labour has been the subject of intense intellectual and policy dialogue for a very long time and a number of theoretical and conceptual issues relevant to the phenomenon have emerged. The crucial issues have revolved around the patterns of labour utilization that arose in response to the industrial revolution and issues around cost minimization and profit maximization at a time when living standards were falling drastically (Clark, 2001). One of the earliest attempts to explain the use of labour in a modern economy was Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in which he described the process of division of labour and how it contributes to improvements in the technical efficiency of production (Smith, 1776). In Smith's (1776) illustration of the production of pins in a pin factory, it was highlighted that when tasks are separated into simple repetitive elements, the workers can become specialized in the performance of those tasks leading to enhanced dexterity, better time management and timeliness of operations, and improved technical efficiency. But Smith's theory, as has been observed in more contemporary literature by Galbi (1994), among others, failed to take account of the differences in the efficiency with which different categories of individuals can perform different tasks. According to Galbi (1994), it is not just a matter of dividing the tasks among individuals regardless of their inherent capacities, but depends on who does what. For instance, factory owners discovered that adults who did not have prior industrial experience were less adept at performing simple repetitive tasks than children. This was probably the consideration that led to the introduction of children into

the labour force to perform tasks that they were better equipped to do than adults. According to Galbi (1994), factory owners and managers had an incentive to assign tasks to the lowest cost type of worker which invariably meant women and children. It does seem that the earliest attempts to insert children into the labour force had been motivated by the intention to maximize profits by reducing the cost of labour and improving the efficiency with which tasks were performed.

Brown, Deardorff and Stern (2003) have provided an excellent and comprehensive review of the theoretical, empirical and historical questions associated with the insertion of children into the labour force for purposes of production and profit. Brown *et al.* (2003) has provided an excellent review of the important role played by the industrial revolution in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in changing the way children are treated in society. Brown *et al.* (2003) further recognized the impact of technology and demand-side factors which interact with a range of demographic factors such as family composition, population levels and growth rates to influence the pattern of labour use. Similarly, the cultural patterns and market dynamics often mediate the labour force participation rate of the population in general, and children in particular. These authors also implicate the politics of the society in the composition of the labour force, including who works and who gets education and on what terms (Brown *et al.*, 2003).

Other researchers have taken a more empirical approach, albeit heavily anchored in theory, to attempt an explanation of the supply-side dimensions of child labour. The supply-side aspects relate to the issues that cause children to be available for paid work in the first place. Becker (1981) developed a household decision model which views the household as a utility maximizing entity that incorporates concerns around the number of children born, how much education each child receives, how much leisure time family members, including adults and children, can receive, and the basic necessities to which all family members can lay claims. This model, has been further elaborated on by Rosenzweig and Evanson (1977), Portner (2001), Cigno and Rosato (2000) and Schultz

(1997), it is assumed that in order to access the basic necessities of consumption and leisure, all family members allocate time in different ways depending on the family circumstances. The more assets the family can command, the less the need to allocate time for work relative to leisure. Similarly, the extent to which family members are called upon to allocate their time for work depends on the means of the household head, with children being expected to allocate their time for market work in a supplemental capacity when the allocations from parents are insufficient to meet the basic needs of the household.

There has also been some focus on the quality-quantity trade-off as propagated by Schultz (1997) which suggests that the average quality of the children determines the extent to which a household demands and/or utilizes the services of its children. By quality is meant the extent of human capital generated through formal education and training that raises the marginal value of a child's labour services beyond the going casual wage rate. If a woman earns high wage on productive employment, the incentive to increase the number of children decreases. With fewer children to care for, the family is in a position to invest more resources in education of children which will in turn prolong their period of training and this ultimately raises their quality and delays their entry into the labour market. By this explanation, increased investment in the education of children reduces the possibility of their early entry into the labour market. However, it seems that the quality of children, even within the same household, may vary among siblings depending on various factors, the three most important being the household budget constraint, biological considerations, and the returns to scale in household production.

The budget constraint argument posits that households tend to be less capable of providing quality-enhancing investments to the children born shortly after marriage when the family is not yet financially secure. However, once the older children who are less qualitative due to limited education, enter the labour force, the family is in a better

position to invest in the education of the younger children who are then kept out of the labour market while their quality is enhanced. Children born later in a marriage benefit from the family's higher income because most families only manage to attain their peak earning power in their middle age which, according to Birdsall (1991), and Parish and Willis (1993), biases human capital formation in favour of younger children. For this reason, older children in the household are more likely than younger ones to enter the labour market at a younger age than the children born later in a marriage.

The case for biology is often made on the grounds that there are certain biological processes and outcomes that are natural and beyond the control of human beings. Yet these are vital to the rate of accumulation of human capital that determines at what stage individuals enter the workplace. One of the arguments made strongly by Ejrnae and Portner (2002) holds that first-borns are generally of lower birth weight at birth than middle children and this reduces their capacity to acquire enrichment of their human capital. In this conception, the so-called "birth-order effects" play a major role in rate of investment in human capital and which child gets educated and to what degree. Their conclusion is that last-born children tend to receive more human capital than those children born at earlier stages of the birth sequence and therefore dictates who works early and who works later (Ejrnae and Portner, 2002).

In terms of returns to scale in household production, the work of Chernichovsky (1985) has made significant contributions to the argument. According to Chernichovsky (1985), there are differences in the returns to scale (or simply, productivity or overall outcome) for different tasks in the household even where human capital is held constant. A household that is concerned with maximizing total household welfare may decide that its interests are better served by allocating responsibilities and duties in such a way that household members perform tasks which make the most contribution to the household welfare, regardless of the implications for the individual household member's own current or future prospects. The implication of this is that even persons within the same

age cohort may be assigned different tasks depending on the household head's assessment of their relative abilities and scope for contributing to overall household welfare. This means that the birth order view may not apply in all cases: the household makes a decision to diversify investments in children in such a way that the total welfare is maximized. Levison (1991) has observed that some families may adjudge that it is in their interest to assign children to tasks that have more immediate market value while others are put in school where the pay-off takes some time to be realized.

Some researchers, notably De Vany and Sanchez (1977) and Osita-Oleribe (2007) have gone further to investigate more explicitly the relationship between family size and means and the decision to release some family members into the labour market. Some explanation that seems to apply more to developing countries where fertility rates used to be higher than average, take the view that some families may see children as a form of insurance. Families that operate at the margin may not be in a position to purchase insurance and may look for other means of providing for the period when direct income earning capacity is limited by old age. A link is made in that model between land tenure rights and family size since investment in land can often be one way that families ensure that an asset that can be converted to cash is readily available should an emergency arise. DeVany and Sanchez (1977) found that in Mexico where a land reform programme did not lead to an efficient land market, families tended to be relatively larger, suggesting that families tend to fall back on children as insurance instruments when the land tenure rights are uncertain. Then of course, when the number of children exceeds the family's earning, a selective process of investment in human capacity development is applied.

A common thread running through the foregoing perspective is economic determinism. Regardless of the emphasis placed on such factors as birth-order, quality of children, and other elements, it is clear that in the final analysis, it is poverty that is at the root of the problem. According to Osita-Oleribe (2007), "economic poverty" is responsible for

the decision of households to send children out on the streets to hawk or engage in menial labour to earn cash needed by the family to make ends meet. It is the contention of this school of thought that families deploy their children to early income-earning because they lack the means to function at desirable levels without such income supplementation. However, Osita-Oleribe (2007) contends that the fact that the nature of the activities carried out by children in response to the economic circumstances of their families is not universal means that there may be much more than economic explanation for the phenomenon. For instance, while in some cultures, child labour constitutes “hawking, bus conducting, begging at street corners, working in large factories...” (Osita-Oleribe, 2007), in other cultures the role of children may be goat and cattle herding.

There are indeed cultures where it is required that children become economically active at an early age in order to prepare them for adult life. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the United States Department of Labour have documented instances of child labour in Lesotho where children, usually boys aged 10-15 years, are engaged in herding cattle, sheep and goats as a sort of rites of passage. It is said that these children are economically active while not earning an income (UNHCR and Refworld, 2002). In reviewing the issues, causes and interventions in relation to child labour around the world, Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) identify traditional factors, particularly rigid cultural and social roles which have a negative impact on educational attainment thus contributing to the growth in the pool of child labour resources. This assertion lends weight to the observation in Lesotho that many of these young boys who are charged from an early age to contribute to the family’s economic activities are unable to pursue regular schooling at the same rate as their peers elsewhere. Eventually, many of these young boys enter some formal schooling but this is generally at much higher age and with considerable social and emotional problems that require prolonged and often painful adjustment on the part of both the school authorities and the youth themselves. Many prominent Basotho today, including Cabinet Ministers, take pride in declaring their goat-herding background which they claim imbued them with a

sense of responsibility to manage life's problems and cope with the vicissitudes of life. President Barack Obama of the United States of America has further glamorized the goat-herding chores of African male-children by introducing himself as the son of a man who grew up in Kenya "herding goats" (Obama, 1995 and 2008). To that extent, the child labour phenomenon in a traditional society such as the Basotho society is part of a culturally mediated life skills development programme that every young boy is expected to pass through.

#### **2.4 Agricultural Labour Utilization in Developing Countries**

Agriculture has traditionally been the main user of human labour. The nature of the technology employed in agriculture in most countries calls for the active involvement of human beings. Even in circumstances where agriculture is highly mechanized, a considerable amount of agricultural activities is still amenable to manual operation and the demand for human labour remains high. In developing countries where mechanization has always been rudimentary at best, labour-intensity of agriculture is high. According to the ILO (2010), the use of children in agriculture is excessive, to say the least. The organization's work reveals, up to 60% of all child labourers worldwide are in agriculture (ILO, 2010). The ILO's Global Estimates on child labour conducted in 2006 had concluded that as many as 132 million children aged between 5-14 years were working in agriculture. Taking note that such work was deleterious to the future of these children as a result of denial of educational opportunities, but fully aware that some activities were not bad for children and needed not to be eliminated, a total of 6 international organizations resolved to form a strategic alliance to selectively eliminate all activities that are adjudged as hazardous to children, whether physically, emotionally, or educationally (ILO/FAO/IFAD/IFAP/IFPRI/IUF, 2007). These agencies drew up a document entitled "Declaration of Intent on Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture" (ILO/FAO/IFAD/IFAP/IFPRI/IUF, 2007). This modest 6-page document very powerfully captured the mood of the international community regarding this scourge and specified the principles and modalities of cooperation, the areas of cooperation and the timeframe

for its commencement and operation which was initially set at 5 years from 2007. The current status of the cooperation needs to be assessed in the light of the fact that it is now 5 years since it was drawn up in the first place.

A number of specific concerns related to the use of children in agriculture have been highlighted by the ILO (2010). In the case of farming, it has been pointed out that child labour is made more difficult by the natural conditions in traditional agriculture which features acute lack of technology and where most activities are manual. With the majority of farmers being resource-constrained, it is difficult to acquire the equipment to perform even the most basic farm operations such as tillage and planting. For such families, the cheapest means of sustaining the family's agricultural enterprise is to deploy children of the household to work side by side with the adult members. ILO has found out that the use of children in agriculture exposes them to more danger than in other sectors because agriculture is one of the most under-regulated sectors in terms of safety standards. The indication from the ILO work is that some of the most hazardous activities occur in agriculture and children who are employed in this sector are exposed to more danger than if they were employed elsewhere because of higher risks. These risks are identified as follows:

“Longer working hours; carrying of heavy loads over longer distances; exposure to extremely high temperatures over a very long time; loud noises; exposure to toxic substances used for spraying against pests of crops; falling which might result in serious injury or death; skin diseases caused by lack of protective clothing; exposure to organic dusts; and attack by livestock and wild animals that can lead to injury or death” (ILO, 2010).

Along those lines, ILO (2010) has concluded that in the developing countries' contexts examined, children are more commonly assigned to such tasks as land preparation, transport and planting of seedlings and seeds, carrying fertilizers and pesticides from homes to farms and often being the ones that apply these chemicals, harvesting of crops, processing of the harvested crops and marketing of the produce in open markets or through hawking on street corners and major transport routes in cities and between cities. Without question, many of these are highly hazardous undertakings by their very nature. Sharp tools are involved in digging the earth and in harvesting of crops. Children, unlike adults, do not have experience in how to handle many of these items or their safe use. Therefore, this makes them highly prone to injury and death.

## **2.5 Emergence of Human Rights Concerns on Child Labour**

Apart from highlighting its nature and features, it is perhaps crucial to also show how widely held is the particular conception put forward in the present review and the state of both knowledge and policy action on the subject. The point has been made unambiguously in the definition which indicated that child labour is considered a serious problem that should not be allowed to continue. National and international attitudes on the phenomenon demonstrate a clear resentment and a burning desire to see its demise. But such attitudes and feelings do not amount to much if they are not articulated in terms that provide a credible platform for action against the scourge. It is for this reason that the emergence of human rights concerns around the subject of child labour is considered a significant development towards its recognition as an evil practice and its eventual elimination. It is therefore necessary to examine the way the definition of child labour as a human rights issue has evolved so that it will be possible to establish its historical features and in what ways it is being pursued and what changes it has brought about.

An important element of the debate on child labour that has influenced its being seen as a human rights issue is that previous thinking on the subject saw it mostly in a cultural context (Ballet, Bhukuth and Radja, 2006). According to Ballet *et al.* (2006), people tend to dismiss the work done by children as part of socializing and apprenticeship for life and that this is culturally relevant to sustain a people's way of life. Unfortunately, this tends to deny the value of human rights (2006). Albeit, the seminal works of people like Sen (1999), while focusing on other important concepts, have raised the issue of entitlements, substantive opportunities and freedom of processes which invariably have a human rights connotation. But these later writings are only responding to international initiatives that started to concretize in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century as the issue of rights began to be debated and legislated upon. According to Grossman-Green and Bayer (2009), the first international recognition of child labour as a human rights issue came in the form of the 1924 "Declaration of Geneva on the Rights of the Child" which was adopted by the Council of the League of Nations Assembly, the precursor of the United Nations. In the fourth paragraph of the declaration, the key position of the drafters was expressed in terms that have informed all later deliberations on the subject when it stated that "the child must be put in a position to earn a livelihood and must be protected against every form of exploitation". When the International Labour Organization was established it adopted this perspective and began actively to coordinate international action against the scourge through numerous recommendations and conventions. The main convention in this respect was the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and ILO Convention No. 138 which specifically addressed the question of the minimum age for entry into employment. In adopting the latter convention in 1973, the ILO declared that:

"children and young persons should be protected from economic and social exploitation. Their employment in work harmful to their morals or health or dangerous to life or likely to hamper their normal development should be punishable by law. States should also set age limits below

which the paid employment of child labour should be prohibited and punishable by law”(the United Nations General Assembly).

What emerges from the literature on child labour and child rights and worst forms of slavery cited hitherto is that the ILO was instrumental to the recognition of child labour as a human rights (Bhat, 2010).

## **2.6 Perspectives on Wider Freedoms and History of Oppression and Exploitation**

History is replete with instances of oppression of one group over another, exploitation of one group by another and outright inhumanity against individuals and groups, be it in peace or war. In the Holy Bible, several cases are presented of occasions when humanism has been blatantly replaced by the worst cases of bestiality. Such terms as persecution (1 Peter, 4, v 12-14; 1 John, 3, v.13), affliction (Exodus, 3, v.7) and tribulations (1 Samuel, 10, v.19) evoke images of intense and extreme suffering of a people for which divine intervention was sought after prolonged sacrifices. In the first instance, Joseph’s siblings sold him into slavery (Genesis 37, v. 28), the very first instance of such a transaction as a form of human punishment rather than an economic activity which it would eventually come to form the basis of the development of some of the most awe-inspiring architectural and infrastructural edifices and structures in the world. Many states today have witnessed cases of oppression at the hands of other states while almost all nations have known oppressions within their own borders by one segment of their population over another. Expectedly, concerns over these occurrences are not new and have actually dominated national and international discourse and interactions.

In the light of the foregoing, the question that arises is to what extent these concerns have spawned responses, in the form of binding documents, declarations and conventions that articulate revulsions that right-thinking humans have felt over such evils, and to what extent they have charted the course towards their elimination. Without doubt, establishing clear links between particular concerns and the responses they elicit is a daunting task given the longevity of the abuses, the violations and the reactions against them. The problem is further complicated by the apparent fluidity of the situation whereby new issues constantly emerge that replicate old ones and lead to conflicting and often contradictory reactions; the same persons and groups who condemn one form of abuse may be found supporting and applauding similar actions as a result of differences in the perpetrators and sufferers or due to political interests and other allegiances.

There are therefore often allegations and outright accusations of double standards. But one phenomenon around which there has been almost universal sense of outrage dating back to biblical times is slavery, the practice whereby “one human being is legally the property of another, can be bought or sold, is not allowed to escape and must work for the owner without any choice involved” (Drescher, 2009).

