

**CHILDREN'S EMOTIONAL AND BEHAVIOURAL DIFFICULTIES IN  
THE CONTEXT OF CHILD LABOUR: THE CASE OF LUSAKA URBAN  
DISTRICT**

**BY**

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I, **Chomba Jacob Nshimbi**, declare that this dissertation:

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## APPROVAL

This dissertation of Chomba Jacob Nshimbi has been approved as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a Master of Arts Degree in Child and Adolescent psychology by the University of Zambia.

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## ABSTRACT

The child labour problem in Zambia has been growing steadily over the years. The number of child labourers has increased to well over 600,000 and these children are increasingly subjected to more exploitative labour because of their vulnerability arising from their social economic status. Child labour has a number of negative effects on children such as mental and physical problems, poor academic performance and negative psychosocial behaviour. Much research however, has concentrated on the impact of child labour on children's physical development. The purpose of this study was therefore to investigate the psychological impact that child labour has on children. The study was seeking to determine whether children in child labour experienced more behavioural and emotional difficulties than those who are not.

The sample consisted of 46 children equally divided between those who attended school and were involved in child labour and those who also attended school but were not involved in child labour. Twenty four of them were boys while the remaining 22 were girls. The children were matched for demographic characteristics and attended the same schools. The age of the participating children ranged from 10 to 15 years. All the children were from three high density areas of Lusaka namely Kalingalinga, Garden, and George compounds.

Naturalistic observation was used at the work sites where the targeted children were found to validate that they were actually involved in child labour. Only those children, whom it was established were involved in child labour, were included in the sample. An adapted version of The Strength and Difficulties Questionnaires (SDQ) was used for collecting data from the children. The researcher administered the self rated SDQ to the children and the teacher rated SDQ was used by teachers to rate their pupils on the same characteristics. Information on school attendance was obtained from class attendance registers and school records. Focus Group Discussions (FDGs) were used to obtain the children's perception of child labour and how it impacts their lives.

There was a significant difference in the prevalence of emotional and behavioural difficulties between the children in child labour and those not in child labour. On emotional difficulties, a significant difference was found between the child labour and the non child labour group in that the child labour group indicated higher incidences of emotional difficulties. The child labour group also showed difficulties in social conduct and a lack of prosocial behaviours. The findings also showed that children in child labour stay away from school more frequently than children who are not in child labour. There was, however, no significant difference in peer relations between the two groups. There was also no relationship between the self rating and teacher rating of the two groups of children.

Child labour has many effects on children including psychological and social difficulties such as conduct problems emotional difficulties and absenteeism from school. These effects can not be estimated because children are still growing and therefore the impact of work on their psychological health may not be immediately apparent. However, the long term effects of child labor can be damaging and may disrupt the children's adult life. It is therefore important to examine and address the psychological and social impact of child labour on children because the effects may not be immediate and they usually result in unwanted behavioural problems. These problems may make it difficult for children to function effectively in society, and deny them a chance to benefit from their education.

To my wife, Grace Nakazwe Nshimbi and my son, Chalo Lukundo Nshimbi; you give meaning  
to my life and make it worth living.

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

There are over four hundred million children involved in child labour globally. About 250 million of these children between five and fourteen years are found in developing countries. In Africa half of the children engaged in child labour work exclusively, while the other half combines schooling with work (U.S Department of Labour: 2002). In Zambia the child labour situation is similar to that reported in other countries. The 2005 Child Labour survey report indicates that 895,246 children are child labourers and 64 percent of these combine school and work. These children work under conditions that are harmful to their health and education, and this threatens their normal psychological and social development.

According to Liebel (2004), there has been a steady increase in the number of children who are caring for themselves, and their siblings. This increase has been attributed to growing poverty and the spread of Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS). The U.S. Department of Labour (ibid) reveals that about 15 percent of children aged fifteen or younger have lost one or both parents in Zambia. The increase in the number of orphans has put pressure on the traditional extended family system, which for many years has acted as a social safety net. This is because many families that take in orphans have themselves been affected by the AIDS pandemic. This has resulted in an increase in homes headed by children or grand parents, most of whom have no source of income. Children from such homes are forced to become child labourers in order for them to provide or supplement the family's income for their own survival (Liebel: ibid).

In A Rapid Assessment of HIV and AIDS, and Child Labour conducted in Lusaka, Copperbelt and Eastern Provinces, Mushingeh et al. (2003) report that at least a third of the 306 child labourers they interviewed stated that one or both of their parents had died from AIDS related complications. The non-orphaned children had parents who were unemployed because of chronic illness; this diminished the capacity of these parents to support their children. The result was that such children were forced into child labour. The children were mostly involved in petty vending on the street and markets, quarrying and stone breaking, fetching water, household and domestic chores, picking bottles and prostitution.

Greenberger and Steinberg (1986) explain that child labour has a lot of negative effects on children. Several studies they conducted on children's involvement in work in North and South America show that working more than fifteen hours a week is associated with poor school performance, an increase in anti-social activity that includes drug and alcohol use, and misconduct in school. In addition children in child labour have high incidences of deviant behaviour and experience difficulties in relating with peers and parents.

Child labour is a child rights issue; children in child labour are denied the right to education and normal development. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), article 32 recognizes the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. To this end, the article urges states parties to provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment, provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and condition of

employment and provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the article. In addition ILO Convention (No.182) of 1999, prohibits all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, forced or compulsory labour, debt bonding, prostitution, pornography or work that is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (ILO/IPEC: 2007).

The Bridge Child Care Development Service (2007) advocates for the promotion of children's mental health; they explain that good mental health calls for children to develop psychologically, emotionally and intellectually. Children should also be able to initiate, develop and sustain mutually satisfying relationships, play and learn, develop a sense of right and wrong and face problems and learn from them in ways that are appropriate for the child's age. Child labour unfortunately robs children the opportunity to develop and enjoy good mental health.

Good mental health according to the Mental Health Foundation (1999) is interrelated with other domains of a child's life and is reflected in the four outcomes identified for all children. The Mental Health foundation (1999: 3) says all children must be healthy, enjoying good physical and mental health and live a healthy life style, children must be safe and be protected from harm and neglect growing up able to look after themselves, they should get the most out of life and develop broad skills for adulthood and make a positive contribution to the community and to society and not engage in anti-social or offending behaviour.

## **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

The child labour problem in Zambia is pervasive and it has been growing steadily over the years. In the 1999 Child Labour Survey, it was reported that 72,704 children were found to be combining school and work. In less than ten years this number had increased to an estimated 575,000. Child labour has adverse effects on the physical, psychological, social and intellectual development of the child. According to Nkandela (2001), the hazardous environments that children work in (mining, quarrying and trading) are likely to expose them to psychological and social risks. These children are also exposed to physical harm and report problems such as headaches, chest pains and bruises resulting from job related fights. The children are also exposed to diseases such as coughing, malaria and sexually transmitted infections. The International Labour Organisation, ILO (2005) in a paper presented during a workshop organized to build capacity on child labour in Chililabombwe, revealed that child labour denies children the ability to realize their educational capacity. It was reported that child labour also exposes children to mental, physical and psychological problems through exposure to vices such as drug abuse, early marriages, child prostitution and criminal activities

## **1.2 Aim of the study**

The aims of the current study were:

1. To examine the psychological impact of child labour on children
2. To examine the impact of child labour on children's school attendance.

### **1.3 Specific Objectives**

The research was seeking:

1. To examine the relationship between child labour and absenteeism from school.
2. To examine the relationship between child labour and children's emotional difficulties.
3. To examine the relationship between child labour and children's social conduct.
4. To examine the relationship between child labour and children's peer relations
5. To find out the views of children on child labour

### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

According to Woodhead (2004), many researchers have made advances in accurately determining the negative impacts of child labour on children's physical development. He explains that most physical hazards and their impact on children can easily be seen. However, the impacts of negative psychosocial hazards on children are not easily identifiable even though they present a much greater risk than physical hazards.

The risks for children who work in hazardous environments are clearly visible, and considerable effort has been made in finding out the impact that such work environments have on children's physical development (Anwar and Hesketh 2008). Many studies (Heady: 2000, Fetuga: 2007, Anker: 2000) have also examined the impact that child labour has on academic performance of children, and how this in turn affects the growth of qualified human capital for economic development and poverty reduction. Other studies, (Admassie: 2005, Anker: 2000, Bedi and Marshall: 2000), have examined the impact of child labour on children's physical health and school enrolment. None of these studies, however, have adequately addressed the question of how child labour affects children's psychosocial development.

The present study is therefore important because it will attempt to examine the psychological impact that child labour has on those children who work and attend school. It is hoped that the findings of this study will shed light on the psychological and social effects of child labour on children and encourage policy makers, school authorities and other government and private institutions to come up with appropriate interventions.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

1. Do working children have more emotional difficulties than non-working children?
2. Do working children have more conduct problems than non-working children?
3. How do working children relate with peers and adults?
4. What is the relationship between child labour and children's absenteeism?
5. Do girls experience more negative impacts of child labour than boys

### **1.6 Research Hypotheses**

H<sub>1</sub> Children in child labour are more likely to experience emotional difficulties than those who are not.

H<sub>2</sub> Children in child labour are more likely to experience behavioural difficulties than those who are not.

H<sub>3</sub> Children in child labour are more likely to experience peer relation difficulties than those who are not

H<sub>4</sub> Child labour is negatively related to children's school attendance.

## **1.7 Definition of Terms**

### ***1.7.1 Child labour***

Child labour is a concept that is based on ILO's Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, (No 182) of 1999. This convention applies to everyone under the age of 18 and defines the worst forms of child labour as all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the trafficking of children and forced or compulsory labour. It also includes work that by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to harm the health and safety of children (ILO, 2002).

