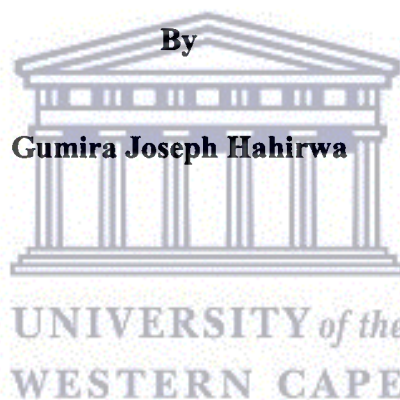


UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

FACULTY OF COMMUNITY AND HEALTH SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK

Title: The working and living conditions of child domestic workers: A qualitative case study in Kigali City and its periphery



A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of magister artium in social work.

Supervisor: Professor S.S. Terblanche

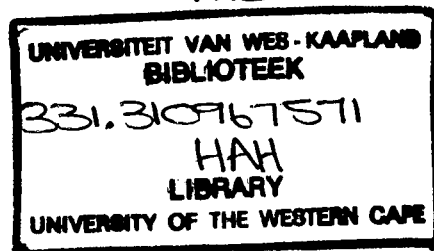
Cape Town

November 2004



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THESIS



ABSTRACT

The researcher's concern for the topic was founded on the fact that previous research on child labour in Rwanda did not qualitatively explore the working and living conditions of child domestic workers in this specific contextual setting. The aim of the study therefore, was to explore the living and working conditions of child domestic workers in a contextual setting of Kigali city and its periphery. To achieve the objectives of this study, a qualitative approach was envisaged, utilizing a *case study* strategy. The population was selected among child domestic workers in four districts of Kigali city and its periphery. The criteria of selection and reaching participants were snowball sampling and purposive sampling techniques. Data was collected by means of a semi-structured interview with open-ended questions. The collected data was analyzed through a model that is presented as a spiral image including: *Collecting and recording data; managing data; reading and writing memos; describing, classifying and interpreting; representing and visualizing* (Creswell, 1998:142-165). In order to increase trustworthiness, triangulation as a process that uses multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, was used through child workers themselves, their employers, neighbours and local authorities. Colleagues helped to verify translations from mother tongue into English.

Participants, especially child domestic workers revealed that the main factors pushing them into the job market was poverty and family and socio-political conflicts. Findings concerning working and living conditions also indicate experiences of exploitation and maltreatment. It has also been revealed that most participants were ignorant about children's rights. Finally discussions allowed the researcher to discover what participants and especially child domestic participants were expecting in their future and suggestions of how child domestic work would be abolished.

DECLARATION

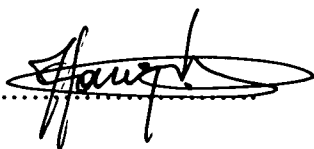
I declare that “*The working and living conditions of child domestic workers: A qualitative case study in Kigali City and its periphery*” is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Gumira Joseph Hahirwa



November 2004

Signed.....

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Gumira Joseph Hahirwa", written over a dotted line.

DEDICATION

To my wife Sine Faustine;

My children: Jean Claude,

Ivan, Armel and Raïsa.

This thesis is also dedicated to my mother,
my sisters, my late father and young brother Jean Baptist.



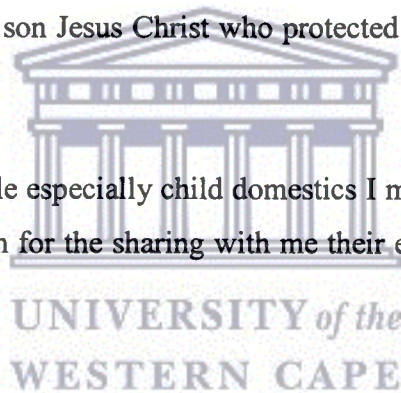
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I would like to express my profound gratitude to the many individuals who have assisted me in researching and writing this report. I am particularly indebted to my supervisor Professor S.S. Terblanche who has never hesitated help me. I also recognize the assistance provided by the UWC staff especially library staff members and particularly Mr. H. Hendricks. I would like also to express my thanks to Mrs. Josephine Gatsinzi, Mr. Michel Sebera and all other individuals who contributed somehow to the success of this research.

Above all, I would like to express my deepest thanks to the highest, the king of kings and the powerful our God and his son Jesus Christ who protected me from the harms of this world.

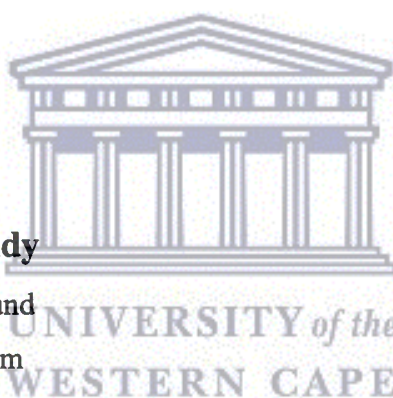
I finally recognize many people especially child domestics I met and interviewed for this research. I am grateful to them for the sharing with me their experiences, their problems and their hopes for the future.



G. J. Hahirwa

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATION

AC	: African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
AVSI	: The Association of Volunteers in International Services
AIDS	: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AMA	: American Medical Association
CRC	: Convention on the Rights of the Child
ERG	: Existence Relatedness Growth
HRW	: Human Rights Watch
HIV	: Human Immunodeficiency Virus
Frw	: Francs rwandais (Rwandan francs)
IMF	: International Monetary Funds
ILO	: International Labour Organization
MEC	: Member of Executive Committee for Safety and Security
MIFOTRA	: Ministry of Public Services and Labour
MINALOC	: Ministry of Local Administration and Social Affairs
MINECOFIN	: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
NCCAN	: National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect
NGOs	: Non-Governmental Organizations
NPACSA	: National Programme of Action for Children in South Africa
OAU	: Organization for African Unity
Op. cit.	: Opere citato
PNE	: Programme National pour l'Enfant (National Programme for Children)
SAP	: Structural Adjustment Programme
STIs	: Sexually Transmitted Infections
UN	: United Nations
UNAIDS	: United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNCRC	: United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCO	: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	: United Nations Children's Funds
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme

UNDAF : United Nations Development Assistance Framework
WB : World Bank
WHO : World Health Organization
US \$: United States dollar



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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1. 1 Rationale and background of the study

The International Labour Organization (ILO) argues that child labour is a pressing social, economic and human rights issue. Worldwide, approximately 250 million children are working and are deprived of adequate education, health care and basic freedom. Although many countries lack potentially qualified human resources (ILO report, 1996), children are paying the highest price.

There are many reasons that explain the phenomenon of child labour. According to Boyden, Ling, & Myers (1998:113) the main factors are poverty, discrimination and inequity, failure of public services, cultural tradition, family violence and other social conflicts such as war. The Mulinge study asserts that the problem of child labour has been aggravated by conditions set by international financial institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. These include programmes like “Structural Adjustment Programmes” that entail the cutting of public spending on schools, health care, and real job creation, which results in increased poverty and child labour (Mulinge, 2002).

Unlike children who work in marketplaces, on streets, in cafes and other places where they come into contact with the public, girls’ work is often hidden, either because it is regarded as immoral or illicit or because they are domestic workers (Global March Against child Labour, 2003).

The UNICEF report in Mulinge study estimates that at least one million girls worldwide are lured or forced into sex work each year (Mulinge, 2002). Other studies however, reveal that sexual exploitation of children affects both girls and boys. In addition, the author asserts that the problem in most countries is compounded by the poverty affecting most families. In Zimbabwe, for example, Mupendziswa (1997:43) supports the UNICEF report that children are lured into prostitution for income while others are forced into

early marriages because their parents can no longer afford to look after them (Mulinge, 2002).

Although poverty was the main factor of child labour as well as the street children phenomenon in Rwanda before the genocide of 1994 (Ministry of Local Administration and Social Affairs report, 1999), after the genocide of 1994 child labour increased remarkably due to the effects of socio-political and armed conflicts.

Currently, HIV/AIDS also contributes to the increasing number of orphans, and consequently there is an increase in the numbers of vulnerable children that are exposed to economic exploitation (MINALOC, 1999). The United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS study relates that the HIV/AIDS pandemic together with its related illnesses constitutes one of the greatest social challenges to the protection of children's rights in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS, 2000). Various research conducted by UNAIDS (1998/2000) on the effects of HIV/AIDS shows that this pandemic became both a developmental and security crisis in many Sub-Saharan African countries. Rwanda, with 13% (UNDAF, 2001) of the population infected, is not spared of this disaster. HIV/AIDS has orphaned many children in the world, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. Mbugua (1992) argues that most orphans live in households headed by other children or by very old grandparents, thus making them vulnerable to economic conditions that deny them basic rights such as the right to parents, adequate nutrition, basic education, and health care. This view is also emphasized by Bellamy when she states: "*Today, we confront a nightmare world of children without parents, of classrooms without teachers, and of schools without students, a place where grandparents outlive grandchildren and orphans are objects of fear and abuse*" (UNICEF-Kenya, 2001). In Tanzania, for example, in regions such as Iringa, AIDS has decimated the population so that families are forced to send their children to work for survival (op cit: 63).

Many children in Rwanda are working on plantations, in brickyards, and on the streets selling newspapers, journals, eggs, and groundnut. The report from the Ministry of Public Services and Labour (MIFOTRA, 2002) estimated that in Rwanda many children are

being employed in rearing cattle, while others are performing domestic tasks. According to this report 63% of domestic child labourers are pupils who have abandoned school hoping to earn money (MIFOTRA, 2002). Another study conducted by the Ministry of labour in 1997 mentioned that child domestic workers of 10 to 14 years old in Rwanda worked seven days a week from 5:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. and that their pay was generally sent home to pay their siblings school fees (UNICEF, 1998).

The MIFOTRA reports (2002), focused quantitatively on the causes of children abandoning schooling in Rwanda. The present research is however, focusing on the exploration and description of the working and living conditions of children as domestic workers in specific settings. Most of them entered the job market as vulnerable children, i.e.: They are orphans; come from single parent, impoverished or broken families; or their parents suffer from HIV/AIDS (Hahirwa, 1999)

To understand the *effect* of child work on child development, various researchers have revealed that the cultural and social context of work plays a crucial role. Boyden et al. (1998:90) argue that competencies and vulnerabilities of children and adults vary according to these cultural and social contexts. Most societies maintain that children are weaker and less self-assured than adults and are in many ways less capable. Gose (2002:61) on the other hand, states that in African traditional understanding, child labour is seen as an educational measure or as a duty of the child towards the family.

Boyden et al. (1998:19) therefore distinguish the broader notion of *child work* from *child labour*, the latter being limited only to work that is harmful or hazardous to children. The distinctions appear especially through the following examples:

- A trade union representative thinks of child work primarily in terms of full-time factory jobs;
- An urban social welfare worker conceives it as mostly the part-time child street traders so common in many cities;

- A government policy maker has in mind the large majority of rural child workers who work seasonally in the agriculture sector.

According to Boyden et al. (1998), the problems and remedies vary enormously between these situations and, without exactly identifying the work and young workers under discussions, agreement on action may be difficult. Child domestic work cannot be compared to child labour because some of the part-time domestic work can be beneficial to children (Boyden et al., 1998), i.e.: when within a family of orphans the older child works in order to help and pay for his/her siblings' school fees.

According to the ILO report (1996), children's participation in economic activity that does not negatively affect their health and development or interfere with education can be positive. Work that does not interfere with education (light work) is allowed from the age of 12 years under the ILO Convention 138 (UNICEF, 1996), whereas, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (Article 15), states that every child must be protected from all forms of economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development (African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child: OAU, 1999). Rwandan Law on Child Rights is still using International Instruments such as the Convention on the rights of the child and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. However, concerning this article 138 of International Labour Organization Convention, Rwanda has opted for the age of 16 (MINALOC report, 2003:20) as a lower minimum age for admission to light work instead of 12 suggested by the ILO in Boyden et al. (1998:189), and the Rwandan labour code of 1999 states that, children under 16 can work if special permission is granted from the State (MINALOC report, 2003).

Education is seen as the most effective deterrent to child work. Boyden et al. (1998: 282) suggest the need for urgent education reform in many countries which will allow children who are involved in beneficial work to attend school. The researcher has concluded that many children want to go to school, but often have very specific needs that affect their ability to attend and benefit from school. For example, they cannot always attend during

the regular school hours and may be forced to begin school late or drop out early. The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (OAU, 1999) therefore wants African States to take measures to encourage regular school attendance and reduce the drop-out rates. The exploitation of children for economic reasons coupled with the poor living conditions of most families in Rwanda, threaten the implementation of such a system.

As the topic of this study has indicated, the researcher's focus was on child domestic workers and their living and working conditions in a determined setting. Thus, literature informs us that domestic service is one of the world's oldest occupations as well as one in which children have traditionally played a part. It was then noted that when families were very poor, children were sent to live in other household. In these placements, children performed tasks in order to stay in a convenient shelter, to get care, and education or useful instruction. However, these children are supposed to be adopted, but there are used as domestics (UNICEF, 1998).

Today the supply of young domestic workers has become more organized due to the growing demand in many societies. People prefer employing children because they are easier to manage, more submissive, hard working, cheaper, and do not require social securities (Oebanda, 1998).

1. 2 Statement of the problem

Research on child labour indicates that an increasing number of children in Rwanda drop out of school before they finish primary school in order to work. Most of them are domestic workers in Kigali city. The concern of this case study is to explore the working and living conditions of these children through the following research question:

1.3 Research question

What are the perceptions and experiences of participants in this case study of the living and working conditions of child domestic workers in the selected districts of Kigali city?

1.4 Aim of the research

This is an explorative - descriptive study and the aim is to qualitatively explore the living and working conditions of child domestic workers as perceived by the participants in this context.

1.5 Research methodology

The discussion that follows is only an orientation of the research methodology, which will be discussed in detail in chapter three.

1.5.1 Research approach

In this study, the type of research questions, the aim of the research and the topic to be explored, (Creswell, 1998:17) motivated the selection of qualitative inquiry instead of quantitative approach. However, there are several considerations when deciding to adopt a qualitative research methodology. Strauss and Corbin (1990) claim that qualitative methods can be used to better understand any phenomenon about which little is yet known. They can also be used to gain new perspectives on things about which much is already known, or to gain more in-depth information that may be difficult to convey quantitatively. Thus, qualitative methods are appropriate in situations where one needs to first identify the variables that might later be tested quantitatively or where the researcher has determined that quantitative measures cannot adequately describe or interpret a situation. A detailed discussion is presented in the introduction of Chapter Three.

1.5.2 Research design/strategy

A case study was chosen as an appropriate design because the researcher hoped to get rich explorations of the selected *context of the case* involving physical, historical and socio-economic settings (Creswell, 1998:61) and gain in-depth information about the living and working conditions of child domestic workers. A detailed discussion of the research strategy is presented in Chapter Three, section 3.3.

1.5.3 Population

Participants were selected from a group of child domestic workers in four districts. This selection was based on the fact that the researcher has already noticed many children involved in such activity in the districts described in the previous section. Other participants were selected purposefully among neighbours, local authorities and child domestic worker's employers.

1.5.4 Sampling

Unlike random sampling utilised in quantitative research, De Vos, Strijdom, Fouché & Delport (2002:334) argue that non-probability sampling such as theoretical, purposive, snowball or sequential sampling techniques are utilised in qualitative research. In the case of this study, the researcher has used two main sampling techniques to reach participants: snowball sampling used to reach child domestic workers and purposive sampling used to select other respondents.

1.5.5 Data collection

1.5.5.1 Data collection Process

According to Lofland and Lofland (1995) two types of interviews are used in qualitative research: structured interviews, in which a carefully worded questionnaire is administered and, in-depth interviews, in which the interviewer does not follow a rigid form. In the former, the emphasis is on obtaining answers to carefully phrased questions. In the latter, however, the interviewers seek to encourage free and open responses and there may be a trade-off between comprehensive coverage of topics and in-depth exploration of a more limited set of questions. In-depth interviews also encourage capturing of participants'

perceptions in their own words, a very desirable strategy in qualitative data collection. This allows the researcher to present the meaningfulness of the experience from the respondent's perspective. An in-depth interview is a dialogue between a skilled interviewer and an interviewee. Its goal is to elicit rich, detailed material that can be used in an analysis (Lofland and Lofland, 1995). Such interviews are best conducted face-to-face, although in some situations telephone interviewing can be successful. Discussion about how the researcher has accessed the setting is presented in Chapter Three, 3.7.1.

1.5.5.2 Data collection instruments

The main data collection instrument used in this study was a semi-structured interview with open-ended questions. De Vos et al. (2002:303) state that in the semi-structured interview, the researcher has two alternatives of conducting an interview. First, after the participant is made to feel comfortable and at ease, facilitate and guide him instead of dictating the encounter. If the researcher has learnt the schedule in advance, he will be able to concentrate on what the participant is saying during the interview and also occasionally monitor the coverage of the scheduled topic (Smit, 1995). According to De Vos et al. (2002) the researcher could also hand the interview schedule to the participant and they could read it aloud together. The participant can then choose which particular questions he wishes to answer at specific stages. During the interview questions might well deviate, at which point the researcher must decide how much deviation is acceptable.

In this study data gathering has also been done by means of one-to-one interviews and direct observations. According to Wilson (1999) *observation* may be *direct* when the researcher is the observer recording what he or she is watching. On the other hand, observation may be *indirect* when the researcher relies on the reported observations (including self-observation) of others.

1.5.6 Data analysis

Gathered data was analysed with the *spiral image* model described by Creswell (1998:142-165) by which the researcher moves in analytic circles rather than using a fixed linear approach. The steps of this model are the following:

- Collecting and recording data
- Managing data
- Reading, memoing
- Describing, classifying, interpreting
- Representing, visualising.

A detailed elaboration about this process of data analysis is discussed in Chapter Three, 3.8.

1.5.7 Trustworthiness/validity of the study

The researcher's concern is to demonstrate the authenticity and validity or truthfulness and credibility of findings of the study. To increase trustworthiness of the study, the data was recorded carefully and verified with the participants immediately after the interview. In De Vos et al. (2002:351-352) Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed four alternative constructs that more accurately reflect the assumptions of a qualitative paradigm. According to the authors cited here above, in qualitative research data must be auditable through checking that the interpretations are credible, transferable, dependable and confirmable.

To ensure trustworthiness or validity of this qualitative research, the researcher refers to the following criteria recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1985)

1.5.7.1 Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that the goal of this alternative is to demonstrate that the inquiry was conducted in such a manner as to ensure that the subject was accurately identified and described. The validity in this study is seen in the description of its

parameters of setting, population and theoretical framework. Enough time has been spent during preliminary study, observations and discussions with child domestic workers before conducting interviews. Triangulation of the data was possible because information was collected from diverse categories of people comprising child domestic workers, their employers, neighbours and local authorities. Creswell (1998:202) describes triangulation as a process that involves corroborating evidence from different sources to shed light on a theme or perspective. Similarly, Stake cited in Denzin and Lincoln (1994:241) considers triangulation as a process that uses multiple perceptions to clarify meaning and verify the responsibility of an observation or interpretation.

1.5.7.2 Transferability

This alternative refers to the applicability of qualitative findings from one setting to another. Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that transferability is achieved through a thick description of the research process to allow a reader to see if the results can be transferred to a different setting. As the authors cited here above argue, transferability of qualitative findings to other settings is possible with triangulation of multiple sources of information when data from different sources can be used to corroborate, elaborate, or illuminate the research in question. As mentioned in this case study, triangulation has been used (De Vos et al., 2002: 352).

1.5.7.3 Dependability

Lincoln and Guba (1985:317) proposed one measure which might enhance the dependability of qualitative research. That is the use of an "*inquiry audit*," in which reviewers examine both the process and the product of the research for consistency. It confirms the quality of the qualitative research process. This was done by critical reviews and discussions with the research assistant as well as the supervisor.