### **2.6.1 The Origin and Nature of Slavery**

Available evidence suggests that mankind has known slavery from time immemorial (Wright, 2003; Wells, 2006). It would seem that the first time this phenomenon was documented was in the writing of the Sumerian Code of Ur-Nammu somewhere between 2100 BC and 2050 BC (Wright, 2003; Wells, 2006). As was the dominant practice in those days, the records were placed on a “tablet” or plaque and were presented in the form of guidelines or laws governing the use and treatment of slaves. According to the Code of Hammurabi (circa 1760 BC), slavery was already in existence

even before the Medieval period, possibly not long after creation, as soon as human population expanded beyond the first two inhabitants of the Garden of Eden (Genesis, Chapter 1). According to Harris (1999) and Drescher (2009), the history of slavery is a long and tortuous one. The Code of Hammurabi described slavery as “an established institution” (Nanjira, 2010). A treatise on slavery by Thomas Clarkson, entitled “An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly the African”, submitted for a doctorate degree at the University of Cambridge in 1785, suggests that slavery was “introduced in the original cultivation of the European colonies in the western world...”. Clarkson’s (1785) treatise may actually be referring to the commercial element in slavery since there is hardly a doubt that it had a much farther origin, possibly preceding even biblical times. Evidence of similar experiences on the African continent has been aptly captured by Mazrui (1993), among others.

Whatever its origin, the practice of slavery and its manifestations were almost similar everywhere. In Exodus, there is a detailed account of “the afflictions of the Israelites in Egypt” (Exodus, Chapter 1). The tasks that the slaves were assigned were diverse but were all identical in the fact that they made the lives of the Israelites “...bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field...”. The Bible used the word: “rigor” to describe the condition of the work to which the slaves were assigned and the arduousness of this cannot be lost on the reader (Exodus, Chapter 1).

### **2.6.2 Early Reactions to the Incidence of Slavery**

As has been indicated earlier, some of the earliest available records, especially the Code of Hammurabi, refer to slavery as an “established institution”. This means that human beings came to know and accept its occurrence as part and parcel of human relationship. Some people accepted the situation that gave them absolute authority over others while others saw themselves as being in perpetual servitude. In such a situation,

reactions of a judgmental nature would be either unknown or extremely rare and could very easily be seen as aberrant behaviour that needed to be punished. According to the Code of Hammurabi, stiff punishment was prescribed for persons who assisted a slave to escape from his/her owner in much the same way that a person helping to shelter a runaway slave would be punished. These prescriptions were part of codified bodies of law which governed the peoples of those days.

Historians associate the advent of slavery with the invention of agriculture during the Neolithic Revolution (Britannica, 1999). There is therefore a connotation of economic differentiation that was linked to the phenomenon or possibly gave rise to it by the fact that some people owned the means of production while others did not. The level of technological development at that time also required that activities related with agricultural production be undertaken by means of human labour beyond the means of the land owner and his immediate family. It was therefore claimed that slavery was rare among primitive societies that existed by hunting and gathering and only emerged as soon as organized production became part of human existence.

The use of slaves in economic production again gave rise to trade in the commodity and this introduced a new dimension to the question of using human beings as productive resource and the violations associated with the practice. So, apart from the fact that in the early days human beings saw it as natural, the emergence of trade in human beings introduced the element of profit and economic gain that further made it attractive and therefore delayed any strong opposition to the phenomenon. It therefore thrived for centuries with the active support of society.

The opposition to the idea of slavery began only in the fifteenth century (Clarkson, 1785). According to Clarkson (1785), the first recorded opposition to slavery came from a clergyman, Bartholomew de las Casas who he described as a "pious bishop". It is said

that Bishop Casas who then lived in “Spanish America”, had observed the inhuman treatment to which the Indians were subjected and subsequently returned to Spain to make public speeches in condemnation of the practice. His speeches focused on the religious dimension and warned that heaven would call the people to account for the cruelties they showed to other human beings by enslaving them. But, according to Clarkson (1785), these speeches produced no important changes in attitudes towards slavery as people continued to trade in other human beings and use them in ways that were bestial and wicked.

After many years when there was no notable opposition at the scale of the one shown by Bishop Casas, a British clergyman known as Morgan Goldwyn joined the cause and campaigned against the practice. Following this, many others joined and a real movement was formed against slavery especially by the religious society called the Quakers. The latter went from place to place, campaigning vigorously against the practice of “involuntary servitude of persons who had caused no offence” (Clarkson, 1785). The Quakers began to organize against the practice by calling meetings at which the evil aspects of the practice were highlighted to attack the conscience of the people who turned out to listen to these advocates for the abolition of slavery. Among outstanding members of the society who distinguished themselves by the moving speeches they gave at the meetings were people like John Woolman and Anthony Benezet (Clarkson, 1785).

### **2.6.3 Outcome of Anti-Slavery Protests**

As has been shown in the foregoing sections, the initial reaction to the spate of protests against the practice of human slavery was apathy. The majority of the people did not think much of it and actually saw it as a natural order of things; some people will be slaves and others masters. But in time, attitudes began to change. Descriptions of the practice as “iniquitous African trade” began to emerge. The Quakers were no longer

merely making speeches but were now petitioning parliament to interfere through legislation. This was no doubt the origin of thinking to develop a body of guidelines that would be binding on people. The first decree that was written and issued was at the instance of Mr. Granville Sharp. The decree required that once anybody arrived on the British shores, he or she was protected by British laws and would no longer be a slave. Clarkson (1785) refers to the decree as the “Somerset case”, named after the African slave, James Somerset, who was at the centre of the famous judgment of Lord Mansfield in England that held that chattel slavery contradicted English Law. This case is an interesting one where legality rather than morality was evoked to decide on the issue. It is also interesting in the way considerations of expediency and commercial and political interests were deliberated allowed to introduce ambiguity that led to prolonged misinterpretation and misunderstanding of the judgment of Lord Mansfield. This case merits some elaboration, based on accounts summarized and paraphrased from Clarkson (1785), Nadelhaft (1966), Weiner (2002), Blumrosen and Blumrosen (2005):

The slave had been bought in America (Boston, Massachusetts) by a British Customs Officer named Mr Charles Stewart who brought his slave back to England in 1769. In 1771, the slave escaped but was recaptured and imprisoned in the ship *Ann and Mary* under the captainship of Captain John Knowles. To complicate matters further, the owner, Mr Stewart had decided to resell the slave to a plantation in the British colony of Jamaica and he was being transported to that destination in the ship. At that stage, three persons who had assumed the roles of god-parents to Mr Somerset on the occasion of his baptism while he was in England, namely John Marlow, Thomas Walkin, and Elizabeth Cade, filed an application for a *writ of Habeas Corpus* (or Court Order served on a prison official), seeking that the matter be heard by an English Court to determine the legality of the arrest and imprisonment of Mr Somerset. The English Court was being asked to declare the imprisonment and forcible removal to be resold in Jamaica illegal and release Mr Somerset to freedom. In ruling, the learned Judge Mansfield concluded that no legal precedent existed of the sort of actions and transaction being carried out in the Somerset case and that there were therefore no grounds on which it could be tolerated and approved. In the view of the judge, only

“positive law”, in the sense of a deliberately enacted legal instrument, could lend authority to a person to exercise such power over another person. Since there was no such positive law in England, he discharged Somersett who became a free man.

The other opponent of slavery in the era of Mr Sharp’s important campaigns was Rev James Ramsay who wrote a widely read but highly criticized book entitled: *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves*. These two gentlemen contributed more than many in eventually moving the process from mere protests to the development of a convention which finally came in 1926 with the release of the Convention on Slavery.

#### **2.6.4 Possible Contemporary Response**

The news media is currently abuzz with stories of what is known as modern day slavery but which has all the characteristics of the earlier phenomenon to the extent that it represents the deprivation of people by others. What has happened is that in an instant, these issues are broadcast all over the world and the images of suffering are brought home to people in their living rooms thereby evoking emotions that lead to quite dramatic responses. The time it takes today to move from the expression of revulsion over a particular issue to mobilizing international support against it is considerably shorter. The use of the social network technologies has made the process even faster and made it easier to mobilize support around causes. On the basis of experiences with recent events, for instance, the Arab Spring, as soon as the protests became a mass movement and the Facebook and twitter technologies were deployed, the international community was galvanized into action and world leaders could no longer keep quiet about the whole event. Once that stage is reached, the next phase is usually a call for a Security Council or General Assembly Resolution which is a step towards decisive international action. This is a far-cry from the slow build up of private resentments that

marked earlier responses. This inaction resulted in centuries of abuse that gave an evil practice like slavery the character of an institution.

## **2.7 The Re-surgence of Slavery in Modern Times**

The phenomenon of slavery as it was known in Biblical times and during the industrial revolution in the West seemed to have ended, at least officially, with the Abolition of slavery following the promulgation of the Emancipation Decree in 1833 (Hinks, McKivigan and Williams, 2007). However, it soon became clear that modern business has changed the nature of the phenomenon (CNN, 2010). In some way, modern business had “resurrected” slavery in the form of Child Labour (CNN, 2010). The character of that form of labour use was unique in the sense that the agreement of the labourer was not required and it was in fact forced. One of the most significant developments in the international action against Child Labour has been the agreement signed by the Chocolate Manufacturers Association (CMA) and the World Cocoa Foundation (WCF) in September 2001. The agreement was a commitment by the industries (cocoa and chocolate) to deal in a positive and decisive way with the “Worst Forms of Child Labour” in those industries in Cote d’Ivoire and Ghana, which are the two most important producing countries for cocoa on the African continent (if not the world) (Payson Center, 2010). The agreement is commonly referred to as the Harkin-Engel Protocol, named after the two United States Senator (Tom Harkin) and Representative (Eliot Engel) who witnessed the signing of the agreement. Essentially, the agreement calls for voluntary standards to be implemented by the industries to ensure that cocoa beans and products derived from them have not resulted from the use of child labour (Payson Center, 2010).

The concern over slavery is also one that transcends generations and geography. In recent years, the phenomenon has been restored to prominence and topicality by the media with the discovery of situations in which children and other vulnerable groups

have been drafted into work or war against their will. The highly influential American news channel, Cable News Network (CNN) has for some time now been broadcasting a documentary entitled: “The CNN Freedom Project – Ending Modern Day Slavery” in which diverse abuses are highlighted (CNN, 2010). For these reasons, this mini-dissertation will attempt to explore the phenomenon of slavery and how it has evolved over the years and how concerns over the sheer bestiality and inhumanity of the practice led to the adoption of conventions that have endured for some time which the majority of the world’s people subscribe today.

## **2.8 Measurement Approaches and Data Requirements**

While the methodology for the present study will be spelt out in the next chapter in terms of the practical steps that were employment to carry out the research, it is important at this stage to examine how other studies have approached the matter. It is also important to examine the main issues that research has commonly focused on and what the data choices have been, as well as their estimation methods. Much of socioeconomic research on the subject of child labour has sought to generate information on the determinants of child labour while others have assessed the implications of child labour use for livelihoods outcomes, including agricultural production. In this respect, the categorization offered by Basu (1999) is relevant. According to Basu (1999), the literature identifies two groups of research on child labour, namely those that look at the intra-household bargaining (that is, the internal interactions among the parents and the children that result in underage members entering the labour force), and the intra-household bargaining which entails interactions between the household and external entities such as farm owners and other employers.

In the case of the intra-household bargaining framework, the household members differ from one another on the basis of a number of criteria that influence their relative contribution to household means and welfare. Studies carried out by Bourguignon and

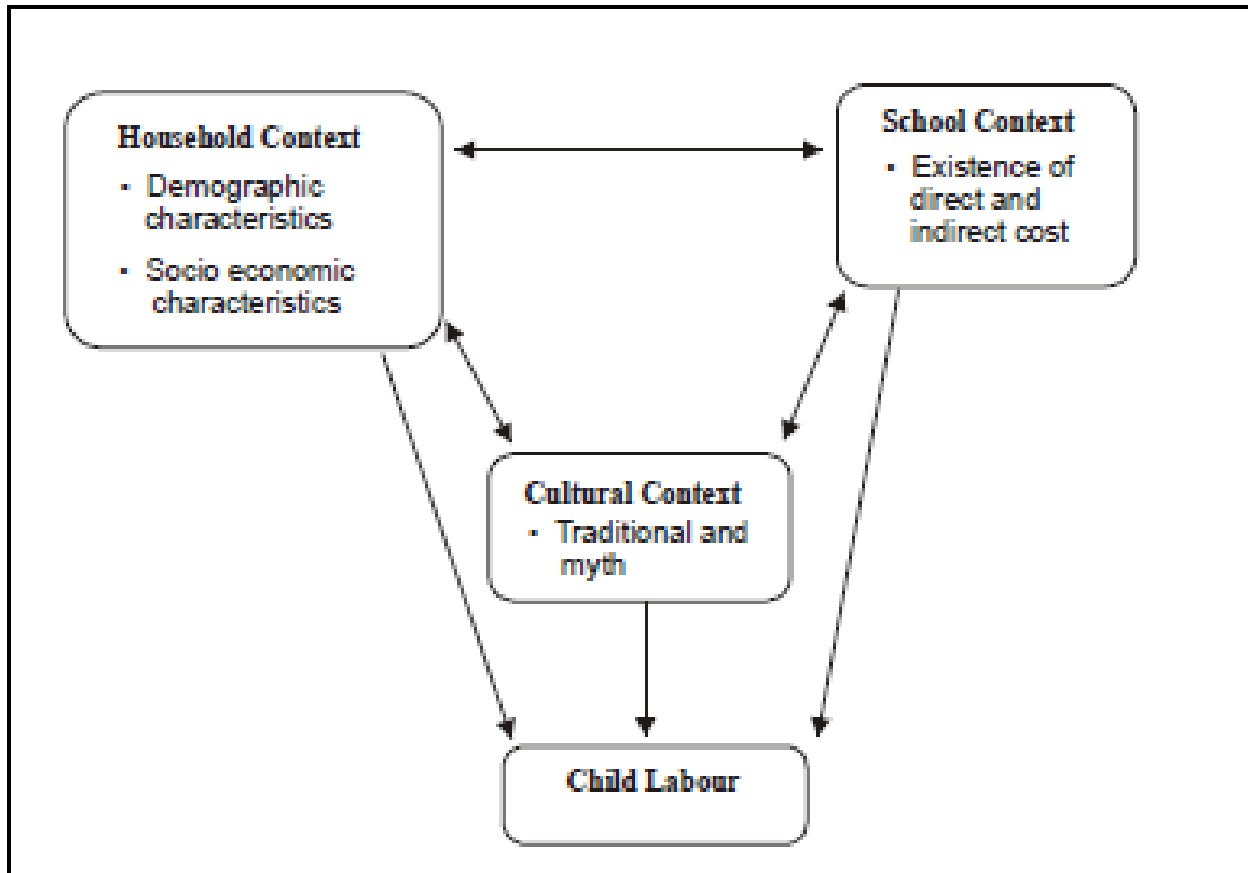
Chiappori (1994), Moehling (1995) and Galasso (1999) have come up with some weighting of member contributions that can form the basis for the household's decision to release individual members for outside work. According to the literature on this genre of child labour studies, variables such as household wealth, household size, age of household head, gender of the main decision maker and level of education are key considerations.

The other category of studies, namely the inter-household bargaining framework, takes the view that the household is a decision making unit that transacts with outside entities depending on its circumstances. The direction in which the household decides in respect to whether or not its members engage in child labour depends on its relative strength as defined by its financial muscle. Better-off households are assumed to be less likely to endorse the early insertion of its members into the workforce (Becker, 1964; Gupta, 2000; among others). In this respect, variables of interest are those which influence the relative strength of the bargaining entities. Becker (1964) and Gupta (2000) consider that the level of household wealth is an important variable to analyze. The expectation is that a household's degree of desperation for income can be measured by the types of strategies it adopts to cope with its circumstances. Of course, many households are not in a position to express their preferences in relation to their child taking up paid employment or not, but such preferences may be indirect by the absence of any effort to restrain child's employment at an early age.

A study by the World Bank to assess the role of credit constraints in the incidence of child labour made use of panel data covering the aforementioned variables from Tanzania. The basic assumption of the study was that the decision about child labour use relates to the relationship between current and future incomes (Beegle, Dehejia and Gatti, 2003). The authors introduce the notion of transitory income shocks in the literature on child labour. It is posited that a household passes through a wide range of scenarios of well-being, from the current situation to the future and that there are often

trade-offs that are associated with these phases of socio-economic well-being. According to Baland and Robinson (2000), households face situations where their current income has to be achieved through arrangements that have a bearing on the extent to which future incomes can be guaranteed or assured. In their opinions, child labour often creates this trade-off. When the household due to current financial shocks is compelled to release children to work in order to raise income at the present point in time, they inadvertently interfere with the ability of the household to guarantee future incomes at reasonably comfortable levels because of the impact of the child's early work force participation on human capital development.