The convention also defines hazardous work which it considers as any activity or occupation that, by its nature or type has or leads to adverse effects on the child's safety and health development. ILO (2002) explains that hazards may stem from excessive workload, physical conditions of work, and/or the intensity of work in relation to the duration or hours of work. (ILO, *ibid*)

The Zambian Government has ratified the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention and introduced the Employment of Young Persons and Children Act (2004), which states that a child under the age of 13 years cannot work and that a child between the ages of 13 and 15 can engage in work that does not harm their normal development. The Act defines a child as anyone under the age of 15 and a young person as anyone under the age of 18.

For the purposes of this study, child labour has been defined as any work of an economic nature, which children engage in for 4 or more hours in a day, or 16 hours or more in a week with or without the supervision of parents or any authorised adults.

### ***1.7.2 Child work***

The Draft Statutory Instrument of Zambia (The Employment of Young Person and Children) Order 2006 (CLSR 2005) defines child work as work that does not harm a child but helps them to grow and mature. This is the form of work which teaches children important skills and responsibilities and contributes to their healthy development

In this study, any such work, done by children (between the ages of 10 and 15), either in the home or outside for three hours or less per day for purposes of socialization and training for normal development, is classified as child work.

## **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

This study has adopted the framework suggested by Woodhead (2004) for assessing the psychosocial consequences of child labour. According to Woodhead the psychosocial impacts of child labour are influenced by several factors that include the work environment, family and cultural expectations and relationships as well as the child's personal resilience. He has identified three main factors that influence the impact of work on children; the place of work in the child's development, the context and the circumstances in which work is experienced, the mediation between cultural expectations, and the child's view of work and their response

to it. The consequences of these influences may include delayed development, anti-social behaviour, and difficulties in forming relationships, low self-esteem, depression and anxiety.

Woodhead has thus developed a framework for assessing the psychosocial difficulties that children in child labour face, which helps to identify broad domains and specific negative impacts, associated with these domains. The broad domains that have a major influence on psychological health associated with work are; cognitive abilities and cultural competencies, social integration and social competence, personal identity and valuation, and emotional and somatic expression of psychological health.

The domains relevant to this study are social integration and competence, and emotional expression of psychological health. It is desirable that children experience healthy emotional growth and social integration. Their involvement in work may disturb psychosocial systems that support their normal development; this may threaten their emotional security and disturb their social networks. The negative outcomes related to compromised social integration and emotional security, are low social confidence, conflicted relationships, social rejection and antisocial behaviour. The other negative outcomes include fear, anxiety, depression, anger, distress, despair and substance abuse. These are negative indicators that show the psychological issues that children involved in labour may develop during or after their exposure to harmful work environments. Woodhead however emphasizes that children may also show such indicators when they are exposed to other harmful environments such as abuse and violence at home or school.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

The review of literature begins with the effect of child labour on children's psychological development. This is followed by examining children's view of child labour. The review ends with a section dealing with the relationship between child labour and children's education.

### **2.1 Child Labour and Children's Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties**

According to Liebel (2004), a number of studies on child labour have more frequently been carried out by sociologists, and occasionally economists. These studies, (for example Duryea and Arends-Kuening: 2001, Bedi and Marshall: 2000, Hazarika and Bedi: 2003) have been focused on the effects that work has on children's competencies which are relevant to monetary gain, future status and opportunities on the labour market.

An ILO/IPEC teachers' resource kit (2003) observes that in many parts of the world children get involved in work from as early as six years of age. They help out in household chores, around the home, running errands and in the farms. These and other similar activities are believed to contribute to the growth and normal development of children as such work helps children to learn skills that they will use as adults. Unfortunately, according to the teachers' resource kit, many children, especially in Africa, are engaged in work that negatively affects their lives and prevents their normal growth and development. This type of work is referred to as child labour.

According to an ILO/UNICEF report (2009), children's involvement in work is very common in Zambia. However the extent to which children's work constitutes child labour, that is, the extent to which the work is injurious, negative or undesirable to children, is a question that needs critical examination. The report explains that children as young as ten years old are involved in economic activities. These very young child labourers constitute a particular concern to policy makers and society in general because they are vulnerable to workplace abuses, and are most at risk of work-related ill-health or injury. They are also most affected by compromised education.

Shenoy (2006) explains that employing children for labour does not only affect children's future employment opportunities but also endangers their physical and emotional development. He lists child labour as one of the four major types of child abuse, and explains that it falls under neglect, exploitation and emotional abuse. Child workers lack psychological care and basic physical needs. Therefore they may become alienated from their peers, develop low self-esteem and engage in destructive behaviours. Shenoy (ibid) adds that child labourers are likely to have impaired psychological development such as living in fear and develop anti-social behaviours like lying.

Anwar and Hesketh reports similar risks (2008), they state that the growth and development of children in all forms of child labour is severely compromised. Physical labour may present problems with the health of a child; child labourers often experience chronic lung diseases, cancers, skeletal deformation, immune dysfunction and many other ailments.

Psychological health is an important aspect of child development. However, very little research exists to show how it is affected by child labour despite children in child labour being vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. A few studies have been done to compare the psychological health of working and non-working children in poor countries. Results from these studies suggest that child labour has a negative impact on children's emotional development. According to ILO/IPEC (2003), the environments that children in child labour work in are usually dangerous, degrading and isolating, and as they work, the children are often ill treated, abused and neglected by their employers. As a result such children find it difficult to form attachments. This often leads them to experience problems interacting and cooperating with others, and attaining a real sense of identity and belonging. Writing about children in domestic labour, Saddick et al (2006) add that the psychological and emotional abuse that these children suffer may not be immediately apparent.

Ike and Twumasi-Ankrah (1999) in their article on child abuse and child labour, observe that the psychological impact of child labour on children cannot be estimated. According to these authors, excessive work increases the physical and emotional stress levels in children. In addition it denies them a chance to fully interact and play with peers and explore the world. This is likely to lead to personality and behavioural problems. Working children are also likely to experience emotional abuse, neglect, and separation from the family. Furthermore, the monotony of work and the psychological burden which arises from premature responsibility and the other factors mentioned earlier are all likely to have an undesirable permanent impact on the children.

Child labour also violates children's rights. According to Admassie (2003), the results of a household survey done in rural Ethiopia showed that when children are forced to engage in abusive, harmful and exploitative work activities that are often beyond their physical abilities, their freedom of childhood and their right to recreation and play is compromised. Admassie (ibid) adds that child labour also affects children's normal physical and social development. A study by Bhalotra (2003) affirms Admassie's assertion. When she examined the physical growth of rural Ethiopian children who had been involved in agricultural work from an early age and compared them to their non-working counterparts, she found that working children were systematically shorter and lighter in weight. In addition the children showed a consistent lower performance in school and had problems interacting with other children. Evidence also showed that incidences of illness appeared to increase with the increase in the number of work activities. These effects suggest that it is not work, per se, which may lead to illness but the intensity of the work activities. From this study it is apparent that child labour makes it difficult for children to grow up in an environment conducive for normal physical and social development.

Social development is an important aspect of children's development. Child labour as an adverse impact on this aspect of child development. ILO/IPEC (2003: 14) states that children who work do not have the opportunity to participate in the activities that are a crucial part of growing up, such as playing, going to school and socializing with peers, they do not obtain the same level of basic education that is needed to cope with life. Nor do they get the opportunity to interact with others and actively participate in and enjoy life. These activities are abandoned in favour of work and children are consequently pushed into adulthood before they are ready, doing work that requires an adult level of maturity.

Call et al. (1995) add that long and excessive hours of work, either in the household or outside the household, are associated with poor school performance, an increase in anti-social behaviour, school misconduct, higher levels of deviant behaviour and a negative attitude towards any type of work. Steinberg and Avenevoli (1998) admit that a study they did on child labour in South America showed that young people may learn certain practical skills and good work habits from their involvement in work that they may not easily acquire in school. But they emphasize that results of the study showed that generally, excessive work leads to undesirable social behaviours such as using drugs and aggression. It also makes children more individualistic, and negatively affects their self-reliance and self-esteem. In this study, the researchers were trying to determine whether child labour had any positive impact on children and therefore the concentration was on the positive attributes that children acquired as a result of their involvement in work. It was however, discovered that the negative outcomes outweighed the positive ones.

Steinberg and Avenevoli (ibid) in their study found that child labour diminishes children's self-esteem. Save the Children (2003) in their framework for Save the Children programs on children and work explain that this low self-esteem results from doing low status work and the verbal, physical and psychological abuse which children may experience while working. Such abuse may include being called stupid or ignorant, being beaten by the employers and being made to work all day without food or time to play. Musvoto (2007) further adds that research by UNICEF has shown that there are a variety of psychological difficulties for children involved in child labour. Such difficulties may result from the fact that child labourers are often victims of abuse, neglect, marginalisation, discrimination and alienation.

## **2.2 Children's Perspective on Child Labour**

Children's views on child labour are often ignored according to Schlemmer (2003), but some studies have shown that children themselves do realize that child labour has a negative impact on their development. In a study done by Omokhodion, Omokhodion and Odusote (2006) in Nigeria, it was found that a larger proportion of children thought that child labour was for children who were unfortunate. The children were also aware that child labour affected their self-esteem, self-confidence and negatively impacted their future aspirations (such as completing school and finding a proper job). The study also showed that the children's reasons for working were mainly to raise money for helping their parents and to pay for school. When asked about the benefits of working, 36% of the 225 children surveyed indicated that work provided them with income while 25% reported that it was a way of helping their parents. Children, however, explained that working caused them to miss school, exposed them to bad company, made them perform poorly at school and made them feel ashamed. Many children indicated that they would rather go to school full-time, play at home or learn a trade than work. This study, however, emphasized the need to address the underlying reasons that lead children to get involved in child labour and not the effects that labour has on children.