1.5.7.4 Confirmability

A researcher who is neutral tries to be non-judgmental and strives to report what is found in a balanced way. Lincoln and Guba (1985) choose to speak of the "confirmability" of the research. In a sense, they refer to the degree to which the researcher can demonstrate

the neutrality of the research interpretations through a "confirmability audit." This means providing an audit trail consisting of raw data; analysis notes; reconstruction and synthesis products; process notes; personal notes; and preliminary developmental information (op.cit. 320-321). In this research this was approved through the whole process of tape recording, jotting the key words of the responses in the fieldnotes and the other steps of data analysis.

1.6 The use of literature in this study

Routio (2004) argues that in *exploratory study*, the usual method is to start with a thorough search of literature for potential theoretical models. If no suitable models can be found, the usual approach in *exploratory case study* is to examine the object alternately from different vantage points in the hope that the alternative would help you to discover why the object has acquired its present status.

The author continues arguing that today almost every conceivable topic has already been studied in one or more special fields of research. Any arising question or potential object of case study can therefore now be investigated in the light of earlier theory (Routio, 2004).

Creswell (1998:84) argues that social science theories provide an explanation, a predication and a generalization about how the world operates. The author states that there are different alternatives that firstly, use theories in the beginning of the study in order to conceptualise the topic and secondly, at the end of the study, after data collection, in order to compare the findings with the literature. However, the use of literature before or after data collection would depend on the selected strategy of inquiry. In a case study, Creswell for example (1998: 87) states "...*after data collection, analysis, and formation of a theoretical model, we introduce theoretical perspectives to compare and contrast with our theoretical model, thus advancing a 'theory-after' perspective*".

Creswell (1998:87) argues also that depending on the type of case study conducted, theory may be positioned in the middle, on the end of the continuum, or absent from the study. In De Vos et al. (2002:268) Creswell (1998) specifies that in other instances theory could be used to guide the study in an explanatory way before data collection or be employed towards the end of the study as a way in which to compare and contrast it with the developed theoretical model after data collection, or to make *comparisons, build theory, or propose generalizations* as Leedy (2001) suggests it in De Vos et al. (2002:168).

Creswell (1994) indicates that the literature can be discussed in the introduction to a study, providing a useful *backdrop* for the problem – expressing who has written about it, who has studied it, and who has indicated the importance of studying the issue.

1.7 Limitations of the study

As mentioned above in section 1.4, the aim of this case study was to qualitatively explore the living and working conditions of child domestic workers as perceived by the participants in this contextual study. However, as indicated in the theory of research methodology and research strategy a case study is limited to a small population from whom generalization is impossible. Thus, the exploration of the topic is not exhaustive. The findings of this case study cannot be applied generally to all child domestic workers; it is a contextual study limited to a specific number of child domestics in specific districts of Kigali city and its periphery. During the interview the researcher has met some difficulties related to probing the themes with children who were not spontaneous, also, translation of narratives from mother tongue into English after transcribing findings posed challenges in terms of reflecting messages as it was conveyed.

There is therefore a possibility that some real meanings and metaphor would be lost in the process and the real quality of experiences might be influenced. Nevertheless, the researcher tried to manage the problem of translation with the help of colleagues from the National University of Rwanda. This could have affected the trustworthiness of the study.

Other difficulties encountered in this study were based on limited time and resources to extend the case study to a larger setting. The researcher's intention was to meet as many child domestics and their employers as possible. With the latter, however, it was difficult for them to keep their appointment with the researcher, either due to their occupations, or their unwillingness to participate in the interview. The scope and depth of the findings could thus have been affected.

1.8 Ethical statement

Before conducting the study on the fieldwork, permission was granted by the academic authorities of University of the Western Cape through the Faculty of Community and Health Science and the Senate Higher degrees committee. Written permission was then given. First, by the deputy minister of local government and administration, and secondly by the mayors of the chosen districts who allowed the researcher to meet local authorities and then finally different participants. The researcher first met employers and/or child domestic workers. Participants were then guaranteed the right to participate voluntarily or to withdraw from the interview at any time. They were also assured of confidentiality and anonymity in the final report. Finally, the researcher obtained consent for the use of a tape recorder. All care was taken to handle the interviewing process in a way that would not harm child participants.

1.9 Definitions of key words

Child Development: It is a unitary process marked by a series of transformations or stages, each preceding stage being a necessary condition for the subsequent one, the overall trend entailing evolution from simple to complex behaviour, an immature child to mature adult, and dependent childhood to autonomous adulthood (Boyden et al. 1998:27).

Child domestic work: Refers to work such as domestic chores performed by a child under 18 in someone else's house for payment (European Foundation, 2002; UNICEF, 1998:2).

Children's needs: Children's needs refer to the social, physiological, emotional, moral, educational and cultural demands of children for their complete development (Yale University Library, 2004).

Children's Rights: Children's privileges granted by an agreement or law (Yale University Library, 2004).

Leslie, (2002) describes **Children's Rights** as follows: In virtually every legal realm in which adults are regarded as having rights, children's rights are recognized as well. However, children's rights are typically not coextensive with those of adults because of perceived differences between adults and children and because of social interests that are particularly affected by state recognition of children's rights. Generally, rights can be divided into two categories. "*Welfare rights*" are rights to be provided for or taken care of; "*autonomy rights*" are rights to make choices and decisions for one self. Children receive much greater legal protection for welfare rights than adults, but often their autonomy rights are more limited.

Child work/labour: Child work refers to all jobs performed by children without any exception. It includes beneficial works such as part-time jobs or periodic jobs which allow children to attend school (Boyden et al., 1998:19).

Child labour refers to full time work done by children under the age of 15. It includes work that prevents these children from attending school, such as unlimited or unrestricted domestic work as well as work that is dangerous and hazardous to their physical, mental or emotional health (ILO report, 1996).

Exploitation: The action or act of treating someone unfairly in order to benefit from their work (Soanes & Stevenson, 2003).

In the Wikipedia (2004) exploitation refers to the use of people as a resource, with little or no consideration of their well-being. It is often seen as a socio-economic phenomenon,

where poor people are exploited for their labours in service of a powerful entity, such as a state or a corporation.

For Ryzanskaya (1971), the central institution of a capitalist society is private property. The system by which capital (that is, money, machines, tools, factories, and other material objects used in production) is controlled is by a small minority of the population. This arrangement leads to two opposed classes: the owners of capital (called the bourgeoisie) and the workers (called the proletariat), whose only property is their own labour time, which they sell to the capitalists in order to survive. Owners make profits by paying workers less than their work is worth, thereby, exploiting them (Ryzanskaya, 1971).

Poverty: UNDP (1996) defines poverty as the inability to meet basic nutritional, health, educational, shelter, social and recreational needs.

According to a United Nations report (March 1995: 41), poverty has various manifestations which include lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity from illness, homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion. Poverty is also characterized by lack of participation in decision-making, civil, social and cultural life.

1.10 Structure of the report

This report comprises five chapters, ordered as follows:

Chapter one provides contextual information and Rationale for the study and outlines the research methodology, which is detailed in chapter three.

Chapter two presents a thorough literature review and theoretical framework including mainly theories of childhood and child development, theories of economic exploitation and children's needs and rights.

Chapter three provides a detailed overview of the research methodology. The study was generally guided by a qualitative approach and a case study as the strategy of inquiry.

Chapter four presents data analysis and discussions of the findings. This chapter is the core of this report because it presents results from the field in the form of narratives related to a thorough theory in order to indicate the similarities or divergence of opinions and viewpoints.

Chapter five concludes the report, reviewing the salient points and ideas developed in this case study. Recommendations related to the findings were finally presented.



CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Creswell (1998:74-87) and De Vos et al. (2002:265-268) suggest that in a qualitative process the researcher may start by selecting a paradigm or a model for organizing researcher's observations and reasoning, and consider whether theory and a literature review may be used before or after data collection. However, decision of selection will depend on the research strategy of inquiry chosen to guide the study. As was mentioned in chapter one, the researcher opted to use the "*case study*" strategy. Thus, Creswell (1998:87) states that the use of literature in a case study strategy can be placed at the middle or at the end of the continuum, depending on the type of case study conducted. As indicated in chapter one section 1.6, Creswell (1994) indicates that the literature can be discussed in the introduction to a study, providing a useful backdrop for the problem – expressing who has written about it, who has studied it, and who has indicated the importance of studying the issue.

The following literature review will be limited to childhood and child development theories highlighting the children's needs at each stage of child development; the impact of poverty and economic exploitation, child abuse and neglect at a specific age. The researcher will insist on theories that reflect factors motivating child work in general, the relationship between child domestics and their employers; the effects of maltreatment, exploitation and neglect of children at work and at a certain age. Rights related to exploitation, abuse, neglect and maltreatment of children will also be succinctly discussed. It has been revealed however, that literature review on child domestic work is very limited which will affect the inputs from various aspects.

2.2 Child development theories that frame the study

Boyden et al. (1998:27) suggest that the best way to approach a discussion of child domestic work is to consider it within the context of what is known about childhood and the process of child development. Thus, a summary of some general theories on childhood and child development will be discussed followed by child domestic work.

2.2.1 Childhood and child development

The term *childhood* encompasses a variety of developmental stages and age phases. Sociologists saw it as an increasingly differentiated set of phases and transitions (Frone, 2004). Boyden et al. (1998:27-28) supports this view, arguing that

“ in industrialized world, child development is a unitary process marked by series of transformations or stages, each preceding stage being a necessary condition for the subsequent one, that overall trend entailing evolution from simple to complex behaviours, an immature child to mature adult, and dependent childhood to autonomous adulthood”.

Other theorists, however, recognize childhood's particularity according to the cultural context in which children are living. Ennew & Milne (1989: 8 -11), for example, consider the term of childhood as being *a social institution and the way people think of it is peculiar of the west*. In developed countries, childhood means a great deal of expenditure on the scaled down equipment, clothes, entertainments, etc. In these societies children are encouraged to *a full and harmonious development of their personality...in an atmosphere of happiness, love, and understanding. They go to school rather than work; they are not expected to take on responsibility; they have special activities called play and special things called toys to play with*. In diverse remote regions of developing countries childhood is seen differently. These above authors continue arguing that children in developing countries are exposed to a variety of threats which endanger their normal development. Most of them are malnourished and lacking the luxuries of western children (Ennew & Milne, 1989).

Despite cultural influences on child development, Boyden et al. (1998:28), as well as other various theorists, supports the view that *all children everywhere pass through the same stages of development legitimates the idea that childhood is a natural and universal phase of the human life cycle in which biological and psychological factors have a strong role to play than social or cultural forces.*

Through theories that accept a discontinuous perspective, Berk (1997:6) states that various other researchers emphasize the same view when they state that *stages are always assumed to be universal across children and cultures*, otherwise *stage theories assume that children everywhere follow the same sequence of development*. Erikson (1968) stressed social and cultural aspects of development, not just sexual ones, as Freud had done. Erikson also proposed that the way in which individuals cope with their social experiences shapes their lives (Clark-Steward & Friedman, 1987:15).

The following section briefly presents some theoretical orientations to child development, which frames this study.

2.2.2 Child development stages and related theories

Obviously development refers to change, but humans go through many types of change, only some of which are considered developmental. Developmentalists, researchers and practitioners who study the development process have defined development as *the gradual accumulation of relatively permanent, age related changes, through transactions with the environment* (Krantz, 1994:3).

Researchers such as Berk (1997:574); Krantz (1994:80) and Mwiti (1997:4) stress that children who are maltreated or who fail to develop close emotional relationships with caregivers in their early years may have experience difficulties in forming social relationships. Likewise, children who develop in *chaotic home environments* may suffer permanent reduction of their intellectual potentiality.

The *transactions* with the environment would mean that children influence their environment as much as their environment influences them. In practical terms, every action you direct toward your child has some important reaction in the child.

The ecological system theory views the child as developing within a complex system of relationships affected by multiple levels of the surrounding environment. Bronfenbrenner (1993) in Berk (1997:24) expanded the views of other researchers, emphasizing that the ecology of human development refers to the study of the transactions between an active growing human being and the settings in which the developing person lives. The author expanded this view by envisioning the environment as a series of nested structures that include but extend beyond home, school, and neighbourhood settings in which children spend their everyday lives. Each layer of the environment is viewed as having a powerful impact on children's development (Berk, 1997).

- **Psychoanalytic theory**

The psychoanalytic approach states that children move through a series of stages in which they confront conflicts between biological drives and social expectations. The way these conflicts are resolved determines the individual's ability to learn, to get along with others, and to cope with anxiety (Berk, 1997:14). The principal individuals who have been influential to the psychoanalytic perspective are Sigmund Freud, Erick Erikson, and Winnicott.

- **Relationships between psychosocial and psychosexual stages**

Freud (1973) argues that all humans pass through three stages of personality development - the *id*, *ego*, and *superego*, as well as five stages of psychosexual development, beginning in infancy with the oral stage and culminating with a healthy adult in the genital stage. Erikson (1968) drawing on Freudian concepts, postulated a theory of psychosocial development in terms of eight sequential stages, each of which is described as a basic conflict which must be resolved by the healthy individual before he can progress to the next (Berk, 1997:16-17). Another theorist, Kohlberg (1984), delineated six stages in the development of moral judgment, beginning with punishment and

obedience orientation and culminating in the morality of individual principles of conscience (Diduck, 2003).

Erikson (1968) proposed that each individual encounters eight consecutive stages of psychosocial development. Each of these stages presents a crisis of identity for the individual. If the necessary experiences are present such that the individual has resolved the conflict of that stage, then the sense of identity is strengthened. If a conflict is not resolved at a given age, the individual carries that conflict forward into later life.

Freud (1973) agrees with Erikson (1968) that children have to master certain developmental tasks at each age in order to enhance their psychosocial well-being. For example, from *birth to one year* children need warmth and care. Then, from warm, responsive care, infants gain a sense of trust, or confidence, that the world is good. *Mistrust occurs when infants have to wait too long for comfort and are handled harshly.* Freud relates this stage to what he calls “oral needs” (from birth to 1-year)

From *one to three years*, using new mental and motor skills, children want to choose and decide for themselves. *Autonomy is fostered when parents permit reasonable free choice and do not force or shame the child.* Freud relates this stage to what he calls “anal needs” (from 1 to 3 years) (Berk, 1997:14-19).

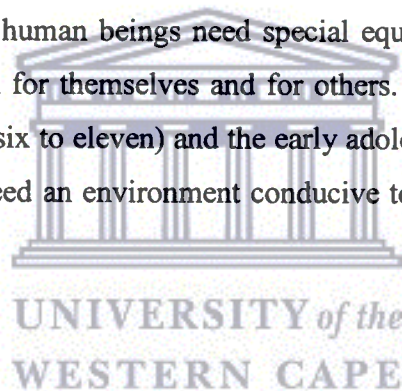
From three to six, through make-believe play, children experiment with the kind of person they can become. Initiative - a sense of ambition and responsibility - develops when parents support their child’s new sense of purpose and direction. *The danger is that parents will demand too much self-control, which leads to overcontrol, or too much guilt.* Freud relates this stage to what he calls “phallic needs” (from 3-six years) (Berk, 1997).

At six to eleven years old Erikson (1968) states that children develop the capacity to work and cooperate with others. Inferiority develops when negative experiences at home, at school, or with peers lead to feelings of incompetence and inferiority. Freud (1973) believed that at that stage of *latency*, sexual instincts die down and the superego develops

further. The child acquires new social values from adults outside the family and from play with same – sex peers.

Erikson (1968) considers the stage of adolescence as a stage of *intimacy versus identity diffusion*. At eleven to eighteen (adolescent), the child tries to answer questions like, who am I! and, what is my place in society! Self-chosen values and vocational goals lead to a lasting personal identity. The negative outcome is confusion about future adult roles. Freud (1973) calls this stage *genital* and relates it to puberty. It causes the sexual impulses of the phallic stage to reappear. If development has been successful during earlier stages, it leads to marriage, mature sexuality, and the birth and rearing of children (Berk, 1997:15 -17).

At each developmental stage, human beings need special equilibrium in their lives that gives them a sense of concern for themselves and for others. This study focuses on the middle childhood stage (from six to eleven) and the early adolescence (eleven to fifteen). It is thus clear that children need an environment conducive to supporting them in these developmental tasks.



2.2.3 Ecological theory

In Berk (1997:24) Bronfenbrenner's approach, views the child as developing within a complex system of relationships affected by multiple levels of the environment from immediate settings of family and schools to broad cultural values and programs. The different levels revealed by the author are the *Microsystem*; *Mesosystem*; *Exosystem*; and *Macrosystem*. It has also been revealed that the environment is not a static force that affects children in a uniform way. It is a dynamic and ever changing system. External interventions are also needed at any level of the environment to enhance child development.

According to Bronfenbrenner, *microsystem theory* is defined as the activities and interaction patterns in the child's immediate surroundings. He emphasizes that to understand child development at the level of environment, we must keep in mind that all

relationships are bi-directional and reciprocal. In other words, adults affect children's responses, but children's biologically and socially determined characteristics – their physical attributes, personalities, and capacities- also influence the behavior of adults. It has also been revealed that parent-child relationships enhance or undermine development, depending on environmental systems that surround and influence those relationships (Berk, 1997:25).

According to the author, the second level of Bronfenbrenner's model is *mesosystem* that refers to the child - rearing supports existing in the larger environment. It encompasses connections among microsystems such as home, school, neighborhood, and day-care, that foster children's development. Parent child and caregiver child relationships are likely to support development when there are links in the form of visits and exchange of information, between home and day-care setting.

The *exosystem* refers to social settings that do not contain children but nevertheless affect their experiences in immediate settings. These can be formal organizations such as the parents' workplace or health and welfare services in the community.

The *macrosystem* consists of the values, laws, customs, and resources of a particular culture. The priority that the microsystem gives to children's needs affects the support children received at lower levels of the environment. For example, in countries that require high quality standards for child care and workplace benefits for employed parents, children are more likely to have favorable experiences in their immediate settings. The author believes that the change at the level of the macrosystem is particularly important, because it affects all other environmental levels. Revising established values and government programs in ways more favorable to child development has the most far-reaching impact on children's well-being (Berk, 1997:26).

- **Cross-cultural research and sociocultural theory**

In the remote past it was incorrectly concluded that children in one culture are more advanced in motor development or do better on intellectual tasks than children in another

culture. Vygotsky (1986) in Berk (1997:27) reveals how *culture* – values, beliefs, customs, and skills of social group – is transmitted to the next generation. This author believes that social interactions – in particular cooperative dialogues between children and more knowledgeable members of society – is necessary for children to acquire the ways of thinking and behaving that make up a community’s culture (Van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991 in Berk, 1997:27). Vygotsky also believed that as adults and more expert peers help children master culturally meaningful activities, the communication between them becomes part of the children’s thinking. As children internalize the essential features of these dialogues, they use the language within them to guide their own actions and acquire new skills (Wertsch & Tulviste, 1992).

Rogoff & Chavajay (1995) in Berk (1997:27) state that a major finding of cross – cultural research is that culture selects different tasks for children’s learning. Social interaction surrounding these tasks leads to knowledge and skills essential for success in a particular culture (Berk, 1997:27). To illustrate this statement, Saxe (1988) in Berk (1997:27) reveals that in Brazil for example child candy sellers with little or no schooling develop sophisticated mathematical abilities as the direct result of buying candy from wholesalers, pricing it in collaboration with adults and experienced peers, and bargaining with customers on city streets. Adults begin to encourage culturally valued skills in children at a very early age. This reveals that children in every culture develop unique strengths that are not present in others. Anthropologists assume that the developmental sequences observed in our own children are natural or that the experiences fostering them are ideal without looking around the world.

- **Family systems theory and child development**

Zilbach (1986:6) states that the institution of the family is a sensitive issue in every society. The family is the first and the most important socializing institution, where shelter and security are to be found when facing difficulties in life. The author argues also that family is one of the best means by which its members may become integrated into community life, and then defines it as “*a small natural group in which the members are related by birth, marriage, or other form which creates a home or functional household*”

unit". United Nations (1987:5) describes the institution of the family in the following terms: "The family exists in all cultures in different behaviours and patterns, and in each culture it represents a major, even an essential component in the life of each individual: Its presence is a precondition for the growth of the individuals, just as its absence is often the cause of a destabilizing void". The family is a critical and delicate social institution. It is a key indicator of social change. The way the family undergoes transformations in its structure, functions and roles is an indicator to gauge the depth and the sharpness of change in the structure of society as a whole.