A number of more specific studies have focused on countries in Africa and paid attention to the causes of child labour and the relationship of child labour and a range of factors. A study conducted in the Igima Ward of the Njombe district of Tanzania examined the association between poverty and child labour (Akarro and Mtweve, 2011). While making important distinctions between child work (which may be socially desirable as part of the overall socialization of the child), Mendelievich (1979), and child labour which involves working outside the family and may be exploitative and hazardous, they propose a conceptual framework that relates child labour to a set of household, school and cultural contexts (see Figure 2.1)



**Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework showing the key relationships influencing child labour.**

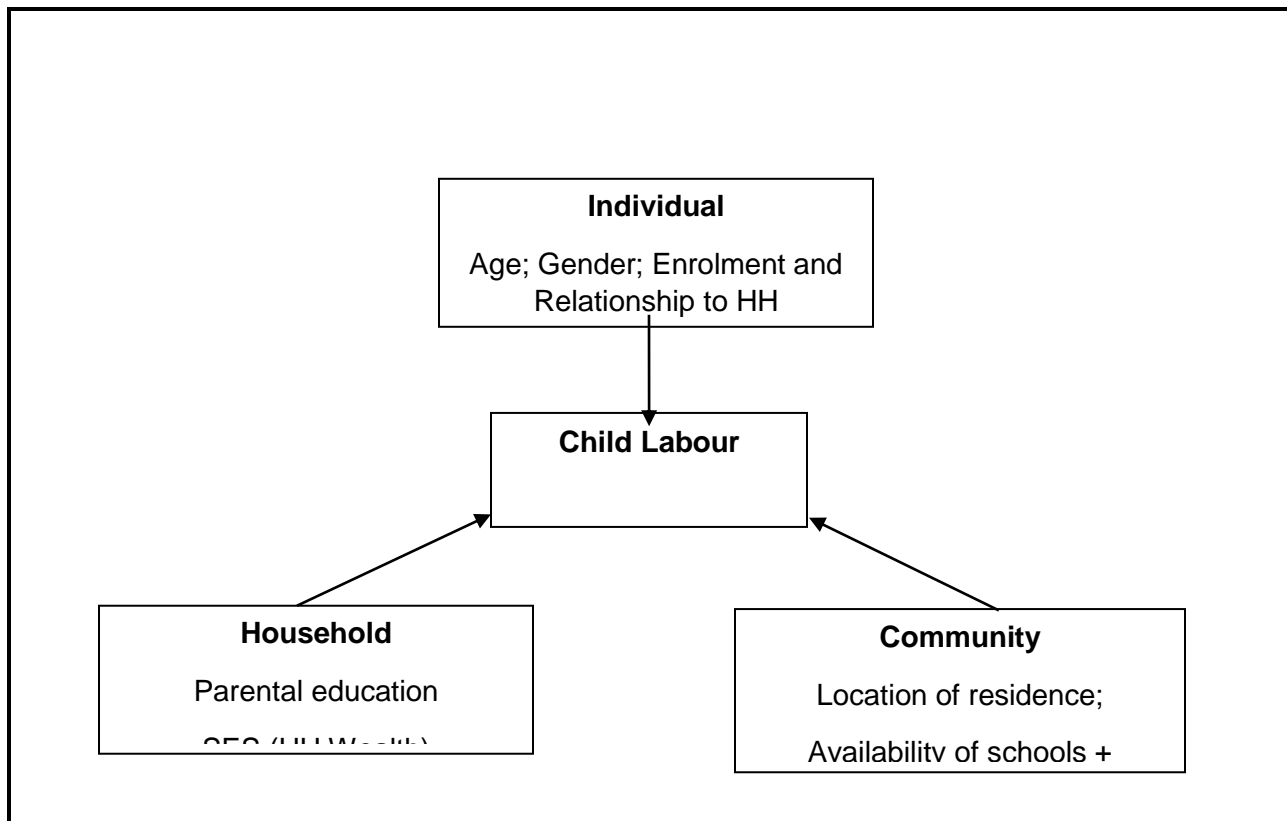
According to the authors, household characteristics play an important role in the decision of households for their children to engage in child labour. It was shown (Akarro and Mtweve, 2011) that demographic and socioeconomic characteristics are important determinants of poverty which in turn determines whether or not the children of the family to work. Within this broad group, the study specifically highlights the significance of age, gender, and education of household head and the household size (Akarro and Mtweve, 2011). The importance of the cultural context was then stressed since, according to the authors, “religion, myths and traditions define childhood and generational role in African societies which differ significantly from that of European societies (Akarro and Mtweve, 2011). Finally, the school context was highlighted with respect to the prohibitive cost of schooling which discourage poor households from sending their children to school.

According to the authors, even when there is a national policy of free schooling, many costs are still borne by the households, and because of their extreme poverty, they are hardly able to accommodate these costs especially where the number of children is large as is typically the case. In terms of the analysis of the data, the authors made use of logistic regression to fit the data and found that household poverty, gender of household head, the marital status and family size were significantly influencing child labour use which seem to be intuitively correct. Similarly, the authors found by interpreting the odds-ratios that female-headed households were up to 2.8 times more likely to engage their children on outside work than the male-headed households, probably because of the greater hardships that the former are likely to face relative to the latter especially given cultural allocation of resources in traditional societies. It also emerged from their data that single-parent households were as much as 7.69 times more likely to send their children to perform outside work for pay than households in which both husband and wife were available. Again this is probably explained by the differential income security situation of the two groups of households.

Kondylis and Manacorda (2006) have also conducted a study in rural Tanzania to examine the relationship between school proximity and child labour. The model presents a scenario where the school is within easy distance of the home and allows the child to combine schooling with off-school work and increasing the chances of school attendance. The downside is that it still does not eliminate the incidence of child labour. The authors found in this case that when school distance increased, fewer children combine school with work and the majority actually decide in favour of more time devoted to work rather than school (Kondylis and Manacorda, 2006). The authors in this case employed an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression analysis to find out what factors determine the time children who work devote to the paid employment as against school work. The dependent variable in this case was the Children's time use (for work, school and inactivity), while the explanatory variables included the distance to the nearest school, the age of the child, the family circumstances, among other variables (Kondylis and Manacorda, 2006).

An international study of childhood poverty conducted by the Young Lives programme at the Department of International Development of University of Oxford revealed some interesting patterns in Andhra Pradesh in India. The purpose of the study was to assess the determinants of child labour with particular reference to income shocks, household composition and parental preferences (Krutikova, 2009). This study employed a wide range of household information that looked at the individual and household characteristics, the work types and time intensities of the work done by different family members, the income status of the household highlighting instances of shocks and improvements, the composition of the households, and indices of bargaining power of household heads, particularly women, through such factors as years of education and social status (Krutikova, 2009). Again, this study employed the OLS regression to predict the determinants of child labour in the context studied.

A study conducted by the North Dakota State University in the United States to assess the determinants of child labour in Malawi and Tanzania (Mudzongo and Whitsel, 2013) has noted that some consensus is building on the undesirability of child labour, which is a good thing. However, they expressed concern over the existence of significant amounts of “harmful child work” which governments and the international community would wish to see eliminated. The fact that child labour has now been upgraded to a major human rights issue since 1996 is a positive step in that direction (ILO, 2010). But growing concern and interest about the phenomenon puts a lot of pressure on researchers and the development community to find solutions as rapidly as possible, hence the proliferation of studies looking at the determinants of child labour. As to why Tanzania and Malawi seem to be hot favourites for research on child labour, Mudzongo and Whitsel (2013) explain that these countries have been shown by the ILO to have high rates of child labour and have the available data for policy-relevant analyses (ILO, 2004; 2010; 2012). The study by Mudzongo and Whitsel (2013) made use of logistic regression to fit data on school enrolment, household characteristics such as parental education and wealth, community characteristics such as location of residence and availability of markets and schools, as well as individual characteristics such as age, gender, among others. Figure 2.2 elucidates these hypothesized linkages.



**Figure 2.2: Determinants of child labour**  
**Source: Based on Webbink, Smits and Jong (2008)**

## 2.9 Chapter Summary

The chapter presented a comprehensive and extensive review of the relevant literature on slavery, modern day slavery and the worst forms of child labour. The chapter started by clarifying the concept of child labour and explaining what is meant by the Worst Forms of Child Labour. The role of the International Labour Organization (ILO) was also clarified. How child labour fits into the whole question of labour use in agriculture was also reviewed especially in the context of developing countries. A section of the review was devoted to the emergence of human rights concerns on child labour. This led to a consideration of the perspective on wider freedoms and oppression and exploitation, drawing extensively on the Biblical passages that referred to slavery, pestilence and tribulations. The history of slavery was sketched from Biblical times to the beginning of the trans-Atlantic Slave trade which represents the most significant global developments

of all times. Actions taken to curb slavery and eventually abolish it are similarly reviewed. The research that has been conducted across the world but importantly in Africa were reviewed to identify the factors that influence choices to use or not to use child labour.

## CHAPTER 3

# METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain in detail how the research was carried out to achieve its stated objectives. The chapter will first describe the research area so that the demographic and socio-economic contexts can be ascertained at the outset. The chapter will then clarify the research paradigm and design, in other words, the model for the study since it is the model (paradigm or design) that predicts the data and the nature of the analysis to be performed on the data. Once the model structure has been ascertained, the data will be described, followed by a description of how it was collected and analyzed.

### 3.2 Area of Study

The limitations on carrying out a nation wide or even provincial wide study are well-known and have been highlighted earlier and by many researchers (SAHRC, 2003). For this reason, the area of study selected are two towns in two local municipalities. In one of the municipalities, the researcher is already involved in farm level research to which aspects of child labour use and experiences can be conveniently added to provide some basis for prediction and recommendations that can have important practical policy implications. The other municipality is more urbanized and the study focused on informal activities in an urban area. Based on the foregoing considerations, the Oliver Reginald Tambo District Municipality and Nkonkobe municipality were selected. Despite it being at a considerable distance from the University of Fort Hare in Alice, the OR Tambo has important historical significance in addition to being a more agricultural area than the rest of the Eastern Cape Province. The former Transkei homeland is well-known for being an agrarian area where conditions are often treacherous livelihoods are precarious. The former Ciskei area is more urbanized and informal activities

predominate. For these reasons, the two areas are the most likely to yield insights on child labour use in the province and to contribute to rethinking on policy in a decisive way.

### **3.2.1 Oliver Reginald Tambo District Municipality**

As has been highlighted earlier, Oliver Reginald Tambo District of the Eastern Cape Province was selected for purposes of the case study because of its historical importance and the fact that agricultural production constitutes a major employer of labour in the district. The District is situated on the eastern side of the province and covers an area of about 12 857 Km<sup>2</sup>. It is composed of five local municipalities, namely: Nyandeni; King Sabata Dalindyebo; Port St Johns; Ingquza Hill; and Mhlontlo. This is shown in Figure 3.1. The population of the District is estimated at 1 397 724 inhabitants living in 328 716 households (Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council (ECSECC), 2012).

The OR Tambo District is predominantly rural, with most of the population concentrated in the west, around Mthatha which is situated in King Sabata Dalindyebo Municipality. The District covers most of the so-called Wild Coast and Pondoland, a name given to several tribes and communities now included in the Port St Johns and Ingquza Hill municipalities. The District has a sub-tropical coastal belt, especially from Port St. Johns northwards. The hills beyond the coast rise to high levels of up to 1,500 meters beyond Mthatha. The District has many rivers and is well-watered, with an average of 700mm of rainfall per year. Pondoland, being nearly the most fertile areas in South Africa, has warm temperatures and good soils with frost-free conditions. Some of the other major towns in the District are Mqanduli, Port St. Johns, Qumbu, Lusikisiki and Bizana.

The tourism in the District is centred on the breath taking Wild Coast, which is host to many resorts and nature reserves. Port St. Johns is developing as a tourism destination. The Pondoland coast is one of the most spectacular eco-tourism destinations in South Africa and is going to be host to an expanded nature and marine

reserve. The Nelson Mandela Museum in Mthatha and Qunu, houses the history of the struggle against Apartheid and the life of Dr Nelson Rholihlahla Mandela, South Africa's first black President and revered world statesman.

In the OR Tambo Municipal area, agriculture plays a major role in the livelihoods of the local community. The economic structure of the district is highly dependent on the prosperity of agriculture given that a large proportion of the residents view agriculture as their primary occupation. Available statistics (Jakavula, 2013) suggest that most people in the District operate at the subsistence level in their agricultural activities although a few relatively large-scale and commercial oriented enterprises are evident. There is also evidence of wage employment in agriculture for households that apparently have no or little land for own production. It is also possible that most land-owning families with surplus labour could release these into the farm labour market for purposes of income supplementation, in much the same way as many of these households are recipients of one form of social grants or another.

The Eastern Cape Province reported a GDP growth rate of 1% per annum with an annual GDP per capita estimated at R7793 (ECSSEC, 2012). The influence of the Government as a major driver of economic activities in the province is quite significant and this is also noticeable in the number of programmes in the District in which the government is involved. According to statistics generated by ECSSEC (the Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council), Community services contribute 47% of the District GDP, followed by finance and trade at 20% and 18%, respectively (ECSSEC, 2012). The agricultural sector of the OR Tambo District contributes 4% to employment generation in the District and 5% to its GDP (ECSSEC, 2012). This modest share of agriculture in the overall district economy no doubt mirrors the macroeconomic picture for the rest of the country but can be misleading in terms of the relative importance of the sector in broad-based livelihoods, especially given the considerable amount of informal activities that dominate the economic lives of the resource-constrained rural dwellers. There is also the possibility that a large number of earnings and returns from

the sector are unreported due to the fact that the predominantly illiterate operators do not keep records and their relatively remote locations make it impossible for statistical authorities to establish a reliable and consistent data collection procedure in the areas.

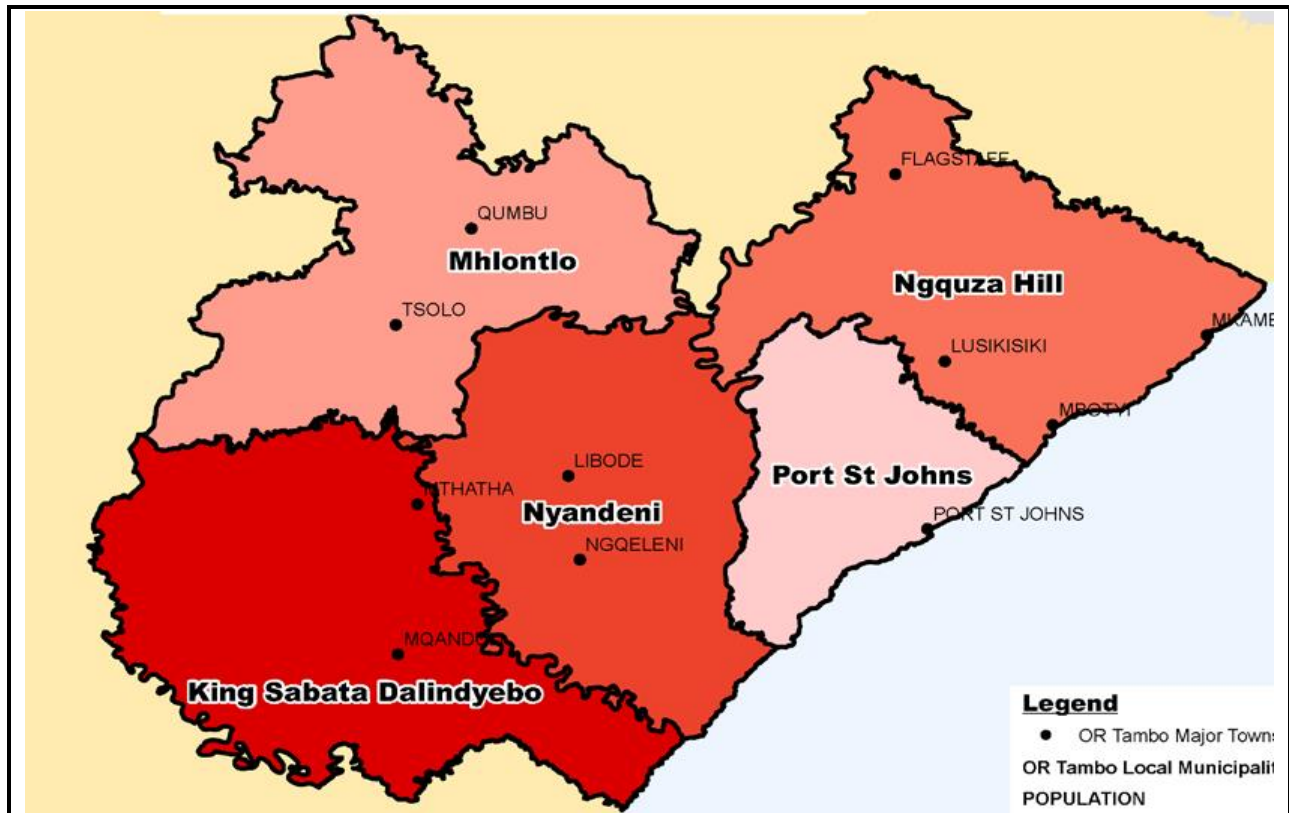


Figure 3.1: Map of OR Tambo District (Source: ECSECC, 2012)

The land owners comprise 84% subsistence farmers and 16% emerging farmers. The subsistence farmers may become emerging farmers with the necessary progress. Emerging farmers are individuals who have the potential to become commercial farmers (ECSECC, 2012). The OR Tambo Municipality has a very high level of illiteracy and unemployment. Unfortunately there is a very low level of industrial and entrepreneurial motivation, with the municipality relying almost disproportionately on primary agriculture and informal activities. Expectedly, the municipality features a very high rate of unemployment, estimated at 44% in 2012 (The Local Government Handbook, 2012).

