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## Child Labour in Urban Agriculture: The Case of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

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Urban agriculture in Dar es Salaam was found to use child labour of both children with parents of higher and lower socioeconomic status (SES). Child labour in urban agriculture was due to four interrelated factors: the failure to adequately enforce government regulations; economic austerity; parental expectations for economic contribution; and the children's obligations to their families. In some cases there was child labour exploitation. Efforts should be initiated by the government to stop the exploitation of child labour by ratifying the international minimum working age of 14, and by enforcing laws and regulations governing children's rights. Parents of lower SES should be educated to not expect an economic contribution from their children's labour, and children should also be educated about their rights. Children of lower SES parents should be made aware that their parents' obligations should not be fulfilled at the expense of their future well-being.

**Keywords:** urban agriculture, child labour, economic austerity, parents' expectations, children's obligations

### INTRODUCTION

Since the mid 1970s the economies of most developing countries have worsened considerably, due to external factors such as the oil crisis and internal factors such as political strife, economic mismanagement, wars, droughts, increased populations, distorted industrialization, and lack of job creation. In both rural and urban areas these factors have led to an attrition in the number of civil servants, a decline in real incomes, increased balance of payments problems, and low productivity (African Development Bank, 1992; Bukuku, 1993; Nyang'oro & Shaw, 1993; World Bank, 1993). In an attempt to address the continuing decline of their economies, governments in developing countries have pursued a variety of policies and practices collectively designed to encourage the involvement of citizens, especially the labour force, in informal sector economic activities. The principal objective of these activities is to subsidize individuals' incomes and food production. One such activity has been urban agriculture

(UA), which emerged as a major urban sector activity during the 1980s (Mazambani, 1982; Sanyal, 1985; Tricaud, 1987; Yeung, 1987, 1988; Rakodi 1988; Freeman, 1991; Maxwell & Zziwa, 1992).

Despite its perceived beneficial impact on individuals and society, UA has generally been associated with the use and exploitation of child labour. It is this dimension which has largely been ignored in developing countries, where the use of child labour in UA appears to be the greatest. Nieuwenhuys (1994) has presented data countering the long-held view that most tasks performed by children in developing countries are economically unproductive and cannot therefore lead to exploitation. The Republic of Tanzania is no exception. It appears that most of the research and literature has neglected to tackle the issue of child labour and its prevalence in UA. This study seeks to contribute to urban theory by attempting to clarify the dynamics that make children continue to engage themselves in UA, using a conceptual framework or model which details three interrelated factors affecting the issue.

The purpose of this article is to discuss child labour in UA production in Dar es Salaam city.

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UA is defined as including animal husbandry such as raising dairy cattle, poultry, pigs and goats, and growing vegetables and field crops in areas designated urban by the United Republic of Tanzania under the Town and Country Planning Ordinance CAP. 378 of 1956 reviewed in 1961.

Data for this study came from one city (Dar es Salaam) out of a pilot research project conducted in four cities (Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Mbeya, and Morogoro) and two towns (Kilosa and Makambako) in Tanzania from 1986 to 1991. Additional data were collected in 1993 in Dar es Salaam. Interviews and observations were the central method of data collection. This article is organized as follows:

- First, we discuss research and literature on urban agriculture and review child labour in a global context.
- We then examine Dar es Salaam and examine child labour in UA in this context. A synopsis is offered of advantages and disadvantages of child labour in UA.
- We then use a model to explain why children provide labour in UA.
- Finally we offer conclusions and policy implications for improving the child labour situation in UA.