Liebel (ibid) has also criticized the way data is collected in many studies concerned with the impact of child labour on children. He observed that children's views on the subject are ignored. In a study conducted by Woodhead (1999) in South America, some children surprisingly showed a positive attitude towards their work; some even claimed that their lives would be worse if they did not work. Woodhead explains that children saw work as an opportunity for them to play, interact with their peers and enjoy a certain amount of freedom.

The children nonetheless did raise some reservations with work that did not leave them with enough time for school and play, and work where they experienced maltreatment. From the findings of this study, it is tempting to conclude that there are positive aspects of child labour, nevertheless these positive aspects are overshadowed by many negative outcomes that child labour presents to children.

Pineda and Guerra (1998), point out that to get a comprehensive analysis of the impact of child labour on children's education, participatory research methods should be used. Children should be given an opportunity to express their views through one-on-one interviews, focus group interviews, and group discussions. This approach, which is a departure from the common method of obtaining information on child labour, is believed to help in understanding the problem of child labour more comprehensively and therefore enabling policy makers to devise more effective interventions.

### **2.3 Child labour and Education**

The link between child labour and basic education is of fundamental importance to a lot of interest groups such as children's organizations, educationists, politicians, sociologists and psychologists. All these groups agree that child labour cannot be analyzed in isolation from education. Child labour is an obstacle to the achievement of universal primary education, because attendance in school has been found to be strongly negatively related to child labour and this is detrimental to a child's school outcomes. Schlemmer (ibid) agrees with this view, as he considers schooling to be inseparable from child labour. Children often work in order to pay school fees, but combining school and work leaves them exhausted, over worked and

unable to cope properly with schoolwork.

Basic education, according to the *Zambian Ministry of Education Teachers' Guide on Child Labour* (2005) is one of the most effective tools for eliminating child labour. The Guide also states that the Ministry of Education recognises that teachers are in an ideal position to help children already in child labour and those at risk of being in child labour with their social and emotional problems. This is based on the premise that teachers see children regularly they are therefore able to notice when children are absent from school or if they appear troubled.

The Ministry of Education (2005) however, recognises that teachers are not playing their role effectively. A study of some schools in Lusaka, conducted by ILO (2005), found that most teachers, including some school heads, felt that working children are disruptive and a nuisance. They explained that children involved in child labour often came late; they were dirty, did not usually do well in school and rarely did their homework. Teachers only saw children's limitations and assumed that working children were not able to get any benefits from school. Working children themselves also confirmed that teachers did not treat them well. They narrated that teachers often called them many rude names and they were often beaten regardless of whether they were wrong or not. The *Teacher's Guide on Child Labour* suggests that this negative treatment that children in child labour get from the school makes it difficult for them to attend school on a regular basis.

Gunnarson, Orazem and Sanchez (2005) examined the relationship between child work and education by considering different types of work that all children perform, and compared it to the work that only older children performed. The reason for this model of analysis was to determine if some type of work, for example ordinary work (which older children are expected to normally do), had less of a negative impact on learning achievement compared to agricultural work. The results, however, indicated a negative relationship between all types of work and schooling. The schooling outcomes for working children is worse when compared to non-working children even when they are engaged in household work, which is considered light work for older children. In Gunnarson, Orazem and Sanchez (ibid) study, it was hypothesized that domestic work did not affect children's school outcomes as much as work outside the home did. The findings however suggest that child labour affects children's schooling outcomes and that whether it is light work or not, the association between child work and education is negative. Children who work find it difficult to attend school regularly and when they do go to school they do not concentrate because they are often tired.

### ***2.3.1 Child Labour and School Attendance***

School attendance in most developing countries is affected by many factors and varies from household to household. According to Bedi and Marshall (2000), some children are not even enrolled in school, while others attend school only on a part-time basis. They explain that the extent of part-time schooling varies from a few weeks to several months and this is determined by how parents view the benefits of school and the particular time of the year. For instance in farming areas, during harvest season the costs for attending school outweighs the benefits. Children thus assist parents in the fields, resulting in temporary absence from school. After the

harvest, children have enough time to attend school because the demands of the farm work reduce. Test scores, which are widely used to indicate the benefit derived from regular attendance, show that this pattern of attendance lowers the expected gains of education.

School attendance however, is not only affected by agricultural activities. Lellig (2000), reports that a study conducted by Dalen (1998) on child labour in the tourist industry of Kenya showed that school attendance among child workers is low. The study indicated that only 20% of the 109 child workers interviewed went to school. Regular attendance for those children, who combined school and work, was less than 10 percent and it was further found that very few of the child labourers attained any secondary education. Lellig (ibid) reports that school attendance among working children depended on the demands of the work they did. Dalen's study further showed that school attendance was closely related to dropping out of school, low attendance resulted in high dropout rates.

Poverty was found to be the main reason for dropping out of school, as children who worked to supplement the family income often had no time to attend school or do their homework; therefore they often performed poorly and eventually dropped out of school.

Khanam and Ross (2005) in their study of child work and determinants of school attendance and attainment in Bangladesh hypothesized that work was negatively related to school enrolment and progression. Their study revealed that working children were more likely to attend school less and dropout than non-working children. Many children were found to be making a significant economic contribution to their families through the money they earned

from their work. Parents were, therefore, not eager to send them to school. Despite the government of Bangladesh putting in place laws and incentives to compel parents to enrol the children in school, high incidences of child labour still existed and this is attributed mainly to poverty. This was confirmed by another study conducted in the same country (Khanam: 2006). High incidences of dropout rates were attributed to the fact that there was a demand for child labour in domestic work and other income generating activities. Many children who entered school eventually dropped out because they could not manage to combine school with of work.

In contrast to most studies, Heady (2003) did not find a significant effect of child labour on school attendance. In a study done on the effect of child labour on school achievement in Ghana, it was found that a number of children who were working attended school regularly as well. However this finding could be attributed to the fact that children in that study who combined school and work did not work very long hours. The average hours of work per week for these children was below what is considered to be generally harmful for development or school attendance. The children were involved mainly in domestic work and they worked for less than three hours each day. The children in this study did not however fulfil the conditions of child labour described in the definition of terms on page six. It is also important to mention that Heady's study aimed at determining the effect of child labour on academic performance, the work status of children was however determined by children's self report; children were asked if they had engaged in work outside school hours in a twelve month period. This method of sample selection could therefore have affected the results since there was no way of determining that the children were really involved in child labour

## **2.4 Summary of the Reviewed Literature**

The review shows that there was a dearth of literature on the psychological impact of child labour on children. In fact most of the literature available seems to be focused on the effect that child labour has on human capital development. Most studies reviewed are based on household surveys that ILO conducts in many countries in Africa and South America; these studies suggest that child labour does affect children psychologically and physically, and it affects their schooling.

The literature reviewed has shown that there are a lot of negative effects associated with child labour. It affects children's physical growth and their education, and many experts seem to think it also compromises their psychological development. Child labour has been found to lead to the development of anti-social behaviours and other behavioural problems. However its impact on children's psychological health has not received as much attention as its impact on schooling outcomes, human capital development and physical development. This may in part be attributed the psychological effects of child labour not being immediately visible.

The literature further indicates that child labour has an effect on children's school attendance. Long and excessive hours of work are associated with poor school performance and school misconduct. Although many children are forced to engage in work in order to earn money for school and help their parents with household requirements, studies have shown that there is a negative association between schooling outcomes and all types of work. Other studies also indicate that child labour affects children's school attendance and progression. Children who work to supplement the family income often have less time to attend school; therefore they

perform poorly and eventually dropout. Education is believed to be a route through which child labour may be eliminated or at least reduced. Unfortunately the developmental problems associated with child labour make it difficult for children to have meaningful gains from school.

In conclusion it can be said that child labour is not only a significant problem in Zambia, but in other developing countries as well. It is especially important therefore to examine the impact that child labour has on children's psychological health as the effect may not easily be visible and can be long lasting.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This chapter describes, in detail, how the study was undertaken. It describes the population, the sample, the criteria for recruiting participants, the methods used for data collection and how the data was analysed. It also describes the procedure used in the pilot study.

### **3.1 Study Population**

Data was collected from children aged between 10 and 15 years, living with one or both parents and attending school in Lusaka Urban District. A sample of such children is appropriate for this study because this age group is most vulnerable to exploitation and abuse.

### **3.2 Design**

This was a comparative study of children involved in child labour and those not in child labour in three compounds of Lusaka Urban District.

### **3.3 Sample and Sampling Procedure**

A purposive sample was recruited from George, Garden and Kalingalinga compounds. Work sites with children who fulfilled the conditions described in the definition of child labour under section 1.7.1 on page seven, were identified in these compounds. Children from these work sites were recruited for the study. The sample consisted of 23 children involved in child labour and 23 children who were not involved in child labour who acted as a comparison group, making a total sample of 46. Twenty-two of the children were girls and twenty-four were boys. Half of the boys and girls were involved in child labour while the other half were

not. The children were all school going.