United Nations also argue that the family is affected by socio-economic factors, which include social organization; the nature of the community; kinship and tribal patterns; the strength of the national economy, the stage of modernization at which the society is, industrialization; employment; urbanization and social services provided, such as health and education. It is therefore, a living social institution affected by socio-economic factors as well as by transformations that shape the social environment in which it functions (United Nations, 1987).

2.3 Theory of economic exploitation

According to Wikipedia (2004) *exploitation* refers to the use of people as a resource, with little or no consideration of their well-being. It is seen often as a socio-economic phenomenon, where poor people are exploited for their labours in service of a powerful entity, such as a state or a corporation. The use of the word '*exploitation*' is a common, humanist characterisation of the work for pay system, when it is applied with cruelty, or with compulsion, or on terms that are disagreeable to the employee.

In Marxian theory, "*exploitation*" is usually called "*superexploitation*", exploitation that goes beyond the normal standards of exploitation prevalent in capitalist society. While various theories emphasize the exploitation of one individual by an organization, the Marxian theory concerns the exploitation of one entire segment or class of society by

another. In the Marxian view, "normal" exploitation is based in three structural characteristics of that kind of society:

- Firstly, the monopoly of the ownership of the means of production by a small minority in society, the capitalists;
- Secondly, the inability of non-property-owners (the workers, proletarians) to survive without selling their labour-time to the capitalists; and
- Thirdly, the State which uses its violence to protect the unequal distribution of power and property in society.

Due to these aspects, workers have little or no choice but to pay the capitalists '*surplus-value*' (profits, interest, and rent) in exchange for their survival (Wikipedia, 2004).

According to Ben Best (2004), "exploitation" refers to one person or group taking "unfair" advantage of another. The capitalist takes advantage of the hunger of the worker. The computer salesman takes advantage of the ignorance of the customer. The monopolist takes advantage of the absence of competition to charge what the market will bear. The advertiser takes advantage of the impressionability of the masses (Ben Best, 2004).

For Ryzanskaya (1971), the central institution of capitalist society is private property, the system by which capital (that is, money, machines, tools, factories, and other material objects used in production) is controlled by a small minority of the population. This arrangement leads to two opposed classes, the owners of capital (called the bourgeoisie) and the workers (called the proletariat), whose only property is their own labour time, which they have to sell to the capitalists. Owners are seen as making profits by paying workers less than their work is worth, thereby, exploiting them.

Ben Best (2004) also argues that in most of cases, children are used and exploited all over the world, especially in extremely poor nations, to manufacture the products of multinational companies for little pay. This pay is often insufficient for the local cost of living if any normal working hours are observed, and frequently long working hours are forced under unsafe conditions. However, what beats all is that in turn most *proletarians*

exploit other *powerless groups*. People in middle class and even poor people exploit vulnerable children in domestic works.

In Haiti for example, Cadet (2001) in ILO (2003:33-34) illustrates an extreme case of exploitation of a *child slave* or '*resteavec*' in Haiti, which literally means a child who '*stays with*' somebody who is not of his or her immediate family. According to Cadet a '*resteavec*' is a child of a poor family, who is taken in by a richer family which usually promises the birth parents that the child will be given some schooling and more opportunities than they could otherwise be provided with. Instead, the child becomes a slave who is isolated from care, love, siblings, any form of schooling or medical assistance, made to undergo long days of work with no pay, and forced to live in terrible conditions of under constant physical and verbal threat. In Haiti, says Cadet (2001), '*Resteavecs*' are seen as a status symbol, especially among the poor in the cities.

As a former *resteavec* escaped from exploitation or servitude, Cadet (2001) says that the worst form of abuse facing them is '*exclusion*':

*They must set table where they cannot eat, fetch water for others, are denied medical care, are not allowed to speak until spoken to, and are put outside when even dogs are inside. They are forced to be invisible, but must always be within reach of their owner's voice. Their tasks are never done. They are sometimes even borrowed by other families, seven days a week, and of course with no pay. They are often excluded from all family activities, including church. And they are often taken from their birth families when they are very young. They are even excluded from having memories of a time when they had a real childhood. Once a child becomes a *resteavec* he or she is no longer a child (Cadet, 2001 in ILO, 2003).*

Ben Best (2004) highlights that children who are poor are also most vulnerable for sexual exploitation like rape, prostitution pornography or strip dancing.

2.3.1 Poverty Paradox of child labour and Anthropology

Gose (2002:60-61) as well as Boyden et al. (1998:57) and Blagbrough & Glynn (1999:52) support the Nieuwenhuys' (1996) idea that in the developing world, most work undertaken by children has for a long time been explained away as socialization, education, training, and play. Anthropology has helped disclose that age is used with gender as the justification for the value accorded to work. Therefore, the low valuation of children's work translates not only in children's vulnerability in the labour market but, more importantly, in their exclusion from remunerated employment. The author argues that *current child labor policies, because they fail to address the exclusion of children from the production of value, reinforce paradoxically children's vulnerability to exploitation.*

2.3.2 The factors of child work and exploitation

Various authors argue that the notions of child labour/work and exploitation are always linked to poverty. This linkage will be explored through the following researchers' viewpoints.

2.3.2.1 Poverty as the main factor of child work

Mbugua (1997) argues that poverty enhances the maltreatment of children by undermining the capacity of poor families to provide for their members economically. This in turn, denies children the right to a good standard of living. Poverty has been and is still responsible for the violation of the child's right of access to health care and it impedes the realization of the child's right to education as free primary education has become less common in most African countries, and government expenditure on education has declined. This is accompanied by the suspension of familial aspirations in education as poor parents withdraw children from school (Mulinge, 2002).

Myers (1991), UNICEF (1991) in Mbugua (1997) and many other authors, support the idea that poverty is the main cause of child labour. According to these authors, poverty forces many children to exploitation in the workplace through child labour. Poverty, coupled with population explosion, unemployment among adults, and the exploitation of

the poor, has been cited as the most powerful force pushing children into hazardous, debilitating labour in the developing countries (Mulinge, 2002).

Many other researchers have also depicted the notion of poverty as the main factor of child exploitation. Boyden et al. (1998:113) for example state that there are many reasons why children are in the labour market. Among these reasons are social and economic conditions such as poverty; discrimination; failure of public services; cultural tradition; family violence and effects of socio-political conflicts such as civil war and genocide.

The National Programme of Action for Children in South Africa (NPACSA, 2001:13) argues that many children work to support themselves or their families, while Mulinge (2002) asserts that the problem of child labour has been aggravated by conditions set by international financial institutions like the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF). These include Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) that entail the cutting of public spending on schools, health care, and real job creation, resulting in increased poverty and child labour.

2.3.2.2 Poverty in the Rwandan Context

According to the experts of United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF, 2001: 4), poverty in Rwanda has important regional variations. In 1985 data suggest that the South Central area was the poorest (and most vulnerable to drought), while the East and the North and South West were better off than the national average. In the aftermath of the war and genocide, the geographic distribution has altered because of the instability and insurgency of the population in North and Northwest (Gisenyi and Ruhengeri provinces). Poverty has been aggravated due to the population movements. These problems of instability, shortage of arable land, demographic issues, and drought in some regions and illiteracy threaten the well-being of 60% (UNDAF, 2001) of Rwandan citizens who are living below the poverty line of the whole national population. Today however, with security, stability and poverty reduction policy implementation, poverty is decreasing among poor rural families.

According to UNDAF (2001:5) before 2000 the very poor (indigents) Rwandan people were categorized as follows:

- *Rural households*: due to low agricultural productivity, declining soil fertility and environmental degradation; land fragmentation and insecurity of land tenure; poor environmental conditions, including drought and disease; lack of access to markets, absence of rural commercial activity and alternative income earning opportunities.
- *Female – headed households*: suffer from lack of permanent household labour, women must take care of husbands and sons in prison; disadvantaged and poor access to land, paid employment and credit; disadvantaged and poor access to, and quality of, social services – water, health-care and education.
- *Urban poor*: due to few employment opportunities, particularly among poorly educated young people, and restrictions on petty trade, poor basic social services and infrastructure, lack of housing, and high food prices.

2.3.2.3 Child work as a contribution to the family

Research has revealed that children begin to work at the encouragement, request or command of their family. Boyden et al. (1998:114-115) state that in most cases, decisions may be taken with the child's own willing support or, at the opposite extreme, may be even brutally imposed. Children are sent to work in order to help the family, either by doing non-economic chores within the households (typically for girls) or by contributing in some way to the family income (Boyden et al., 1998:114-115). This view is supported by various other researchers, Non-Governmental Organizations, and children themselves. In most developing countries UNICEF (2001: 41) revealed that children are sent to work because adult family members are unemployed, resulting in lack of income, coupled with the high cost of education. In most South-Eastern Asian countries, children are forced to work in payment for their parents' debts to the employers. Oebanda (1998) states that 'their wages - if paid at all - are usually delayed, and when received, are greatly reduced

due to deductions made by employers in payment of cash advances to parents and recruiters.

2.3.2.4 Family dynamics in child works and exploitation

Boyden et al. (1998:136) emphasize the idea of child exploitation, arguing that children do domestic work and are exploited as the result of defective family decision-making or relationships. Child work is seen to represent errors either in families' perception of reality or in their strategic thinking about how to deal with that reality. A typical example is when parents keep their children out of school to work because they are ignorant of the true value of education. Otherwise these parents would make any sacrifices necessary to keep their children in school as long as possible.

2.3.3 Child domestic work

At the beginning of this study (chapter 1:3), Boyden et al. (1998:19) mentioned that 'child labour' is only limited to children's works that are harmful, while 'child work' is broader including all kinds of children's economic activity, even the beneficial works. UNICEF (1998:2) defines *child domestics or domestic workers as children under the age of 18 who work in other people's households, doing domestic chores, caring for children and running errands, among other tasks.*

The researcher's concern in the following discussions is to focus on what UNICEF (1998) calls the live-in child domestics or children who work full time in exchange for accommodation, care, and sometimes remuneration. In this regard the author indicates that previously children only used to do chores in their homes of origin or in the home of relatives, this has now increasingly be replaced by commercialized and therefore more potentially exploitative arrangement. *Long hours, low rewards, lack of childhood development opportunities, lack of love and affection, and other deprivations ensue.*

2.3.3.1 Working conditions in child domestic works

UNICEF, ILO convention, UN Convention on the Rights of the child (CRC), African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (AC) and other child advocacy

organization such as Rädde Barnen and Save the Children, support the idea that *each State may have child labour laws that define the conditions under which children may work*. Most States therefore, typically set a uniform minimum age below which no children may be employed or allowed to participate in certain kinds of economic activity, They also indicate dangerous occupations or industries in which young persons are not to be engaged until they have reached a higher age or adulthood (Boyden et al., 1998: 185).

The ILO Minimum Age Convention of 1973 (No 138) and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child stipulate that each State should approach the issue of child work in its own particular way and each should bring its own particular view of childhood and of child protection. According to the author, States ratifying ILO Convention No 138 are obliged to establish one or more minimum ages for the admission of children to employment or work. Then, there should be at least a general minimum age, fixed according to the principle of the lowest age at which children are required by law to be in school. The convention stipulates that this age should not be under 15, but does allow for countries with developing economies and educational facilities to temporarily adopt the lower age 14, provided that employers' and workers' organizations are consulted, and agree (Boyden et al., 1998:189). Concerning the light work or part-time work, the convention stipulates that the minimum age should be 12 or 13 for those countries with poorly developed economies and educational facilities.

The Rwandan labour code of 1999 stipulates that children under 16 years cannot work in any business unless special permission is received from the State (MINALOC, 2003).

According to Boyden et al. (1998:28) this theory of minimum age is built on the belief that it is in the best interest of all children to be economically dependent. This at least until a specified minimum age, school being the more appropriate context for growth and development than work.

Global March Against Child Labour (2003) states that girls' work is hidden because unlike children who work in marketplaces, on streets, in cafes or other places where they come in contact with the public, girls' work is either hidden due to its immoral or illicit in

nature as it takes place behind the locked doors of people's houses where they cannot be seen. According to UNICEF (1997), it is estimated that at least one million girls worldwide are lured or forced into sex work each year. It is, however, revealed that sexual exploitation of children affects both girls and boys.

The problem in most countries is compounded by the poverty affecting most families. In Zimbabwe, for example, Mupendziswa (1997) has reported that children are lured into prostitution to earn some income, while others are forced into early marriages because their parents can no longer afford to look after them. The effects of child sexual abuse are many and Mwiti (1997:120) cites '*fear and mistrust of adults*' among them. These feelings make children unable to trust those who are supposed to be protecting and caring for them. Kendall-Tackett, Williams, & Finkelhor (1993), emphasize the severity of the effects of child sexual abuse. According to these authors, sexually abused children are victims of depression, low self-esteem, feeling of anger and hostility, and they commonly have difficulties in getting along with peers. Added to this, younger children often suffer from difficulties in sleeping, loss of appetite, and generalized fearfulness, while adolescents sometimes may run away, show suicidal tendencies, attempt substance abuse, and become delinquent (Berk, 1997:573).

2.3.4 Child domestics and workplace violence

This section focuses primarily on the personality of the abused, not of the abusers. 'The abused' are the child workers, while employers, employer's family members, other workers, relatives, parents or foster parents are 'the abusers'.

Organizations such as ILO, WHO, and individuals, have produced research on workplace violence. This research indicates that violence in the health care workplace is actually a global phenomenon. It has been revealed that workplace violence affects all health workers, both men and women, though some are more at risk than others (ILO, 2002:24).

With regard to child domestic workers, most are victims of workplace violence. Various kinds of abuse are common all over the world though especially in developing countries,

where children are harassed, beaten or scolded. UNICEF-Kenya (2001:33) states that '*at their workplace children aged between six and eight were verbally, physically and sexually abused by their employers. They were beaten or chased away from the farms if they protested their injuries*'. This is frequent in household work where child domestic workers aged under fifteen work more than fourteen hours a day without rest (UNICEF, 1998:5). The evidence of maltreatment of child domestic workers is revealed by HRW (2001) through an investigation where it was found that all child domestics were punished by their employers for being "naughty", for being careless, or for not completing assigned tasks. The punishments ranged from deprivation of privileges to smacking and beatings with a cane or stick. Several children had been deliberately burnt, some had been badly injured during these "*punishment*" sessions, and many had scars caused by the beatings.

The most targeted children are girls who are also subjected to sexual abuse, and may risk contracting HIV/AIDS. In Kenya, for example, a study of girls working as housemaids found that, of twenty-five girls aged nine to sixteen years who were interviewed in depth, eighteen were HIV positive. Of those eighteen, most had worked in several homes and reported being sexually abused in all or most of them. Fifteen of them said that their first sexual experiences were coerced, and were either with their employer or someone in his family or circle of friends (HRW, 2001).

2.3.4.1 Child Abuse and neglect

The Research Centre of the University of Toronto (RCUT, 2004) defines child abuse as any kind of harm to a child's body, emotional pain, neglect, or use for sexual purposes that can cause injury or psychological damage. There are four known types of abuse: Sexual, Physical, Emotional, and Neglect.

- **Sexual Abuse and effects**

Delaplane & Delaplane (2003) as well as Linda, Dawes and Higson-Smith (2004:61) define sexual abuse as "contacts or interactions between a child and adult when the child is being used for sexual stimulation of the perpetrator or another person when the

perpetrator or another person is in a position of power or control over the victim". Sexual abuse is any time that a child is engaged in a sexual situation with an older person. It can include: exhibitionism; fondling a child's genitals; prostitution; rape; showing an adult's genitals to a child; using a child in any pornographic production.

This kind of abuse is the most under-reported form of child maltreatment because of secrecy or conspiracy of silence that so often characterizes these cases, Delaplane & Delaplane (2003). Effects of sexual abuse are seen through their symptoms which include post-traumatic symptoms, precocious sexualization, depression, anxiety, guilt, fear, sexual dysfunction, dissociative symptoms, eating disorders, substance abuse, prostitution, regressive behaviours (such as a return to thumb-sucking or bed-wetting), runaway behaviour, and academic and behavioural problems (Berk, 1997:573).

According to UNICEF (1998), girls constitute nearly two-thirds of the 130 million children out of school in the developing world, due to sexual abuse. Many of them interrupted their schooling or left school altogether because they felt unsafe in such a violent environment. ILO (2003:36) revealed that sexual abuse in the workplace doesn't target girls only. In Indonesia boys are also sexually abused. They are involved in *working* 15 to 25 kilometers out at sea; endure long working hours (12-20 hours/day) and three months of isolation from their families. These boys are vulnerable to physical and sexual abuse from adult co-workers or employers.

In domestic work, the degree of protection a child domestic worker enjoys from all forms of exploitation depends on the employer (UNICEF, 1998:8). Various studies reported that domestic girls stated that their employers sexually abuse them. Thus, the consequences of sexual abuse or rape are that often, families reject these spoiled girls because their behaviour has brought dishonour to the family. In these instances, domestic work undoubtedly becomes a precursor to prostitution as the young girls have few other options available (UNICEF, 1998).

- **Physical abuse and effects**

The National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN, 2003) as well as Berk (1997:57) assert that *physical abuse* is seen as the injury or maltreatment of a child under the age of eighteen by a person who is responsible for the child's welfare. Injuries can include beatings; breaking a child's arm, leg or other bones; burning a child with matches or cigarettes; hitting a child; not letting a child eat, drink, or use the bathroom; pulling a child's hair out; punching a child; scalding a child with water that is too hot; shaking, shoving, or slapping a child, internal injuries, and even death.

The NCCAN (2003) as well as Berk (1997:571) revealed also that signs of physical abuse on child's behaviour include agitation; anger and rage; anxiety or fears; avoids social contact or seem withdrawn; behaves aggressively; depression; drug and alcohol abuse; seems afraid of people; suicidal thoughts; tired often; trouble sleeping, etc.

Concerning the signs of physical abuse in adolescence's behaviour authors include substance abuse; risky sexual behaviours; suicide attempts; abnormal eating behaviours, etc. Authors also revealed that if the domestic workers experience abuse and demonstrates the mentioned behaviours then it could affect the care of employers and/or employers' family members. This can be seen through the impact of child worker's behaviour on employer's babies and young children. According to the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect report (2003), abused child domestic workers use of harsh discipline inappropriate to child's age, transgression; seems unconcerned about employer's child; and significantly misperceives employer's child.

- **Emotional abuse and effects**

The National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN, 2003) defines emotional abuse as: "*acts or omissions by the parents or other caregivers that have caused, or could cause, serious behavioural, cognitive, emotional, or mental disorders*". Research centre of the University of Toronto (2004), attempts to explain child emotional abuse as follows: "*emotional abuse is when children are constantly put down, called names, or criticized so that they lose confidence in themselves*". The American Medical Association (AMA,

2003) describes emotional abuse as “*when a child is regularly threatened, yelled at, humiliated, ignored, blamed or otherwise emotionally mistreated*”. All these definitions and descriptions illustrate the complexity of the concept of emotional, abuse claiming that it is more than what is commonly known as verbal abuse, like calling a child names, making a fun of a child, and always finding fault. Berk (1997:571) claims that emotional abuse is an attack on a child’s emotional and social development, and is a basic threat to healthy human development. Emotional abuse can take many forms such as belittling, coldness, corruption, cruelty, extreme inconsistency, harassment, ignorance, inappropriate control, isolation, rejection, terrorizing. Emotional abuse is also the core of all forms of abuse, and the long-term effects of child abuse and neglect in general, stem mainly from the emotional aspects of abuse (AMA, 2003; Berk, 1997:571).