### URBAN AGRICULTURE

In developing countries, UA has traditionally been practised by citizens of lower socioeconomic status (SES) to provide food and to subsidize their incomes. Today, however, studies suggest that UA is no longer the exclusive preserve of people of lower SES. A wide range of people are engaged in UA for a variety of social, economic, and cultural reasons (Skinner, 1974; Yeung, 1987; Wade, 1987; Lado, 1990; Freeman, 1991; Mvena, Lupanga & Mlozi, 1991; Diallo, 1993; Sawio, 1993). UA is a diverse, omnipresent, thriving, and sometimes profitable activity in cities all over the world, both for low- and high-income people (Deelstra, 1987; Gutman, 1987; Kleer, 1987; Bills, 1991; Smit & Ratta, 1992; van der Bliet, 1992; Bohrt, 1993). UA activities vary enormously, both within and between countries, as well as throughout urban SES. A decade ago, O'Connor (1983) perceived UA to be an important part of small-scale enterprises. Surveys from the late 1980s in Bolivia, Egypt, Kenya, India, Mali, Thailand, Tanzania, and

Uganda show that poor urban households spent 60 percent – and in some cases as much as 89 percent – of their income on food. In 1990, households in nearly half of the Least Developing Countries' (LDC) largest cities were spending 50 to 80 percent of their average income on food (Population Crisis Committee, 1990; Ethelston, 1992). But UA is also found in the industrialized countries such as England, Germany, Holland, Japan, Poland, Italy, and the USA. In these countries, however, UA is practised for different reasons and purposes than in developing countries. UA also occurs in the developing countries of Asia and South America.

In Africa, UA is practised everywhere either as commercial or survival activity (Khoury-Dagher, 1986; Ngwa Nebasina, 1987; Streiffeller, 1987; Gbadegesin, 1991; Gefu, 1992; Diallo, 1993). In central Africa, for example, UA is mostly carried out by people of lower SES because of their difficult economic conditions (Streiffeller, 1987; Lee-Smith & Stren, 1991; Hartvelt & Gross, 1992). Another example is in Harare, Zimbabwe, where UA is practised by most people (Mazambani, 1982; Drakakis-Smith, 1992; Mbiba, 1994). Similarly, in Lusaka, Zambia (Sanyal, 1985; Rakodi, 1988), and Lilongwe, Malawi (Potts, 1989), UA is practised by people of lower SES. This is also the case in South Africa (Matlala, 1990; Molefe, 1991; Rogerson, 1993) as well as in Kenya (Lee-Smith et al., 1987; Lado, 1990; Freeman, 1991, 1993; Memon & Lee-Smith, 1993), and Uganda (Maxwell & Zziwa, 1992).

The involvement of child labour in UA activities, however, has been ignored by most researchers despite the available evidence supporting its presence. Evidence suggests that most African households have a large family size and children are in the majority. In 1976/77, for example, Collier et al. (1986) found that urban households in Dar es Salaam had an average of five people. However, a study done in 1993 by this author found that the average household size of urban agriculturalists surveyed was eight people (a 37.5% increase), and children participated in UA production. In Tanzania, and especially Dar es Salaam, the situation is similar to that found generally in African cities. In Tanzania, UA is found everywhere in towns and cities (Sanyal, 1986; Bongole, 1988; Shauri, 1989; Mosha, 1991; Mvena et al., 1991; United Republic of Tanzania, 1991;

Mlozi et al., 1992; Sawio, 1993; Mlozi, 1994), and it is associated with the use of child labour. This appears particularly true of children from low SES families in Dar es Salaam city.

### CHILD LABOUR

Child labour is a worldwide phenomenon (Sigh & Verma, 1987; Bequele & Boyden, 1988; Myers, 1991; International Labour Office (ILO), 1991; Ryan, Garonna & Edwards, 1991; Goonesekere, 1993; Fyfe, 1993; Boyden, 1994; Nieuwenhuys, 1994) and understanding it has often been clouded by moral considerations. Defining child labour is not as simple and straightforward as it may appear because it encompasses three difficult to define concepts: 'child', 'work', and 'labour'. However, in this context I define child labour as that of children below the general limit of 15 years who are engaged in UA activities regularly or on a part-time basis, either to earn money or to help their parents. Most research and literature on child labour has explained it from three perspectives: the legal, the demographic, and the neo-classical.

Although not all work done by children is exploitative, many children do work long hours, in hard jobs that are beyond their capabilities, and are underpaid. This has raised concern among some people in developed countries who have considered this a mistreatment of children and an outrage. The employment of children in factories and workshops has long been considered to be the worst sort of treatment and child labour has never lacked critics: 'Indeed, by far the greatest part of the commentators on child labour have been highly critical of the practice' (Nardinelli, 1990, p. 9). For example, the globally proposed legislative changes had the dual goal of prohibiting children from working in factories and workshops and providing, as an antidote, a national system of basic education (Fyfe, 1989, p. 30). Other activities not connected with factory work, however, were left untouched by legislation: agriculture, housekeeping, and small enterprises.