In George compound the site is located on Mumbwa road near a place locally known as 'GRZ'. The main work activity children are involved in is stone crushing; the stone is quarried from the nearby grounds. There were seven boys and five girls at this site. The five boys and two girls at the Kalingalinga site were also involved in similar activities. This site is on Alick Nkhata road near the Kamloops traffic lights. The five boys at this site crush stone that is quarried from a site near Kalingalinga clinic. One child has established a work place nearby, where she sells ice blocks and fritters to the stone crushers. Another girl is involved in street vending; she usually sells groundnuts at drinking places around the same area. The two boys and two girls in Garden compound were involved in vending; they were all found selling various goods such as fritters, vegetables and ice blocks at the local market.

Only children aged between 10 and 15 years, living with one or both parents and attending school were eligible to take part in the study. Initially the researcher carried out naturalistic observation at the work sites in order to establish that the work the children did, fulfilled the conditions described in the definition of child labour on page seven (section 1.7.1) under the definition of child labour. Five days' observation was allotted to each site. Discussions with the children revealed that they attended the following schools: Mahatma Gandhi Basic, Mutendere Basic School, Jesus Cares Community School, Coptic Community School, Kalingalinga Basic School, Vera Chiluba Basic School, George Basic School and Chibelo Basic School.

Only a few of those who were in school were willing to participate in the study due to discouragement from the adults who were found at the sites. The sample thus, may not be representative of children of this age in Lusaka involved in child labour. The group that participated in the study could be less traumatized by the negative outcomes of child labour. Additionally this group may attend school more regularly than those who did not participate in the study. It is possible therefore that this sample showed a weaker difference between the children involved in child labour and those that were not, compared to the difference that exists in the general population of such children in Lusaka.

A comparison group of children matched for demographic characteristics and attending the same schools as the child labourers, but not involved in child labour were included in the study sample. Since this group of children was matched for age, sex and place of residence, purposive sampling was also used to recruit them. These children were asked screening questions to ensure that they were not involved in similar work. They were asked the activities they engaged in at home before and after school, and if they did any work, how often and for how long they worked. Only those children who did not fulfil the inclusion criteria for child labour were included in this group.

Apart from the children a group of seven class teachers (four males and three females) also participated in the study. These were included in the study in order to provide information on any difficulties that children faced in one or more of the following areas; emotional difficulties, behavioral problems or being able to get on with peers. The teachers also provided information on school attendance of children.

### **3.4 Measures**

An adapted version of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) was used to collect data on children's behavioural and emotional difficulties. The SDQ (Goodman (1997)), is a behavioural screening instrument that focuses mainly on common emotional and behavioural problems. This set of questionnaires is used as a screening tool to identify children that may have psychological and social problems. There are 25 items in the SDQ and these are divided into five sub scales of five items each, which have scores for emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity, peer problems and pro-social scales. The items are scored on a three - point scale with "Not True" scored as zero, "Somewhat True" scored as one and "Certainly True" scored as two. For each scale the total score ranges from 0 to 10. This score is obtained by adding all the completed items in each scale. Scale scores can be rated if at least three items are completed. A higher score on the pro-social subscale indicates strength whereas a higher score on the other subscales indicate difficulties. The total difficulties score for both the self-rated and teacher-rated SDQ, is generated by adding all the scales scores excluding the pro-social scale, this results in a total score that can range from 0 to 40. The scores are classified as "Normal" 0-13, "Borderline" 14-16 and "Abnormal" 17-40

For this study the total difficulties score was not generated since only four scales of the SDQ were included in the version used. These four scales were those for; emotional symptoms, peer relations, conduct problems and pro-social behaviour (See Appendix 1). The hyperactivity scale was excluded since hyperactivity was not examined in this study. The total difficulties score was, therefore, not interpreted and it was not part of the analysis. The SDQ for self-rating was translated into a local dialect, Nyanja (See Appendix 2). To ensure that the items

did not lose their meaning in the translation the Nyanja version was back translated into English. This Nyanja version was not the one used in Menon's (2008) study.

The SDQ was used in a study conducted in Zambia by Menon (2008). The study's main aim was to evaluate the youth version of the SDQ as a research tool for screening for emotional and behavioural difficulties. The sample consisted of school children between the ages of 10 and 15 years from five basic schools of Lusaka. The findings of the study showed that this instrument is a reliable and valid measure of mental health among Zambian children. The study concluded that this instrument could be effectively used in Zambia to screen for mental health problems and to examine the impact of interventions.

*Topic guide for focus group discussions:* The topics for the focus group discussion were generated from the preliminary interviews held with the children before administering the questionnaires and from the quantitative data analysis results. The focus group discussions were guided by the following topics

- Children's reasons for getting involved in child labour.
- Children's view of the work they did.
- How the children related with their teachers and other children at school.

### **3.5 Data Collection Procedure**

All the children were interviewed from the schools they attended. Consent for the children to participate in the study was obtained from the head teachers of the schools. Additionally each

participant in the study was asked to give their own assent before information was collected from them. The children (and the school) were assured that no harm was to come to them as a result of participation in the study and that every care would be taken to keep the information obtained confidential. Only those children who gave consent by reading and signing the consent form (See Appendix 4) participated in the study.

The researcher administered the self-rated SDQ to all the children as some had difficulties in reading. The translated Nyanja version (section 3.4) was used because the pilot study revealed that it was appropriate for this sample. The teachers were asked to rate their pupils using the teacher-rated SDQ. The Teacher completed version of the SDQ was used to obtain the teachers' rating of children's emotional symptoms, conduct problems, peer relations and pro-social behaviour. Qualitative data was collected through focus group discussions.

***Focus Group Discussions:*** Focus group discussions (FGDs) were held after collection of data from questionnaires and were used to get the children's perception of child labour and how it impacts their lives. The topics for the FGD were derived from indicators from the analysis of data from the questionnaires. Two FGDs were held, one in Kalingalinga and the other in George compound. The selection of the participants of the FDGs was based on the type of work the children were involved in.

Since most of the children were stone crushers they were the largest number in both groups. The rest of the FDG participants were involved in other types of labour such as vending, selling at the market. There were 10 participants from George Compound, five boys and five

girls. Six of the participants were stone crushers while the rest were involved in other type of work. Kalingalinga Compound also had 10 participants divided equally between boys and girls. There were also six stone crushers at this site; the remaining four did other types of work.

The FDGs were held in classrooms, at the schools attended by the participants. The Kalingalinga FDG was held at Mahatma Ghandi Basic School and the George compound FDG was held at Jesus Cares Ministry School. There was no focus group discussion in Garden compound because there were only four participants from the work site found there.

**Teacher-rated SDQ:** The teacher-rated, adapted version of the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire-SDQ (See Appendix 3) was used to obtain each class teacher's rating of the child's social conduct, peer interactions, emotional symptoms and prosocial behaviour. This questionnaire was administered in English and applied to both the study sample and the comparison group.

**School attendance:** Information on school attendance and dropout was obtained from class attendance registers and children's school records. Attendance records of the children were examined to determine the number of days each pupil had stayed away from school each month, over the preceding three months. A child who had stayed continuously away from school for a period of 21 days, according to the Education Act, was considered to have dropped out. This information on school attendance was used to make a comparison between the children in child labour and those that were not.

### **3.6 The Pilot Study**

A pilot study was conducted between the 28<sup>th</sup> September and 5<sup>th</sup> October 2009. It involved identifying children that were involved in child labour and ensuring that they fulfilled the conditions outlined in section 1.7.1 (page seven) under definition of child labour. Two children, involved in stone crushing were identified in Chawama and one child involved in vending was found in Bauleni, another three to act as a comparison group were recruited from schools attended by the three children in child labour. It was assumed that such a sample would help in the fulfilment of the aims of the pilot study, which were:

- i) To determine whether or not the items in the questionnaire would be clearly understood by the participants.
- ii) To determine the best way of administering the instruments of the final study.

After the pilot study it was determined that the language to use in administering the questionnaires was Cinyanja since this was the language most children were fluent in. The final instruments are presented in the appendices (See Appendix 2).

### **3.7 The Final Study**

Data for the final study was collected between 7<sup>th</sup> October and 30<sup>th</sup> November 2009. The procedure used for administering the instrument was the same as that used during the pilot study. It is described in detail (section 3.5) under the data collection procedure.

### 3.8 Data Analysis

Data was analyzed using SPSS for windows to test the hypotheses. In particular the hypotheses were tested using the Mann-Whitney  $U$  test. The following hypotheses were tested,

H<sub>1</sub> Children in child labour are more likely to experience emotional difficulties than those who are not.

H<sub>2</sub> Children in child labour are more likely to experience behavioural difficulties than those who are not.

H<sub>3</sub> Children in child labour are more likely to experience peer relation difficulties than those who are not

H<sub>4</sub> Child labour is negatively related to children's school attendance.

The SDQ scores are used as continuous variables but they also may be categorized as normal, borderline and abnormal. The scale scores are classified as in the table 1 below.

**Table 1: Classification of SDQ scores**

	Normal	Borderline	Abnormal
Emotional symptoms	0-3	4	5-10
Conduct problems	0-2	3	4-10
Peer relations	0-2	3	4-10
Prosocial behaviour	6-10	5	0-4

In this study the scores were treated as continuous variables. The total difficult score was not interpreted since one scale (hyperactivity) was left out.

The scores from the questionnaire were treated as ordinal and for each scale, the scores ranged from 0-10. The Mann Whitney *U* test was used to compare the means for the children involved in child labour and those not involved in child labour to test the first three hypotheses; “H<sub>1</sub>- Children in child labour are more likely to experience emotional difficulties than those who are not, H<sub>2</sub> - Children in child labour are more likely to experience behavioural difficulties than those who are not, H<sub>3</sub> - Children in child labour are more likely to experience peer relation difficulties than those who are not.” The test was used to determine whether the means of the two groups were equal or not and to test the medians of the sample. The Mann Whitney *U* was done separately for each of the four dependent variables (emotional symptoms, social conduct, peer relations and pro-social behaviour). The Mann Whitney *U* does not make any assumptions but it requires at least an ordinal level of measurement (Leedy and Ormrod 2005).