- **Child neglect**

The National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN, 2003) describes child neglect as: “*failure to provide for the child’s basic needs*”. Neglect can be physical, educational, or emotional. Physical neglect includes refusal of or delay in seeking health care, abandonment, expulsion from the home or refusal to allow a runaway to return home, and inadequate supervision. Educational neglect includes the allowance of chronic truancy and failure to attend to a special educational need. NCCAN (2003) adds that emotional neglect includes such actions as marked inattention to the child’s needs for affection, refusal of or failure to provide needed psychological care, spouse abuse in the child’s presence, and permission of drug or alcohol use by the child. The assessment of child neglect requires consideration of cultural values and standards of care as well as recognition that the failure to provide the necessities of life may be related to poverty (NCCAN, 2003; Berk, 1997:571).

NCCAN (2003), Mwit (1997:84-89) and other various authors agreed on the following indicators of child neglect:

- Not meeting a child’s need for cleanliness, clothing, emotional support, love and affection, education, nutritious food and adequate shelter or safety;

- Leaving a child unsupervised and leaving a child in an unsafe place or causing a child to be in a dangerous situation or place;
- Not seeking necessary medical or dental attention for a child;
- Lack of education opportunity and not seeking special services for children in need of educational support.

The African Charter on the rights and welfare of the child (OAU, 1999) stipulates that children must be protected from any form of abuse and torture wherever they are. This appears in Article 16 (Protection Against Child Abuse and Torture) here below:

- *States Parties to the present Charter shall take specific legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of torture, inhuman or degrading treatment and especially physical or mental injury or abuse, neglect or maltreatment including sexual abuse, while in the care of the child.*
- *Protective measures under this Article shall include effective procedures for the establishment of special monitoring units to provide necessary support for the child and for those who have the care of the child, as well as other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting referral investigation, treatment, and follow-up of instances of child abuse and neglect.*

With the same focus, UNCRC (1989) in its article 19 stipulates the following:

- *States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.*

- *Such protective measures should, as appropriate, include effective procedures for the establishment of social programmes to provide necessary support for the child and for those who have the care of the child, as well as for other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting, referral, investigation, treatment and follow-up of instances of child maltreatment described heretofore, and, as appropriate, for judicial involvement.*

However, children are not only dealing with physical, sexual, neglect or emotional abuse- they are also dealing with the effects of HIV/AIDS.

2.3.4.2 HIV/AIDS and child labour

United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS, 2000) relates that the HIV/AIDS pandemic, with its related illnesses constitute one of the greatest social challenges to the protection of children's rights in Sub-Saharan Africa. By 1999, over 34.3 million people aged fifteen to adult were estimated to be infected by HIV/AIDS globally, of which 24.5 million (or 71%) were found in Sub-Saharan Africa. Various researchers on HIV/AIDS and its effects are convinced that the pandemic has become both a development as well as a security crisis in many Sub-Saharan African countries. According to UNAIDS and WHO (1998), Botswana comes first in Sub-Saharan Africa with the highest infection rate in the world. Rwanda with 13 % (UNAF, 2001) of people infected by HIV/AIDS is not spared of this disaster. HIV/AIDS has orphaned many children in the world, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. Mbugua (1992) argues that most orphans live in households headed by other children or by very old grandparents, thus making them vulnerable to economic conditions that deny them basic rights such as the right to parental care, adequate nutrition, basic education, and health care. This view is also underlined by Bellamy when she states that "*Today, we confront a nightmare world of children without parents, of classrooms without teachers, and of schools without students, a place where grandparents outlive grandchildren and orphans are objects of fear and abuse*"(UNICEF-Kenya, 2001). These declarations show the numerous damaging effects of AIDS in order to boost awareness to protect the next generations. Thus, AIDS orphans are exposed to activities that contravene other rights provided under the CRC and AC

such as child labour, prostitution, drug abuse, street living and other forms of deviance. In Tanzania, for example, in regions such as Iringa, AIDS has decimated the population, to such an extent that families are forced to send their children into the labour force for survival (UNICEF-Kenya, 2001:63).

2.4 Theory of needs and rights

Maslow's theory (1970) of hierarchy of needs, asserts that human beings are motivated by unsatisfied needs, and that certain lower needs must be satisfied before higher needs can be satisfied. Through his theory, Maslow asserts that humans tend toward growth and love. In spite of the continuous cycle of human social issues such as wars, murder, and deceit, he believed that violence is not what human nature is meant to be. According to him, violence and other evils occur when human needs are thwarted. In other words, people who are deprived of lower needs such as *safety* may defend themselves by *violent means*. Thus, he believes that humans are violent because they enjoy violence. Children who are threatened today could become violent later in life (Gwynne, 1997). Maslow then classifies needs starting by the basics as follows:

- Physiological needs are the very basic needs such as air, water, food, sleep, sex, etc. When these are not satisfied we may feel sickness, irritation, pain, discomfort.
- Safety needs have to do with establishing stability and consistency in a chaotic world.
- Love and a sense of belonging are next on the ladder. Humans have a desire to belong to groups; clubs, work groups, religious groups, family, gangs, etc.
- Esteem needs result from *competence* or mastery of a task and the *attention and recognition that comes from others*

- The need for self-actualization is *the desire to become more and more what one is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming.*

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs studies have shown that the middle levels of Maslow's hierarchy overlap. Alderfer's (1969) addressed this issue by reducing the number of levels to three: E (Existence) R (Relatedness) G (Growth). The most important contribution of the ERG model is the addition of the frustration-regression hypothesis, which holds that when individuals are frustrated in meeting higher level needs, the next lower level needs reemerge.

2.4.1 Children's basic needs

As indicated here above, physiological needs are basic to human beings, including children. Therefore, children also have specific rights which are intimately linked to needs in general.

2.4.2 Children's rights

Spicker (1988:58) defines the concept of rights as rules that protect liberties or impose duties on the people. People have them when they stand to benefit from the obligations others have towards them. The author also argues that rights may be particular to some people, or general applying to everyone. Like morals, they are socially defined in practice, and even human rights, which seem at first to apply to everyone, have different interpretation for children than for adults. Freeman (1983) in Spicker (1988:62) emphasizes that even if rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are common to everyone, children have their specific rights which are often not equivalent to those of adults. For example, children are not entitled to vote, to work, to leave home, to marry, or have sexual relationships. Their choices and opportunities are substantially limited (Spicker, 1988:62).

However, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (OAU,1999) makes clear that children are independent and have rights. Aware of lack of important social, cultural and economic realities of African experience in the Convention, African Member-States

launched the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child stressing the need to include African cultural values and experience in considering issues pertaining to the rights of the child in Africa (Olowu, 2002).

It is then stipulated in the UNCRC (1989) (Article32), and the AC (OAU, 1999) (Article15) that children must be protected from economic exploitation. These two legislative instruments are complementary. It is stressed in the AC (Art. 27) that,

“ States Parties to the present Charter shall undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse and shall in particular take measures to prevent:

- a) The inducement, coercion or encouragement of a child to engage in any sexual activity;*
- b) The use of children in prostitution or other sexual practices;*
- c) The use of children in pornographic activities, performances and materials”*

This article is almost similar to article 34 of the CRC stipulating the following:

“States Parties undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. For these purposes, States Parties shall in particular take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent:

- a) The inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity;*
- b) The exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices;*
- c) The exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials”*

However, Chirwa (2002:166) criticized this CRC’s 34th article, arguing that it seems that pornography and prostitution, that is not exploitative or unlawful in the CRC context, is permissible. It is then important to consider some nuances when analyzing these legislative instruments.

After long discussions on the needs and rights of children, it has been revealed that they are interlinked so that they can be summarized in four main principles: firstly, the most successful way to realize the best interest of the child is for the child to participate in a meaningful and effective manner; secondly, children should be protected from any form of discrimination; thirdly, everything possible should be done to ensure that every child is

given the best chance to grow physically, mentally, emotionally and spiritually; fourthly, the child should be involved in decisions/matters affecting him/her (OAU, 1999).

2.5 Summary of the chapter

This chapter of literature review generally focuses on the living and working conditions of child domestic workers. However, for a better understanding of this study, a clear childhood description is necessary. Child rights related to the needs at each phase of child development are also needed. Theories highlight the influence of the environment on child development from the immediate settings of family and schools to broad cultural values. Theories have also contributed to the clarification of how children move from one stage to another within different socio-cultural contexts, and describe the common features to all children in the world and their differences based respectively on the universal phase of the human life cycle in which biological and psychological factors have a strong role to play (Boyden et al., 1998:28).

ILO Convention (number 138) stipulates that children are not allowed to work under the age of 18. However, it recommends that States ratifying the ILO convention establish one or more minimum ages for the admission of children to employment or work, on condition that this minimum age should not be under 15 years; 12 or 13 years for admission on light work that doesn't impede schooling (Boyden et al., 1998:189). This minimum age is limited to 16 years in Rwandan Law, but with special permission received from the State, children can do light work under the fixed age.

Factors influencing child labour/work have been found and clarified. The most common factor was poverty.

This chapter has also revealed the diverse kinds of child abuse in the workplace especially amongst working children involved in domestic work. Children are verbally, physically and sexually abused by their employers, other workers or employer's family members. Through various theories it has also been revealed that in the Sub-Saharan

African context children often contribute to household tasks - in some cases excessively so - especially when tasks impede the attendance of school.



CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND STRATEGY OF INQUIRY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes in detail the research methodology and design already outlined in chapter one. The researcher has opted for the qualitative approach in order to explore the working and living conditions of child domestic workers, in-depth.

The researcher obtained information about child domestic work and gain insight into the child-hidden works phenomena from the perspectives of participants published literature and documents.

Creswell (1998:15) defines, explains and describes the reasons for choosing a qualitative research:

'Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting' (Creswell, 1998).

In addition, the author (p.17-18) suggests eight criteria to consider when engaged in qualitative research: firstly, the nature of the research question may start with *a how* or *a what*; secondly, the *topic* needs to be *explored*; thirdly, a *detailed view* of the topic needs to be presented; fourthly, there must be a need to study individuals in their *natural setting*; and fifthly, there must be an interest in *writing* in a *literal style*. The researcher also needs *sufficient time and resources* to spend on extensive data collection in the field as well as detailed data analysis of *text* information. *Audiences must be receptive* to the qualitative approach, and finally, the researcher's role should be that of *active learner* rather than that of *expert*.

The quantitative approach was not convenient in this study because criteria such as representativeness and its relationship to generalisation cannot be fulfilled. In addition, it

was statistically impossible to determine the sample size of an unknown population. Neuman (2000:196) supports Creswell's idea emphasizing that

'Qualitative researchers focus less on a sample's representativeness or on detailed techniques for drawing a probability sample. Instead, they focus on how the sample or small collection of cases, units, or activities illuminates social life. The primary purpose of sampling is to collect specific cases, events, or actions that can clarify and deepen understanding...'

Guba and Lincoln (1994), Morgan (1998), Reichardt & Rallis (1994) in Jackson & Nible (1999) highlight that, the fundamental differences between the paradigms is that the basic philosophical assumptions of qualitative approach include humans as *having free will, rule-using psycholinguistic (cognitive) beings, playing an active role in their own experiences and their behaviour* being only understood from their own unique cultural/development/linguistic framework. In contrast, researchers from the quantitative perspective assume human behaviour is determined by (discoverable) causes; human are rule-governed, passive beings whose behaviour can be reduced to universal laws of nature (Jackson & Nible, 1999). Hoepfl (1997) in Golafshani (2003) emphasized the above argument arguing that unlike *quantitative researchers* who seek causal determination, predication, and generalization of findings, *qualitative researchers* seek instead illumination, understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations. Patton (2001) assumes that qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as *real world setting* where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest (Golafshani, 2003).

3.2 Research approach

As it is stipulated at the previous section, the researcher has opted for qualitative research because the living and working conditions of child domestic workers needed to be explored and there was a need to study individuals in their *natural setting*, to present a *detailed view* of the topic. The researcher also hoped to obtain in-depth information from multiple sources of information. In addition, the researcher decided to use *spoken* or

qualitative research interview forms rather than written interviews or questionnaires because it was impossible to aspire to obtain working children's views in written form due to their low literacy levels.

3.3 Research strategy/design

In qualitative research Creswell (1998: 47-72) identifies five research strategies of inquiry also known as qualitative traditions in the following range:

- a *biographical study* referring to a person's life (p. 47);
- a *phenomenological study* referring to the description of the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about the concept or the phenomenon (p.51);
- a *grounded theory* study with emphasis on generating or discovering a theory (p.56);
- an *ethnography* with reference to the description and interpretation of a cultural or social group or system (p.58);
- a *case study* chosen for this research as an exploration of a bounded system (p.61).

The following paragraph describes the case study strategy in detail.

According to De Vos et al. (2002:272), the choice of strategies of inquiry depends on the purpose of the study, the nature of the research topic and questions, and the skills and resources available to the researcher. The chosen research strategy for this study was a *case study*, which is regarded by Creswell (1998:61) as an *exploration of a "bounded system" (bounded by time and/or place) or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context*. In this study the data was collected from a geographical and time-bounded system, involving multiple sources of information.

Interviews were carried out with child workers themselves, an employer, neighbours and a representative of the local authority. The advantage of a case study design in the context of this case study as Denzin & Lincoln (2000:436) argue lay in the fact that it allowed the researcher to optimise understanding of the individual cases rather than generalise beyond.

According to Yin (1994), *case studies* can be either single or multiple-case designs. Single cases are used to confirm or challenge a theory or to represent a unique or extreme case. *Single-case studies* are also ideal for revelatory cases where an observer may have access to a phenomenon that was previously inaccessible. Single-case designs require careful investigation to avoid misrepresentation and to maximize the investigator's access to the evidence. These studies can be *holistic* or *embedded*, the latter occurring when the same case study involves more than one unit of analysis. *Multiple-case studies* follow replication logic. This is not to be confused with sampling logic where a selection is made out of a population, for inclusion into the study. According to the author, this type of sample selection is improper in a case study. Each individual case study consists of a "whole" study in which facts are gathered from various sources and conclusions are drawn on those facts (Winston, 1997).

The selection of cases is a difficult process, but the literature provides guidance in this area (Yin, 1994). Stake (1995) recommends, that the selection offers the opportunity to maximize what can be learned, knowing that time is limited. Hence the cases that are selected should be easy, with willing subjects (Winston, 1997).

In this case study, precautions of selection of the cases were taken before and during observations made previously by the researcher in the similar domain of study that was focused on child workers in agriculture. In addition, the task was facilitated by the research techniques used during data collection that were purposive and snowball sampling. These techniques helped to reach cases easily. The problems the researcher has encountered are discussed in the limitation of the study in Chapter One section 1.7.

3.4 Research Setting

3.4.1 Overview of the context of the case study

As Creswell (1998:153) recommends, a description of the case setting is crucial in the case study. Thus, this study needs a detailed description of the research setting in order to understand the reasons why children left their families, and why most of them are working as domestic workers.

Rwanda is located in East–Central Africa, covering a total surface area of 2.6 million hectares (26,388 square kilometers) of which only 1.4 million hectares are arable. The current population is estimated at about eight million (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, July 2000) of which 94% live in rural areas by subsistence agriculture. The density of the population per unit of arable land reaches nine persons per hectare in some areas, hence the competition for agricultural land in most areas of the country. To date, 60% of the arable land is in active use, with soil degradation presently reaching alarming levels in some areas. This situation of poverty, combined with other factors, contributes to the drift of children from the countryside to the cities, hoping for better living conditions.

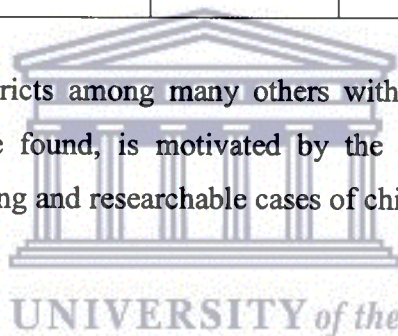
The study was carried out in the districts surrounding the city centre of Kigali, except for the Kabuga Municipality located in Kigali Ngali (rural) straddling both the provinces of Kigali city and Kigali rural (see Appendix B). In these selected areas, especially in the neighbourhood of small peripheral markets, many poor restaurants are using child labour during the day and night. Children are also working for families as domestics to cook and perform related duties like fetching water at long distances with heavy jerrycanes; doing laundry for the whole family, baby-sitting and other diverse tasks, at a meagre wage. The living conditions of these children were unknown. The table below illustrates the overview of the respondents according to the districts.

3.4.1.1 Case setting and information on participants in the study

Table 1: Presentation of participants

Participants Districts	Child domestic workers	Employers	Neighbours	Local authorities
Gikondo	Children (cases 1,2,3)	Employer	Neighbour	
Kacyiru	Children (cases 4,5,6)			Local authority
Nyarugenge	Children (cases 7,8,9)		Neighbour	
Kabuga	Children (cases 10,11,12)		Neighbour	Policeman

The choice of these four districts among many others within which the same socio-economic characteristics were found, is motivated by the fact that previous similar research remarked the interesting and researchable cases of child domestic workers in the chosen areas.



Referring to the map of Kigali city illustrated in Appendix 2, Gikondo is a low-class residential area situated in the South-East of Kigali city centre. A fortiori is an area where the majority of the population is poor, unemployed and most of them are working in the informal sector. Kacyiru is situated in north of Kigali city centre. All categories of populations are found there, but the majority lives in the middle-class area. Nyarugenge is the city centre itself, and here, the researcher has only targeted the poor families living on a site straddling the area between the city centre and one of the neighbouring quarters. Kabuga is a municipality located in Kigali Ngali (rural) in the east of Kigali city centre. It is a small commercial town located in a rural area, approximately 20 kilometers from Kigali city centre. The researcher has, however, chosen *Ndera sector*, one the Kabuga district sectors. This sector is not commercial but purely and simply administrative with basic socio-economic infrastructures such as markets, schools, a hospital, a psychiatric centre, and a small village surrounding the administrative buildings. Most of families

living in Ndera sector are old people whose children live in the town centre; teachers; the low-line workers; nurses and shopkeepers, some of whom use children as domestic workers and cattle rearing.

The researcher interviewed three children working in homes in each district. The researcher also targeted employers, their neighbours and local authorities expecting rich and complementary information about child domestic workers. Unfortunately, most of them were not available or simply due to unwillingness to participate. However, those who accepted the researcher's invitation to an interview have contributed enormously to this study. The researcher also finally reached an employer and a neighbour in Gikondo district, a local authority in Kacyiru, a neighbour in Nyarugenge and a police representative as well as a neighbour in the Kabuga municipality.

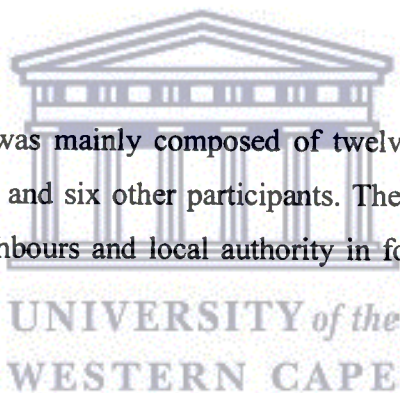
3.5 Population

The population of this study was mainly composed of twelve child domestic workers aged between 12 and 15 years and six other participants. The latter were selected from the children's employers, neighbours and local authority in four districts of Kigali city and its periphery.

3.6 Sampling

The sample of child workers was limited to twelve and six participants from the other category of people who have already indicated their willingness to contribute to the researcher's investigation.

Child domestic workers were then selected through snowball sampling. Neuman (2000:199) describes snowball sampling (or network) as a method to identify and sample (or select) the cases in a network. It is based on an analogy of a snowball which begins small but becomes larger as it is rolled on wet snow and picks up additional snow. In this study the researcher started with one child domestic worker identified early in each district, collected data from him/her, after which he/she was asked to locate other child workers (De Vos et al., 2002:336). The process continued until the gathering of data



reached a saturation point, with 12 children. Another way of reaching child domestic workers was to stay and wait for them at the hydrants where they regularly fetch water. Other participants in the study were purposefully selected through the technique of purposive sampling.