In most developing societies rapid population growth has been argued to be a factor inhibiting economic growth. Research and literature of developing countries indicate that the demographic characteristics of child labour may be summed up as young in age, belonging to large families, living mostly with illiterate parents and

relatives, and contributing to family income. The children of poor, non-workers with escalating expectations in terms of education and consumption were held responsible for using up the developing countries' scant resources (Nieuwenhuys, 1994, p. 13). However, children from middle-class families also work, but for different reasons. The former view saw massive foreign-funded research which all seemed to suggest that the solution lay in vigorous and far-reaching campaigns for birth control. To date, little has been achieved, and as populations in developing countries continue to grow, so does child labour. Child labour, especially in developing societies, has not been recognized as exploitative and those employing children had taken advantage of their governments' laxity to further exploit child labour.

Globally, children are forced to work in the services sector primarily due to socioeconomic pressures placed on them by the very parents who are supposed to be their custodians. It is almost universally accepted that poverty is the main cause of child work in developing countries (Myers, 1991; Ngaeje, 1991; Oloko, 1991; Fyfe, 1993; Nieuwenhuys, 1994). In developing countries, including Tanzania and especially Dar es Salaam, cultural and economic factors interact in complex ways to encourage child labour (Figure 1).

### THE CITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Dar es Salaam, covering about 1500 square kilometres, had a population of 1.3 million people in 1988 (United Republic of Tanzania, 1990) and 2.2 million in 1992 (Synge, 1992). Looking at the national urban population, the population of Dar es Salaam appears to double every decade. It is estimated that by the year 2000, Dar es Salaam will have a population of 3.5 million people (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987; Banyikwa, 1988; van Huyck, 1992). If present trends continue according to Kalabamu (1992), by the 21st century urban centres in Tanzania will have between eight and 16 million people or 24–45 per cent of the national population. Half of those could be living in Dar es Salaam.

The city is the biggest urban agglomeration in Tanzania and the most dynamic socioeconomically, culturally, and geopolitically. It lies 10 metres above sea level and is located around latitude 7° 0' North and 39° 0' East. Administratively,

modern Dar es Salaam is both a district and a region comprised of Ilala, Kinondoni, and Temeke districts. These districts are divided into 50 wards, of which 35 are classified as urban. There are 15 urban wards in Ilala, 11 in Kinondoni and nine in Temeke. The Dar es Salaam City Council (DCC) is responsible for the overall administration of the city. About 75 per cent of the Dar es Salaam population consists of people of lower SES who mostly squat in the unplanned and unserved areas of the city. In 1993, most of these urbanities might only have earned an average of US\$110 as the caput income of a Tanzanian estimated by the World Bank in 1993. In 1991, for example, the Tanzania National Informal Sector (TNIS) study found that about 55 per cent of the households in the city were engaged in the informal sector to subsidize their income.

Dar es Salaam is not a planned city in the same way as a modern city such as Brasilia, Chandigar, or Abuja (Armstrong, 1987, p. 133). This was exemplified by the city's various plans (four) since its inception in 1891. Literature is replete (Kulaba, 1989; Rakodi, 1991; Kaitilla, 1992; Kironde, 1992; Kombe, 1994) indicating how the State has in three decades (1960's to 1990's) failed to survey and develop enough plots for urban development. Considering this, the groupings discussed below are not absolute, and isolated cases are usually spotted outside their main groups. A grouping of the principal residential areas according to densities in the city urban wards indicates four distinct groups: low, quasi-medium, medium, and high densities. Within these areas, a typology of children engaging in UA activities can be categorized into six groups.