For the fourth hypothesis, “H<sub>4</sub>-Child labour is negatively related to children’s school attendance”, information on the total number of days each of the participants had stayed away from school was collected. Since the data collected was ordinal in nature, the days missed for each group were also compared using the Mann-Whitney *U* to test whether a significant difference in the means for attendance existed.

Spearman rank order correlation was also used to determine if there was a relationship between self-rating and teacher-rating on each of the four scales.

Data from the focus group discussions was categorized and interpreted in terms of common themes expressed in the discussion about children’s views towards work. Specific information related to individual children’s view about work was structured in terms of common patterns.

### **3.9 Problems Encountered During the Process of Data Collection**

One of the major problems encountered was that of recruiting participants for the study. The researcher had to conduct naturalistic observation for at least five days in each of the work sites to establish that the children fulfilled the conditions for child labour explained in the definition on page seven. After explaining the purpose of the exercise the researcher was allowed to conduct the observation, but when it came to recruiting the participants, it was found that many of the children were not school going. Only a few of those who were in school were willing to participate in the study due to discouragement from the adults that were found at the sites. This was particularly the case at the Kalingalinga site where most of the children were employed by some of the adults found working there. In addition, three of the nine children at this site who had agreed to be interviewed gave false information about the grades they were in and the schools they went to. This made finding them difficult.

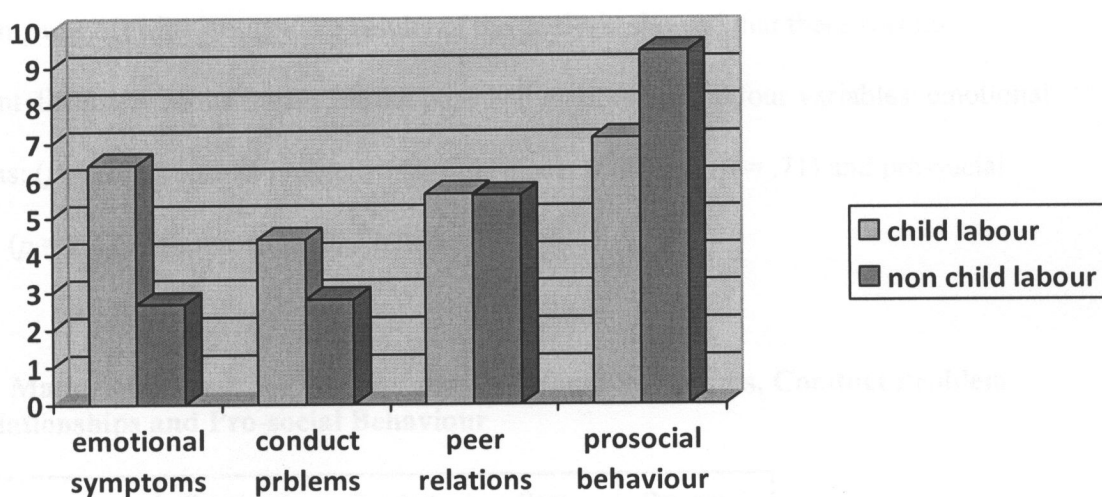
In Chawama it was discovered that most of the children that were at the work site had been given financial help by The International Labour Organisation (ILO) in conjunction with Jesus Cares Ministry, in a bid to withdraw them from the vice of child labour. The parents of these children refused to allow them to participate in the study, as they feared that ILO and Jesus Cares Ministry would claim back their money. In fact many of the children stopped going to the site for a few days to avoid talking to the researcher. Due to these problems and financial constraints, only a limited number of participants were recruited for the final study.

## CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

This chapter presents the results of the study. The results obtained for each of the hypotheses and the objectives that were investigated are presented separately. These results were arrived at by using the data analysis procedure discussed in Chapter Three.

Initially a distribution of means for all the scales scores was compared for the two groups of participants, using bar graphs. As indicated in Figure 1, there was a difference in the distribution of means for emotional symptoms and conduct problems, between the two groups. However the peer relations mean scores were almost the same and the mean scores for prosocial behaviour were higher for the non-child labour group than for the child labour group.

**Figure 1: Distribution of Means for Child Labour and non Child Labour**



A Chi-Square test was done to determine the homogeneity of the sample (Table 2). The results indicate that there was no significant relationship between gender and whether one was in child labour or not in child labour,  $X^2$  (df=1, N=46),  $p=1.000$ . The groups were thus homogeneous regarding gender.

**Table2: Chi-Square Test for Group Homogeneity**

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.000(b)	1	1.000
Continuity Correction(a)	.000		1.000
Likelihood Ratio	.000	1	1.000

Since the Chi-square test indicated that the groups were homogenous regarding gender, a Mann-Whitney  $U$  test was conducted to find out if there was a relationship between gender and the impacts of child labour. The results of the analysis showed that there was no significant difference in the means for the boys and girls, on all the four variables; emotional symptoms: ( $p = .22$ ), conduct problems: ( $p = .53$ ), peer relations: ( $p = .71$ ) and pro-social behavior ( $p = .66$ ) as shown in table 3 below.

**Table 3: Mann-Whitney  $U$  for Gender and Emotional Symptoms, Conduct Problem Peer Relationships and Pro-social Behaviour**

	Emotional Symptoms	Conduct problems	Peer problems	Pro-social behavior
Mann-Whitney U	46.500	56.000	60.000	59.000
Z	-1.211	-.621	-.377	-.441
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.226	.534	.706	.660

The next step of the analysis involved using Mann-Whitney  $U$  to determine if there was a significant difference in the means of the four dependent variables; emotional symptoms, conduct problems, peer relations and pro-social behaviour for the two independent variables, child labour and non child labour.

#### 4.1 Emotional symptoms

As shown in Table 4a below, the mean rank for the non-child labour group ( $M=14.91$ ) is less than the mean rank for the child labour group ( $M=32.09$ ). This suggests that there is a difference in the medians of the child labour group and the non-child labour group.

**Table 4a: Mean Ranks for Emotional Symptoms**

	Status of child	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Emotional Symptoms	child labour	23	32.09	738.00
	non child labour	23	14.91	343.00
	Total	46		

A Mann Whitney  $U$  test (Table 4b below) was conducted to determine if there was a significant difference in the means of the two groups (child labour and non-child labour) on this variable. The results indicate that there was a significant difference between the two groups,  $U(46)$ ,  $Z = -4.37$ ,  $p = .001$ . The child labour group had an average rank of 32.09, while the non child labour group had an average rank of 14.91. The child labour group had more emotional difficulties than the non child labour group.

**Table 4b: Mann-Whitney *U* Test for Emotional Symptoms**

	Emotional Symptoms
Mann-Whitney U	67.000
Z	-4.365
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000

**4.2 Conduct Problems**

The average rank for the child labour group was 27.46 while that of the non-child labour group was 19.54, as indicated in Table 5a below.

**Table 5a: Mean Ranks for Conduct Problems**

	Status of child	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Conduct problems	child labour	23	27.46	631.50
	non child labour	23	19.54	449.50
	Total	46		

The Mann Whitney *U* for conduct problems, Table 5b also showed that the there was a statistically significant difference between the child labour and non child labour groups,  $U(46)$ ,  $Z = 2.02$ ,  $p = .043$ . The results therefore indicate that there were significantly more conduct problems among the child labour group than the non child labour group.

**Table 5b: Mann-Whitney *U* for Conduct Problems**

	Conduct problems
Mann-Whitney U	173.500
Z	-2.023
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.043

### 4.3 Peer relations

Table 6a below indicates that the difference between the mean ranks for the two groups was minimal. The child labour group had a mean rank of  $M=23.76$ , while the non-child labour group had a mean rank of  $M=23.24$ .

**Table 6a: Mean Ranks for Peer Relations**

	Status of child	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Peer relations	child labour	23	23.76	546.50
	non child labour	23	23.24	534.50
	Total	46		

In Table 6b below, comparisons of the two groups on the peer relations scale did not yield a significant difference. A Mann Whitney  $U$  test conducted to determine if there was a difference between the child labour group and the non child labour group on this variable, did not yield a significant difference,  $U(46), Z = -.135, p = .89$ ,

**Table 6b: Mann-Whitney  $U$  Test for Peer Relations**

	Peer relations
Mann-Whitney U	258.500
Z	-.135
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.893

Since the peer relations scale did not show a significant difference between the two groups, descriptive statistics were conducted for each statement in the scale to find out the statements that accounted for this. The results of the ranks (Table 6c) show that the negative statement, “Other children or young people pick on me or bully me”, had a mean rank of 26.57 for the

child labour group and a mean rank of 20.43 for the non-child labour group. However for the positive statements “Other people my age generally like me” and “I get on better with adults than with people my own age”, the non child labour group had average ranks of 26.04 and 26.83 respectively while the child labour group had average ranks of 20.96 and 20.17 respectively. For the neutral statements, “I am usually on my own” and “I have one good friend or more”, the mean ranks for the child labour group were 22.00 and 22.48 respectively while those of the non child labour group were 25.00 and 24.52 respectively. The results indicate that the child labour group experienced more bullying than their non-child labour counterparts.