According to Neuman (2000:198), purposive sampling is a sampling of special situations. This technique is used to select unique cases that are especially informative, or a group of persons difficult to reach or when a researcher wants to identify particular types of cases for in-depth investigation. Furthermore, as De Vos et al. (2002:334) argue, in purposive sampling the researcher must first think critically about the parameters of the population and then choose the sample case accordingly. In this study, purposive sampling was based on the knowledge of the issue being researched. The informative persons included local authorities, employers and neighbours. Only six people were reached during the interview and comprised an employer, three neighbours and two local authorities. Most of the targeted people, especially employers were not available or refused to participate.

3.7 Data collection

3.7.1 Data collection procedure

Authorisation to carry out the study was obtained first from the Deputy Minister of Social Affairs and then from the mayor of each district. The permission letters were addressed to the person responsible for each area or village. Interviews with children were conducted with their consent at their workplace and after obtaining permission from their employers. With the assistance of one of the social work students of the National University of Rwanda, 'one-to-one interviews' were conducted with participants and a tape recorder facilitated the recording of data. The interviews were conducted close to the employers' homes or at the water hydrants. Observation of the setting and of non-verbal behaviour during interviews was used in order to complement the information gathered from interviews. Both the researcher and his assistant were recording and taking notes on the activity and behaviour of the participants at their workplaces/homes.

According to Patton (1990) observational data are used to describe the settings, activities, people, and the meanings of what is observed from the perspective of the participants. Observation can lead to deeper understanding than interviews alone because it provides knowledge of the context in which events occur and may enable the researcher to see things that participants themselves are not aware of, or that they are unwilling to discuss.

3.7.2 Data collection Instruments

The data collection instruments were presented in the form of a semi-structured interview schedule with open-ended questions. In this regard De Vos et al. (2002:302) argue that, the researcher might have a set of predetermined questions on an interview schedule, but the interview would be guided by the schedule rather than be dictated by it. The living and working conditions of child domestic workers were explored and the participants' perceptions schedule indicates the themes to be explored and examples of questions to be asked (See appendix 1). The interviews were scheduled as follows:

- Participants' perceptions and experiences of factors motivating child domestic work
- Participants' perceptions and experiences of working conditions of child domestic workers
- Participants' perceptions and experiences of living conditions of child domestic workers
- Participants' perceptions and experiences of children's needs and rights
- Participants' perceptions of expectations for the well-being of child domestic workers and suggestions to discourage child domestic work

Questions were addressed to employers, neighbours and local authorities in order to respect the process of using multiple perceptions, as Denzin & Lincoln (2000:443-444) argued, to clarify meaning, verify the repeatability of an observation or to interpret and clarify the meaning by identifying the different ways in which the phenomenon is being seen.

Biographic characteristics and demographic information were obtained specifically from the twelve child participants by adding questions about personal information of child domestic workers such as age, place of birth and information about the socio-economic status of their family and education level.

Depending on participants' attitude and how probing succeeded, more than twenty-five open-ended questions based on the above mentioned themes were addressed to the participants. Seven first questions were focused on biographic characteristics and family demographic aspects, while others were based on how participants perceive and experience factors motivating child domestic work; child domestics' working and living conditions; children's needs and rights and finally expectations and suggestions about child domestic workers well-being. Interviews with each participant lasted about 30 minutes to an hour and information was tape recorded. Participants used their mother tongue, which is the national language and among the three official languages used in Rwanda (Rwandan, French and English).

3.8 Data analysis

De Vos et al. (2002:339-340) define data analysis in the qualitative research approach as the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. It is a messy, ambiguous, time-consuming, creative and fascinating process, and it does not proceed in a linear fashion. Marshall & Rossman (1995:111) however, consider qualitative data analysis as a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data in order to build a grounded theory (De Vos et al., 2002:340).

To analyse findings, the researcher opted for Creswell's (1998:142-143) model that was presented as a spiral image including: *Collecting and recording data; managing data; reading and writing memos; describing, classifying and interpreting; representing and visualizing*. In this model the researcher moved in analytic circles rather than using a fixed linear approach. This is most appropriate process was based on the unfolding of information during the process of data collection (De Vos et al., 2002:354).

After collecting and recording data, the first step of this chosen analysis process consisted of managing data, meaning that the researcher organized his data into file folders and converted them to appropriate text units for manual analysis followed by a computer analysis (Creswell, 1998:143; De Vos et al. (2002: 343). The researcher's great task here was to transcribe the audio taped interview manually and later by computer. The next step was to read the transcribed information several times, identify and organize major ideas and key concepts and form categories.

The researcher then proceeded to describe and classify information targeting the phase of untangling information from the greater themes to smaller, more manageable sets of sub-themes for final writing.

The next step of analysis was the interpretation of information that involved making sense of the data and the lessons learned (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This step allowed the researcher to verify and evaluate the research (De Vos et al. 2002:344). According to Marshall & Rossman (1995), during this step of interpretation the researcher must search for other, plausible explanations for these data and the linkages among them. The researcher must then search for, identify and describe these explanations, and demonstrate how and why the explanation offered is the most plausible (De Vos et al. 2002:344). Creswell (1998:145) as well as De Vos et al. (2002:345) state that at this step of the analysis, researchers step back and form larger meanings of what is going on in the situations or sites.

Representing and visualizing is the final step in which the researcher presents the data; a packaging of what was found in the text, table or figure. In this study, the researcher did not use this type of illustration, but proceeded to describe and analyze the themes through the formed categories and sub-categories.

3.9 Summary of the chapter

In order to achieve the aim of this study the researcher has chosen the qualitative approach as the appropriate method. A case study strategy of inquiry was selected and semi-structured questions were addressed to child domestic workers and other participants.

Through semi-structured interviews, the researcher gained access to the participants' perceptions and understanding, by capturing their narratives on a tape recorder and book note.

Exploration and description of the case, through detailed and in-depth data collection methods involving multiple sources of information, have been used in this study. With this method, the researcher has exclusively used interviews and observation techniques. Snowball and purposive sampling have been used to select participants.

The process of data analysis and interpretation has been presented in a data analysis spiral described in Creswell (1998) as the best data analysis model. Lincoln and Guba's (1985) model was chosen as the most appropriate for the trustworthiness and credibility of the research. Finally, the model of reporting has been described and narrative was chosen as the best way of report writing.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS OF THE FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The three previous chapters were respectively an introduction of the study containing the overview of the report; literature review and theoretical framework; and Research methodology and design. Chapter Four comprises data analysis and discussions of the findings collected mainly from child domestic workers. However, information gained from other participants played a complementary role in data collection.

Data will be reported using *embedded quotations* (De Vos et al., 2002:358) mainly from child domestics but also referring to the contribution from other participants. After definition of themes, narratives will be quoted and discussed comparing them with relevant related theories. The process will continue until the end of the last theme's discussions. The Routio study uses narratives because it is *a* way of organizing episodes, actions, and accounts of actions and also allows for the inclusion of actors' reasons for their acts, as well as the causes of happening (Routio, 2004).

The aim of this explorative - descriptive study described in Chapter One was to qualitatively explore the living and working conditions of child domestic workers as perceived by child domestic workers themselves and other participants comprising their employers, neighbours and local authorities. Hence, the researcher used multiple sources of perceptions in order to clarify meanings by identifying different ways the case or phenomenon was being seen (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:444)

The researcher will then discuss the gathered findings in relating them to the theoretical perspectives presented in Chapter Two. The researcher will attempt to analyse participants' experiences and perceptions linked to factors motivating child work, working and living conditions of child domestic workers, developmental needs and rights of children in relation with childhood, child development and working children theories.

4.2 Personal details and basic information of participant child domestic workers

For the purpose of this case study, the following demographic details of child domestic workers must be reported through information on gender, age, place of birth, education level, child status, family size, age of the eldest, guardians or parents' occupation and type of shelter. All interviewed children were in the critical age of between twelve and fifteen years.

As indicated in the description of the case setting in Chapter Three (refer to table one) participants in this case study comprised eight girls and four boys. Although their ages ranged from twelve to fifteen years, most of them didn't reach standard six and others did not get passed the third year of primary school. The researcher noticed that some of them have never been at school; while others dropped out when they reached standard three, four or five. All of them reside at the employer's home. They were all born in rural areas far away from their workplace, at a distance varying between 30 to 150 kilometers. Some are orphans others have a single parent or have both parents. The parents or guardians' occupation is mainly the subsistence agriculture on small plots of land and their shelters are not adequate. The researcher noticed that most of the parents or guardians were living in houses built of wood covered by mud, without cement and with roofs of metal sheets. Other parents or guardians live in wooden huts.

4.3 Data analysis and discussions

Data obtained from child domestic workers as primary sources, as well as other participants for additional perspectives were analyzed according to the process discussed in Chapter Three, which follows the process of data analysis reporting on the findings based on question-themes that were explored in the study and the relating categories and sub-categories of themes that emerged from the findings. The question-themes were:

- Factors motivating child work
- Working conditions of child domestic workers

- Living conditions of child domestic workers
- Children's needs and rights
- Expectations and suggestions

The findings were categorized into the following categories and sub-categories:

Table 2: Themes categorization

Question themes	Categories	Sub categories
4.3.1 Participants' perceptions and experiences of factors motivating child domestic work	4.3.1.1 Poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Lack of basic needs
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Inadequate housing
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Underemployment and shortage of arable land
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Lack of participation in decision-making
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Social discrimination and exclusion
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ill health & unsafe environment
4.3.2 Participants' perceptions and experiences of working conditions of child domestic workers	4.3.1.2 Family conflicts and socio-political conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● War and other socio-political conflicts
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Separation, divorce
4.3.2 Participants' perceptions and experiences of working conditions of child domestic workers	4.3.2.1 Working hours, time of rest and holiday	
	4.3.2.2 Tasks and remuneration	
4.3.3 Participants' perceptions and	4.3.3.1 Accommodation	

experiences of living conditions of child domestic workers		
	4.3.3.2 Health and safety	
	4.3.3.3 Social life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●Relationship (communication, threats, punishment, compensation...)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●Leisure and sports or play
	4.3.3.4 Spiritual life	
4.3.4 Participants' perceptions and experiences of children's needs and rights	4.3.4.1 Children's Needs and Rights of development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●Physical development (Child growth)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●Mental development (education)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●Emotional development
4.3.5 Participants' expectations about child domestic workers wellbeing and Suggestions to discourage child domestic work	4.3.5.1 Expectations about the well-being of child domestic workers	
	4.3.5.2 Suggestions to discourage child domestic work	

4.3.1 Theme One: Participants' perceptions and experiences of factors motivating child domestic work

This question-theme was intended to explore the participants' life experiences as reasons for entering domestic work. The following categories of themes emerged from the data analysis.

4.3.1.1 Poverty

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP: 1996) define poverty as follows: *It is the inability to meet basic nutritional, health, educational, shelter, social and recreational needs.* This definition seems to be incomplete.

Similarly, the Bakhit, Münkner, Von Rarensburg and Walter (1996) definition, which is seen in the context of “*Structural mass poverty*”, refers to an economy bounded by the productivity of the constrained factors, i.e., “*Land*”. In such an “*organic economy*”, the dependence upon organic raw materials for food, clothing, housing, fuel for traditional industry and transportation is seen as the main reason behind this structural mass poverty (Bakhit et al. 1996: 25). However, these definitions also seem to be incomplete because they do not include all elements of poverty in all contexts. Thus, poverty cannot be seen in a mechanical perception as lack of income because it is an extremely complex issue.

The researcher’s preferred description of poverty is that which was formed by the participants of the UN world summit for social development in Copenhagen in 1995. Poverty was defined here as having multidimensional aspects:

“Poverty has various manifestations, including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity from illness, homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion. Poverty is also characterized by lack of participation in decision-making, civil, social and cultural life...” (United Nations report, March 1995: 41).

This description of poverty as proposed by the participants in the United Nations summit (1995) refers to both *lack of basic needs* as well as structural mass poverty, and was therefore adopted for the purpose of the analysis.

It has been mentioned that lower family income and poor education lead to chaotic family and disorganized and unstructured environments (Bornstein & Bradley, 2003). Thus, poverty was targeted as the main factor in pushing children into the labour market.

Poverty in Rwanda is a real and very sensitive issue insofar as more than 60% (UNDAF-Rwanda, 2001) of Rwandan citizens are living below the poverty line. Various researchers have realized that poverty transgresses children's rights of access to health care, education, etc. Mbugua (1997) cited in Mulinge (2002) argued that poverty enhances the maltreatment of children by undermining the capacity of poor families to provide for their members economically.

- **Lack of basic needs**

The Maslow's hierarchy of needs describes needs in five levels. The first level concerns the basic life needs, and is named "*physiological*" including air, food, drink, shelter, warmth, sleep, clothes, etc. (Simons, Irwin & Drinnien, 1987). The analysis indicated that child domestic workers perceive the conditions of poverty to be the main cause of entering the job market. In this regard, participants stated that children withdrew from schooling early because of lack of basic needs and because their parents were not able to feed them. One child domestic participant stated this as follows:

...I withdrew attending class three years ago because my parents were not able to pay my uniform and school fee. Teachers often blaming or even expelling me from school because I didn't wear uniform and or didn't yet pay school fee.

Another participant stated

...I never been at school because my parents died early, and I didn't have any other person to support and send me to school... my grandparents are disabled and very poor.

- **Inadequate housing**

Participants asserted unanimously that their family shelters were of low standard;

... Our house is among the lowest standard in the village... walls are not covered of cement... even on the floor there is no cement... However the roof is in metal sheets.

Another child stated:

...My family is living in a very small house... a traditional house! ... A hut!

- **The shortage of arable land**

As indicated in the discussion in the setting, Rwanda is a country where the current population is estimated at about eight million, of which 94% live in rural areas by subsistence agriculture. The density of the population per unit of arable land reaches nine persons per hectare in some areas (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2000). Insufficiency, drought and sterility of land in some rural areas are of the indicators of poverty (UNDAF- Rwanda, 2001:5) which, in fact are also among the main reasons that children enter the job market. Most participants asserted that their parents possessed very small plots of land, and that they were working because they hoped to buy their own plot of land later. They said:

... Our family possesses a very small plot of land ...it cannot produce enough...

and:

...My family cultivates a very small plot of land, not sufficient to feed our whole family.

... Each end month I save a part of my salary hoping to buy my own plot of land later.

Some of the participants did say that in favourable seasons their land could produce enough to feed all family members:

...I am coming from Bugesera region where drought is high according to the seasons...we possess an arable land of more than two hectors, and it is enough to feed the whole family in favorable seasons.

This statement introduces the effects of unfavourable environment as another factor of poverty which consequently pushes children into the job market.

- **Underemployment linked to the shortage of arable land**

With regard to underemployment due to the size of arable plots of land and lack of diversity of occupations, poverty increases in rural areas. Most participants were saying:

... Our arable plot of land is so small that after finishing to cultivate it, my mother and elder sisters managed to hire another plot or to get someone to cultivate for in return pays each of them Frw 300 (US \$ 0.5) per day.

All interviewed children stated that their families were living in rural areas and that their parents' main occupation was subsistence agriculture and animal livestock. However, as it is mentioned above, the shortage of arable land often accompanied by drought in some regions, leads to chronic poverty (UNDAF-Rwanda, 2001:5). Consequently, some rural children choose to dropout of school and opt for looking for work.

- **Lack of participation in decision-making**

As mentioned by World Bank (2001), a sustainable development needs to involve people giving them voice and the responsibility of decision-making in their own development. To support this assertion, Sam Lord's Castle (2001) suggests that the preparation of integrated plans and the full involvement of civil society in conceptualization, planning and decision-making is a direct means of placing the expertise and experience of the people in the greatest need, at the service of their own development. Thus, the lack of participation and involvement of the owners in decision-making, planning and implementation, leads to their impoverishment (World Bank, 2001).

Within the context of this case study lack of participation in decision-making concerned children's privation of the right of having a say about studying or entering the job market and managing their salary. Although some child domestics willingly contributed financially to their family income, they were not happy that their salaries were managed by their parents or guardians in complicity with their employers without their own consent. This is illustrated in the following narratives:

...it is my aunt who brought me here...and each end of month she collects my salary and sends it to my mother...

and:

...My stepmother obliged me to work for her friend who was studying... finally she brought me here to serve her sister...

The feeling of most, however, was summed up as follows:

...You know, after leaving from school because of lack of school fee and uniform, I felt obliged to join one of my peers who was already working...it was my last option of surviving.

Despite low income, parents, relatives or guardians are not allowed to abuse, neglect and/or exploit their children. Article 16 of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and Article 19 of CRC protect children against any kind of abuse and neglect, while Articles 15 of AC and 32 of CRC stipulate that every child must be protected from all forms of economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or that interferes in the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development (OAU, 1999; UNCRC, 1989).

- **Social discrimination and exclusion**

According to Silan (2002) *social discrimination* is about power relations and social status. It is about the unjust treatment of those who have lower status and less power by those who have more power and higher status in society. It is about the rich exploiting the poor. It is about curtailment or denial of rights of persons on the ground of their social status or race or origin. In a similar context, the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights (2002) defines discrimination as follows:

“Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference which is based on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political, or

other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status and which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by all persons, on an equal footing, of all rights and freedoms.”

In this study, social discrimination and exclusion are seen in the sense and context of gender. It has been revealed that in the most traditional African cultures boys enjoyed more privileges than their sisters. Since Europeans initiated the civilization based on schooling in Sub-Saharan Africa, boys were automatically allowed the privilege of studying. Thus, as Silan (2002) argued, when researchers talk of *discrimination and child domestic work*, what immediately comes to their mind is *gender discrimination or discrimination against girls*. Girl children by virtue of their lower status are often kept at home to take care of their siblings while their parents do their best to send their sons to school.

The following narratives captured the social discrimination in relation to gender and poverty:

...After divorcing with my mother, my father privileged only my young brother of schooling ... he was often saying that a good future mother must be excellent in household chore...

...I started working after his remarriage in order to contribute to the schooling of my brother ... my stepmother advised him to involve me in domestic work in order raise family income...

... My father was not among poor people in the village...Anyway; he was among the best in the village!

UNICEF (1998: 4) estimated that the majority of child domestics are girls and concluded that the predominance of girls in child domestic work reflects a traditional attitude that

household chores are women's work. Much research indicates that girls are kept in for their protection, and also because they have limited job options outside of the house.

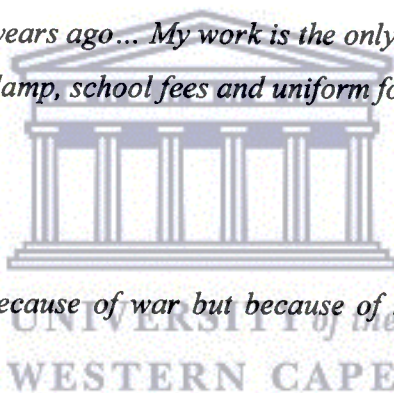
- **Ill health and Unsafe environment**

Diseases such as HIV/AIDS can contribute to child work (UNICEF-Kenya, 2001:63). Some of the interviewed child domestic workers were orphaned when one or both parents died because of what they called natural death. For them, dying because of disease is a natural death. Hence, they have been working because their father/mother or orphaned siblings needed their financial support, especially in paying for school needs and feeding their siblings. One of the orphans said:

...I am working in order to assist my mother who is alone... My father was always unhealthy; he died early, four years ago... My work is the only way we have to get money for purchasing salt, sugar, oil-lamp, school fees and uniform for my siblings.

Another stated:

...My both parents died not because of war but because of natural death...because of diseases...



4.3.1.2 Family conflicts and socio-political conflicts

As indicated in Chapter Two, the family is a major component in the life of each individual. United Nations (1987:5) states that its presence is a precondition for the growth of the individuals, just as its *absence* is often the cause of a *destabilizing void*.

- **Divorce and separation**

In the last decade, the socio-political conflicts in Rwanda as well as family conflicts can be ranged among factors motivating children to opt for working instead of studying. Family separation or divorce due to family conflicts is common in most societies and most of the time children do not get along well with their stepmothers (Berk, 1997:564). In developing countries, especially in Eastern Central Africa, Asia and Oceania,

polygamy is culturally allowed and children are often victimized and affected by its effects such as family troubles and parents' instability (Al-Krenawi & Ben, 2000). In this case study, participants illustrated similar phenomenon:

...My mother has divorced when I and my brother were very young children... then my father remarried...