1. The low density areas, with plot sizes typically measuring 4640 square metres, are inhabited by people of highest SES who mostly keep cattle, chickens, and grow a few crops. These areas include Kigamboni, Mbezi Beach, Mikocheni A & B, Mlalakuwa, Msasani, and Oysterbay. Because of the large plot sizes and availability of infrastructure, most children from parents of lower SES work for wages in the low density areas, mainly in activities related to dairy cows and chickens. Most children of high SES families are attending school and most are involved in evening tutoring when they come back from school. If they happen to work in UA activities, the work is easy and for fun as their parents do not expect any money from them.
2. The quasi-medium density areas that measure about 1750 to 2400 square metres are inhabited by people of mid-level status who keep fewer cattle and chickens and grow fewer crops and vegetables than group 1. These areas include Kivukoni, around the Kinondoni district survey office, Regent Estate, Upanga west, and some areas in Mtoni, Temeke, and Tabata. These people employ some children from lower SES in their UA activities.
3. The medium density areas with plots measuring about 896 square metres are inhabited by people of medium SES and they keep few cattle, chickens, and grow few crops compared to group 2 above. These areas are comprised of Kinondoni Block 41, Mwananyamala, Ubungo, Tandika, Chang'ombe, and Kimara. In most cases these people do not employ children from outside their households, but use their children in UA activities.
4. The high density areas, in the majority, are comprised of areas with plot sizes measuring about 300 square metres and are inhabited by people of lower SES who usually do not keep cattle, but do keep some chickens and grow crops. This group includes areas of Buguruni, Ilala, Kariakoo, Manzese, Tabata, Temeke, Magomeni, and Kinondoni. Other areas include Kawe, Kigogo, Kurasini, Mabibo, Mburahati, Sinza, Vingunguti, Kipawa, Magogoni, Mtoni, and Shimo la Udongo. These people use children in UA activities although most of them work for people of higher and quasi-medium SES.
5. Children from families of lower SES also work to earn money for individuals, usually of lower SES, with UA activities that are outside the residential areas described above. Here commercial crop growing, especially vegetables such as African spinach or amaranths (mchicha), tomatoes, okra, and eggplants is undertaken in several city open spaces. These areas includes the backyards, valleys and road verges, unbuilt house plots, public, and institution-owned open spaces.
6. In the city, children from all SES groups attending the government-run primary and secondary schools also engage in UA activities. Most school compounds have areas which are often used to grow vegetable crops as part of the pupils' practical training in agriculture.

### TYPICAL CHILD LABOR IN UA

In Dar es Salaam, the 1991 Tanzania National Informal Sector (TNIS) study found that 14 251 youths under the age of 14 (5830 under nine and 8421 between the ages of 10 and 14) worked in the informal sector which included UA (United Republic of Tanzania, 1991). In the city, in 1991, TNIS found that 10 821 labourers worked in 10 228 UA enterprises, and their evidence suggests that about 50% of them might have been children below the age of 14, of whom about 70% were males. This is to say that, for every two children engaged in UA, one of them was below the age of 14. From 1985 to 1993, for example, improved dairy cattle in the region had increased from only 3318 to 18 286, a 451% increase over a period of eight years. Of the 18 286 cattle, 9081 (49.7%) were kept in the city's urban wards, and most of the chores related to them might have been done by children for wages.

In 1993, with regard to crops, nearly 67 000 hectares of land in the city were farmed. To varying degrees, these activities were done by children either for wages or to help their parents or relatives. Most of the children who work for wages come from parents of lower SES and include those who have stopped going to school, voluntarily or otherwise. In Tanzania, Knight and Sabot (1990), found that two main reasons account for children discontinuing their education. One is educational, failing of an examination or the lack of a local school. The other is economic – the inability of parents to pay school fees, the direct cost of education, and the inability of parents to do without the income from the child while attending school. Evidence suggests that the city has a 20 to 30 per cent primary school dropout rate between ages nine to 14, and higher among families of lower SES. There has been considerable interest in whether the informal sector is providing employment opportunities for young people or whether it is to some extent exploiting children (Ngaeye, 1991, pp. 1–18). Most of the primary school dropouts work in the informal sector enterprises such as selling used clothes '*mitumba*' peddling food and contraband items (watches, clothes, industrial goods), and hawking buns, doughnuts, cigarettes, and sodas. The typical age of children working in UA ranged from nine to 14 years, with older children being more likely to work outside their households for wages.