Youth unemployment rate is more disturbing at 54% (The Local Government Handbook, 2012). This partially explains the high rate of migration to the cities which is generally an indication of the lack of job opportunities in the rural areas and is estimated to be in the region of (SA LED network, 2012).

Low education levels correspond with a low skills level, which to a large extent contributes to the high unemployment rate. According to Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council (ECSECC), 2012, the District's average unemployment rate is estimated at 41%. The District also experiences a literacy rate which is indirectly proportional to the unemployment rate, whereby each municipality has a literacy rate of 48.3%, 61.9%, 37.9%, 43.6% and 51.0% respectively (ECSECC, 2012). In the OR Tambo District Municipality, 88% of the households live below minimum poverty level; 71.5% of the economically active population is unemployed; 47.5% of the population is under 15 years of age, 93.3% of inhabitants live in rural conditions; and 75% of the population do not have formal Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) standard water supply (ECSSEC, 2012).

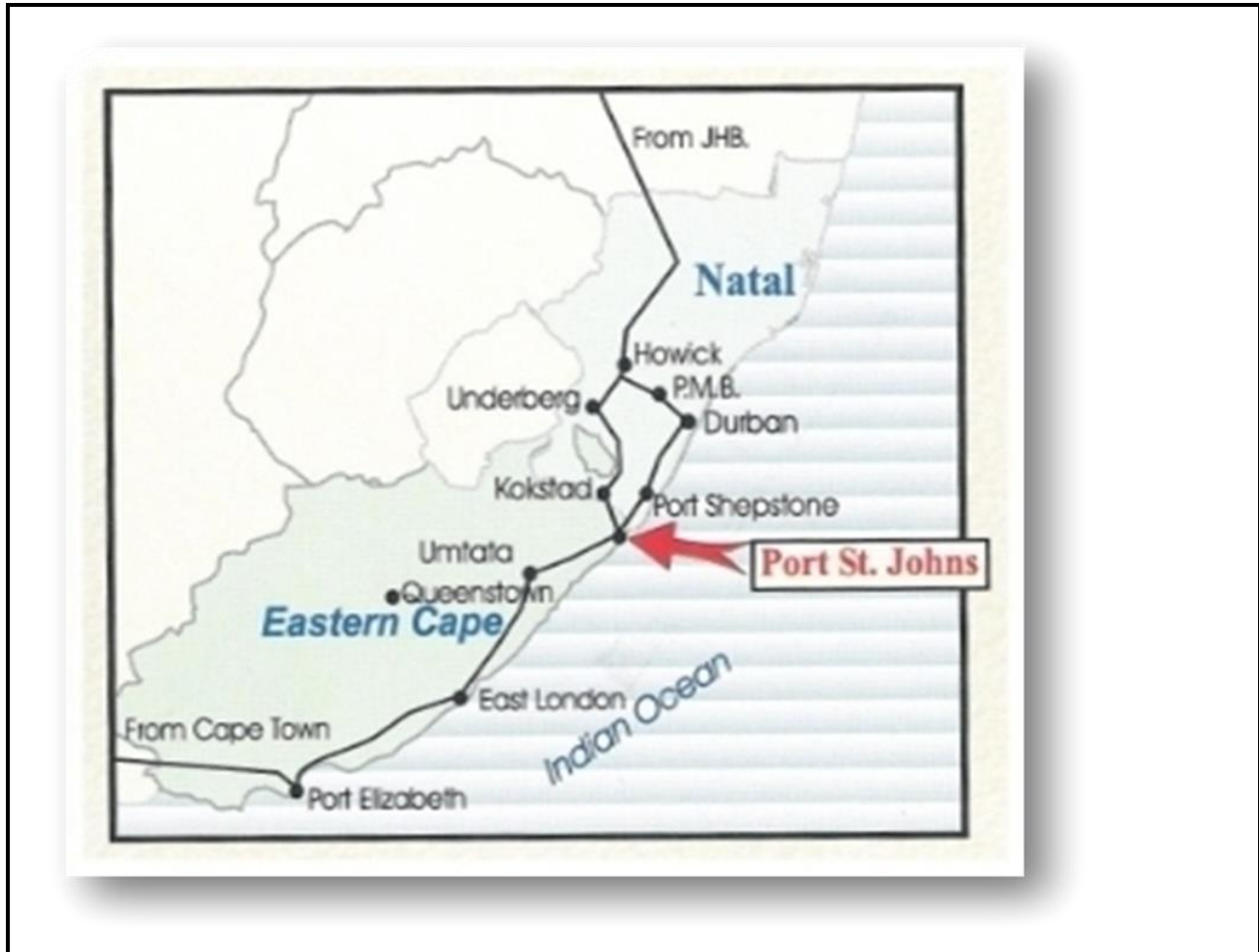
### **3.3 Profile of the Port St Johns Local Municipality**

Port St John's local municipality is located in the Oliver Reginald Tambo District of the Eastern Cape Province. According to LED (2010), Port St Johns holds a number of nature reserves with indigenous forest and it comprises of 16 wards within a total area of 1239 square kilometers (8800 hectares). Port St. Johns municipality has a population of approximately 152 000. Its Gross Geographical Product (GGP) contributes approximately 2.3% to OR Tambo District Municipality's and is the smallest of the seven municipalities under OR Tambo District Municipality (LED, 2010). Port St Johns local municipality comprises urban area and approximately 130 rural areas. This study area

is characterized by mountainous terrain with hills and cliffs, and it is close to the Indian Ocean.

In Port St Johns area, agricultural sector plays a vital role in the well-beings of the local community. The population of Port St. Johns is largely illiterate with limited skilled people and the economy is relatively limited. LED (2010), states that the Gross Geographical Product (GGP) contributes approximately 2.3% to O.R. Tambo DM's GGP and is the smallest of the seven municipalities in the district. The most dominant sector is the Community Services sector which contributes 66% to the Port St Johns GGP. This is followed by trade and manufacturing sectors which contribute 12.3% and 8.6% respectively (SA LED network, 2010).

Thus, the town's topography and natural vegetation play an important role in the development of the tourism and agricultural sectors. Although agriculture is identified as a priority factor in all wards, it only contributes to about 5.6% of the GGP, primarily because it is mainly subsistence farming. The available resources of the municipality need to be utilized optimally in order to ensure that all sectors are develop to contribute meaningfully towards the economy (SA LED network, 2010).



**Figure 3.2: Map of the Port St. Johns Local Municipality**  
 Source LED 2012

### **3.4 Profile of Alice (Nkonkobe Municipality)**

The Nkonkobe Local Municipality falls under Amathole District Municipality and was part of the Ciskei “independent” homeland before the end of Apartheid. The main towns are Alice, Fort Beaufort, Middledrift, Seymour, Balfour, and other smaller rural communities falling within its zone of influence. The study was conducted in the Alice town in which the University of Fort Hare is situated. Alice is situated at 32 ° 46’ 51”S latitude and 26 ° 51’ 43”E longitude, at an altitude of 558m (IDP, 2012). Alice normally receives about 386mm of rain per year, with most rainfall occurring mainly during summer. The lowest rainfall amount of about 8mm is received in July and the highest, averaging 59mm, is

received in March. The monthly distribution of average daily maximum temperatures shows that the average midday temperatures for Alice range from 19°C in June to 27.6°C in February. The region is coldest during the month of July when the temperature drops to 5°C on average during the nights.

The economic activities for which child labour may be engaged include farming, retail activities in the central business district of Alice and the University area, and a range of informal activities that include assistance to push shopping carts for a small fee/tip, shining of shoes, washing of car, etc. There are a number of retail shops just outside the Kwantu shopping mall and a significant volume of activities go on around them in which assorted individuals are often engaged in myriad support and facilitating roles. In recent months a retail park featuring diverse vending services is developing at the students' entrance or second gate of the campus. On some days, the line of sellers of assorted food items and appliances spill almost to the precincts of the Alice Bridge. Several young persons are normally seen hanging around those areas.

### **3.5 The Model**

Three research designs were employed. The first was desk study involving extensive document analysis on varied topics that relate directly and indirectly to child labour and human rights. The second design as an exploratory study with an open-ended format to establish first and foremost the existence of worst forms of child labour within the farms and in the Alice area. One element of the open-ended format was the focus-group discussion (FGD) in which a small group of knowledgeable local people who serve as representatives of the communities, was interviewed to explore trends and general issues affecting the community in respect to the topic. It was this method that generated insights for addressing research question “c” which sought to determine how families could realize livelihoods in the absence of child labour. This was then followed by an in-depth investigation of farming practices in two farming districts of the Eastern Cape Province to determine the extent to which the observed labour use arrangements are important. The latter design was largely quantitative and combined an assortment of simple statistical techniques to summarize and present the data and findings and draw inferences about determinants of child labour use and the relative importance of different factors. In all cases, the study employed a narrative model to clarify concepts and derive a basis for describing the dominant patterns in respect to this scourge.

In respect to the objective of establishing the determinants of child labour, the study adopts the approach used by several other studies to fit a limited dependent variable model which assumes a binary or dichotomous situation whereby some farming units hired children while others did not. In such a situation, there should be an interest in gaining understanding of why such differences exist and what factors are important in the decision-making regarding child labour use.

The binary choice model, specifically the logistic regression model, was employed to estimate the probability that a smallholder farmer in the enumerated localities would hire

child labour during the farming season in which the study was conducted. In this case, the basis for the analysis would be the reported labour use pattern of the farming household. The researcher also visited the farms as part of a participatory action research study and observed the labour use practices of the survey farmers. Since only two options are available, namely “hired child labour” or “did not hire child labour”, a binary model is set up which defines  $Y=1$  for a farming household that hires child labour, and  $Y=0$  for situations where household/farming household did not hire a child to work on his farm. Assuming that  $x$  is a vector of explanatory variables and  $p$  is the probability that  $Y=1$ , two probabilistic relationships can be considered as follows:

$$p(Y=1) = \frac{e^{\beta'x}}{1 + e^{\beta'x}} \dots\dots\dots(1)$$

$$p(Y=0) = 1 - \frac{e^{\beta'x}}{1 + e^{\beta'x}} = \frac{1}{1 + e^{\beta'x}} \dots\dots\dots(2)$$

Since equation (2) is the lower response level, that is, the probability that the household would hire a child to work on the farm, this will be the probability to be modelled by the logistic procedure by convention. Both equations present the outcome of the logit transformation of the odds ratios, which can alternatively be represented as:

$$\text{logit} [\theta(x)] = \log \left[ \frac{\theta(x)}{1 - \theta(x)} \right] = \alpha + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \dots + \beta_i x_i \dots\dots\dots(3)$$

thus, allowing its estimation as a linear model for which the following definitions apply:

$\theta$  = logit transformation of the odds ratio

$\alpha$  = the intercept term of the model

$\beta$  = the regression coefficient or slope of the individual predictor (or explanatory) variables modelled

$\chi_i$  = the explanatory or predictor variables.

In line with Hosmer and Lemeshow (1989); Agresti (1990); Gujarati (1992); Liao, (1994) and Harrell (2001), the right-hand term in equation (3) is the natural logarithm of the modelled variables. A goodness-of-fit test following Hosmer-Lemeshow, was conducted by examining the Pearson Chi-square outcomes calculated from the table of observed and expected frequencies as follows:

$$X^2_{HL} = \sum_{i=1}^g \frac{(O_i - N_i\pi_i)^2}{N_i\pi_i(1-\pi_i)} \dots\dots\dots(4)$$

where:

$N_i$ = the total frequency of the items in the  $i^{th}$  group,

$O_i$ = the total frequency of obtaining particular event outcomes in the  $i^{th}$  group,

$\pi_i$ = the average estimate of the probability that a particular event outcome in the  $i^{th}$  group would be realized.

The goodness-of-fit test examined the displayed results for the Pearson and Hosmer-Lemeshow methods. As at least one of these measures gave a high enough p-value to dispel doubts about the model fitting the data, it was not necessary to consider alternative estimation procedures.

The research question that relates to the possibility of prosecuting the perpetrators was addressed exclusively by document analysis which entailed the in-depth review of government reports and gazettes and court cases and judgments. The purpose in this case was to find out if legislation exists that explicitly identifies and criminalizes the practice of child labour and modern-day slavery and the extent to which the legal system has pursued such matters from effective prosecution and possible sentencing. The last research question on the possible alternative remedial actions was addressed by summarizing suggestions made by the representatives of the communities during the focus-group meetings.

### **3.6 The Data**

The data collected for the study were diverse. Primarily, demographic and socio-economic data were collected to help in profiling the research areas and the households and farms. Further, more specific data on productive activities, asset ownership, labour use and time allocation patterns were collected. A number of questions that dealt with decision making about resource allocation and the responses of households to shocks and other environmental influences, were also included in formal schedules and employed in the interviewing. The interviewees were also interrogated on their familiarity with and exposure to the hazards mentioned in the conventions examined. By means of both structured and open-ended interviews, efforts were made to secure information on such attitudinal and psychological attributes. Table 3.1 presents the variables collected for this study.

**Table 3.1: Variables collected for study on child labour use in the Eastern Cape Province**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit of measurement/type of variable</b>
Child Labour Use	Whether or not child labour was used in farming	Dummy: 1 if child labour used, 0 otherwise
Age	Age of the household head	Actual age in years
Gender	Gender of the household head	Dummy: 1 if male, 0 if female
Marital Status	The marital status of household head	Dummy: 1 if married, 0 if otherwise
Level of Education	The level of education of the household head	Dummy: 1 if educated; 0 if otherwise
Household Size	Total number of persons living in household	Total number of persons (actual)
Farming Experience	The number of years household head has been in farming	Total number of years (actual)
Type of work performed	The nature of work performed by child labourers	Dummy for work types: 1=fetching water 2= digging tree holes 3= harvesting 4= others
Mode of payment	How the child labourers were paid	1 if cash, 0 for in-kind
Asset Owned	Indexed values of assets are added up to derive asset scores	Continuous variable of asset scores derived from asset indices
Livestock Units	The total number of livestock owned by household	Continuous variable calculated by applying conversion factor to the nominal livestock numbers to derive a basis for standardization
Monthly income earned	Actual amount reported by household head	Actual amount in rands
Hours of child work	The number of hours children worked	Actual number in hours
Distance to nearest school	Distance in km from homestead to nearest school	Actual number in kilometres

- (i) **Child Labour Use:** This variable is dependent variable which assesses whether a household of interest employs child labour or not. It is scaled as 1 where the household has employed child labour within the time under reference, and 0 otherwise.
- (ii) **Age:** This variable is expressed as the actual age of the household head in years. Previous studies, including Bembridge (1984), have established that this variable is a key determinant of behavioural patterns of household and community members. Younger farmers are expected to be more technically constrained and possibly less endowed with resources than older farmers who are perceived to have acquired more experience of farming and accumulated more resources. In that case, older farmers may be less predisposed to engaging child labour as a cost-cutting practice since they are likely to have less financial constraints in their farming business. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that a higher age will be negatively related to child labour use, that is, the farmer may be less inclined to engage child labour than younger farmers who may be less financially secure. While no explicit examination of this relationship currently exists for South African farms, it is posited that the same economic relationship that exists in the case of assessment of other agricultural production questions will prevail in this case. There is also a possibility that younger farmers may have more child-friendly attitudes to labour use in agriculture on account of their exposure to modern influences and knowledge about international norms and standards. In that case, age may be related to the measure of market access either positively or negatively.
- (iii) **Gender:** Gender has now been recognized by the development community as an over-arching concept that is fundamental to analysis of issues involving inclusivity, equity and economic empowerment. It has been equally recognized that gender differences play an important role in decision making regarding resource allocation and use. Different societies prescribe roles for

the sexes depending on their own unique circumstances and histories. Unlike sex which is a biological state, gender is variable because of differences in what women are allowed and not allowed to do. Gender is equally ubiquitous in the influence it exerts on the other variables, for instance the access to economic and educational resources, the political and governance systems, and cultural and religious observances.