**Table 6c: Mean Ranks for Statements on the Peer Relations Scale**

	status of the child	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
I am usually on my own	child labour	23	22.00	506.00
	non child labour	23	25.00	575.00
I have one good friend or more	child labour	23	22.48	517.00
	non child labour	23	24.52	564.00
Other people my age generally like me	child labour	23	20.96	482.00
	non child labour	23	26.04	599.00
Other children or young people pick on me or bully me	child labour	23	26.57	611.00
	non child labour	23	20.43	470.00
I get on better with adults than with people my own age	child labour	23	20.17	464.00
	non child labour	23	26.83	617.00

#### 4.4 Pro-social Behavior

On the prosocial scale the child labour group had an average rank of 17.30 and the non-child labour group had an average rank of 29.70 as table 7a shows.

**Table 7a: Mean Ranks for Prosocial Behaviour**

	Status of child	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Prosocial behavior	child labour	23	17.30	398.00
	non child labour	23	29.70	683.00
	Total	46		

A high score on the prosocial scale indicates strength and a lower score indicates difficulties. The mean rank for the child labour group (17.30) was significantly different from that of the non child labour group (29.70) as table 7a shows. The Mann Whitney test  $U(46)$ ,  $Z = -3.93$ ,  $p = .001$  for pro-social behavior indicates that there was a significant difference between the child labour and the non-child labour groups (Table 7b). The non-child labour group had more pro social behaviors than the child labour group.

**Table 7b: Mann-Whitney  $U$  Test for Prosocial Behavior**

	Prosocial behavior
Mann-Whitney $U$	122.000
$Z$	-3.393
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.001

## **4.5 Testing of hypotheses**

### ***4.5.1 Hypothesis One***

‘Children in child labour are more likely to experience emotional difficulties than those who are not.’ A Mann Whitney  $U$  test was done to determine if there was a significant difference between the means of the child labour and the non-child labour groups. The results were in the expected direction, they revealed a statistical significance difference between the two groups,  $U(46), Z=4.37, p=.001$ . The hypothesis was therefore accepted.

### ***4.5.2 Hypothesis Two***

‘Children in child labour are more likely to experience behavioural difficulties than those who are not.’ A Mann Whitney  $U$  test was done to determine if there was a significant difference between the means of the child labour and the non-child labour groups on conduct problems and prosocial behaviour. The results were as expected, they revealed a statistical significance difference between the two groups on conduct problems  $U(46), Z=2.02, p=.043$  and on prosocial behavior  $U(46), z=3.93, p=.001$ . This hypothesis was also accepted.

### ***4.5.3 Hypothesis Three***

‘Children in child labour are more likely to experience peer relation difficulties than those who are not.’ A Mann Whitney  $U$  test was done to determine if there was a significant difference between the means of the child labour and the non-child labour groups. The results were not as expected; they revealed a non significance difference between the two groups  $U(46), z = -1.35, p = .89$ . This hypothesis was therefore not accepted.

#### 4.5.4 Hypothesis Four

‘Child labour is negatively related to children’s school attendance.’ The days missed for each group was compared using the Mann-Whitney *U* to determine whether a significant difference in attendance existed. Information on the days missed from school for six children in child labour was not available so these were not included in this analysis. Only 17 child labourers and 17 non-child labourers were included, bringing the total number to 34.

Table 8a below, shows that the mean rank for the child labour group ( $M=22.06$ ) was more than the mean rank for the non-child labour group ( $M=12.94$ ).

**Table 8a: Mean Ranks for Number of Days Absent**

	Status of child	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Number of days absent	child labour	17	22.06	375.00
	non child labour	17	12.94	220.00
	Total	34		

A Mann-Whitney *U* test was conducted to test the hypothesis (table 8b). The results of the test were in the expected direction and significant  $U(34)$ ,  $Z = -2.674$ ,  $p = .007$ . The child labour group had an average rank of 22.06, while the non child labour group had an average rank of 12.94. This hypothesis was also accepted.

**Table 8b: Mann-Whitney U Test for Absenteeism**

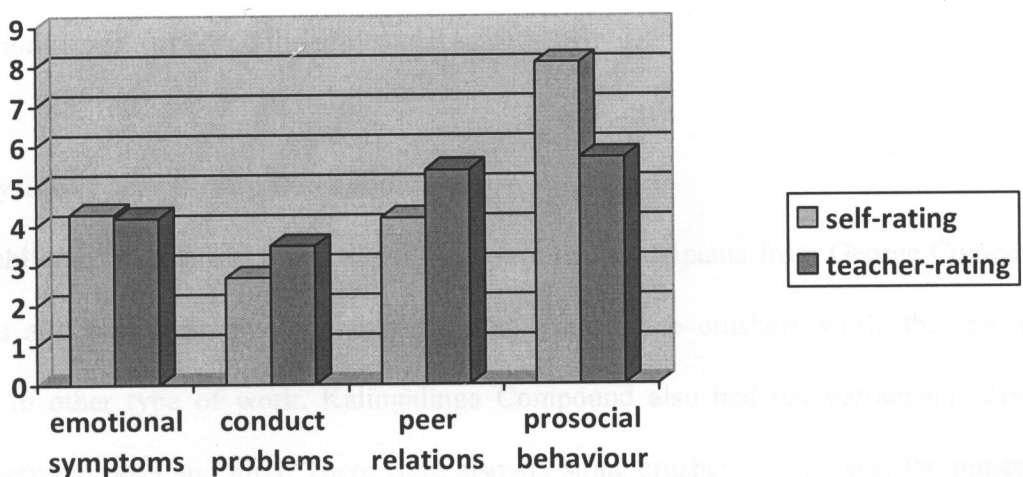
	Number of days absent
Mann-Whitney U	67.000
Z	-2.674
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.007

#### 4.6 Teachers-Rating and Self-Rating

The teachers rated all the participants on the same scales (emotional symptoms, conduct problems, peer relation and pro-social behaviour). The rationale behind the teacher rating was to find out if the children's rating on all the scales were related to the way their teachers rated them. Teacher rating information for eight of the children from the Garden site (both child labourers and non child labourers) was not available because the teacher had only been with these pupils for two days and therefore could not give an accurate assessment. As a result only 38 participants were included in this part of the analysis

Figure 2 shows the distribution of the comparison of means for teacher rating of the two groups. The figure shows that the mean scores for peer relations and prosocial behavior were higher for self-rating than for teacher rating. The scores for emotional symptoms were similar and the conduct problems mean scores for self-rating were lower than the scores for teacher rating.

**Figure 2: Distribution of Means for Self-Rating and Teacher-Rating**



#### 4.6.1 Relationship between Self-rating and Teacher-rating

Spearman's rank order correlation was conducted to test if a relationship existed between self-rating and teacher-rating of both groups on each scale (emotional symptoms, conduct problems, peer relations and prosocial behavior).

**Table 9: Spearman's Correlation for Self and Teacher rating on all the Scales**

Teacher Rating	Self Rating			
	Emotion	Conduct	Peer Relations	Pro-Social Behaviour
Emotion	.102			
Conduct	-	.157		
Peer Relations	-	-	.175	
Pro-Social Behaviour	-	-	-	.184

Table 9 above indicates that there was a weak correlation between the teacher-rating and self-rating on all the four scales (emotional symptoms scale =.11, the conduct problems =.16 the peer relations scale, =.18, and the pro- social scale =.18).

#### 4.7 Analysis of Focus Group Discussions

Twenty children took part in the FDGs. There were ten participants from George Compound, five boys and five girls. Six of the participants were stone crushers while the rest were involved in other type of work. Kalingalinga Compound also had ten participants divided equally between boys and girls. There were also six stone crushers at this site; the remaining four did other types of work.

From the FDGs it was observed that most of the child labourers worked for their parents or relatives, but many expressed different reasons for why they were involved in work such as raising money to buy school requisites and to make pocket money. The children said work was good since it provided them with an income and this allowed them to help their parents in buying food and other requirements for school. They however, also did mention that work made them tired and sick. Some of them also felt that they were pressured into taking on responsibilities they were not ready for. The results of the focus group discussions are summarized in Table 10 below.

**Table 10: Focus Group Discussion Summary**

TOPICS	Summary of the discussion
1) Who do you work for?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Twelve worked for parents or relatives</li> <li>• Only four were employed by other people</li> <li>• Four children did not reveal whom they worked for</li> </ul>
2) Why are you involved in work?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thirteen said they worked to help to raise money for food</li> <li>• Only three said they worked to raise money for school</li> <li>• The other four did not give reasons why they worked</li> </ul>
3) What do you think of the work you do?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The children said work was good because they assisted parents in making money for food and other requirements and raise money for school</li> <li>• They all mentioned, however that work made them tired and sick, and for stone crushers, their work often made them hurt their fingers. Most children explained that they felt pressured into taking on responsibilities they were not ready for.</li> </ul>

**Table 10 continued**

<p><b>4) How do you relate with your teachers and other pupils?</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Most of the children felt that their teachers treated them differently from the other pupils. They felt that their teachers perceived them to be troublesome</li><li>• The children were however divided on how fellow pupils treated them. Some explained that their fellow pupils did not treat them differently from the others, but others felt that they were often picked on by other pupils</li></ul>
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## CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This chapter discusses the findings of the study in the same sequence in which they were presented in chapter four; however, it starts with a brief outline of the purpose and scope of the study.

The aim of this study was to examine the psychological impact of child labour on children and the impact of child labour on children's school attendance. The study advanced four hypotheses thus:

H<sub>1</sub> Children in child labour are more likely to experience emotional difficulties than those who are not.

H<sub>2</sub> Children in child labour are more likely to experience behavioural difficulties than those who are not.

H<sub>3</sub> Children in child labour are more likely to experience peer relation difficulties than those who are not

H<sub>4</sub> Child labour is negatively related to children's school attendance.