**Figure 1.** Children and adults selling forage to dairy cattle keepers in the Tabata area along Mandela road in Dar es Salaam. (Photo: author)



**Figure 2.** Children watering tomato plants in Dar es Salaam. (Photo: author)



**Figure 3.** Children working for a 'kulak' by hawking spinach – uchicha – to motorists in the Regent estate along Bagamoyo road in Dar es Salaam. (Photo: author)

Typical child labor in UA falls into two groups: livestock activities and crop-related activities. Generally, livestock keeping activities done by children includes feeding calves and chickens, collecting eggs, watering animals, helping with animal treatment, cleaning out cow dung and chicken manure from sheds, and gathering forage for the cattle (Figure 1). Common crop related activities include ploughing and levelling seedbeds, planting seedlings, watering plants (Figure 2), harvesting, selling vegetables (Figure 3), and sometimes spraying plants. In the city, the extent to which these activities are done by children depend on their age, the number of hours worked per day, the relationship between the child and the owner of the UA enterprise, the SES to which the child belongs, whether the child works for wages or not, the difficulty of the work, and the physical soundness of the child.

In addition there were two forms of child labour. Firstly, when the children participated in their parents' livestock keeping and crop-growing enterprises in the homes for non-tangible or 'non-economic goods or services': they received only the thanks and appreciation of their parents for their UA chores. Secondly, the kind of work done by children outside their homes, mostly by those from parents of lower SES, for tangible or 'economic services or goods', and mostly for wages. Here the remunerations received by the child were mostly given to parents to add to their total family income.

The involvement of children in UA was found to have some advantages, but it also engendered a number of problems and these concerns are explored in the following two sections.

#### ADVANTAGES OF CHILD LABOUR IN UA

There are a number of advantages in involving children in UA work. In the city, evidence suggests that child involvement in UA reduces the likelihood of associating with street gangs or engaging in other socially unacceptable behaviours such as smoking marijuana, performing acts of vandalism, and other violent acts. Children working in UA learn skills and knowledge from an early age about agriculture, which could be later used productively. For those attending school, involvement in UA is a laboratory for

observing and testing some theoretical concepts learned in biology and other science subjects. For most children from parents of lower SES, their involvement in UA is a way to earn money and add to their family income.

#### DISADVANTAGES OF CHILD LABOUR IN UA

Involving children in UA engenders a number of problems. For children with parents of lower SES, who are the majority of the group, exploitation is rampant. In Dar es Salaam children work long hours under difficult conditions (Boyden, 1994), and they are paid far below the minimum wage. The children who work in UA after school are left with no time to attend to tuition or to do their homework. And for those who work in UA and have quit school, there is an interference with the acquisition of basic education.

Since most children work in dairy cattle and chicken sheds, they are subjected to pollution by fumes and dust. These can cause asthma, bronchitis, and other respiratory diseases at early ages. Children are prone to physical accidents such as being attacked by bulls. Most of the children can also get tetanus if they cut themselves, as most of those working in UA activities wear no shoes and walk on cow dung and other farm refuse. Animal dung is a source of tetanus (Rosen, 1975; Ellner & Neu, 1992), especially if the animals are left outside to graze. Children can easily contract zoonotic diseases such as anthrax, brucellosis, taeniasis, tetanus, and tuberculosis. For example, domestic animals transmit zoonoses or animal diseases that are capable of afflicting humans and circulating amongst other animals (Acha & Szyfres, 1987; Harrison & Sewell, 1991; Phillips & Piggins, 1992). Children doing livestock-keeping chores can easily be infected with malaria spread by the *Culex* mosquitoes, which breed in slurry containing animal dung, urine, and water emanating from dairy cattle sheds, chicken sheds, and pig pens. *Culex quinquefasciatus* mosquitoes are probably the most important insect vectors even in the urban areas and bear malaria, yellow fever, and dengue (World Health Organization (WHO), 1992; Bradley, 1993; McGranaham, 1993). If children work in vegetable and field crop plots there are also problems because most people claim that crops harbour malaria-causing mosquitoes such as *Anopheles gambiae*.