As this child was relating in one of the above sections, her stepmother pushed her to work for her friend, and three years later she was sent to serve the stepmother's sister who lived in Kigali city, where the researcher found her. In addition, she was obliged to send her stepmother an amount of money each month and keep another part to support her brother's schooling.

Another child stated that his father abandoned them and joined one of his wives. Regrettably, the child related this as follows:

...You know my father sent me working here in order to get money for feeding my siblings... he abandoned us and joined one of his wives... Yah! He has many wives, and people call him the Taurus of the village.

Divorce as well as separation contribute to family instability and consequently to child abuse and neglect. Clarke & Barrington (1999) asserted that people divorce for a variety of reasons, for example, socio-demographic factors such as young age at marriage; teenage pregnancy; previous partnership breakdown and low income (Diduck, 2003:54). Regarding the problem of divorce as well as other social conflicts, Mwiti (1997) argued that children who develop in *chaotic home environments* might suffer permanent reduction of their intellectual potentiality. In turn this can lead to youthful delinquency or child labour.

- **Socio-political conflicts and war**

Most child workers are orphans of one parent or both because of war or other socio-political conflicts such as civil war and genocide. As asserted in literature, the peak level of violence in Rwanda occurred during the war and the genocide in 1994, and this has contributed the most to family disturbance. It is well known that, children's well-being and development depend on the security of family relationships and a predictable environment. In this regard, International Save the Children Alliance (ISCA, 1996:3) states that war especially civil war destroys homes, splinters communities and breaks down trust among people, undermining the very foundations of children's lives.

In this regard, some participants indicated that they lost their parents because of war and that they are obliged to work for survival. This is indicated in the following terms:

My parents died because of war... then my grandparents fostered me, but later they sent me here for working...

A neighbour who participated in the study said:

...This child has lost all her family members during the war of 1994; this man who was abusing her was among the trustful people in this cell and this was the reason why he was chosen as her guardian...

War, as well as other sociopolitical conflicts, contributes to child domestic work as well. Due to the war and genocide of 1994, Rwandan children have experienced the effects of the absence of one parent or both. Thus, children experience parental absence in different ways. Glen et al. (2001:14) argues that among the effects that often follow the absence of a parent there are “anxiety”; “sleep difficulty”; “social isolation”; “self reproach”; “poverty”; “school problems”; “children in centres”; “working children”; “street children phenomenon”; “child sexual abuse at workplace and/or child prostitution”; “child headed households”, and “children living with foster families”.

4.3.2 Theme two: Participants' perceptions and experiences of working conditions of child domestic workers

As mentioned in Chapter One, the broader notion of *child work* differs from *child labour*, the latter being limited only to children's works that are harmful and hazardous to children. *Child work* refers to all jobs performed by children without any exception. It includes beneficial works such as part-time jobs or periodic jobs which allow children to attend school (Boyden et al., 1998:19). *Child labour* on the contrary, refers to work done by kids full-time under the age of 15. It includes work that prevents children from attending school, such as unlimited or unrestricted domestic work; and work that is dangerous and hazardous to their physical, mental or emotional health (ILO report, 1996).

In all societies, children work in one way or another. Various researchers assert that work by children can be an essential part of the socialization process and a means of transmitting acquired skills from parent to child. In developing countries, children are naturally involved in household chores, assisting their parents in various family tasks (Mwiti, 1997:50-55; Gose, 2002:60-61; Boyden et al.1998: 57; Blagbrough & Glynn, 1999:52 and Nieuwenhuys, 1996). In Rwanda, especially in rural areas, children help at home in fetching water, bringing firewood, baby-sitting (girl's tasks), rearing goats or sheep, etc (MIFOTRA report, 2000)

4.3.2.1 Working hours, rest and holiday

It is stipulated in the Rwandan Official Bulletin...Ministerial order No 15/19, Article (1, 2, 3 and 8) of 13 June 2003, that the maximum average weekly working period is 40 hours (art.1). Thus, the maximum daily working period from Monday to Friday is 8 hours (art.2). It is also stipulated in article 8 of the same Ministerial Order that any public agent working permanently additional hours will get inclusively a monthly allowance of Frw 9000 (Prime Ministry cabinet, 2003).

UNICEF (1998:5) indicates that apart from the fact that child labour and child work under the age of 18 should not be allowed; there are no specified hours or tasks allocated to child domestic workers. They do what their employer asks them to do at any time of the day or night. Child domestics work an average of 15 hours per day, seven days a week, and are generally on-call day and night.

Most of interviewed child domestics stated that they worked 14 hours per day. One of them worked 18 hours five days a week. These children were exposed to permanent tiredness and stress. Participants relate their feelings of working such long hours as: *confused, uncomfortable and unhappy*. Participants stated the following:

...I am extremely confused and unhappy but I cannot leave this work and go back home for fear of the beatings by my father or my stepmother...

...It is later after that my parents realized that I was extremely maltreated.

...my employer obliges me to stay inside the enclosure ...even if I receive a visitor I am not allowed to accompany him/her...

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Regarding *holiday* and *rest* it is recommended that every employee may enjoy the right to this need. In the Rwandan code of labour of 1999 (MIFOTRA, 2002), workers have minimum daily rest periods of more than 12 consecutive hours per period of 24 hours. The minimum annual paid holiday is six weeks. Thus, child workers may enjoy the same rights as adult workers. Unfortunately, child domestic workers do not take advantage of holiday or rest. They are unlawfully obliged to work more than 14 hours a day without rest. They might enjoy the rights to holiday and rest as stipulated in the local labour law, but unfortunately, the child domestic workers who participated in this research noticeably lacked this right. Therefore, as various theories assert, the effects of lack of holiday and rest can increase stress and lead to ill health (European Union, 1994).

All interviewed child workers were deprived of the permission to visit their parents, relatives or friends. Most of them stated that they send money at home via a third person. They related it as follows:

... I am obliged to stay here... even at the end of month, I send the provisions and money by my aunt, however sometimes my father come himself or sends one of my siblings.

...since I arrived here there is almost a year, I never return back home. It is my sister or my aunt who always come to collect my salary and take it to my mother....

4.3.2.2 Tasks and remuneration

To understand at which point children employed in domestic works were exploited, here are the household tasks a child domestic worker is supposed to accomplish. The following participant captured the message reflecting most participants' narratives:

...My first employer was paying me Frw 3500 (US \$ 6). It was more than the present salary, but the difference with the first one, is that I was working from 5:00 AM to 11:00 PM (18 hours), and the tasks I was accomplishing was extremely lot and diverse. It was like looking after a young child; cooking tea at 6:00 AM and meal at 10:00 AM and in the evening at 5:00 PM; feeding 3 cows with grasses cut by myself at 7:00 AM and 6:00 PM, drawing water for cows at 1:00 PM; feeding the young child; cleaning house and sweeping ground; bathing the child and washing clothes; and waiting for the bosses during the night because the father was working at 43 kilometers from his home and the mother studied at 20 kilometers from home. Except the weekend, they usually arrived at 11:00 PM and left early morning at 6:00 AM and 7:00 AM respectively.

UNICEF (1998:5) adds to these tasks, shopping, ironing of clothes for the family, escorting employers' children to and from school and carrying their bags.

This child left the first employer when her stepmother realized that she was being *exploited*. She was then sent to another employer, the stepmother's sister who lived in

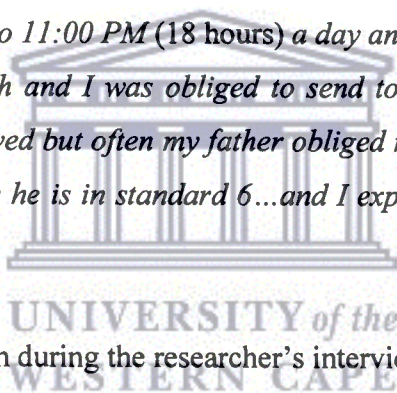
Kigali, where the researcher found her. This and similar situations according to the researcher merit particular and careful attention.

One of the participants for example stated that he has been working for two years and only got Frw 2000 (US \$3.5) per month. He said:

...I work from 5:00 AM to 8:00 PM (15 hours) per day and I am paid only Frw 2000 a month for this tiring domestic works...

Another child stated that with her first employer it was horrible. Besides working hard, she could not enjoy her salary. She described it as follows:

I was working from 5:00 AM to 11:00 PM (18 hours) a day and I was just paid Frw 3500 equivalent of US\$ 6 per month and I was obliged to send to my stepmother Frw 2000 (US\$ 3.5), the balance was saved but often my father obliged me to pay everything to my brother who is studying...Now he is in standard 6...and I expect to pay for him until he finishes his secondary school.



These statements were common during the researcher's interviews. Most of children were obliged to send the greater part of their salary at home as a contribution to family income. Some of them, however, were not happy about the family decision. A 14 year-old boy, for example, with a salary of Frw 3000 (US\$ 5) stated that his aunt would collect his full salary and send it to his mother at each end of month. The young boy related it in the following terms:

...this is not fair, even if my mother is poor, I also need to pay clothes, shoes or other thing of my choice".

Interestingly, another participant was that she doesn't know what her salary is. All arrangements have been decided between her parents and the employer without her consent. This child was sad and unhappy.

She said:

...you know, I cannot ask them about my salary, because my parents are informed and they know how to get it (salary). ...The first day they brought me here, the employer told me that my salary would be saved and sent to my parents two or three months after...

In Wikipedia (2004) *exploitation* refers to the use of people as a resource, with little or no consideration of their well-being. It is seen often as a socio-economic phenomenon where poor people are exploited for their labours in service of a powerful entity, such as a state or a corporation. The use of the word 'exploitation' is a common, humanist characterization of the work for pay system, when it is applied with cruelty, or with compulsion, or in terms that are disagreeable to the employee. In Marxian theory, "*exploitation*" is usually called "*superexploitation*". Exploitation that goes beyond the normal standards of exploitation prevalent in capitalist society (Wikipedia. (2004).

According to Ben Best (2004) "*exploitation*" refers to one person or group taking "*unfair*" advantage of another. The capitalist takes advantage of the hunger of the worker. The computer salesman takes advantage of the ignorance of the customer. The monopolist takes advantage of the absence of competition to charge what the market will bear. The advertiser takes advantage of the impressionability of the masses.

In most cases, children are used and exploited all over the world - especially in extremely poor nations - to manufacture the products of multinational companies for little relative pay. This pay is often insufficient for the local cost of living if any normal working hours are observed, and frequently long working hours are forced under unsafe conditions. However, what beats all is that, in turn, most of the proletarians described above exploit other powerless groups (Ben Best, 2004). This refers to many cases found in the field, when middle class and even poor people exploit vulnerable children in domestic works.

Boyden et al. (1998:27-28) and Berk (1997:26) mentioned that despite the differences due to cultural diversity, children all over the world also have much in common. This refers to their *physical* and *mental development*. Whatever the standard of living, children

are affected when abused or exploited. However, most economically exploited children are from poor and illiterate families. In most, if not all African cultures, individuals don't believe that children under the age of eighteen should work at all. Children at school age and above can help their parents through *light tasks* (Blagbrough & Glynn, 1999). They are always obliged to help with household chores such as fetching water, washing dishes, or looking after their younger siblings when they arrive home from school. This is the way by which children learn more about their own communities and prepare themselves for the responsibilities of adult's life. On the other hand, the work that prevents children from attending school with the aim of working for a wage, other than working for his/her own parents, is characterized as child labour. Child labour becomes *exploitative* when in addition to non-schooling, a child works long hours, does things that are harmful to her/his health, and/or is exposed to all other kinds of works likely to endanger her/him physically, emotionally and psychologically.

As aforementioned in Wikipedia (2004), economic exploitation refers to the use of people as a resource with little or no consideration of their well-being. This refers to the act of exploiting unfairly, cruelly or selfishly for one's own advantage. ILO (2004:17) reports that a very sensitive example is bondage, serving as soldier, and human trafficking. The latter type of exploitation is in most cases carried out by relatives or their own parents. The ILO (2002) in UNICEF UK (2003:6) classifies children's economic activity into five types:

- Work excluded from minimum age legislation. *This would include simple household chores; work in family undertakings and work undertaken as part of education, for example. This is not considered "child labour".*
- Light work. *This would include work in the household or on the family farm that is compatible with schooling, usually less than 14 hours per week. This may be permissible for children aged below 12 or 13. For children below 12 years, however, this would count as "child labour".*

- Non-hazardous work. *This would include for example, working in relatively safe environments such as shops or offices. This might be done by children aged 15 or older and would count as “child labour” only for children below the national minimum age of employment.*
- Hazardous work. *This would include using dangerous equipment or chemicals, for example. This is “child labour” for any person under 18.*
- Unconditional worst forms of child labour. *This would include debt bondage, trafficking, children serving as soldiers and prostitution. This is “child labour” for any person under 18.*

Considering the particularity of each kind of work and the diversity of working conditions, most works do not appear amongst these five categories described here above. It didn't mention for example any sub-category of the worst form of child labour in which girl domestics are raped by their employers or employer's family members or where those who work more than fifteen hours per day without rest are mentioned.

ILO's categorization does not reflect all types of child labour. There are various other intermediate types of child labour/work. The researcher can, for example, insert child domestic workers of 15 years and younger between types (3) and (5). It would be unfair if a child domestic worker of 13 or 14 years, who wakes up at 5:00 AM everyday and finishes at 11:00 PM without rest be found in category (3) where children are supposed to be working in safe environments. It would be better if the ILO formulates a step-by-step exhaustive categorization.

Concerning *remuneration*, the researcher received information from a human resources manager in the Ministry of labour and public services indicating that the minimum monthly wage in Rwanda varies according to the sector and the kind of work, between US \$25 (15,000 Frw) and US \$50 (30,000 Frw) per month.

With regard to Rwandan children involved in domestic works because of the aforementioned factors (mainly for assisting their family's income) some stated that their salary couldn't cover their own needs or those of their family. According to some of the participants, the salary of child domestic workers varies from Frw 2,000 (equivalent to about US \$3.5) to Frw 3,000 (equivalent to US \$ 5). Referring to the cost of living in Rwanda, their salary cannot even meet the basic needs of the family. Most of them stated that their salary serves only for buying salt, sugar and lamp oil.

Through the above narratives, participants express a kind of *powerlessness*. Relatives or parents tend to intimidate them, taking advantage of their powerlessness. Theories relating to the concept of powerlessness show that it can be seen from different angles. Messina and Messina (2004) define powerlessness as the complete lack of control, authority, or status to affect how others will treat or act towards you. Parenti (1978:64) considers powerlessness to be the inability to get one's needs or wants (the social desiderata) and the inability to influence others effectively in the way of furthering one's own interests. In modern western societies, social desiderata can include autonomy of choice in personal affairs; - opportunities for participation in social affairs, opportunities for recreations, learning, self-development, and self-esteem, - freedom for exploitative and degrading labor, etc (Parenti, 1978:64). Therefore, the experiences of intimidation and exploitation of these child domestic workers by their own parents and relatives on the one hand, and employers on the other, can influence their behaviour and lead to aggressiveness and other kinds of brutality.

4.3.3 Theme three: Participants' perceptions and experiences of living conditions of child domestic workers

4.3.3.1 Accommodation

Dictionaries define *accommodation* as a place for someone to stay, live or work in. According to Soanes & Stevenson (2003), accommodation refers to room and suitable provision for the reception of people, entertainment and lodging.

In the context of this study, the situation in which child domestic workers were living, the environment in which they were sleeping and how they were fed is presented.

Child workers revealed that their place of sleeping was uncomfortable. They mentioned for example, that they were sleeping on a traditional carpet or sacks in the sitting room, in the kitchen or store, although, some of them were sleeping with the young children or babies they were rearing. These participants described their conditions of sleeping as follows:

... I sleep in a room where all things are stored, and on an old traditional carpet... sometime it is very cold!

... I sleep in the kitchen on sacks and cover my body with an old blanket...

Through observation the researcher noticed that the place of sleeping of these child domestic workers was uncomfortable and unsafe. The kitchen mentioned above, was a small house in which firewood is used to cook. It is full of wood, ash and dust, and without window. In short an unsafe environment. Further comments concerning these children's sleeping arrangements are as follows:

...there is no bed...but I sleep on a mattress laid on the floor with old blankets... in a small room... a store!

...I sleep in the dining room on a traditional carpet...I cannot sleep profoundly...

... In the kitchen where I sleep, it is not cold...it is unsafe!

Concerning food, except one of the participants, who was often deprived of provisions for cooking during the absence of his boss, other participants were satisfied of their food. However, they were not allowed to share the same meal at the same table with the employer's children. They were only allowed to eat after everyone else had finished, and after clearing the table.

Participants stated:

... I am often very hungry... I have always to clean the table between one and two ... and then eat at two or later.

...I am not allowed to share the meal with other children on the same table. ...Normally, I stay in the kitchen where I get mine (meal).

UNICEF, through its report (1998:5), emphasizes that sleeping and eating arrangements typically separate child domestic workers from other members of the household and reinforce their inferiority. In Peru, for example, a young child domestic worker reported how she had to eat different lower-quality food than her employer's family. At breakfast she had to serve the family and complete a number of tasks before being allowed to eat. In Bangladesh, child domestic workers rarely have a place of their own to sleep in. They are expected to sleep in any available space such as the kitchen floor or on the floor of their employers' children bedroom.

4.3.3.2 Health and safety

Health is a state of complete physical, mental, social and spiritual well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity (WHO, 2004). This definition refers to health in general. However, individuals are differently exposed to several diseases which could damage their health. Wallace (2004) groups health and safety damage in the workplace in two categories:

- Biological and physical harms including diseases such as HIV/AIDS, STIs, TB, cold, humidity, dust, pollution, and
- Stress and violence at workplace including bullying, harassment, verbal threats and abuse.

Various researchers highlighted that girls are more exposed to the risk of HIV and STIs infection in the workplace, than boys. They are subjected to sexual abuse by their

employers, other workers, or the employer's family members and may risk contracting HIV/AIDS (HRW, 2001). Most of the child domestic workers interviewed stated that they did not receive medical care when they were ill. Most of them asserted that they only got tablets and were never sent to hospitals or doctors for better treatment. The employer's children, however, were immediately sent to see a doctor even if they only had the flu or a headache.

During the interview the researcher encountered an exceptional case when he met girl who was working for her foster family. Instead of being protected, this fostered child, though considered to be an employee, was also sexually abused by her foster father, a person who was supposed to protect her. This kind of situation disturbs children's personalities and makes them psychosocially vulnerable.

The researcher interviewed this child at the police station where with witnesses she was waiting to be questioned. She was embarrassed during the interview and she couldn't talk spontaneously. She was ashamed of the incident and couldn't talk about it. The researcher persisted until she finally answered. However, she decided only to talk about her background.

The researcher then approached her witnesses. A neighbour stated that the child was always ashamed of having been sexually abused and could not play with her peers. She said:

...I am telling you this child have experienced a dirty situation; it is not common in this area, even in our culture. Normally an adoptee is a child like yours, you cannot consider her as your wife or a sex worker... it is painful I swear to God!

...You know that man was using this child as assistant in his pub. First he stated that the child was not intelligent, and that she was the most stupid in her classes since first year (grade one), thus, he pushed her to withdraw from school, then after he started to use her in his pub, but later we realized that he was forcing her to sexual act...

Child sexual abuse is becoming common in Sub-Saharan Africa, in Rwanda and in Southern Africa. Member of the Executive Committee for safety and security (MEC) and the South African press reports (2001) in Linda et al. (2004:43) that child sexual abuse has increased because of the myth that sex with a virgin is a cure for HIV/AIDS. Through ignorance and lack of information about HIV/AIDS, this could be one of the factors of high incidence of child sexual abuse in these countries.

Concerning the effects of the places in which interviewed children were living, as related in previous sections, uncomfortable accommodation can cause child workers to contract other kind of diseases such as pneumonia, rheumatism, asthma, flu or skin and respiratory diseases caused by cold, dust, humidity, and pollution.