The results of the Mann Whitney *U* test confirmed three of the four hypotheses. The results showed that children in the child labour group showed more behavioral and emotional difficulties compared to those who were not. The Mann Whitney *U* done to test for the relationship between school attendance and child labour also indicated that children in child labour stayed away from school on more days than the ones not in child labour. The hypothesis that, "Children in child labour are more likely to experience peer relation difficulties than those who are not" was however not confirmed.

## 5.1 Emotional Symptoms

Children in child labour are usually exposed to maltreatment and emotional abuse, mostly at the hands of people they work for or their own parents. This lack of nurturance and support from individuals who are normally expected to provide for them makes children develop fear, easily lose confidence and develop feelings of worthlessness. Woodhead (2004) explains that among working children emotional abuse manifests itself through such emotional problems as stress, anxiety, anger, despair and depression. Although some children who are not involved in child labour may experience some of these problems sometimes, their occurrence among children involved in negative work environments is frequent, as evidenced by the findings of this study. The results of the Mann-Whitney *U* test revealed that there was a significant difference in the levels of emotional difficulties experienced by children involved in child labour and those that are not involved in child labour.

Child labour is considered to be one of the four major types of child abuse (Shenoy: 2006). Many working children are victims of emotional abuse at the hands of their employers and parents. Not only do child labourers suffer from lack of physical needs, but they also lack psychological care. Most of the children involved in child labour are pressured into assisting in taking care of the home, and those who work for people other than their parents often experience verbal abuse. This was revealed during the focus group discussions, held with the children involved in child labour. They also explained that they often worried and felt unhappy about their situation.

Children involved in child labour also suffer emotional neglect; they lack emotional support from their primary caregivers. The homes which most working children come from experience

abject poverty. Most of the children in child labour explained that they are involved in work because they want to contribute to their families' upkeep and that without working, their families may starve. Because of poverty many homes may experience domestic violence and this usually results in inadequate provision of physical and emotional care to the children. A child worker who constantly works and associates less with family members may therefore become alienated from the rest of the family and may develop low self esteem. A possible explanation for this could be that children in child labour are often scolded or punished and some are also ridiculed, humiliated or harassed. Woodhead (ibid) reports that emotionally abusive behavior is often related to harsh treatment, physical punishment and other abusive practices.

## **5.2 Conduct Problems**

The findings of the study revealed that there are more conduct problems among children involved in child labour than there are among children not in child labour. These results are consistent with previous findings. Steinberg and Avenevoli (1998) for example, found that although children learnt practical skills from their involvement in work, many of them developed undesirable social behaviors as well. Many children involved in child labour according to Call et al (1995), usually develop aggressive behavior and easily get into fights. Social misconduct in working children may result from low self confidence and the social exclusion or rejection which many experience due to their involvement in work. Working children spend most of the time working which leaves them little time to interact with their peers. This lack of contact with other children robs them of the social skills to relate well with others, and according to Woodhead (1999) they hide their lack of social competence with aggression or deviant behavior.

Working children's conduct problems usually pose a significant challenge for both teachers and fellow pupils at school. Child labourers are often used to having a certain degree of independence and having their own money. They usually are viewed as low status children and they also view their teachers and fellow pupils with suspicion and mistrust. This results in their 'acting up' and displaying behavior that may be viewed as not being appropriate. During informal discussions with teachers during the data collection process, many of them (teachers) said that there was a high frequency of fits of anger, lying and fighting among child labourers than non child labourers. However the school environment itself may not be friendly to children in child labour. As a result these children may display behaviors that may lead teachers to perceive them to be more troublesome than they really are.

### **5.3 Peer Relations**

The findings on peer relations revealed that there was no significant difference between the child labour group and the non child labour group on this variable. What the results suggest about child labour and peer relations is that children involved in child labour have no difficulties interacting with other children. The findings of the study on peer relations were unexpected as they were inconsistent with the literature reviewed and the findings from other studies. In a study conducted by Bhalotra (2003) in rural Ethiopia concerning children in agricultural work it was found that one of the outcomes of excessive work was that children had difficulties interacting with other children. According to Bhalotra, children who work do not have an opportunity to participate in activities that are a crucial part of growing up, such as playing or socializing with peers, therefore they have problems interacting and cooperating with others and attaining a real sense of identity and belonging.

Despite there being no significant difference between child labourers and non child labourers, on the peer problems scale, an analysis of the individual statements revealed that most of the children in child labour did report that they often were picked on or bullied by other children. These frequent incidents of bullying occurred mostly at school. Since working children spend most of their time at places of work, they have few instances of interacting with school mates. As a result they may have very few opportunities to experience any difficulties relating with them. The peers the working children relate with at their work sites have similar interests with them and probably present an opportunity for developing mutually beneficial friendships and less conflicts. Furthermore child labourers often appear less assured and lacking in confidence in the school environment as a result they are often prone to bullying. The foregoing explanation is supported by the findings of the study done by Woodhead (1999) in South America. The children in that study explained that they saw work as an opportunity to play, enjoy their freedom, a chance to make friends and interact with peers. Some even claimed that their lives would have been worse off, if they did not work.

Another possible explanation advanced by Woodhead (2004) is that friendship is usually an important source of social and personal identity for children. Some of the tasks that children are involved in are important sources of friendships and solidarity among peers. For example, most of the children in the current study were stone crushers and they were found working together in groups. They worked usually in groups of three or four, helping with each other's tasks and looking out for each other. Woodhead (ibid) says that these relations with peers serve as important sources of social support and psychological protection for children experiencing harsh treatment, bullying or abuse.

#### **5.4 Pro-social Behavior**

As mentioned earlier, a high score on the prosocial scale indicates strength and a lower score indicates difficulties. An analysis of the means for the two groups showed that the child labour group scored significantly lower than the non-child labour group on this variable. This result indicates that child labour may have a negative influence on a child developing socially acceptable behaviors. Research has shown that both individual and environmental factors affect children's prosocial behavior, (Woodhead: 2004). Environmental factors such as parental, sibling and peer interaction are of interest. Since working children spend very little time with parents and siblings who may have an influence on the development of prosocial behavior, they may not develop prosocial behavior to the same level or degree as their counterparts who are not in child labour.

During the informal discussions held with the teachers, they explained that they detected a difference between the prosocial behavior of children in child labour and those not involved in child labour. The teachers observed that children involved in child labour did not usually share their food with other children. This is consistent with the observation that most children's prosocial behavior is displayed as they interact with other children, and some teachers are able to easily notice those children that do not for instance, control their temper, are not kind and considerate or get along with others. The environments in which children work usually present limited opportunities for them to improve their quality of interaction with people outside their social circle. They are, therefore, less likely to show willingness to cooperate, help or comfort someone in distress especially someone they do not usually interact with. This lack of positive social behaviors among child labourers can be attributed, therefore to children's involvement in child labour.

## 5.5 Behavioral and Emotional Difficulties

The results of the scores on the three scales; emotional symptoms, conduct problems and prosocial behavior, showed that there was a significant difference in the prevalence of behavioral problems between children in child labour and those not involved in child labour. There was a high prevalence of psychological difficulties among children in child labour compared to those that were not involved in child labour. The findings are consistent with most of the literature reviewed. Though not many studies have been conducted on the effect of child labour on children's psychological health many researchers agree that child labour causes children to experience behavioral difficulties (Saddick et al: 2006, Shenoy: 2006 Bhalotra: 2003, Woodhead: 2004). The psychological outcomes of child labour have been much neglected and yet they may be important in determining the educational outcomes for working children. A positive psychological state may determine how well-adjusted a child is to schooling and how well he or she does at school.

It should be noted however, that children themselves do not view work as completely bad. Studies that have investigated the views of children on work indicate that many of them see it as way of helping their families and realizing their ambitions of going to school (Steinberg and Avenevoli: 1998, Omokhodion, Omokhodion and Odusote: 2006). The results of the focus group discussion in this study were consistent with this view. Many children felt that work helped them go to school and raise money to buy food for the home. From this perspective they did not consider their involvement in child labour to be bad. In fact for the majority of child labourers this is the only means of survival they may have because their lives would be worse if they did not work (Woodhead: 1999).

Some studies (Steinberg and Avenevoli: 1998, Omokhodion, Omokhodion and Odusote: 2006) suggest that child labour has positive outcomes. The studies explain that children in child labour learn practical skills from the work they do such as managing finances and being “street smart” which their counterparts who are not in child labour may not develop. This study recognizes and appreciates these positive outcomes of child labour. However, it is important to note that, there are more negative outcomes related with child labour which may leave permanent psychological scars on the children and these scars may eventually overwhelm the positive outcomes.

### **5.6 School Attendance**

The impact of child labour on children’s school attendance is well documented (Dalen: 1998, Khanam and Ross: 2005, Bedi and Marshall: 2000). The findings of the current study also suggest that involvement in work interferes with children’s ability to attend school. This shows that child labour is a barrier to achieving universal primary education. The school attendance of working children lags behind that of their non-working counterparts especially if they work for more than four days or more in a week.

From the findings of the current study, we may also conclude that it is not only children’s involvement in work that influences the levels of attendance but also the intensity of work (that is the hours worked). Some children not involved in child labour did report that they were involved in domestic work, but did not work similar number of hours as children involved in child labour. Heady (2003) in contrast did not find a significant effect of child labour on school attendance. The reason is that children involved in child labour in that study did not work for more than three hours and they were mostly involved in domestic work.

The long-term effects of poor attendance on individual children range from ignorance to lack of opportunities for future employment. The result is that such children and their families may remain perpetually in poverty.