## REASONS FOR CHILDREN'S LABOUR IN UA

The fact that child labour sometimes engenders physical and health problems raises a number of questions about its perpetuation. Questions such as why children work in UA and why it endures amongst such a wide range of SES are fundamental to an understanding of the issue. Related questions include: why do government policies encourage UA, are there government policies for children's rights, what kind of expectations for economic contribution do parents have for their children, and do children have certain obligations to their parents? Answers to these and other questions will require an examination of a variety of aspects of the situation: government regulations, parents' SES and expectations for economic contributions, and children's obligation to parents. To explain the reasons why children are involved in UA a conceptual framework is adopted which encompasses these three aspects. Figure 4 indicates the factors which encourage child labour in UA.

## Economic Hardship

National economic hardship is one of the main factors responsible for child labour in UA (Figure 4). Tanzania has been facing an economic crisis since the 1970s. During the period from 1977 to 1988, real gross domestic product (GDP) grew at an annual average rate of 1.9 per cent, below the population growth rate of 3.2 per cent per annum (Maliyamkono & Bagachwa, 1990; Bukuku, 1993; International Monetary Fund (IMF), 1993; World Bank, 1993). The persistent economic malaise which continued in the early 1990s had been characterized by an acute shortage of foreign exchange, unsuitable balance of payment deficits, large budget deficits, high rates of inflation, and the real decline of urban incomes (Bevan et al., 1988; Ndulu, 1992; Wagao, 1992; IMF, 1993; Sarris & van den Brink, 1993; World Bank, 1993). Given the persistent nature of economic hardship in the country, there can be no reason not to believe that child labour in the 1990s and the near future is likely to persist or worsen.