With regard to the stress and violence in the workplace, most children were threatened, harassed, scolded, insulted and humiliated, intimidated, marginalized and beaten by their employers or employer's family members. This kind of maltreatment leads to anxiety, low self-esteem and depression, lack of concentration and consequently unsuccessful adulthood. Participants expressed their feelings as follows:

... you know, I left the first employer because she was always beating me even in case of an insignificant error... I could not work in good atmosphere.

... everybody, even young children insult me...just to humiliate me...

... young children often imitate their parents when insulting or scolding me. They say for example that I am a "good-for-nothing", "dirty" and so on

This kind of abuse traumatizes children and affects their personalities (Herman, 1994:96).

With regard to 'good self – esteem', Katz (1995) states that it is a 'good feeling' about oneself. The author argues that in young children, self - esteem is the extent to which they expect to be accepted and valued by the adults and peers who are important to them.

Children with a healthy sense of self-esteem feel that the important adults in their lives accept them, care about them, and would go out of their way to ensure that they are safe and well. They feel that those adults would be upset if anything happened to them and would miss them if they were separated. Children with low self-esteem, on the other hand, feel that the important adults and peers in their lives do not accept them, do not care about them very much, and would not go out of their way to ensure their safety and well-being.

According to Mwiti (1997:91), some child workers have their sense of worth shattered through exploitation and abuse. Many of them are mistreated and denied basic amenities such as food, clothing and a comfortable place to sleep. Many work for employers who can afford a good life style for themselves and their children while the child worker is deliberately discriminated against and belittled. Consequently, the continual proclamation that *'you are worthless, dirty, have no table manners, cannot even sweep right, are eating baby's food'* makes the child feel totally worthless and inferior. The author adds that these feelings are made stronger by the fact that this child - takes the verbal abuse personally - works long hours for little pay - may never physically handle the money she has laboured for because her parents or relatives collect it at the end of every month - may cook her own poor quality food because she is not good enough to eat what she has cooked for the rest of the family (Mwiti, 1997).

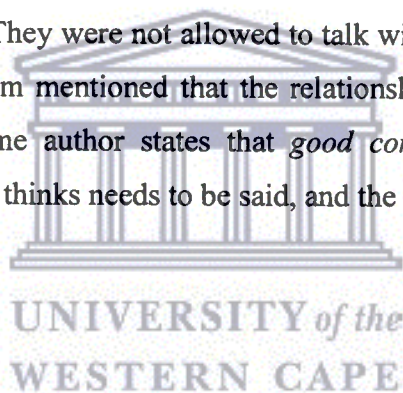
4.3.3.3 Social life

Human beings are supposed to live in communities, socialize, and have relationships with others. National Child Abuse (2004) has demonstrated that social isolation and bad relationships with others can increase stress and consequently lead to illness. To cope with stress and illness, people need to devote their free time to sport, recreation and leisure. Researchers have revealed that social abilities allow people to thrive in relationships, feel relaxed, and become better friends, workers and citizens. Child workers are excluded from the effects of recreation, play and leisure and consequently cultivate bad relationships in their immediate environment.

▪ **Relationship**

Relationship refers to the way or situation in which two or more people or groups behave towards each other. Relationship refers to respect, open communication, and trust. The Wallace study states that healthy relationships might include respect for differing beliefs, open communication about feelings, and trust that each person can rely on the other. This author asserts in addition that, Good communications are characterized by love, happiness, and closeness. Otherwise, they will be "bad" and lead to sadness, anger, grief, and alienation (Wallace, 2003).

Most child participants complained that there was a bad relationship with employers' family members. This would mean that there is bad communication or no reciprocal communication between them because child workers are not allowed to speak, especially when he or she is threatened. They were not allowed to talk with anyone, and some were beaten. However, some of them mentioned that the relationships with their employer's family were normal. The same author states that *good communication* is when the speaker can say what he or she thinks needs to be said, and the listener can listen and hear what is being said.



Participants stated:

...I am always scolded, insulted and even beaten...

...I am scolded and sometimes they spit in my face...

On the other hand, one participant indicated that her employer could punish her like her own child and that the atmosphere between her and other household members was nice:

...In case of committing an error, they punish me like their own child.

...with the first employer, the relationships were characterized by unhappiness, because I was always insulted and disdained.

This participant left her first employer because she was threatened, beaten and enslaved. As mentioned, she worked 18 hours per day during five days a week. It was only during the weekend that she could work 14 hours or less. Unfortunately, as she said, her employers have never recognized her sacrifice.

The relationship between child domestic workers and employer's family members was characterized by *unhappiness* and *depression* due to *mistrust*, *exploitation* and *disdain*.

In this regard, Wallace (2004) defines depression as a feeling of sadness that makes people think there is no hope for the future. The author states however that if someone has not suffered from depression, or does not know anyone who suffered from it, it can be difficult to appreciate what it is like. This emphasized this as follows:

"We can all feel fed up, miserable or sad after a distressing personal loss".

The symptoms of someone in the workplace who may be depressed are: *fatigue; unhappiness; excessive forgetfulness; irritability; crying spells; indecisiveness; lack of enthusiasm and withdrawal.*

In this regard Mwiti (1997:93) asserts that the causes of depression include *emotional neglect whereby the child can no longer trust or love. Spontaneous laughter and childhood fun slowly disappear. The experience has snubbed the innocence and spontaneity of childhood. Self-expression and assertion fail to develop adequately.*

In the workplace, especially in domestic works, children are also *depressed* somehow. As mentioned, child domestic workers were always *tired, unhappy* and *sad* because of *working long hours without rest, harassment, humiliation, degradation, disdain*, and as Cadet (2001) in ILO (2003) noticed, *exclusion*.

As indicated in Chapter Two people who are too poor to have domestic service can instead go to the country where most *resteavec* children come from, and find a child to perform all of their domestic tasks in the city. For richer people, *resteavec*s are not a status symbol - they are just useful and cheap. Unfortunately, continues the author, once

these children grow up, they are usually thrown out onto the streets. Many girls suffer sexual abuse and should become pregnant. They should either be thrown out and their children became second generation restavecs. Once on the street, with no education, no family and no hope, they turn to prostitution and crime.

As mentioned above the signs of *depression* in child domestic work are due to *abuse, threat* and *exploitation*. Pressure at work, especially if coupled with the demands of domestic and family commitments at a young age, increases the risk of *stress*. Among the interviewed child domestic workers, some of them presented the signs of *stress* through the following statements:

...sometimes I am confused; ...everybody in the family thinks he's my boss, children, their mother and even other relatives often call me to serve them at the same time, saying bring this and that or do this before doing any other thing...

With the first employer it was not easy to me caring of three children of respectively nine months, two years and three years and at the same time accomplish other household tasks such as washing clothes for the whole family, fetching water with a child on my back, cooking...and at the end of the month paying me only Frw 3000 (US\$ 5)...

Besides displeasure in the workplace this child as well as some other participants was also fascinated by the permanent poverty in her family. She said:

Besides displeasures I was haunted by the family problems...because of poverty and especially I was worry about my young siblings... they are often sick ... I am always obliged to send them a part of my salary and purchase them salt, lamp oil, sugar.

Other participants related the similar stories and referring to the theory of stress, it seems that most of the interviewed child domestic workers were stressed

▪ **Leisure, recreation and play**

According to Mull, Bayless, Ross and Jamieson (1997), the word *leisure* is derived from the Latin word *licere*, which means to be *free*. The essence of leisure appears to be freedom as experienced in free time. Leisure is a time in an individual's life apart from earning a living or doing biological self-maintenance. Leisure therefore, is a time span in which there is freedom of choice.

With regard to *recreation*, the same authors define it as a diversion from work, a retooling of energy for work, or a positive and socially acceptable leisure activity. Thus, recreation is seen as a leisure experience in which the choice and expected outcomes of participation are left to the individual (Mull et al., 1997:4).

Play according to various researches, is a crucial element in a child's life. In this regard, Tolfree (1996:54) highlights the importance of play arguing that '*play is vital factor in children's development, cognitively, emotionally and socially*'.

The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, CRC and other child advocacy organizations highlight the importance of play and rest in their statements. In article (12), paragraph (1) of AC for example, it is stated that:

States Parties recognize the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts.

Play facilitates children to recover from difficult experiences such as trauma, stress, or distress (Tolfree, 1996:54). It is a means by which children handle and work on experiences and tackle difficult problems. The author continues arguing that, although play, like the concept of childhood itself, is firmly rooted in culture, the importance of play transcends cultural variations. Williamson supports the idea of Tolfree (1996) stating that '*play for children is the major vehicle for expression of feelings and integration of difficult life experiences*'.

Children involved in domestic works need a time of play and rest for their psychosocial well-being. Play can allow children to cope with distress and stress caused by the harassment, disdain and humiliation endured by child domestic workers. Unfortunately, neither child workers nor employers recognize the importance of play, leisure or recreation in children's lives. An employer said:

...he came here for working not for visiting relatives or playing...otherwise he never claimed it and being refused that right.

While most children stated:

... I am not allowed to play, to visit my comrades or to go to church for prayer.

4.3.3.4 Spiritual life

In this research, participants' spiritual life was evoked when the researcher asked how participants experienced recreational and cultural activities. It was at this point that some participants took the opportunity to talk about the problem of their spiritual life. The literature says that spiritual life is important in human life especially when individuals need to restore moral and spiritual equilibrium (Soanes & Stevenson, 2003).

Soanes & Stevenson (2003) defines spiritual life in the sense of '*voluntary simplicity*' as a philosophy or way of life that rejects materialism in favour of human and spiritual values, and is characterized by minimal consumption, environmental responsibility, and community cooperation.

In the sense of '*soul*', spiritual life means the spiritual or immaterial part of a human being or animal, regarded as immortal, a person's moral or emotional nature or sense of identity.

Participants stated that their employers were not interested in their spiritual life as well as other activities such as leisure and recreation. They were not allowed to go to Church on Sundays. Their comments are as follows:

...I have never got the permission to any recreational or cultural activities...

... I am a Roman Catholic follower, but I have never got the permission to go to Church for a prayer.

...beside the refusal to visit my friends, they cannot even allow me to go to mass on Sunday.

... for me prayer is very important...you know! Since my very young age my parents were bringing and/or obliged us every Sunday to go to mass. But since I arrived here, I never got a chance to go to prayer.

4.3.4 Theme four: Participants' perceptions and experiences of children's needs and rights

4.3.4.1 Children's Needs and Rights of development

The questions regarding children's needs and rights were formulated in the sense that participants would become aware of the lack of fundamental needs and rights of child domestic workers in relation to their *education and protection against physical and emotional abuse*. In addition, the researcher's observation played a role in elucidating non-verbal child domestic workers' signs of lack of some needs and rights.

Therefore, participants said that they didn't know whether compulsory basic and free education was a right to all Rwandan children. They didn't know if Rwandan and international law forbade working at a young age; they didn't know if rest, holiday, recreational and cultural activities are among their rights whatever their social status; they didn't know their rights to expression, opinion, human dignity, freedom, well-being, they were not allowed to talk or reply in case of verbal or physical aggression.

Their primary concern was to work in any conditions in order to gain something to send to their family for survival.

In its article (5) paragraph (2) the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (OAU, 1999) stipulates, “*States Parties to the present Charter shall ensure, to the maximum extent possible, the survival, protection and development of the child*”. Development in this regard includes physical development or physical growth, mental development including education and right to information, and emotional development including happiness, development of warmth, empathy, self-awareness, etc.

- **Physical development (Child growth)**

The question’s goal was to explore the effects of lack of certain needs and rights on the physical development of child domestic workers.

During interviews, the researcher’s task was not only focused on verbal information, but also on child domestic workers’ physical build in comparison with other children of the same age who are not involved in child work. Chopra, Songaule, Jackson, Sanders, Karaolis, Ashworth and Mc Coy (2002) state that children cannot grow normally while he/she is malnourished, without primary health care, and living in unsafe conditions (Chopra et al., 2002). Children involved in domestic works are not excluded from these developmental constraints. They all come from very poor families, and are lacking in basic health needs.

The researcher met a thirteen year old girl who was carrying a jerrycan of 40 liters along a distance of at least 2 kilometers. This child said that she beside carrying that jerrycan four times a day, she also accomplished all other household tasks, and worked more than 14 hours a day without rest. ‘When I met her’, “the researcher said, *she was carrying a big jerrycan on her head, sweating and couldn’t answer my questions because of the weight of the jerrycan. She promised to answer my questions when she will be back*”. When the child came back she said that she couldn’t talk because of the weight of the

jerrycan. She stated that she was always suffering from headaches and further exhausted by the household chores she had to do.

Despite Berk's (1997:6) argument assuming that "*children everywhere follow the same sequence of development*", socio-economic constraints and other determinants of health may be considered. A malnourished child, without primary health care from a poor family rarely grows like a child whose parents are skilled with a higher level of socio-economic status, who lives in an atmosphere of happiness, love, and understanding, and who goes to school and plays, instead of working (Ennew & Milne, 1989). It was, for example, very difficult to appreciate the real age of child participants. A fifteen year old child worker looked like an employer's child of eight years.

- **Mental development (education)**

The questions on education and training focused on the right to education, the reasons of school abandonment, suggestions to cover child domestics' school needs and the possibilities of attending school after working hours or during the weekends.

All participants were not informed about children's right of education, especially child domestics. Some were ready to attend school if their family gets another source of income, otherwise they can attend evening class if their employers agreed. They said:

...I don't think about education right...

...I don't have any idea about rights of education.

One neighbour stated the following:

...I know that children must have rights to education, nationality, family, protection opinion and expression, etc.

A local authority also said:

...I sometimes hear radio broadcasting that children have rights to education, protection, and participation to the decision-making. The programme also advises community to advocate to every child especially those who are abused.

In this regard, African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (OAU, 1999) stipulates in its Article (11) that

- *Every child shall have the right to an education.*

The education of the child shall be directed to: *(a) the promotion and development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential; ...*

Referring to the above statements described in article (11) paragraph (1) and (2) of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (OAU, 1999), child domestic workers who participated in this research do not enjoy all their rights, especially the right of education. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, some participants have either never been at school or have never reached standard three. Findings showed that the main factors of withdrawing were poverty. Narratives illustrate how much poverty pushes relatives, parents or child workers themselves into underestimating children's right of education.

...I withdrew school when I was in standard 3 because my parents were poor, and could not pay me the school fee and uniform...

...after several years at home cultivating with my parents a neighbour's child who is also employed in Kigali city advised me to follow him. It was an opportunity to me to escape the hoe.

...since then my parents encourage me to continue working because I am also contributing to the family income.

...for me studying is not a priority, my concern is first is to see my siblings growing up!

All interviewed children involved in domestic works related the same kinds of stories based on the concepts of poverty and the lack of school fees and uniforms. However, others attributed the death of one or both parents as well as negligence of parents as the main cause of dropping out of school. The following was stated as an example of negligence:

After divorcing, my father remarried with another wife, my brother and I were very young children... At the age of starting primary school, my father has a habit of saying that "girl's education is not very necessary, you have to learn and organize household chores, and then you will be a nice mom" ... I started working at 11 years when my stepmother sent me to work for her friend who was studying and living at Gitarama (one the central province). ...This is how I lost my chance of attending school.

Concerning the question of allowing her to attend a professional evening school, she stated that if her employer agreed, she could learn without hesitation. She would like studying but she believed that her father and stepmother would not accept. She said however that she is more concerned with her brother's education:

...I am concerned with my brother's education. Now he is in standard 6 and I will continue to fund him, until he finishes his secondary school.

The following statement clarifies the employer's opinion of sending his child domestic to evening informal or professional school in no uncertain terms:

...no it is clear! The child came here looking for a job, not for studying... I give him what he needs! ... Tell me how did he working and attending school at the same time?

As article (11) mentions, children learn and are informed or trained in institutions like schools and churches...Therefore, if children do not attend school or church, watch television or listen to the radio, how could they become informed of any information concerning themselves, their community, their society and even their continent. A child without education is doomed to stay ignorant forever and this has a negative impact on

the child, his/her family and on their country. To prevent child neglect, Article (11) paragraph (3) of African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (OAU, 1999) stipulates the following:

“ States Parties to the present Charter shall take all appropriate measures with a view to achieving the full realization of this right and shall in particular:

provide free and compulsory basic education;

(d) take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of dropout rates;

(e) take special measures in respect of female, gifted and disadvantaged children, to ensure equal access to education for all sections of the community”.

Rwanda has ratified the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (OAU, 1999) as well as the United Nations Convention on Child Rights (UNCRC, 1989), so that it is obliged to implement them. Therefore, it is well mentioned in the General Rwandan policy, especially in its general objectives that it *“assures the access to free primary education as well as to continued education beyond basic primary education (including secondary and technical / vocational training)”* (MINALOC, 2003:10).

Regarding gender and education, UNESCO/FNCU (1995:168) states, *“the education of girls is limited to literacy, at best to primary education and /or domestic and agricultural training. The number of girls attending school drops as of the end of primary school and becomes minimum by the end of lower secondary school, even if their absolute number is on the rise”* (UNESCO, 1995). Elizabeth and Hill (1993) support UNESCO’s view arguing in the following terms: *“Factors that affect the percentage of girls who enroll in school are various; poverty, traditions and culture are the primary barriers which girls experience in school enrollment”*. This situation is mostly found in families with lower

income and/or less educated parents. Elizabeth and Hill (1993) illustrate this idea in the following terms:

“A family’s income is a great determinant of the probability that girls will attend school. If a family’s income is low, the son is often chosen to attend school rather than the daughter, as he is more likely to contribute financially to the family income and support their parents, as they grow old. Girls in such an environment are needed to help with household chores and childcare for younger siblings” Elizabeth and Hill (1993).

Regarding this issue, Boyden et al. (1998:273) has suggested that accommodating working children may entail considerable adjustment of school schedules. All of them simply cannot attend school daily for six to eight hours. They may be able to attend short courses, or shifts, however, or every other day or break-time classes, night classes or weekend schooling.

- **Emotional development**

Relating to emotional development participants indicated that they have experienced emotional abuse, insofar as most of them were scolded, insulted, treated with disdain, isolated, discriminated against, and sexually abused. The goal of this question is then to explore the perceptions and experiences of child workers with regard to the extent in which they were aware of emotional maltreatment, and how much they acknowledged the related rights of human dignity, honor and respect and child rights to “*Protection Against Child Abuse and Torture*” (Art. 16 of AC) and other related AC or UNCRC articles.

Emotional well-being is very important in child relationship with other people whatever his/her age. Various psychologists assert that a child who fails to develop close emotional relationships with his/her environment might have lasting difficulties in forming social relationships. I.e.: a child who is maltreated or living in a chaotic home environment may suffer permanent reduction in his/her intellectual potential (Krantz, 1994:80).

The researcher reached children of middle childhood stage (6 to 11 years old) and early adolescence, which are the two ages classified by Erikson. As mentioned in the introduction of this study, child participants were aged between 12 and 15 years, but, according to their narratives, most started working three or four years before, when they were younger than twelve years of age.

Referring to the literature in Chapter Two, Erikson (1968) stated that between the ages of six to eleven, children develop the capacity to work and cooperate with others. *Inferiority develops when negative experiences at home, at school, or with peers lead to feelings of incompetence and inferiority* (Berk, 1997:17). It seems that in the context of this study child participants were suffering from their feelings of incompetence and inferiority due to their working and living conditions. They therefore developed a kind of incapacity to cooperate and play with their peers. This can be illustrated through the statement during the interview with a 13 years old child domestic worker. She started working for the former employer two years before, but withdrew because of maltreatment. She said:

...with the first employer I was always insulted just for humiliating and degrading me...

Other participants stated

...I was always scolded and sometimes beaten by them"

..."after being scolded and harassed I felt unhappy...

...Sometimes I am scolded and even beaten ... I get angry with him, but I don't have any other choice, I am obliged to stay with him because my grandparents cannot tolerate me to stop working.