### **5.7 Teacher Rating**

Schooling is considered to be one effective way of eliminating child labour (MOE: 2005, Schlemmer: 2003). Children who spend most of their time at school have less chance of being engaged in harmful work activities. From the findings of the study it is clear that work competes with schooling, many children who work do not attend school regularly.

The findings of the current study indicate that there was a very weak correlation between the children's self-rating and the rating by the teachers on all the scales. Menon (2008) did not examine teacher rating of the pupils in her study of Lusaka school children. She however, reports that results of one large, multi-informant epidemiological study showed a weak correlation between self and teacher ratings. They varied between 0.33 for total difficulties and 0.21 for emotional symptoms. In another study by Lindsay and Dockrell (2000) where the SDQ was used, they report that generally correlations between self-rating and teacher ratings tend to be lower. It is, however, worth noting that the levels of correlations in these studies were not as low as in the present study.

The low correlation in the present study could be attributed to the fact that the basic idea or the particular meaning of the items in the SDQ may be quite different for teachers rating and children. Another factor that could contribute to the low correlation could be that the teachers rating were done in English while the self-rating was done in Nyanja. Additionally, though the

teacher version and the youth version of the SDQ are equivalent they are not exactly the same. These factors could have contributed to the non-significant correlation between teachers' ratings and self-ratings.

It is also possible that the low correlation between the teachers' rating and self-rating was due to the teachers' attitude towards the children in child labour. Many children felt that their teachers did not pay attention to them because they were perceived to be disruptive and not academically competent. The Ministry of Education Teacher's Guide on Child Labour (2005), also affirms this point, it indicates that many teachers often ignore working children and do not take interest in them because they are both withdrawn and shy or lack confidence, and do not mix well with other children.

This lack of attention by teachers is not however, confined to children in child labour alone. Teachers in fact are not able to give each pupil the attention he or she deserves because often, the size of the classes they teach are too large and some teachers often lack the skills required to meet children's psychological and social needs. Further some teachers are not sensitive to the learning difficulties children face and therefore they are not able to meet the specific needs of each child. They see all children as being the same, and do not realize that the children have different learning and psychological needs. The result is that teachers are not able to tell the problems each individual pupil may have because they are focused on simply delivering their lessons and completing the syllabus.

## CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter a summary of the study is given. Conclusions drawn from the investigation are also outlined. In addition, suggestions for future research, based on the findings of the study are given.

### 6.1 Summary

The study examined the psychological impact of child labour on children and the impact of child labour on children's school attendance. The study was guided by four main questions. These were as follows; (a) Do working children experience more emotional difficulties than non-working children? (b) Do working children have more social conduct problems than their non working counterparts? (c) How do working children relate with peers and adults? (d) How does child labour affect school attendance?

The reviewed literature indicated that child labour affects children's physical growth and schooling and also has a negative psychological impact. Child labour has been found to lead children to develop anti-social behaviours and other behavioural problems.

Quantitative data were collected from the sample using an adapted version of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaires, while qualitative data were collected through focus group discussions. Mann Whitney *U* was used to test the hypotheses.

The analysis showed that there were more children in child labour with emotional and behavioural difficulties compared to those that are not in child labour. The following were some of the important findings of the study: children in child labour experience emotional

problems such as excessive worry, nervousness, fear and feelings of inferiority and worthlessness. They also experience a high degree of social conduct problems. However they may not have problems relating with peers and adults and they seem to show some prosocial behaviour but not to the same degree as the children who are not in child labour. The findings further indicate that child labour interferes with children's school attendance because there is a high frequency of absenteeism among children in child labour compared to those that are not.

## **6.2 Limitations of the Study**

This study faced two major limitations. The first involved recruitment of the participants for the study. Due to the nature of the subject, many children were not willing to participate in the study because they were afraid that they would be taken to the Department of Social Welfare. Despite being assured that the exercise was for academic purposes only and had nothing to do with Social Welfare, very few of them were willing to participate. This resulted in only a limited number of participants being recruited. The high rate of refusal of potential participants could have led to self-selection bias. The children who agreed to participate in the study could have been less affected by the negative impact of child labour and might therefore not have been representative of children involved in child labour in the overall population of Lusaka. This could have attenuated the difference between the children in child labour and those not in child labour, compared to the difference found in the larger population. The second weakness concerned the problem of ensuring that the comparison group was not involved in similar work that could be termed as child labour. Although screening questions were put in the questionnaire to ensure that only those children who claimed not to be in child labour, were included in the comparison group, there was no way of checking if the information they gave was accurate.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

Child labour is an obstacle to children's psychological development and their future prospects. All children, regardless of social and economic status, are entitled to enjoy their childhood years and to grow up fully and naturally. Children who work do not have the opportunity to participate in activities that are a crucial part of growing up, such as playing, attending school regularly and socializing with their peers. They do not obtain the basic level of education that is needed to cope in life. Nor do they get the opportunity to interact with others and actively participate in and enjoy life. These activities are abandoned in favour of work and children are consequently pushed into adulthood before they are ready, doing work that requires an adult level of maturity.

As shown by the findings in this study, children who work are susceptible to all sorts of negative effects that excessive work presents. These effects cannot be estimated because children are still growing and developing and therefore the impact of work on their psychological health may not be immediately apparent. However, the long term effects of child labour can be damaging and may disrupt the children's adult life. The schooling outcomes of children are also important because education is seen as one route through which child labour can be eliminated and children's lives can be improved.

#### **6.4 Suggestions for Further Research**

1. During the focus group discussions children expressed the view that teachers treated differently from others pupils. Future research could examine how the school environment might affect the school attendance and conduct of child labourers.
2. Future work could also look at how many children involved in child labour are able to complete school.
3. This study only looked at the work that children do outside the home. Future work could examine the impact that child domestic work has on children's psychological and social development.

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*Appendix I*

**ADAPTED VERSION OF THE SDQ**

For each item, please mark the box. It would be helpful if you answered all the items as best as you can even if you are not absolutely certain or the item doesn't seem relevant to you. Please give the answer on the basis of how things have been for you over the last six months

	<b>Not True</b>	<b>Somewhat True</b>	<b>Certainly True</b>
I have many worries	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am often unhappy, down-hearted or tearful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am nervous in new situation, I easily lose confidence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have many fears, I am easily scared	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel worthless or inferior	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
.....			
I get very angry and often lose my temper	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I usually do what adults request	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I often fight with other children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am often accused of lying or cheating	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I take things that are not mine

.....  
I am usually on my own

I have one good friend or more

Other people my age generally like me

other children or young people pick on me or bully me

I get on better with adults than with people my own age

.....  
I try to be nice to other people

I usually share with others

I am helpful if someone is hurt, upset or feeling ill

I am kind to younger children

I often volunteer to help others

*Appendix II*

**TRANSLATED VERSION OF THE SDQ**

Posilidzila pachilembo chonse, faka muzela (X). Yanka mayanko yonse mosatani. Lemba momwe unankalila munthawi ya mwezi six

	<b>Not True</b>	<b>Somewhat True</b>	<b>Certainly True</b>
Ndina maganizo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kambiri ndima nkhala osakondwela, olira	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ndimakhala osamasuka ndi kusazikhulupirira	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ndili na mantha yambiri, nima opestsedwa msanga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ndima mvera wochepa, monga munthu alibe nchito	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
.....			
Kambiri ndima nkhala okalipa nakutaya mutima	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ndima chita vamene akulu afuna	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ndimakonda kumenyana n'ana azanga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ama ndinamitsila ati ndine waboza kambiri	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Ndimba tenga zinthu za bene

.....  
Kambiri Ndimakhala ndeka

Ndiri nabazanga

Azanga andikonda

ana ena ama niseka no niyamba

Ndimba kondewa ndi akulu kuposa azanga

.....  
Ndimba yetsa kukala munthu wabwino ndi anthu ena

Kambiri ndimba gawana zinthundi ena

Ndimba tandiza ngati munthu azicita, siokondawa kepena adwala

ndiri namutima wabwino ku ana ang'ono

Kambiri ndi madzipatsa ku tandiza ena

*Appendix III*

**TEACHER-RATED, ADAPTED VERSION OF THE SDQ**

For each item, please mark the box for Not True, Partly True or Certainly True. It will be helpful if you answered all the items as best as you can. Please give your answers on the basis of the pupil's behavior over the last six months or this school year.

	<b>Not True</b>	<b>Somewhat True</b>	<b>Certainly True</b>
Has many worries, often seems worried	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Often unhappy, down-hearted or tearful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is nervous in new situation, easily loses confidence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Has many fears, easily scared	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Feels worthless or inferior	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
.....			
Often has temper tantrums or hot tempers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Generally obedient, usually does what adults request	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Often fights with other children or bullies them	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Often lies or cheats	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Steals from home, school or elsewhere

.....  
Rather solitary, tends to play alone

Has at least one good friend

Generally liked by other children

Is picked on or bullied by other children

Gets on better with adults than with other children

.....  
Tries to be nice to other people

Usually shares with others

Is helpful if someone is hurt, upset or feeling ill

Is kind to younger children

Often volunteers to help others

*Appendix IV*



**INFORMED CONSENT**

**My name is CHOMBA JACOB NSHIMBI, a student at the University of Zambia. You are being asked to participate in a study that is intended to find out about the work that children do and what it is like to be a school child while working for money. This study involves children aged between 10 and 14 years. I would greatly appreciate it if you were to agree to talk to me (if the child agrees the following statement will be given)**

**There are a number of questions that I would like to ask you. Some of these questions may make you feel uncomfortable. I would like to assure you that whatever information you give will be kept confidential and you are free to stop answering the questions at any time although I would appreciate if you were able to answer all the questions.**

**Signature.....**

**Date.....**