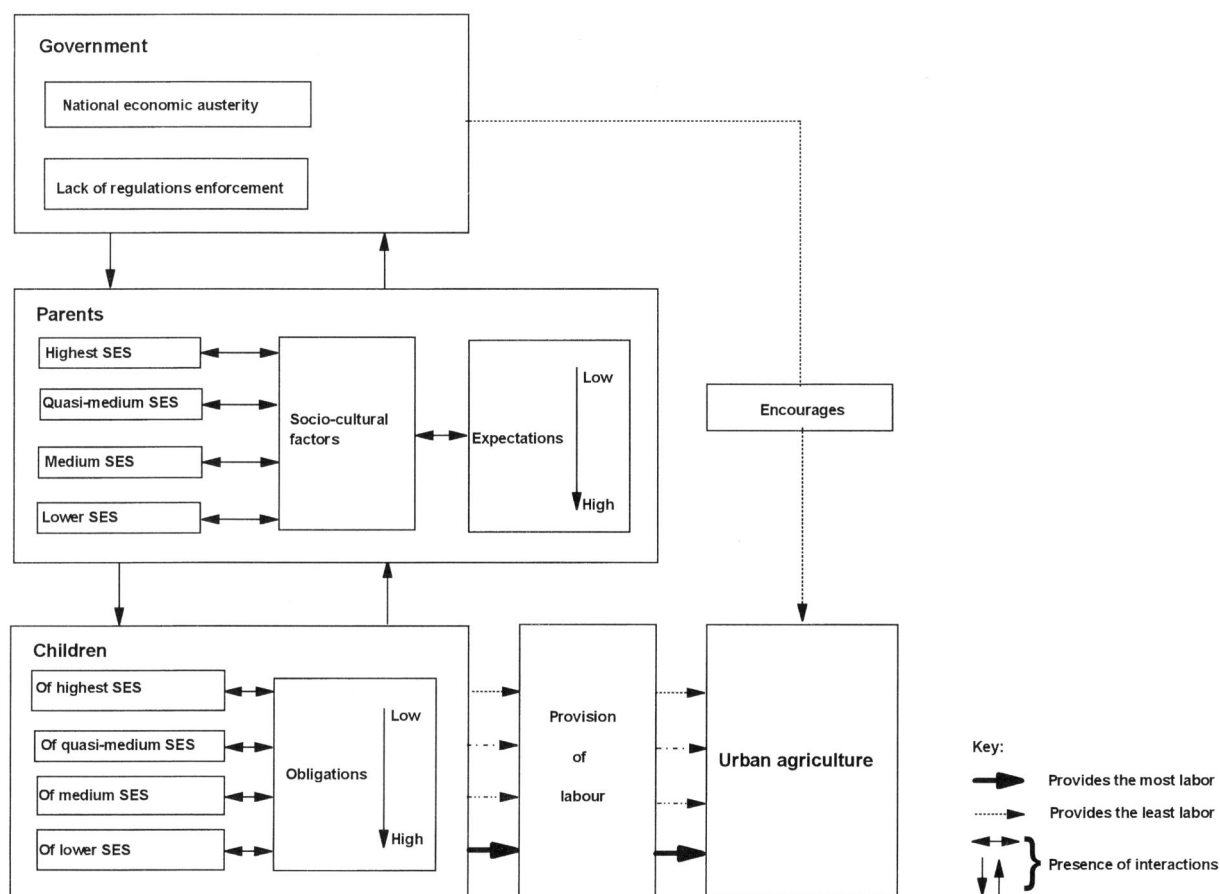


Figure 4. Model depicting reasons for children's involvement in UA.



Since the 1970s the government, faced with a poor economy, has issued policies encouraging people to practice UA in order to become self-sufficient in growing their own food and to offset the inflation of goods and services in towns and cities. Child labor, especially of children with parents of lower SES, has also been encouraged by a lack of government policy on the issue. The government needs to heed the International Labour Office Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention, 1973 (No. 138), along with its companion Recommendation, 1973 (No. 146), which states that: 'children under the age of 14 may not be employed or work in any public or private agricultural undertaking, or in any branch thereof, save outside the hours fixed for school attendance. If they are employed outside the hours of school attendance the employment shall not be such as to prejudice their attendance at school' (ILO, 1973; 1991). Tanzania, however, has to legislate in good faith and be able to provide the resources, structure, and political will necessary to achieve reasonable implementation. There can never be a substitute for a policy commitment from governments to the long-term goal of eliminating child labour, coupled with short-term measures which protect working children (Fyfe, 1993, p. 11).

### Parents

The second level of reason for child labor in UA is parents. It appears that parents, both with or without UA enterprises, have certain expectations for economic contribution from their children which are based on socio-cultural factors but modified by the economic standard of living. This is in turn modified by other societal factors such as the national economic austerity (Figure 4). It should be clearly stated that the early introduction of children into the productive sector is not the result of a deliberate decision on the part of adults; it is the outcome of a socialization strategy adapted to a way of life and the function of other social institutions (Bekombo, 1981, p. 119). Children have important economic and social functions in most developing societies, especially for parents of lower SES who have high expectations for children's contribution to the family income (Schildkrout, 1981; Oloko, 1991; Fyfe, 1993). For example, Nieuwenhuys (1994, p. 201), maintains that 'going to school does not, however, relieve children from responding to the demands and needs of adults, who are not yet convinced that children's primary duty would be anything else than to help and assist them.'

In the city, parents' expectations for economic contribution from their children were inversely related to their SES, that is, parents of highest SES expected their children to contribute nothing to family income (Figure 4). For example, parents of highest and quasi-medium SES would not allow their children to work in menial jobs outside their homes. If children worked in UA family enterprises, the work was light and a gesture of goodwill rather than to provide monetary resources for their parents. In most of the households in which UA was practised, parents of highest and quasi-medium SES employed children from poor farmers, usually brought from impoverished rural areas such as Dodoma, Iringa, Morogoro, and Singida, and they worked at livestock activities (herding, milking, feeding calves, cleaning sheds, gathering forage) and crop growing. Children with parents of medium SES were often found working within their parents' UA enterprises, and occasionally sought labour for wages outside their homes.