- (iv) **Marital Status:** Households with the traditional set up of a man with a wife (or wives) and children is expected to face a different situation in respect to labour supply and economic means. These in turn will have implications for the use of child labour by the household. The more members a household head has to cater for, the greater the possibility that he/she might face financial pressures that necessitate the adoption of cost-cutting measures, including the use of child labour.
- (v) **Household size:** Increase in household size might increase the dependency ratio, which in turn affects savings and investment. Conversely, a larger household may mean increased labour availability, which enhances farm production under the kind of labour-intensive farming systems that prevail in communal agriculture. In turn, increased production increases the chances of market access due to larger economies of scale. A household with many children may be more inclined to deploy some to the family's income-earning endeavours especially if labour costs are high and pose an obstacle to the expansion of the household's productive base. More children than the family's means that accommodate may be a reason for inserting some into the labour force at an earlier age than would be expected. Therefore, it is possible for either positive or negative relationships to exist between use of child labour and household size.
- (vi) **Education level:** Studies conducted in several developing countries have confirmed the importance of education in the decision-making process with implications for the socio-economic development and human capital

production (Schultz, 1964; Bembridge, 1984). For the agricultural sector, earlier studies equally established that education plays an important role in the adoption or otherwise of improved practices in traditional agriculture (Bembridge, 1984). The absence of education is therefore expected to have a negative influence on these processes. Education will be expected to influence attitudes to the use of resources, including labour, and importantly child labour. Appreciation of the human rights implications of economic activities may be expected to increase with higher educational attainment. In the light of that, it can be hypothesized that there is a negative correlation between education and child labour use. But this may not necessarily be the case since ultimately the decision to use or not to use child labour may be governed by factors that reflect the family's means and welfare status than knowledge and exposure to modernity.

- (vii) **Farming experience:** this variable measures the number of years a farmer has been engaged in farming. It can be hypothesized that the lesser the number of years the farmer is involved in farming, the higher the probability of being technically constrained because certain farming techniques require that the farmer possesses some degree of experience. In such a situation, the farmer's economic well-being may be less stable than otherwise and will warrant the adoption of desperate measures to make ends meet. With longer experience, the farmer is expected to be better established and secure and less prone to the dramatic shocks that may occasion desperate measures. Thus, there is a negative correlation between child labour use and farming experience.
- (viii) **Type of work performed:** theoretically, child labour is engaged in diverse activities depending on the line of business of the entity using of child labour. These activities will normally differ in terms of working hours, rigour or difficulty, remuneration, etc. Accordingly, a study to assess the incidence of the practice or phenomenon will naturally seek information about this. In this

case, the work done by children on the farms that employed them were divided into categories according to whether they are running errands for the farm, fetching and carrying water for farm owner, or digging holes and trenches on the farm as may be needed by the owner. These are inserted in the model as dummies.

- (ix) **Mode of Remuneration:** The form in which the children's remuneration was made is also important. By this is meant whether they are paid in cash or in kind and the nature of the payment made. The extent of exploitation of coercion can be revealed by the manner in which the labour services are compensated. For this reason, this study sought information on whether payment was made in cash or in kind, and if in kind, the form in which this was done.
- (x) **Monthly Income:** This refers to total earnings on a monthly basis and may be direct cash earnings of the value of production plus other receipts of the household. It is expressed as actual amount in rands.
- (xi) **Livestock Units:** the livestock holdings of the household are counted and converted into livestock units to standardize them using the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nation's (FAO) conversion factors.
- (xii) **Asset Ownership:** A ranking of the durable assets owned by the household is prepared and used to develop an index. Each household's asset score will be a linear summation of the indices for all the assets owned,
- (xiii) **Hours of work:** the number of hours worked on the farm varies from farm to farm and depends also on the tasks assigned to the child labourer. The actual time spent and reported by the worker is recorded and presented without adjustment. This variable provides an indication of the extent of exploitation in the system.
- (xiv) **Distance to nearest Primary School:** The distance from the homestead to the nearest primary school was obtained and recorded to show the extent of

access of the children to educational resources. The expectation is that households residing at considerable distances from schools will be more prone to having their children perform paid tasks at an early age.

### **3.7 Data Analysis**

The analysis of the data was carried out by means of a wide range of analytical techniques and procedures to firstly profile the farming system and households that are involved in transactions involving child labour use in agriculture, and additionally provide a basis for drawing inferences about the observed patterns of labour use involving children. Commonly used measures of central tendency and distribution of the data were employed, including averages/means, tabulations and cross-tabulations were employed. Then hypothesis testing options were included by the use of a logistic regression model that tested the determinants of the preference of the farming household for child labour; since whether or not a household used child labour on the farm produced a binary (either/or) variable, this is ideal for fitting a logistic regression. The cross-tabulations also included simple options for hypothesis testing by means of the chi-square statistics which yielded very helpful insights for drawing conclusions about this labour use practice.

### **3.8 Ethical Considerations**

The researchers ensured that the sampled farms and households were respected to the maximum extent and that schedules for interviews were properly aligned to their own convenience. Where a group format was used for interviews, such as focus groups, the dignity of all participants was respected in line with UFH policy. In the case of individual household interviews, the highest level of confidentiality was maintained in respect of the responses given by the households. In the first place, households were not identified by their names but by the number allocated to a particular unit during the initial

sampling procedure. This is intended to avoid the misuse of the information should the completed questionnaire fall into wrong hands at the end of the research project.

### **3.9 Limitations**

Research by students and staff of the University of Fort Hare has been going on for many years and nothing out of the ordinary is expected. However, it is recognized that the issue of human rights abuses is a serious one and that farmers may become emotional about the whole process and this must be handled with extreme care. If the local people become too disgruntled over the poor state of their services, they may fail to cooperate with the researcher. Similarly, persons who are guilty of the worst forms of child labour or other abuses may become hostile and unhelpful as units of analysis. To avoid these, the researcher worked through established and trusted structures such as local extension personnel who come from the areas to be enumerated, as well as the traditional power élite such as the local chiefs and headmen. Another category of respondents for this study were the sufferers of abuse. There is considerable sensitivity about this situation which warrants equally careful handling. Sufferers of abuse may be reluctant to reveal their condition in order to protect the perpetrator or to protect their own dignities. In either case, there will be serious loss of information that will affect the reliability of the results. It is hoped that the participatory methodology employed for this study was successful in avoiding this pitfall.

### **3.10 Chapter Summary**

The focus of this chapter was to profile the study area, namely the Port St John's local municipality and the Nkonkobe local municipality represented by the Alice Town. It was shown that while the former was a typically rural and farming community, the latter is a small town with a wide range of small businesses and enterprises that are for the most

part sole proprietorships and generally black-owned and operated. Many foreign nationals were also operating in Alice Town at the time of the present study. The chapter presented and described the model for the study and showed how each of the research questions was addressed. The three main research designs that guided the study, namely a desk study, and exploratory study, and the in-depth empirical investigation, were described. The chapter then described the data and means of calibration and collection and the analytical framework for summarizing the information gathered and drawing inferences. The chapter provided details about the processes followed for obtaining ethical clearance given that humans are involved and there was need to comply with University of Fort Hare's policy on research. The limitations of the study were also highlighted in this chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

#### 4.1 Introduction

The findings of the study are presented in this chapter according to a structure determined by the order in which the specific objectives are listed in chapter 1. The first part of the chapter is devoted to a presentation of the detailed profile of the study households and farms featuring the key demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the farmers/farms and study areas and the production information related to use of labour. The results of the descriptive analysis are also presented in the first part of the chapter. A fair bit of hypothesis testing will also be presented as part of the Chi-square tests that are applied to the cross-tabulations of the nominal and categorical variables to attempt an initial explanation of relationships and associations that shed more light on the phenomenon of child labour use. Some content analysis of the qualitative assessment conducted in open-ended discussions with business owners in Alice is also presented. Subsequently, the results of the inferential analysis and hypothesis testing estimations are presented along with the discussions and interpretations of the results. Three of the specific objectives which were addressed through focus group discussions with cross-sections of the community members looked at the livelihoods options for households without child labour, the prospects for prosecution of citizens for use of child labour, and remedial actions considered necessary by community members. The results of those discussions are also presented in this chapter. The chapter is wound up by presenting a chapter summary that highlights the major aspects of the results of the analysis and key findings.

## **4.2 Socioeconomic characteristics of survey households and farms**

It is important for understanding the decision-making functions of the households that their socio-economic characteristics are clarified. The field survey was divided into two, one focusing on an agricultural community and the intra- and inter- household bargaining that have implications for child labour use, and the other focusing on the non-agricultural setting of a small-sized urban settlement. The first effort was to profile the households and set this against the background of the productive activities they undertake and which have the potential to lead to decisions one way or the other in respect to child labour use. For this reason, the study enumerated the respondents in respect to the age of the household head, their educational levels, the size of households, the farming experience of the household heads, and the distance of the homestead from the nearest primary school. In addition, the hours of child work, monthly income of households, livestock ownership and asset ownership, were also obtained through the structured questionnaires based on which the data collection was implemented. The results are presented in Table 4.1 and discussed in sub-sections named according to the specific variable under consideration.

**Table 4.1: Summary statistics of socio-economic characteristics**

Variables	Sample Size	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Kurtosis	
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error
Age	60	28	80	56.12	13.206	-.547	.608
Educational Level	60	1	4	2.60	.718	.530	.608
Household Size	60	3	20	8.47	4.401	.659	.608
Farming Experience	60	4	61	26.10	16.063	-1.131	.608
School Distance	60	.0	8.0	2.578	2.3242	-.197	.608
Hours Child Work	60	.0	7.0	1.725	1.4941	1.469	.608
Monthly Income	60	380.0	8500.0	2058.458	1656.8244	7.348	.608
Livestock Unit	60	.00	17.00	4.4985	4.48018	-.002	.608
Asset Score	60	.0	85.0	31.533	26.4091	-1.081	.608

**Source: Field data, 2012**

#### 4.2.1 Age Distribution of Household Heads

The indication is that the majority of the respondents were middle-aged, at 56.12 years on average, with the youngest household heads being 28 years while the oldest seemed to be about 80 years of age. This result mirrors the dominant pattern in most rural areas where the elderly are in the majority as a result of the migratory flow out of the rural areas as young people go to the big cities in search of jobs. As the unemployment rates in the country sky-rocket, this situation is likely to worsen and has been seen at various circles as one of the most serious threats to the South Africa's fledgling democracy and the survival of small-scale farming and the family farm as young people increasingly seek career opportunities elsewhere. The implication for the survival of the democracy comes from the real issue of the pauperization of the rural areas that is continuing and increasing the discontent and anger and making more and more people doubt that the struggle has been worth it. Such a situation is dangerous without a doubt because economic security is vital for the success of the young democracy.

Age of the principal decision maker in the households reflects the maturity of the individual and to what extent his or her decisions draw from experience. For this reason, age is frequently included in socio-economic surveys. Without a doubt, it is a multi-dimensional factor which permeates a number of other aspects of life, be it experience, socio-economic status, wealth, education, etc. The results are presented in Table 4.2.

**Table 4.2: Distribution of households by age group of household head**

Age Group	No of respondents	Per centage of total (%)
28-40	7	11.7
41-55	23	38.3
56-69	20	33.3
70-80	10	16.7
Total	60	100

**Source: Field data, 2012**

From the evidence, a large proportion of the farmers are middle-aged. A relatively small number of the farmers are young, a situation that is a common feature of the agricultural occupation in most developing countries where young people are increasingly making career choices in favour of non-agricultural employment. Increasingly, this situation is the subject of debates about the future of agriculture as the current operator's age, retire and die, without any clear idea about succession.

#### 4.2.2 Household Head's Educational Attainment

The other important piece of information in profiling the households is the educational attainments of the household heads who responded to the questionnaires. Educational attainment is an important variable in decision-making about resource allocation and adoption of farm practices, including the use of child labour. It is expected that persons with some education will understand better the human rights implications of the resource patterns that involve coercive use of labour services or subjecting workers to work conditions that exploit their vulnerability. The results of this enquiry are presented in Table 4.3 and suggest that a higher proportion of the respondents had no schooling, at 53.3% of the total number of respondents.

**Table 4.3: Distribution of households by the educational attainment of head**

Educational Attainment	No. of Households	Percent	Cumulative Percent
No Schooling	32	53.3	53.3
Some Schooling	28	46.7	100.0
Total	60	100.0	

**Source: Field data, 2012**

As shown in Table 4.3, about 47% of the respondents had some schooling. Close engagement with the farmers and respondents showed that many of the respondents that reported some schooling actually did not complete their primary or secondary

education and had only managed to spend a few years in formal schooling before dropping out. This is no doubt one of the unfortunate fall-outs of the apartheid system that deprived a large part of the population of the former homelands sufficient access to quality education in the period before 1994 when a democratically elected government came into office. Limited educational attainment also means that options for alternative employment opportunities are also limited and raises that possibility for unusual coping strategies should farming become distressed as has been the case lately with rising prices and costs.

### 4.2.3 Household Size Distribution

Household size is an important variable, not only from the standpoint of labour supply, but an indicator of the family's ability to mobilize other human capital and whether or not the family is able to subsist on a given income, among other considerations. A household with numerous members will be more likely to experience difficulties in meeting basic needs than another household with fewer members at the same level of income and wealth. In the context of the use of child labour, it can be hypothesized that the larger the household the higher the likelihood that the household will release children into the work force to generate extra income for family maintenance. It can also mean that such a household is less likely to be a user of child labour since it has abundant quantities of its own. The results of the investigation into how the households stand in respect to size are presented in Table 4.4.

**Table 4.4: Distribution of households by size class of household**

Size Group	No of respondents	Per centage of total (%)
3-5	17	28.3
6-10	27	45
11-15	11	18.3
16-20	5	8.4
Total	60	100

**Source: Field data, 2012**

According to Table 4.4, average household size is generally high. The least household size was shown to be 3 while the highest was shown to be 20. The results are presented as size groups, with the modal class being 6-10 persons in 45% of the households. The relatively large household sizes observed in this sample is typical of rural populations where fertility rates are generally higher than the national average.

#### 4.2.4 Farming Experience of Household Head

Farming experience can be one way to overcome handicaps imposed by limited formal education. The longer a farmer has been engaged in farming the more the likelihood that he will become more skillful and productive, with positive implications for financial and food security. New farmers are likely to be less financially secure due to inexperience and might be more likely to engage in unfair practices to make ends meet. Information on farming experience was included on the questionnaire and the results are presented in Table 4.5 which shows the distribution of the households according to the number of years of experience of the household head.

**Table 4.5: Distribution of households by farming experience category**

Years of farming experience	No. of respondents	Per centage of total (%)
4-10	11	18.3
11-20	18	30
21-30	6	10
More than 30	25	41.7
Total	60	100

**Source: Field data, 2012**

The indication from Table 4.5 is that the project area is an established farming area where farmers have been engaged in farming for a considerable amount of time. For instance, the results suggest that as much as 42% of the farmers have farming experience in excess of 30 years. This would mean that the farmers are quite knowledgeable and quite conversant with the activities in which they were engaged. Being skillful also meant that they efficient in carrying out those activities which could translate to higher output and revenues. Of course, this is not necessarily the case and instances of sub-optimal utilization of resources may actually be common.

#### **4.2.5 School Distance to homesteads**

Given the indication that child labour use was seemingly rampant, it seemed logical to want to find reasons that might explain the situation. The questionnaire accordingly included elements that addressed child-specific conditions such as proximity to primary schools. The result is presented in Table 4.6 which points to the possibility of school distance being an important determinant of the decision to use child labour in the farming activities. Simply looking at the data without matching them with the household's behaviour with respect to labour use, one observes that the majority of the households lived at considerable distances from the primary schools where the children would normally be expected to be enrolled. From the data, it is revealed that 63.3% of the household lived at more than 2 kilometres from the nearest primary school, which is close enough to the 70% of the households that reported using child labour in farming.

**Table 4.6: Distribution of households by school distance**

School distance	No of respondents	Percentage of total (%)
0-1	22	36.7
2-4	28	46.6
5-8	10	16.7
Total	60	100

**Source: Field data, 2012**

Table 4.7 attempts to match the child labour use with school distance on the same table through cross-tabulation. The clear indication is that school distance has a role to play in the decision about use of child labour. As the table reveals, for distances under 1 km, more the households that did not use child labour exceeded those that did by a sizeable margin. However, as the school distances increased to 2 km and beyond, the households become increasingly unable to send their children to school and almost exclusively used them on farms. It would seem logical that households residing in areas where schools are not in existence would normally not have children's schooling featuring in their plans for the socialization of their children and will therefore tend to orient them towards the family's dominant occupation. In this case, farming would be the only available option open to them for the child's career development. It is also possible that the absence of a school in the community and within easy proximity could be the reason for the family not sending the child to school due to considerations of cost of child care in schooling even in systems where universal free education has been part of government policy. Such free education policies do not cater for transportation, meals, clothing and sometimes books needed by the child. Many households at the margin of existence are hardly able to afford regular meals and other basic subsistence needs.

**Table 4.7: Distribution of households by school distance and child labour use**

School Distance	Child Labour Use		Total
	Did not Use Child Labour	Used Child Labour	
0-1	18	4	22
2-4	0	28	28
5-8	0	10	10
Total	18	42	60

**Source: Field data, 2012**

When the results obtained in Table 4.7 above were subjected to statistical tests, it was found that the distance of the household from the nearest primary school had a highly significant effect on the use of child labour in the farming system of the study area. The results of the chi-square tests are shown in Table 4.8 and reveal that the observation that households residing at considerably distances from school are more likely to use child labour or engage their children in paid employment did not happen by chance.