This, however, was not so with parents of lower SES. Parents of lower SES expected children to contribute to the family income needed to satisfy the family's basic human needs such as food. Evidence in Dar es Salaam suggests that those parents of lower SES have high expectations for the economic contribution of their children (Figure 4), which are partly encouraged by deeply ingrained socio-cultural beliefs that children should help parents. For example, there were incidents where some parents discouraged their children from going to school so that they could go out and work to earn money. These parents expect their children to contribute to the family income rather than be educated (King et al., 1974, p. 3). They either do not see the relevance of the education their children get, or the family's poverty prevents the children from participating in schools.

### Children

Child labor in UA also appears to be due to the children's sense of their obligations to their parents (Figure 4). Through the socialization process, children have learnt that they are responsible for providing certain services and some goods for their parents. Children of lower SES work in UA because otherwise they and their families would go hungry. In this case, children's obligations were inversely related to their parent's SES. Children from families of higher statuses

showed lower obligations to their parents in terms of contributing tangible 'economic and nutritional' resources through their work in UA enterprises than children from lower SES (Figure 4). Although data is absent, evidence suggests that most children from families of lower SES could not afford to allow their parents to go hungry by attending school when they knew that if they worked in UA they could get money for their families' food.

### CONCLUSIONS

UA is happening globally and is mostly done by people from a lower SES. In Tanzania and in Dar es Salaam in particular, UA involves keeping livestock, especially dairy cattle and chickens, and growing vegetables and small plots of field crops. These activities were frequently found to involve child labor. For example, people of higher status who mostly kept dairy cattle and chickens for commercial purposes mainly employed children from families of lower SES. Individuals growing vegetables also employed children from families of lower SES. However, on several occasions there was rampant exploitation of child labor because children were given harder jobs, worked longer hours and yet were paid less.

Although there are advantages in children's involvement in UA, the disadvantages are too many and warrant caution. For example, children could get hurt by vicious bulls or inhale fumes of decomposing animal dung. Children were also predisposed to zoonotic diseases and subjected to disease-causing mosquitoes. One then asks: why do children continue to be involved in UA activities? To answer this question we have to return to the three factors affecting child labor.

Firstly, national economic austerity appears to affect people of different SES in the country, but is probably more intense for people in the lower SES. UA is encouraged by the government to subsidize urbanites' low-salary income, produce their own food, and hence beat the 26% annual inflation rate. There is also a lack of government policy to enforce regulations on minimum age requirements in the agricultural sector, and particularly for those working in urban centres. All these factors have exacerbated child labour in UA, which is mostly carried out by children whose parents are from a lower SES. The second expla-

nation resides with parents – parents of different SES have varying expectations of their children's contribution to family survival. The last explanation has to do with the children themselves, in that they feel obliged to their parents but the type and nature of obligations varies with the parental SES. For example, children from families of lower SES appeared to feel more obliged to their parents in terms of their contribution towards family income. These children would go out and seek jobs in UA so that they could give their parents money to buy basic needs such as food. This was not so with children whose parents had higher status and had money to satisfy their basic human needs.

### POLICY IMPLICATIONS

It can be concluded that the present situation of child involvement in UA needs improvement. This cannot be achieved unless concerted efforts are made involving government, parents, and children. The problem is not to eliminate child work in UA, but to use regulatory and educational approaches. This can be done as follows.

1. The government should ratify the Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention, 1973 (No. 138), and enforce it. The government should enforce article 32 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 1990).
2. The government, through the Ministries of Agriculture, Livestock Development and Cooperatives, and Labour and Youth Development, should mount educational campaigns to teach parents about disease-health problems children might get when working in UA activities. During these campaigns children should be taught about their rights in general. The government should initiate programs for poverty alleviation among people of lower SES to enable them to provide means for their children's education and to lessen their expectations for economic contributions from their children.
3. The government should initiate and foster studies in children's environments by liaising with other learning institutions in the country such as Sokoine University of Agriculture, the University of Dar es Salaam, and the Ardhi Institute. Such studies could provide a better understanding of the nature and magni-

tude of children's economic contributions and parents' economic and socio-cultural motivations for letting their children work in urban agriculture – a subject rarely documented.

4. The Ministry of National Education should liaise with the Dar es Salaam City Council and design programs that aim to reduce primary school drop-outs and increase enrolment. The Ministry should also improve the quality of primary education and its relevancy to urban life.

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