**Table 4.8: Chi-Square tests between school distance and child labour use**

Test Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	48.730 <sup>a</sup>	13	.000
Likelihood Ratio	59.982	13	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	25.437	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	60		

**a. 25 cells (89.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .30.**

It is important to note here that a household that is located far away from a school is likely to be too poor to support the children whether in or out of school and might need to supplement household income through sending out some of the children to work on the farms of other farmers for some form of remuneration.

#### **4.2.6 Hours of work of children**

One of the reasons child labour is condemned is that children are often made to work long hours that prevent them from participating in activities and programmes that have implications for a sustainable future career for them. For instance, if the children spend a lot of time working on the farms of their parents or that of outside employers, little time is left to attend to school work. For the children who even start out attending school, the

result is high failure rate and eventual drop-out. This study therefore considered this variable an important one as a basis for determining the extent to which it might constitute a binding constraint to the future development of children in the project area, and invariably the country. The results are presented in Table 4.9 which is the cross-tabulation of child labour use and households grouped according to range of hours of work undertaken by children during the relevant period covered by the study.

**Table 4.9: Distribution of households by child labour use and hours of work of children**

Child Labour	Hours of Child Work			Total
	0	1-2	3-7	
Did not use Child Labour	18	0	0	18
Used Child Labour	1	26	15	42
Total	19	26	15	60

**Source: Field Data, 2012**

From the results in Table 4.9, it seems that hours of child work were substantially different between households that used child labour and those that did not use child labour. The 18 households that reported not using child labour during the survey period were also reporting zero for hours of child work, which is understandable. This could be interpreted to mean that child labour use is consistent with deploying children to work for long hours, a point that is frequently made by human rights groups and development agencies working to eliminate the worst forms of child labour. Deploying children to long hours of farm work is not only arduous and injurious to their health and well-being, but also means that little time remains for school work or other training in preparation for a future for the child. The evidence from Table 4.9 is that households that reported that

they did not use child labour also reported children's hours of work were zero which was an indirect cross-check of the veracity of the original responses in respect to the use of child labour. The table also showed that those households did not feature in any of the two levels of hours of child work, namely 1-2 hours and 3-7 hours of child work per day. On the other hand, households that used child labour may have used them or allowed them to work for differing durations. The 42 households that reported using child labour had children working for either 1-2 hours a day or 3-7 hours a day, with only one household possibly using children for less than one hour a day. It is therefore possible that a relationship can be established between hours of work and use of child labour. A chi-square test was performed to assess whether or not the association of child labour and hours of work was significant and the results presented in Table 4.10 suggests that, on the basis of different measures, this relationship is a very significant one.

**Table 4.10: Chi-Square tests between child labour use and children's hours of work**

Test statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	55.489 <sup>a</sup>	7	.000
Likelihood Ratio	65.468	7	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	34.275	1	.000
No. of Valid Cases	60		

**a. 11 cells (68.8%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .30.**

Since the major concern about hours of work is with respect to the influence on the child's school attendance, it was decided to examine the data for a possible relationship between school distance, which has been found to influence child work, and the hours of work done by children. What such information would suggest is that children who did not go to school actually spent the time doing work on the farm, even though it may also

mean that they were deployed in other work outside the farm or may have simply stayed away from school without being engaged in any productive or training activity. The results are presented in Table 4.11.

**Table 4.11: Relationship between school distance and hours of child work**

Hours of work	School Distance			Total
	0-1	2-4	5-8	
0	18	1	0	19
1-2	0	20	6	26
3-7	4	7	4	15
Total	22	28	10	60

**Source: Field data, 2012**

The results in Table 4.11 suggest that a relationship actually exists between the school distance and hours of work. According to the data, 18 out of 19 households that in which children did not do engage in work lived under 1 km from school, only one of these households residing 2-4 km from school. Residing at considerable distances from School is quite common in South Africa. Children being transported to school is a common practice. Parents are generally responsible for this transportation arrangements despite the much-vaunted free education programme in place. Almost all the households that reported distant residence from school reported hours of work above one hour a day. About 68% of the households lived farther than 2 km from school and engaged children for more than one hour a day, with about 25% of them engaging children for 3-7 hours a day. The relationship was tested using the Chi-square test and the results presented in Table 4.12 shows that it was statistically significant.

**Table 4.12: Chi-Square tests between children’s hours of work and school distance**

Test Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	167.850 <sup>a</sup>	91	.000
Likelihood Ratio	114.617	91	.048
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.645	1	.002
No. of Valid Cases	60		

a. 112 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .02.

#### **4.2.7 Household’s Monthly Income**

The level of household income could make a difference in the extent to which the household applies livelihood strategies and the actions it takes to cope with shocks in its environment. Studies have tried to link the use of child labour to the household’s economic circumstances (for instance, Akarro and Mtweve, 2011, in respect to the Njombe district of Tanzania). Similar links have also been drawn in other studies carried out earlier in other parts of Africa and Asisa (Basu, 1999; Beegle, Dehejia and Gatti, 2003; Kondylis and Manacorda, 2006). This study therefore examined the monthly income of the households in the study area and cross-tabulated it with the use of child labour. Overall, it was found that monthly household income ranged from R380 to R8500, with a mean of R2058 (Table 4.13). The indication from Table 4.13 is that the monthly income is highly variable from one household to the other, thus producing a very high standard deviation.

**Table 4.13: Descriptive analysis of the monthly income earned by households**

Variable	No. of respondents	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Monthly Income	60	380.0	8500.0	2058.458	1656.8244
Total	60				

**Source: Field Data, 2012**

Table 4.14 presents the distribution of the households by the monthly income and suggests that the majority of the households earned very low incomes per month, with 70% earning generally under R2000 per month. While the other sources of income were not investigated explicitly, it would seem that many households receive social grants in addition to farm income.

**Table 4.14: Distribution of households by monthly income**

Monthly Income	No. of respondents	Per centage of total (%)
380-660	6	10
760-1260	9	15
1270-2057	27	45
2090-4480	15	25
7120-8500	3	5
Total	60	100

**Source: Field Data, 2012**

The statistical test of significance applied to the data confirms that child labour use is strongly associated with the level of the monthly income of the households (see Table 4.15). This is consistent with the experiences in other studies and makes logical sense

in view of the fact that child labour use is a response to economic circumstances for the most part. As was noted earlier, there could be societies in Southern Africa where child work is considered a rite of passage and is therefore cultural mandated, but this does not seem to be a very strong determinant in this study area.

**Table 4.15: Chi-Square tests between children’s hours of work and school distance**

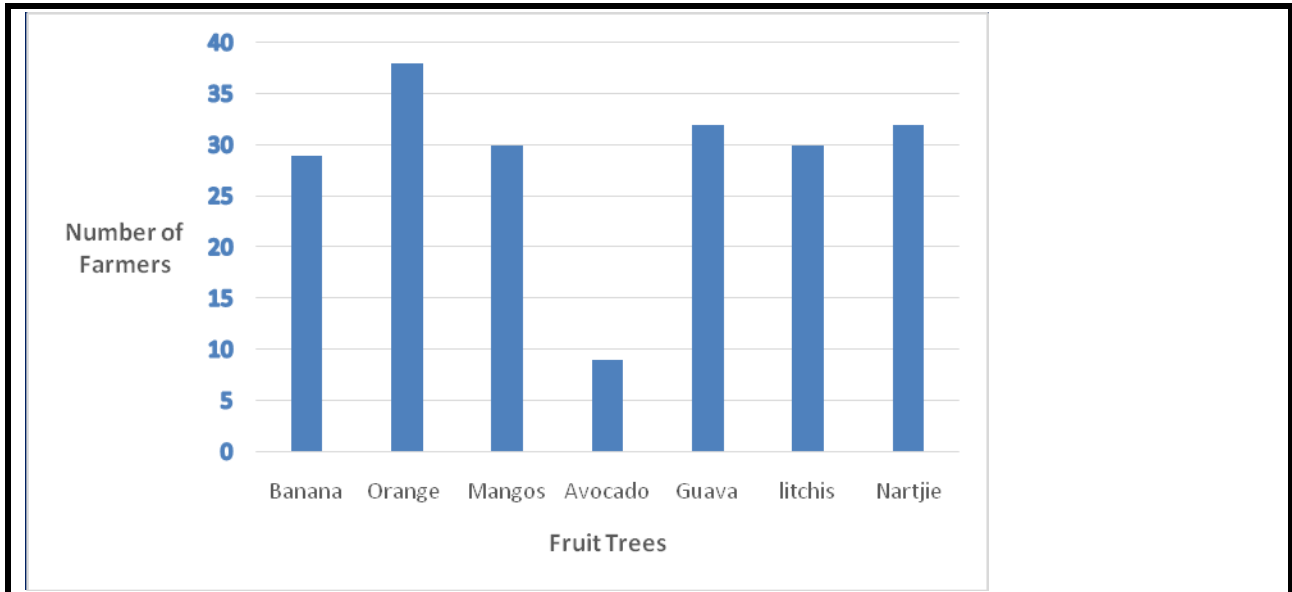
Test Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	60.000 <sup>a</sup>	41	.028
Likelihood Ratio	73.304	41	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	25.289	1	.000
No. of Valid Cases	60		

**a. 84 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 30.**

### **4.3 The Farming System and Production Activities**

As was highlighted in the previous chapter, the study site selected for the farming systems assessment is an agricultural community in which the majority of the households are involved in farming as their primary occupation. The group of farmers enumerated as part of the present study were those participating in an agricultural support programme under the aegis of a local non-Governmental Organization (NGO) with the support of the Agricultural Research Council (ARC) and the University of Fort Hare’s project on collective rural innovation supported by the Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation in Higher Education (NUFFIC). The farmers were being supported specifically to grow fruit trees which held promise for significant value-adding that will contribute to poverty reduction and food security. Figure 4.1 presents the

results of the enumeration of the households that grew the crops and the relative importance of different fruit trees in the farming system.



**Figure 4.1: Fruit trees grown in the farming system of Port St. Johns**

As the figure shows, most households grew oranges with several other fruit trees being equally popular in the system. Field crops such as maize and vegetables like cabbages and spinach were also widely grown in the farming system. Without a doubt, these activities are labour-intensive and labour bottlenecks are likely to be serious where low monthly incomes are prevalent as was observed in the project area. This makes the use of child labour a crucial necessity in the project area.

#### **4.4 Use of Child Labour in the Farming System**

This study takes off from the standpoint that the use of child labour on South African farms and economy in general is very rampant. While no nationwide study has been conducted to date to establish its full extent, there is sufficient ground to conclude that it is serious enough to warrant in-depth enquiry. A South African Department of Labour

report published in 2010 reviewed child labour and other related work-related activities and came to the conclusion that child labour was on the rise and that there could be more going on that conventional research was able to pick up as part of regular household surveys (Department of Labour, 2010). For instance, it seemed unlikely that households would be willing to reveal their involvement with activities that have been declared illegal by the Government, or about which the family seems to be ashamed (Department of Labour, 2010).

But that report reveals a lot of useful information that can form the basis for future design of more systematic enquiry. For instance, it seems that in 2010, as many as 121,000 children worked for money in South Africa, although not all of them were actually paid (Department of Labour, 2010). For instance, the report released the following details regarding children's work as at 2010:

- 41,000 worked for salary, wage, commission and other forms of remuneration.
- 30,000 were those who ran their own business or were self-employed.
- 56,000 worked largely in a household business for which they were not paid.

But the interesting finding was that most of the child labour took place in farms, particularly the commercial farming enterprises. It was also found that more boys than girls are involved in child work in South Africa and that it is a predominantly rural activity although it is increasingly spreading to the urban areas and into the informal, non-agricultural sector. According to the report (Department of Labour, 2010), boys work mostly in farming while girls are more involved in portage tasks such as fetching water and fuel wood/products. This gender dimension of child work in South Africa seems to be in line with international experience which shows that boys gravitate towards agriculture while girls start much earlier but largely in non-agricultural tasks (AFOP, 2007).

Against the foregoing background, the present study enquired from the respondent farmers whether or not they engaged children in work for pay or other forms of remuneration on the farm in the course of the previous or current season. The results are presented in Table 4.16.

**Table 4.16: Extent of child labour use among survey farmers**

Child Labour Use	No of respondents	Per centage of total (%)
Did not Use Child Labour	18	30.0
Used Child Labour	42	70.0
Total	60	100.0

**Source: Field data, 2012**

The indication from Table 4.16 is that child labour is widely used in the farming system of the study area, with 70% of the household admitting to the use of child labour during the period under reference. Among those who indicated that they did not use child labour, the hesitance in answering the question could lead one to suspect that there was more to the whole practice than met the eye, and probably corroborates the Department of Labour's assertion that many households would not readily admit to the use of child labour (Department of Labour, 2010). As already noted, households may be reluctant to own up to the practice due to shame or fear of breaking the law.

An important policy question is what factors influence a farm's decision to use child labour. Another important consideration is whether or not the use of child labour influences the production and the welfare of the farming household. In order to address some of the crucial questions associated with the phenomenon, this study conducted a comprehensive analysis of the data to establish associations and correlations and applied appropriate modeling techniques to attempt to establish causation and impact.

#### **4.5 Factors Influencing Child Labour Use**

In order to explain the phenomenon of child labour use, a correlational analysis was conducted to assess the extent of linear association among the variables collected as part of the study. Table 4.17 presents the correlation matrix drawn up on the basis of the study.

**Table 4.17: Correlation matrix of modelled variables**

		GEND	AGE	MARSTAT	LEVED	HHSZ	FARMEXP	DISTSCH	CHILAB	WKHRS	MONTINC	LSU	ASSET
GEND	r	1	-.185	.132	.078	-.076	-.039	.050	.155	.110	-.339**	.033	-.044
	p		.158	.313	.556	.562	.770	.707	.238	.401	.008	.805	.736
AGE	r	-.185	1	-.150	-.340**	.205	.728**	-.379**	-.308*	-.339**	.178	-.003	.100
	p	.158		.253	.008	.117	.000	.003	.017	.008	.175	.985	.449
MARSTAT	r	.132	-.150	1	.039	-.151	-.206	.231	.232	.189	-.155	-.011	-.292*
	p	.313	.253		.770	.248	.114	.076	.075	.148	.236	.936	.024
LEVED	r	.078	-.340**	.039	1	-.058	-.265*	.258*	.092	.156	.037	.086	.025
	p	.556	.008	.770		.660	.040	.047	.485	.233	.779	.515	.850
HHSZ	r	-.076	.205	-.151	-.058	1	.243	-.289*	-.305*	-.171	.224	-.176	.238
	p	.562	.117	.248	.660		.061	.025	.018	.192	.085	.177	.067
FARMEXP	r	-.039	.728**	-.206	-.265*	.243	1	-.381**	-.163	-.172	.150	.093	.082
	p	.770	.000	.114	.040	.061		.003	.215	.190	.251	.481	.534
DISTSCH	r	.050	-.379**	.231	.258*	-.289*	-.381**	1	.657**	.404**	-.438**	.002	-.416**
	p	.707	.003	.076	.047	.025	.003		.000	.001	.000	.988	.001
CHILAB	r	.155	-.308*	.232	.092	-.305*	-.163	.657**	1	.762**	-.655**	-.226	-.771**
	p	.238	.017	.075	.485	.018	.215	.000		.000	.000	.083	.000
WKHRS	r	.110	-.339**	.189	.156	-.171	-.172	.404**	.762**	1	-.497**	-.128	-.622**
	p	.401	.008	.148	.233	.192	.190	.001	.000		.000	.328	.000
MONTINC	r	-.339**	.178	-.155	.037	.224	.150	-.438**	-.655**	-.497**	1	.256*	.558**
	p	.008	.175	.236	.779	.085	.251	.000	.000	.000		.049	.000
LSU	r	.033	-.003	-.011	.086	-.176	.093	.002	-.226	-.128	.256*	1	.380**
	p	.805	.985	.936	.515	.177	.481	.988	.083	.328	.049		.003
ASSET	r	-.044	.100	-.292*	.025	.238	.082	-.416**	-.771**	-.622**	.558**	.380**	1
	p	.736	.449	.024	.850	.067	.534	.001	.000	.000	.000	.003	

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

r = correlation coefficient

p = level of significance

The results in Table 4.17 provide strong evidence of linear associations between child labour and several demographic and socio-economic characteristics. For instance, child labour seemed to correlate highly with age ( $r=-0.308$ ,  $p=0.017$ ), livestock units ( $r=-0.226$ ,  $p=0.083$ ), school distance ( $r=0.657$ ,  $p=0.000$ ), monthly income ( $r=-0.655$ ,  $p=0.000$ ), and asset scores ( $r=-0.771$ ,  $p=0.000$ ). The results make intuitive sense to the extent that they mirror real life situation in the project area. For instance, the results show negative and significant relationships with age, livestock units, monthly income and asset score. These results imply that increasing age is consistent with reduction in child labour use probably because the older farmers are less active and therefore have less need to engage labour in significant amounts and do not have much need for desperate cost minimization through use of under-priced labour.

In the case of livestock units, households with more livestock units are most probably more financially stable than those with fewer livestock units. For that reason, such households with larger Livestock Units (LSU's) might be less willing to engage child labour than others with fewer stocks. Of course, the relationship between LSU and child labour was a rather weak one. Similar arguments can be made for monthly income and asset scores. On the other hand, the results show a strong positive correlation between school distance and child labour most probably because the cost of schooling increases for a resource-poor household, the farther away it is from a school. This is because free education in South Africa still leaves the family picking up the tab for transportation and meals and other supplies; the free education scheme covers tuition basically.

In order to determine the factors that are actually more closely implicated with child labour use in a causal relationship, the logistic model was fit to the data. In such a model, dichotomous outcomes are expected. In this case, the dichotomous outcomes are whether or not the household used child labour in farming. The variables in Table 4.17 constituted the frame for the modeling and several of those were inserted and the iterative process initiated. It turned out that the variables showed very high levels of non-significance. By backward elimination, the variables showing the highest levels of

non-significance in any set were deleted in turn until only two remained that revealed some statistical significance. The results are displayed in Table 4.18.

**Table 4.18: Regression estimates of factors influencing child labour use**

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Step 1 <sup>a</sup>	7.499	3.823	3.847	1	.050	1806.421	1.005	3246100.204
DISTSCH								
LSU	-.684	.378	3.273	1	.070	.505	.241	1.059
Constant	-2.065	1.391	2.204	1	.138	.127		

**a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: DISTSCH, LSU**

According to Table 4.18, distance to the nearest school ( $p=0.050$ ) and livestock unit ( $p=0.070$ ) were the only significant variables that might have some chance of influencing the use of child labour by the household for farming purposes. The importance of these variables have been highlighted earlier in the chapter and these results make intuitive sense given issues related to the funding of free primary education in the country and the cultural significance of livestock in the area. Of course, these factors are likely to be influenced by a plethora of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics such as income, age, education, etc., which in and of themselves did not show any statistical significance.

The other element that was examined was the odds ratio which involves an inspection of the exponentiated Beta ( $\beta$ ) as shown in Table 4.18. The confidence interval of this value at 95% level of significance is also shown in the last columns of the table. The odds ratio is an expression of the likelihood that a probable event would happen. It is the ratio of two odds. In this particular instance, the likelihood that school distance would predict child labour use is very high and far exceeds that likelihood of livestock ownership being a factor in the decision making about whether or not to hire children for

paid work. The Hosmer and Lemeshow Test of Goodness-of-Fit shown in Table 4.19 suggests that the model is a good fit with the non-significant H-L test.

**Table 4.19: Hosmer and Lemeshow Goodness-of-Fit Test Results**

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	.299	8	1.000

Source: SPSS Output, 2013

#### 4.5 Urban Child Labour Use in Alice Area

Child labour use in Alice Town was assessed through a series of focus group meetings and personal interviews of businesses and establishments. Alice Town has a large number of small enterprises run by people who can best be described as previously-disadvantaged individuals among the black population and a few foreign nationals. The bulk of these businesses are in the retail sector, selling cellphones and accessories, household appliances, apparels and textiles and food and beverages. For the most part, these businesses are run as sole-proprietorships.

While the majority of these businesses would not admit to engaging child labour, there was evidence of under-age, school-age individuals performing tasks that seemed to be associated with the running of those businesses. The indication was that most of the business owners were aware of the legal implications of child labour use. The responses from these individuals that they did not engage child labour were therefore hardly convincing and other means may be necessary to obtain information on the extent of the practice.

Two case studies are presented that capture the two polar situations in respect to the phenomenon of child labour in Alice; a child labourer who described his situation and provided some opinions about other cases, and a business owner who provided a completely different picture.

### **Box 1: Child labourer describes the experience of under-age work in Alice**

Thato is a young boy who gave his age as 16 years and has been a child labourer since 2010 (probably at age 13). He is vending sweets and cookies at the precincts of the taxi rank just across the road from the BP garage at the Kwantu Mall area (just by the R63 highway to Fort Beaufort). He sits on a concrete block on which he had draped a cardboard sheet and displays his goods/wares on a box that has been turned on its side so that the open end is facing him and serves as a “store” for surplus items that could not be placed on the surface of the box to avoid overcrowding.

Thato said he left school when his parents died, leaving him and his sister to fend for themselves. He works for 5-6 hours a day because he has to walk 3 km from Ntselamanzi location where he lives with his sister in their shack. The shack is in great need of repairs, which is not something he can do at the moment.

He considers that business is good and booms when school is out and school children stop at this stand to buy sweets before going home. He always manages to make enough money to buy food for himself and his sister but there are many challenges. When it rains, he is unable to display his wares and has to move into a shelter at the gas station (BP garage). Recently, his entire “store” had been burgled when he stepped out briefly to ease himself behind the BP garage. He is also always having to hide from the local municipality officials who organize occasional swoops which once has led to his “store” being confiscated as part of an urban cleaning programme. He dreams of a day when he can own a big shop like Spaar or Royal. Selling during winter can be a big challenge due to the extreme cold and he is often too sick to come out to the taxi rank.

A number of young boys like Thato are found vending/hawking especially around the central business district (CBD). The sort of thing Thato does is common: sitting or standing under the trees lining the Main Street to hawk a wide range of items. At the Kwantu Mall, several youths hang around and offer to push shopping carts for shoppers and are generally paid between R1-2 for their services. University students often engage them to push those carts into the University where carts are found lying around the residences before the Shop management drives into the premises to retrieve them. Farther out of town and in the outskirts of Fort Beaufort, the children hawk citrus fruits in sacks and it is common to see them running after cars to offer their produce.

The other side of the coin is that the business owners who report an environment completely free from child labour. A litany of self-righteous statements were made about the ills of child labour and why it is crucial to keep children in school because they are the backbone of our society and the future of this country.

**Box 2: Statements in support of efforts to eliminate child labour**

Child labour is evil and should be made a criminal offence.

A child's place is in the classroom; the workplace is for adults.

The definition of a child is anyone who is in school.

No employer should employ a child because it closes opportunities for children.

The laws of the land should be stronger against child labour

Education is the key

**4.6 Livelihoods Options of Families in the Absence of Child Labour**

An important concept that needs to be clarified at this stage is "livelihoods" as it relates to the striving of human society to enhance its welfare and derive benefits that ensure that continue to produce progressively larger outputs for society. One definition that has been employed quite widely is that "a person's livelihood refers to their "means of securing the basic necessities -food, water, shelter and clothing- of life" (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Households undertake activities that promote their livelihoods by assembling and transforming resources. Those activities are the livelihoods strategies and there are clear procedures for their deployment within the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) as it was developed by the UK's Department of International Development (DFID).

Livelihood strategies comprise agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification and migration. These strategies cover the array of options available to rural people (Scoones, 1998). Households either derive livelihoods from agriculture (including livestock rearing, aquaculture, forestry etc.) through processes of intensification (more output per unit area through capital investment or increases in labour inputs) or extensification (more land under cultivation), or they diversify to off-farm income earning activities. It is also often the case that households migrate and to seek livelihoods, either temporarily or permanently, outside their places of origin. More commonly, individuals pursue a combination of strategies together or in sequence (Scoones, 1998). Resources are therefore central to the attainment of livelihoods goals.

Identifying what livelihood resources (or combinations of 'capitals') are required for different livelihood strategy mixtures are a key action in the process of analysis (Scoones, 1998). For example, successful agricultural intensifications may combine, in some circumstances, access to natural capital (e.g. land, water etc.) with economic capital (e.g. technology, credit etc.), while in other situations, social capital (e.g. social networks associated with drought or labour sharing arrangements) may be more significant. Understanding the dynamic and historical context, how different livelihood resources are ordered and combined in the pursuit of differently livelihood strategies is therefore crucial (Scoones, 1998).

Livelihood strategies refer to a collection and a mix of activities and choices made in order to achieve livelihoods goals (CASE, 2003 and DFID, 1999). CASE (1999) further argued that choice; opportunities; and diversity are important to livelihood strategies to withstand shocks and stresses. Diversity can be regarded as a strategy to accumulate for those with more assets base and as a survival strategy for those with a lower asset base (Baker 1995; Bryceson 2000 and Ellis, 1998 quoted in Tacoli, 1999) as cited by Ramashala (2007). Campbell and Beardmore (2001) argued that diversity presents the

opportunities for utilizing different types of technology, which could reduce conflicts regarding the assets.

Communities need different activities, skills, and assets to meet their livelihood needs. The more assets the people have the more chances to improve livelihood strategies become available (DFID, 1999). Different livelihood strategy combinations depend on the available livelihood assets (Scoones, 1998). As a result some strategies are geared towards maximizing or pooling resources in order to have better livelihood outcomes.

A combination of activities that are pursued can be seen as a 'livelihood portfolio'. Such Portfolios may be highly specialized with attention on one or a narrow range of activities; others may be quite diverse. Different livelihood pathways are evident over different time-scales. Over seasons and between years, variations in options emerge (Chambers *et al.*, 1981). Equally, within domestic cycles different combinations or strategies may be pursued sequentially, depending on changes in dependency ratios, health conditions and other factors. Over longer periods and over several generations, for example more substantial shifts in combinations may occur, as local and external conditions change. It is this dynamic element, evident in the composition and decomposition of livelihood strategies, which is important to examine, especially in the context of assessing the sustainability of different options. This makes an historical approach central to any analysis (Scoones, 1998).

On the basis of the focus group discussions, it became obvious that the community members lack the assets and resources to improve their livelihoods. Input costs are high and there has always been a problem within the resource-poor communities to acquire and assemble the critical mass of resources to boost their production. The numerous government programmes that have been introduced in recent years have aimed to improve the purchasing power of the households so that they can acquire the inputs they need to improve their production. The social grants that local people receive are also aimed at improving their purchasing power. But the available information

suggests that these efforts by the government are not leading to substantial improvements in the profiles of the rural dweller and that poverty is actually deepening. The focus group discussions confirmed that the households continue to experience difficulties accessing resources and that the use of child labour in farming is meant to reduce the costs that households incur in their production processes.

Without question therefore, households are going to have a very hard time coping with situations in which child labour use is completely eliminated. A situation such as that would compel households to pay market rates for labour. From the information presented in Table 4.18, it was clear that households' use of child labour was largely influenced by the considerations of distance to school and the number of livestock the household owned. The households are so poor that they are unable to keep their children in the primary schools which they have to commute to possibly by paying transport fares. If child labour is eliminated, many households would be unable to continue farm operations in addition to being unable to send their children to school. There will be a clear worsening of conditions for the rural people in terms of the complete disruption of the production activities.

#### **4.7 Possibilities of Prosecution of Perpetrators**

There is no question that the South African society in the post-Apartheid era has become quite sophisticated. The Bill of Rights is widely recognized and individuals know their rights to a much greater extent in this country than in many other places in the world. In fact, the Bill of Rights has been lauded as one of the most progressive and advanced in the world. But abuse of human beings still exists and offend the sensibilities of civilized society. As has been highlighted in Chapter 1, one manifestation of the type of slavery that goes on today is human trafficking which affects virtually every country today and leads to the proliferation of criminal activities as the trafficked individuals struggle to survive the untold hardships to which they are subjected.

One view has described human trafficking as the “holding of a person in forced service” (McGough, 2013). The nature of the service in which the persons are held differ. According to UNODC, South Africa is a source, transit, and destination country for trafficked persons, be they men, women, or children. There is a high incidence of internal trafficking of South African girls for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation and domestic servitude. In the case of boys, the purpose of internal trafficking is their use in street vending, food service, and agriculture. Available information suggests that South African children are forced to provide unpaid labor for landowners in return for their family occupying land or accommodation, or maintaining labor tenancy rights (Lahiff, 2008).

Child sex tourism is another problem that the literature has picked up with respect to South Africa. According to Chetty (2007) this phenomenon is prevalent in a number of South Africa’s cities. As defined by the United Nations (1996), child sex tourism is “tourism organized with the primary purpose of facilitating the effecting of a commercial sexual relationship with a child”. There is also the situation of child sex tourism which involves the “opportunistic exploitation of prostituted children while travelling on business or for other reasons” (United Nations, 1996). It has also been found that women and girls from other African countries are regularly trafficked to South Africa for commercial sexual exploitation, domestic servitude, and other jobs in the service sector. Occasionally, South Africa serves as a half-way house enroute to export destinations in Europe. What is now know is that these women are largely trafficked onward to Europe for sexual exploitation. There are reports that a significant degree of trafficking takes place into South Africa from Thailand and China and most of this relate to debt-bonding that is tied to commercial sexual exploitation. There are indications that sometimes farm owners lure young men and boys from neighbouring Southern African countries like Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Malawi to engage in farm work in South Africa. What constitutes abuse in this case is that these individuals are encouraged to enter South Africa illegally and then made to work for several months without pay and

then when they had accomplished the farm task, the farm owner threatens that he will reveal their illegal status to the authorities and get them to be so scared that they depart the country without receiving any payment for their labour. A recent report in the Daily Maverick (2013) claims that as much as 30,000 children are trafficked into sex trade every year.

Against the foregoing background, the study sought to establish the extent to which procedures are in place to deal with the scourge and possibly prosecute the perpetrators. In order to achieve this goal which is related to a specific research question, it was necessary to explore the existing legislation and policy terrain and whether or not there are arrangements in place to deal with the problem. It was found that at least one Government Gazette exists which directly addresses itself to the issue of human trafficking which is one manifestation of the Modern-day Slavery and Worst Forms of Child Labour as defined by the United Nations. The specific relevant Gazette is Volume 577, No. 36715 of 29 July 2013 which documents the Act No. 7 of 2013 entitled "Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act, 2013".

The main element of this finding is that an Act exists which explicitly provides for the prosecution of perpetrators of activities that relate to Modern-Day Slavery and abuse of children for commercial and illegal purposes. The Gazette is arranged into 10 chapters with their contents as indicated in Table 4.20. The document is an 86 page publication with comprehensive information on the conceptual issues relevant to the phenomenon of human trafficking and the global and national concerns about it and the official policy on the issue. From an analysis of the document, the official policy ranges from explicit actions to prevent the problem as well as detail information on the steps to prosecute the perpetrators and the specific penalties for different degrees of contravention. The document equally contains makes provision for how the victims are to be protected and assisted in the event of exposure to the problem, including compensate them and repatriate them to their countries of origin.

**Table 4.20: Analysis of contents of Gazette Vol. 577 No. 36715 of 29 July 2013**

<b>Chapter</b>	<b>Description/Content</b>
Chapter 1	Definitions, interpretations and objects of Act
Chapter 2	Offences, penalties and extra-territorial jurisdiction
Chapter 3	Status of Foreign Victims of trafficking required to assist in investigations and prosecutions
Chapter 4	Identification and protection of victims of trafficking
Chapter 5	Accreditation of organizations to provide services to adult victims of trafficking
Chapter 6	Compensation
Chapter 7	Return and repatriation of victims of trafficking
Chapter 8	General provisions
Chapter 9	Administration of Act
Chapter 10	Miscellaneous Matters

**Source: Government Gazette, Vol. 577, No. 36715 of 29 July, 2013.**

The indication from Table 4.20 is that a clear-cut official position exists to deal with the problem of Modern-Day Slavery and Worst Forms of Child Labour and all its manifestations, including human trafficking. Further examination of the situation reveals that Government has put in place a number of arrangements to tackle the problem. For instance, in the preparations for the FIFA World Cup in 2010, the Government activated several ad hoc measures to deal with the possible human rights violations that might occur as a result of the sudden and large-scale influx of international visitors for that event. At the launch of the Child Protection Week and The Children's Act on 21 May 2010, just 20 days before the kick-off of the World Cup games, President Jacob Zuma drew attention to the high possibility of criminal activities during the event, specifically

mentioning the human trafficking (The Presidency, 2010). For that reason, the President announced that Human Trafficking was being prioritized in the criminal justice system of South Africa (The Presidency, 2010).

The study also examined the cases heard in court that relate to Modern-Day Slavery and Child Labour. The study specifically examined cases heard at four courts namely, the Gauteng South Regional Court, Western Cape High Court, Regional Court of Kwazulu-Natal, and the Constitutional Court of South Africa. The critical information needed in relation to this aspect of the study will include the nature of the case and the verdict reached. Such information can be a pointer to whether or not there is scope for effective policing of the offences associated with the phenomenon. Table 4.21 provides some insight into what one might expect in that respect.

**Table 4.21: Analysis of court cases involving modern-day slavery**

Case Heard	Court	Verdict
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Illegal employment of foreign persons</li> <li>• Keeping a brothel</li> <li>• Procuring females to become common prostitutes</li> </ul>	Gauteng South Regional Court – case # 4/1899/2000	Accused acquitted on a technicality
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trafficking of several citizens of Israel, Romania and Brazil</li> <li>• Removal of organs</li> <li>• Trade in human organs</li> </ul>	Regional Court of Kwazulu-Natal	Found guilty, fines imposed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trafficking in persons</li> <li>• Removal and trade in human organs</li> </ul>	Regional Court of Kwazulu-Natal	Found guilty, 5 years imprisonment.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Forced labour</li> <li>• Passport of foreigner confiscated</li> </ul>	Constitutional Aspect	

**Source: Document Analysis, 2013**

To sum up, the country of South Africa has some legal framework for combatting the worst forms of child labour. An Act now exists for some of the activities and Police

desks across the country pay special attention to issues of exploitation of women and children. There is therefore no grounds to believe that policing of the phenomenon will constitute a difficult task.

#### **4.8 Community Perceptions of Possible Remedial Actions**

The concerns over the deepening poverty in the rural areas of the country are well-known. Eastern Cape Province is one of the special cases given its very high poverty rates and deteriorating living conditions. For these reasons, it is urgent to find ways and means to improve the conditions of the local population. Essentially, such improvements can be achieved by enhancing the productive base of the households by their acquiring more assets and enhancing the efficiency of those assets, or by direct assistance to the households through transfers that are not linked to the market mechanism or the productive base of the households.

Against the foregoing background, the study addressed the last research question concerning the possible alternative remedial actions by asking the representatives of the communities for their suggestions as to what can be done to remedy the low income problem of the households should the use of child labour be discontinued. One of the reasons the households use child labour is their extreme poverty which makes them unable to pay for hired labour at the market rates. Labour costs have gone up quite dramatically in the rural areas in recent years. Part of the reason for the increase in labour costs is the significant injection of cash into the communities as a result of a number of government programmes that have been implemented in the rural areas since the end of Apartheid, particularly those programmes that aim to enhance the productive base of households. In that category are the black economic empowerment schemes through which the Department of Rural Development and Agrarian Reform (DRDAR) has tried to support farmers by implementing subsidy schemes among other

programmes. These schemes have generally targeted the small-scale farmers and other resource-poor households involved in agriculture. One notable programme was the Massive Food Production Programme under which the resource-poor households received a wide range of inputs at subsidized rates. Many of these programmes have been discontinued while others have been scaled down. Since 2007/2008, other wider macro-economic developments have caused prices to rise generally in the economy as in other parts of the world. These developments have evidently imposed severe pressures on households as much as on government budgets leading to the curtailment of the assistance the government has traditionally given to the resource poor households to support their productive activities.

During the focus group discussions, the community representatives re-iterated the importance of these subsidies to their production activities. In their view, the current hardships faced by the rural dwellers have been caused in large part by their limited access to government assistance. This has been one reason they have increasingly relied on child labour to carry out critical farm operations. As they are also not able to afford the transport costs to send children to distant schools, the households have found it a convenient option to utilize the services of these children in boosting their farm business.

Expectedly, the key suggestion made by the participants at the focus group meetings was that the government's assistance be re-instated so that their production costs are minimized to allow them make some profit in farming. The situation where input prices are rising while child support costs are also rising imposes severe difficulties on the households who are then compelled to make choices that definitely hurt the household's and society's prospects for growth and development through the effective educational of children. The community members were also of the view that the social grants should be enhanced to make more cash available to the households to meet daily needs.

There was general agreement on the need for children to be at school to study and the present situation in many places where children are drafted early into the workforce was condemned by a number of participants.

#### **4.9 Chapter Summary**

This chapter presented the results of the analysis from different perspectives as foreseen in the objectives. Essentially, the chapter described the demographic characteristics of the survey households enumerated in the study area and presented vital information about the socio-economic structure of the society. A wide range of descriptive statistics was applied, including frequencies, means, standard deviation, skewedness and graphs and histograms. The picture that emerged was that of a typical developing country rural community in which conditions are still basic and the households are of modest means with little or no education and are generally not literate. It was also shown that the majority of the respondents covered by the study were middle-age and above, with quite a sizeable number being over 70 years of age. The chapter then turned attention to the farming system and described the major fruit trees that dominate the agricultural system of the study community and the relationships between the performance of the system and a wide range of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Apart from the more descriptive analysis such as cross-tabulations and explore tools that were employed to demonstrate and explain patterns in respect to the system features, the study applied some hypothesis testing and limited dependent variable modeling to establish linear associations. Some inference about causation was also made to show the extent to which distance from school and the ownership of livestock were important in the decision about whether or not to engage child labour in farming. The chapter also presented information about the incidence of child labour in an urban setting with examples from Alice Town. In general, it was clear that child labour and other instances of modern-day slavery are quite serious in the province as in other parts of the country and urgent intervention was needed to address the situation. The chapter established that local people are compelled by necessity to

engage in child labour use and would welcome alternative arrangements that promote the access of children to educational amenities.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The chapter summarizes the main findings and draws conclusions based on which a set of recommendations are proffered. The central question around which the dissertation was prepared was the phenomenon of child labour whose dimensions are examined and its implications identified. But the phenomenon of child labour is only part of the broader human rights violations that remain the enduring challenge of development. For that reason, the wider issues of modern day slavery and its antecedents were examined. Modern day slavery which has been dominating the news and development agenda since the early 2000s was given particular attention. More specifically therefore, this dissertation asked the question as to the current situation on South African farms in respects to human rights and how the livelihoods of families were affected. The dissertation also promised to look at how families attempt to meet livelihoods and whether or not there were means by which violations can be controlled and possibly eliminated. The way these issues were addressed in line with the objectives and research questions is outlined below.

#### **5.2 Summary**

In the sub-sections that follow, the dissertation presents summaries of significant aspects of the literature review, research methodology, analysis and presentation of results.

### **5.2.1 Literature Review**

Slavery, modern day slavery and the worst forms of child labour remain serious issues around the world to this day. The origin of slavery can be traced from Biblical times to the beginning of the trans-Atlantic Slave trade which represents the most significant global developments of all times. The concept of child labour as an off-shoot of wider deprivations embodied in slavery, is a complex one that needs to be explained carefully. Along with this, the Worst Forms of Child Labour has a special place in the development and human rights lexicon. The ILO is the premier organization with mandate to address the issues relevant to child labour and associated abuses that seem to perpetuate the scourge of slavery even in these modern times. A review of the relevant literature suggests the origins of child labour in its present form as the industrial revolution in England when the proliferation of tasks in manufacturing called for low cost labour use to maximize the rewards to the factory owners. But that era also had prominent individuals whose separate and collective actions led to abolition of slavery and more recently to the formulation of policies to address the problem. How child labour fits into the whole question of labour use in agriculture was also reviewed especially in the context of developing countries. It was shown that again profits drove these development. The emergence of human rights concerns on child labour have again, at least for agriculture, focused on the socioeconomic contexts that define the circumstances of the farming households and communities.

### **5.2.2 Research Methodology**

The study area consists of two local municipalities drawn from the two main historically significant parts of the province, namely the Port St John's local municipality in the former Transkei homeland area, and the Nkonkobe local municipality represented by the Alice Town in the former Ciskei homeland area. It was shown that while the former was a typically rural and farming community, the latter is a small town with a wide range

of small businesses and enterprises that are largely sole proprietorships and generally black-owned and operated. Many foreign nationals were also operating in Alice Town at the time of the present study. The study collected data on demographic and socio-economic characteristics of sample households as well as labour use data relevant to analysis of child labour use. The distance to the nearest school, hours worked by children, the monthly income of farming households, the livestock ownership and asset holdings were also assessed. The information was also obtained on crops grown under the Is'Baya programme in which an NGO, ARC and the local community were collaborating. The data were coded and cleaned and then analyzed by the application of descriptive statistics to provide succinct profiles of the study area. Further, the correlation analysis and logistic regression were applied to facilitate inference. The details about the processes followed for obtaining ethical clearance are provided. It is important to note that ethical clearance is essential given that humans are involved and there was need to comply with University of Fort Hare's policy on research. The limitations of the study were also highlighted.

### **5.2.3 Presentation of Results**

The socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the households influence the decision-making functions of the household head. They are crucial in understanding why households act in one way or another. From the evidence, a sizeable number of the surveyed households were headed by persons in their middle age and older. For instance, households aged 56 years and above constituted half of the sample. It was also revealed that about 53% of the sample had had no schooling and the majority of them (77%) were male. Household size was relatively large in the study area, with most households having more than 3 members, and as many as 45% having 6-10 members and 27% having more than 10 members. Those who were engaged in farming had been in the business for a long time, with 42% indicating that they have been farming for more than 30 years. In terms of the circumstances of the respondents, the study

revealed that while 37% lived within a kilometre of a primary school, the rest lived in homestead that were on average of more than 2 kilometres from the nearest primary school. Child labour use was also found to be common, with 70% of the respondents reporting that they used child labour in their farming. It was also found that most of the child labour was engaged for long periods during the day, at least a quarter being engaged for more than 3 hours and possibly up to 7 hours. The study found that the school distance was strongly related to the child labour use and hours of child work. It was also found that monthly income of the household, and their asset and livestock ownership strongly influenced the extent of child labour use as revealed by chi-square non-parametric hypothesis tests. A correlational study similarly suggested equally strong relationships among these variables.

The study applied some parametric hypothesis testing and limited dependent variable modeling to establish linear associations. Based on these, some inference about causation was also made to show the extent to which distance from school and the ownership of livestock were important in the decision about whether or not to engage child labour in farming. The study also revealed that there was child labour use in non-agricultural activities as indicated by a survey conducted in the Alice Town among respondents involved in petty trading and retail businesses as well as services. Such urban child labour use featured children working under harsh conditions of long hours, long distances of walking to and from place of business, low remuneration and exposure to inclement weather as well as official harassment.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

It is safe to conclude from the evidence revealed by this study that child labour is serious enough to warrant attention. There is no question that serious human rights issues are involved and these constitute violations of national and international norms about the use of child labour. While the scope of this study did not allow for the subject-matter to be explored to greater depth, there was sufficient information about the

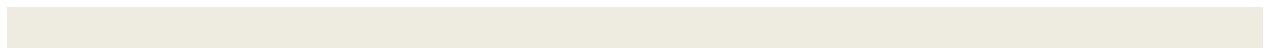
relationships with indicators of welfare to suggest strong links which border on poverty and service delivery and infrastructure deficiencies as well as market failure. For instance, the revelation that school distances were generally long is a very disturbing one and contradicts the avowed commitment of the government to target the poor and aggressively address poverty and inequality in the country. If a generation of South African children are unable to go to school due to distances from school which impose costs on households that can barely make ends meet, then the future is very bleak. South Africa's population has only recently reached 50 million, which is still low relative to its resources and land area. There does not seem to be any justification for the severe service delivery shortcomings that are often encountered.

The fact that some respondents used child labour in order to minimize costs of production on farms also points to the failure of the agrarian reform programme to address issues of post-settlement support to black farmers who are only recently entering the sector in a systematic way to engage in farming activities for profit. The apartheid system compelled black South Africans to abandon agriculture in favour of wage employment due to systematic governmental actions that reduced agricultural productivity in black areas and discouraged black enterprise. Farmers who lack support to make effective and efficient use of available land due to lack of skills will most certainly try to cut costs through exploitative use of child labour.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

The findings above call for urgent actions to improve services to rural municipalities and the support given to small farmers, who are largely black, to improve their profitability. The government has a policy of free education which is not being implemented as provided for in the policy. The social security scheme which has been reformed since 1994 has been very helpful in addressing cases of extreme destitution but they still do

not alleviate poverty or even guarantee marked improvement in livelihoods. Actions that deal with the infrastructure shortfalls, remove obstacles to the smooth delivery of educational services in rural areas, and build skills in farming and rural employment and income-generating activities, will go a long way in improving the attitudes to labour use, especially as it relates to children's work.



**QUESTIONNAIRE**

**QUESTIONNAIRE  
UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE  
FACULTY OF SCIENCE AND AGRICULTURE  
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS AND EXTENSION**



**ASSESSING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN NGO-MANAGED EXTENSION FRAMEWORK  
FOR TRANSFERRING IMPROVED TECHNOLOGIES TO FARMERS IN RURAL AREAS OF  
THE FORMER TRANSKEI.**

**(HOUSEHOLD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE)**

Name of the village .....
Name of the Interviewer.....Date.....

**A: HOUSEHOLD DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION**

A.1. Name of the respondent (*Optional*):

.....

A.2. Gender household head	Male	0
	Female	1

A.3. Age

A.4. Marital status

Single	1	Married	2	Divorced	3	Widowed	4
--------	---	---------	---	----------	---	---------	---

A.5. Highest level  
Of education

Primary School	1	High School	2	Tertiary Level	3	Other ( <i>specify</i> )	4
						.....	

A.6. Farming experience

**SECTION B: INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS**

1. Do you know of NGO manages extension services involved in projects?

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
----------------------	----------------------

2. Are you involved in the project? ..... For how long have you been involved in the project .....

3. Who are the different stakeholders involved in the project?

Stakeholders	Their roles	Closeness/ Relationship	How long?
DRDAR			

ARC			
NGO (I'sbaya Development trust)			
Municipality			

### C. FARMING

#### TYPE OF FARMING

##### C.1 type of farming

Fruits	1
Herbs	2
Vegetables	3
Livestock's	4

##### B.2 What types of fruit trees have you planted?

Banana	1
Oranges	2
Mangos	3
Macadamia nuts	4
Avocado	5
Guava	6
Litchis	7
Others (specify)	8

##### C.3 Which seasons do you harvest the fruits?

Summer	1
Spring	2
Winter	3

Autumn	4
--------	---

C.4 Why do you prefer to plant the fruits mentioned above?

Easy to produce and trained	Favourable weather conditions and soil	High market opportunities	Low production costs	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5

**D. MARKETING**

D.1 Which channel do you use in selling your livestock?

Community sales	Supermarkets	Fruits and vegetable stores	Schools	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5

D.2 Reasons for using the specified channel?

Receive high price	The only channel known	Nearer	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4

D.3 Do you process your fruits and vegetables?

Yes	1	No	0
-----	---	----	---

D.4 If yes where?

Own home	Fruit and vegetable store	Other (specify)
----------	---------------------------	-----------------

1	2	3
---	---	---

**E. NGO MANAGED EXTENSION FRAMEWORK**

E.1 What are the extension strategies and practices applied by the NGO managed extension framework?

--	--	--	--	--

E.2 What technical skills have been transferred to the farmers?

--	--	--	--	--

E.3 What are the reasons that led to the adoption of the framework?

--	--	--	--	--

E.4 How do you perceive the NGO managed extension framework?

--	--	--	--	--

E.5 What roles do you play in the program?

--	--	--	--	--

**F. SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE NGO MANAGED FRAMEWORK**

F.1 What are the benefits of the NGO managed extension services?

--	--	--	--	--

F.2 What are the limitations realized from the NGO managed extension service?

--	--	--	--	--

F.3 What is the distance travelled (minutes/Km) by farmers from their villages to access these facilities?

Input market .....

Nursery for seedlings .....

Organisations providing credit or loans .....

DRDAR .....

F.4 How has the project improved your livelihood?

--	--	--	--	--

<b>G. FARMING SYSTEM OF THE PROJE CT AREA</b>
---

G.1 What are the available resources?

Water	Land	Others (specify)
1	2	3

G.2 Does the NGO managed extension framework view the farm in a holistic manner?

Yes	1	No	0
-----	---	----	---

G.3 Does the NGO require homogenous types of farmers?

--	--	--	--	--

G.4 Does the NGO farming system builds on principles of productivity and profitability?

Yes	1	No	0
-----	---	----	---

<b>H. SUSTAINABILITY OF THE NGO MANAGES EXTENSION FRAMEWORK</b>
---

H.1 Which factors were considered important in adopting the NGO managed extension framework in the district?

--	--	--	--	--

H.2 How can the model expanded to other local municipalities in the district?

--	--	--	--	--

H.3 What is sustaining the NGO managed extension framework?

--	--	--	--	--

**I. INCOME**

**Income from fruit and vegetables**

I.1 What is your monthly income?

--	--

I.2 How much income do you generate from fruit and vegetable sales?

--	--

I.3 What are your different income sources? May you use the 10 stones (or chapatti diagram) to demonstrate your different sources of income and percentage from each source?

<b>Income sources</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Amount (if possible)</b>
Farming		
Child grants		
Pension		
Remittances		
Off-Farm income		
Other (specify)		

<b>J. CHILD LABOUR</b>
------------------------

J.1 Are there kids helping you in your farm?

Yes	1	No	0
-----	---	----	---

J.2 If **yes** how are they helping you?

Fetching water	Digging tree holes	Harvesting trees and vegetable	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4

J.3 How are you paying them?

Sugar cane	Money	Other (specify)
1	2	3

J.4 What are the reasons for the children to become farm labourers?

Poverty	Limited access to education	Lack of adult labour	Traditional attitudes	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5

**Thank you for your co-operation!!!**

.....

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