One of his neighbours also described the child worker's situation as follows:

...he is living in very critical life conditions. The barman who employs him doesn't have pity on this kid. He uses him but he doesn't care for him. He is indifferent to his life conditions. ... He never thinks of that child. He never take in consideration that the kid will need food while he is absent. It is us and other neighbours who feed him when his boss is absent. And most of time when he comes back he scolds, and even beat him when he commit a mistake such as sleeping until late in the morning, or makes mistakes in pouring beer in bottles.

This kind of emotional abuse can lead child workers into unhappiness which, in turn, leads them to lack self-esteem. Children become embarrassed when they are deprived of their prestige and honor. The consequences of these bad relationships between child workers and their employers lead children to isolation, and consequently unworthiness in their adulthood (Mwiti, 1997:92-93).

Erikson (1968) considers the next step, the stage of *puberty and adolescence* to be between the ages of from eleven and eighteen years. According to the author it is a stage of *intimacy versus identity diffusion*. At this stage the child tries to answer questions like: *Who am I? – and – What is my place in society?* Self-chosen values and vocational goals lead to a lasting personal identity. The *negative outcome is confusion about future adult roles* (Berk, 1997:15 -17).

The statements mentioned above show that child workers could lose hope for a better future; of finding an adequate place in society; or of being someone important in the eyes of other people. Maltreatment and exploitation break the development of their psychosocial well-being (Berk, 1997: 574).

The extreme case of hopelessness is found in raped child workers. The interviewed neighbour of one of the participants related how this child was repeatedly raped. The neighbour stated that the child was always *ashamed, avoided peers*, and seemed *traumatised*.

Mwiti (1997:93) argues that in later life, because the trust of sexually abused children has been broken, they turn to promiscuity. The author relates what an adult victim of childhood rape said in the following terms:

“One prostitute confesses that she was so angry with her abuser that she decided to punish all men by giving her body only and never her emotions”.

Other consequences are that abused children are unable to choose good husbands or maintain a happy married life (Mwiti, 1997).

With regard to knowledge of the rights to dignity, respect and emotional well-being, child participants seemed only to be aware of maltreatment and were not informed of their rights. One of the neighbours said that even if they were aware of their rights, they could not claim anything for fear of losing their job. He stated:

...You know, there is an association of domestics that tries to advocate for its members, but most of domestic workers use it just for looking for a job, and not for claiming any right, except of course when they are threatened and dismissed from their job without salary. In addition to that this association doesn't admit children of less than 16 years.

Employers however, may well be advised as to how they may treat their child workers for their psychosocial well-being, in order to prepare them for a better future, trust them, consider them as their own children, and allow them to attend formal or informal school.

4.3.5 Theme five: Participants' expectations about child domestic workers well-being and Suggestions to discourage child domestic work.

This theme of participants' expectations for the well-being of child domestic workers and/or suggestions to discourage child domestic work will be discussed in terms of *participants' plans* for how their working and living conditions should be improved; what

other options participants would suggest for their a better adulthood; and how child domestic work could be discouraged.

4.3.5.1 Expectations about the well-being of child domestic workers

Questions relating to expectations proved difficult for the children, though, some of the respondents expected to find career, i.e.: becoming a mechanic, or even mayor of their district. However, most were only expecting to save money to buy their own plot of land, goats or pigs. They said:

...I send a part of my salary to my family and I save Frw 500 (US\$1) each end of month, which will be used to buy my own plot of land...

...I always save a part of my salary at each end of month for buying goats and pigs later...

For these child domestic workers, studying was not important. They said, for example, that... *"being educated doesn't suppose automatically being rich"*. One of them explained:

...people who are working here around in administration are educated but they are not rich if we compare them with businessmen.

When the researcher asked this participant how he knew if the said businessmen were not educated, he cited some examples of successful local businessmen:

... for example X, Y and Z... are illiterates but they are very rich!

When the researcher asked who the source of that information was, he was told that it had been the child's friends. The researcher also asked him if his salary was enough to become rich on, or reduce family poverty. The reply was:

...my salary is not enough to be rich but it can happen by chance...also it can happen if I get a better salary...

Yet, neighbours stated that child domestic workers are doomed to live in poverty because, instead of alleviating poverty, they increase it. The neighbours reacted on the question relating to family poverty reduction by means of child domestic workers' financial support

...Tell me how a child who gains Frw 3000 (US \$ 5) per month could send a part to his/her parents and saving another. Tell me how this would alleviate their family poverty? While with the nowadays cost of living even those who gain Frw 50.000 (US \$ 83.3) per month have difficulty to save. Can you believe it?

Some of the interviewed child domestic didn't have a real idea of the cost of living as their employers fed and housed them. So, whatever the amount of wages they earned was enough for them in terms of their day-to-day survival. They were satisfied when they could send Frw 2000 or Frw 2500 to their parents and still save Frw 1000 or Frw 500 per month for their plans, instead of thinking about an education. However, those who become aware of being exploited were dissatisfied with their meagre salaries. These are the children who would like to go back to school or attend part-time or evening classes.

For their well-being child domestic workers must have protection against all forms of abuse. The question relating to the protection of children from abuse was discussed in the previous theme concerning children's needs and rights. Participants suggested the following:

...protection of children from abuse will depend on the sensitization about the effects of abuse, whatever its nature, on children of a young age.

The basic element necessary to improve child well-being is his/her protection. Protection can be considered in different forms, such as protection from disasters, violence and

armed conflicts; protection against child abuse and torture; protection against harmful social and cultural practices...

It has been revealed during the fieldwork of this research that a fostered child domestic worker faced numerous kinds of abuse such as deprivation of right to education and sexual abuse. Thus, law may protect children placed in a foster or an adoptive family. The States should establish a system of monitoring the well-being of the adopted or fostered children. Article (24) of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child specifies the modalities of adoption and fostering of children.

Regarding humiliation, insults and other sorts of attacks of child dignity, article (10) and (16) of AC stipulate that:

...The child has the right to the protection of the law against the attacks upon his honour or reputation...

Another article (16) of the AC paragraph (1) completes the above paragraph of article (10) in the following terms:

States Parties to the present Charter shall take specific legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of torture, inhuman or degrading treatment and especially physical or mental injury or abuse, neglect or maltreatment including sexual abuse...

These articles were not intended for protecting child domestic workers, but, as long as child domestic workers are also children, they are immediately concerned. If everybody knew of these articles, child workers would not be abused.

It became apparent during the research fieldworks that all participants didn't know children's rights. One of the employers stated for example that, contrary to what the researcher thought, child domestic workers were protected against hunger *because they*

were nourished and paid at each end month. According to him this was a kind of child protection.

4.3.5.2 Suggestions to discourage child domestic work

As mentioned above, some of child domestic workers were expecting to study, while others expected to save money for their plans. They didn't suggest anything about how child domestic work can be discouraged. Questions related to the discouragement of child domestic work were mainly, answered by adult participants rather than child domestic workers themselves. In this regard, participants suggested how child domestic work could be discouraged in the following terms:

What I can suggest about this issue of child domestic workers is to sensitize people to stop employing children, in order to give them a chance of education. The government would also support poor families in order to promote the education of their children, increasing school infrastructures in each village, so that pupils would not withdraw because of a long distance between school and their village.

Others said:

...My suggestion is that the community might take its responsibility to discourage this kind of exploitation of children. Children need advocacy and their parents need support and information about the interest of the child, and their well-being.

...Parents who allow or send their kids to the labour market can be discouraged. They can be sensitized in order to support their kids until they finish at least standard 10...

Nowadays the new government has ensured free education to all children until they attain standard 10; this is an opportunity they might not miss.

Myers (1991) argues that banning child labour without first raising family incomes especially among the poor is likely to be an exercise in futility because: "it will invite tragedy for the poor, creating even more destitute children" (Mulinge, 2002).

What should be done is to mobilize society in the best interest and well-being of working children. How can this be done? Both ILO and UNICEF have found *social mobilization* to be essential for dealing with detrimental child work. These authors argued that such mobilization must particularly secure the involvement of those groups who are most intimately involved in the issue – *working children and their families, employers, educators, and organizations* providing basic services to children or advocating for their rights (Boyden et al., 1998:214).

4.4 The summary of the chapter

This chapter of data analysis and discussions of findings comprised mainly five themes that were conceptualized in categories followed by several subcategories.

The first theme, which was “*Participants’ perceptions of factors motivating child work*” was divided into two categories: “*poverty*” and “*family conflicts*” and other “*socio-political conflicts*”. Poverty was subdivided in the following sub-categories: lack of basic needs, inadequate housing, underemployment and exiguity of land, social discrimination and exclusion, lack of participation in decision-making, and ill health and unsafe environment.

The second category was divided into the following subcategories: violence and other socio-political conflicts, separation and divorce. Through these sub-categories participants have given the remote and recent factors motivating children to be involved in domestic works instead of studying. Participants revealed that all of these factors contribute somehow to the phenomenon of working children.

The second theme was: “Participants’ perceptions and experiences of working conditions of child domestic workers” which was categorized as follows: “*working hours*”, “*rest*”, “*holiday*”, “*task*” and “*remuneration*”. Data collected and findings through participants’ narratives revealed how much child domestic workers endure unlawfully in day-to-day household tasks. Information from these categories indicated how much child domestic

workers are exploited by working long hours without rest, during several months and years without holiday and with meagre wage.

The third theme was *“Participants’ perceptions and experiences of living conditions of child domestic workers”*. Its categories were the following: *“accommodation”*, *“health and safety”*, *“social life”* and *“spiritual life”*. These categories indicated the living conditions of child domestic workers in terms of sleeping place, food, health and environment safety, relationships between child domestic workers and other household members, and accessibility to social and spiritual activities. Participants’ responses indicated that living conditions of child domestic workers who participated in this research were not adequate in general.

The next theme refers to child advocacy focusing on *“Participants’ perceptions and experiences of children’s needs and rights”*. This theme was analyzed under three main categories: *“physical development”*, *“mental development”* and *“emotional development”*. Discussions under these categories indicated that participants ignored children’ rights related to development and protection. Participants’ viewpoints also indicated how much these rights were transgressed and trampled by the children themselves as well as parents, relatives and employers.

The last theme concerned the *“Participants’ perceptions of expectations for the well-being of child domestic workers and suggestions to discourage child domestic work”*. This theme covered two different groups of perceptions: the first group of participants expect to save a small amount of their salaries at the end of each month in order to improve their socioeconomic situation; while the other group of participants believed that with education and protection from any kind of abuse, child domestic workers could improve their socioeconomic situation. Most of those who believe in the latter alternative were from the adult group of participants which included neighbours, employers and local authorities. To discourage child domestic work, most of respondents suggested the involvement of several partners and factors. Otherwise it would be difficult to abolish this kind of phenomena.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The present chapter aims to summarize the research methodology and the research findings. It will present recommendations based on the salient points of findings, and finally suggestions for the future research will be succinctly expressed.

5.2 The research methodology

5.2.1 Summary

Qualitative research: As indicated in Chapter One and Three, this research has been guided by a qualitative approach. The choice of this approach was motivated by the fact that the topic and research question indicated the need for an in-depth exploration (Creswell, 1998: 17-18). The findings of the study indicated that this approach was most appropriate for the research. The reasons were that the qualitative approach allowed the researcher to explore and describe the living and working conditions of child domestic workers through their perceptions and experiences.

Research design/strategy: Considering the aim of the study, the research question and the resources available to the researcher, the case study strategy of inquiry as described by Creswell (1998: 61) was chosen as the appropriate research design. This strategy enabled the researcher to seek in-depth information in an explorative-descriptive manner from child domestic workers, their employers, neighbours and local authorities.

Population: Twelve child domestic workers and six other participants have been involved in the research. Information has been gathered mainly from child domestic workers. Other resources were regarded as additional or complementary information.

Research setting: In order to clarify the problem of child domestic workers in the specific context, the description of the case setting, as Creswell (1998:153) recommends was crucial in this case study. This description allows readers to understand the reasons why children left their families, and why most of them are involved in domestic work in a specific chosen area.

Sampling: Child domestics have been selected through snowball sampling while other participants were reached through purposive sampling.

Data collection process: Interviews with children as previously mentioned, were conducted at their workplace after obtaining permission of both employers and child domestic workers. However, some of them were joined at the public place where they fetch water or along the road, coming from or going to their (workplace) home. One-to-one interviews were conducted and observation was also used in order to get additional information. All child domestic participants as planned have been interviewed. Some of the other selected participants however were not available or refused to participate.

Research instruments: A semi-structured interview schedule with open-ended questions was used to collect data and participants' response and discussions were tape-recorded. However, the researcher experienced problems to get information from some participants, especially child domestics. These children were almost unable to answer spontaneously to the researcher's questions, or to tell chronologically a coherent story of their life or problems. Some were intimidated, probably because they were not accustomed or allowed to talk freely to strange people. According to the researcher's view, they were afraid of their employers who did not like any contact of their domestic workers with strange people. These kinds of difficulties sometimes distorted the information gained from open-ended questions in qualitative approach. However, the researcher tried to reformulate questions in a more focused way in order to obtain relevant information.

Data analysis: As indicated in Chapter Three (section 3.8) Creswell's (1998:142-143) model was chosen for data analysis. The translation of narratives from mother tongue into

English posed a real challenge. However the researcher arranged for help from colleagues of National University of Rwanda. Existing literature related to the goal and findings of the study were compared to categories and sub-categories of findings that emerged from data analysis.

Trustworthiness: Using triangulation ensured truthfulness and credibility of findings of the case study. *Transferability* was justified by involving multiple sources of information (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) and *dependability* was seen through critical reviews and discussions with the research assistant as well as the supervisor concerning the process and the product of the research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). *Confirmability* was confirmed through the whole process of tape recording, jotting the key words of the responses in the field notes/notebook, and rigour in applying guidelines for data analysis (De Vos et al., 2002: 352).

5.3 Summary of research findings

5.3.1 Participants' perceptions and experiences of factors motivating child domestic work

Poverty seemed to be the main factor pushing children into economic activities. The following indicators of poverty, as highlighted by the UN report (1995) emerged in this study.

Lack of basic needs: Participants' perception and experiences of poverty as the main factor motivating children for entering the job market were illustrated by the lack of basic needs including lack of air, food, drink, shelter and clothes. Participants asserted that children withdrew from schools because their parents or guardians were not able to feed them and pay their school fees. With regard to child domestic worker's needs, Maslow's (1970) asserts that human beings are motivated by unsatisfied needs, and that certain lower needs must be satisfied before higher needs can be satisfied.

Inadequate housing: Inadequate housing was one of the indicators of poverty in the family of child domestic participants. Participants reported that some of them were coming from families still living in traditional huts, where the space and number of rooms could not provide shelter for family members. This was also one of the factors pushing children to leave their families in search for better living conditions.

Underemployment and shortage of arable land: Underemployment due to the shortage of land and lack of other kind of substitute occupations were among the main determinants of poverty in the child domestics' families. All participants stated that their family arable lands were not sufficient to feed all their family members. The shortage of arable land is common in Rwandan rural area. As the Ministry of Finance and Economic planning (2000) stated, the density of population per unit of arable land reaches 9 persons per hector in some rural areas. This illustrates the level of poverty of the rural population who live exclusively of subsistence agriculture. This situation leads children to attempt to manage the problem of poverty by themselves by working for other richer families.

Social discrimination and exclusion: Social discrimination in the context of this study was seen as a gender issue. Boys had a privilege of attending school for a certain period of time but girls were always kept home to take care of siblings. Participants asserted that girls were sent by their parents to work for other people especially in domestic work, in order to contribute and pay siblings' school fees. One of participants asserted, for example, that her father convinced her that a good future mother must excel in household chores, and that studying was not necessary for girls.

Lack of participation in decision-making: Within the context of this case study lack of participation in decision-making concerned children's privation of the right of having a say about entering the job market and managing their salary. Although some child domestics willingly contributed financially to their family income, they were not happy that their salaries were managed by their parents or guardians in complicity with their employers without their own consent.

Ill health and unsafe environment: Families were not only impoverished by the shortage of land or underemployment, but also by the effects of diseases and unsafe environment. In this regard participants asserted that orphaned children were pushed to work due to illnesses or death of one or both parents. In this regard UNICEF-Kenya (2001) asserted that diseases such as HIV/AIDS could contribute to child work.

War and other social political conflicts: Other factors such as war contributed to child domestic work. Participants, especially orphaned child domestic workers, asserted that they were working because their parents died during the 1994 war and genocide. They were working to help their family or single parent, impoverished by war and genocide of 1994, and other armed conflicts that occurred after the 1994 genocide. As International Save the Children Alliance (ISCA, 1996) reported, civil war, destroys homes, splits communities and can break down trusts among people - undermining the very foundation of children's lives.

Separation and divorce: Divorce and separation due to family conflicts seemed to be experienced as factors motivating children to opt for working instead of studying. One of the participants stated that her stepmother pushed her into job market. She asserted that her father influenced by her stepmother decided to send her working for other people in order to cover her brother's school fees and to contribute to the family's income even if they were not among the poorest in their village. It has then been revealed that parents or guardians can somehow contribute to the exploitation of their own children though are not among the indigents or the very poor people.

Findings confirmed then that poverty; war and other conflicts are the main factors of child domestic work in the context of this case study. Boyden (1998:113), Myers (1991), UNICEF (1991) in Mbugua (1997), support the idea that poverty is the main cause of child labour (Mulinge, 2002).

5.3.2 Participants' perceptions and experiences of working conditions of child domestic

Working hours, time of rest and holidays: Concerning working hours, participants indicated that contrary to what is mentioned in the Rwandan Official Bulletin (Prime Ministry Cabinet, 2003) stipulating that the minimum daily working period is 8 hours and five days a week, the daily working hours of child domestic workers ranged between 14 and 18 hours seven days a week. They were working from 5:00 AM to 9:00 PM or beyond.

Regarding holiday and rest, participants stated that they never got the privilege of rest or holiday, although it is stipulated in the Rwandan code of 1999 (MIFOTRA, 2002) that *holiday* and *rest* is recommended for every employee. The lack of time to rest and break from work can increase stress and lead to illness (European Union, 1994). All child domestic participants stated that they were suffering from permanent fatigue and stress because of harassment and a heavy workload.

Tasks and remuneration: Participants indicated the following daily tasks that were expected from them. They said that early morning they started by fetching water, sweeping the house and ground, cleaning the house, washing dishes, cooking tea and meals, washing clothes, feeding cows and bathing babies. UNICEF (1998) confirmed this finding and added the following tasks: shopping, ironing of clothes for the whole family, escorting employer's children to and from school and carrying their bags. These tasks varied according to the work setting of each participant. Some were working harder than others. However the evidence was that all of them were affected by the lack of rest and a heavy workload.

Concerning the question of remuneration, salaries are ranged between Frw 2000 (US \$ 3.5) and Frw 3500 (US \$ 6). All child domestics claimed that their salaries were not sufficient to cover all their needs. They stated that salaries served just for buying some items such as salt, sugar, and oil for lamps for their families living in rural areas. Some

had to pay their siblings' school fees. Others were however able to save a small amount for their own projects.

5.3.3 Participants' perceptions and experiences of living conditions of child domestic workers

Accommodation: Concerning participants' perception and experiences of child domestics' accommodation, it was revealed that they were completely isolated from other children in the household. Most of them slept in stores, sitting room, and some in the kitchen, and almost all were sleeping on sacks or traditional carpets. In this regard, the literature confirmed these statements indicating that sleeping and eating arrangements typically separate child domestic workers from other members of the household and reinforce their inferiority (UNICEF report, 1998:5).

Health and safety: The environment in which child domestic workers were living seemed to be unsafe and unhealthy. Child domestic participants who slept in the kitchen and stores were exposed to numerous dangers like contracting diseases due to humidity, cold, dust and/or ashes. The literature asserts that child domestic workers who are not protected against physical and emotional harm are exposed to two kinds of harms:

Firstly, they are exposed to Biological and physical harms including diseases such as HIV/AIDS, STIs, Tuberculosis, and pneumonia.

Lack of proper accommodation can thus lead child domestic workers to contracting of pneumonia, rheumatism, asthma, flu or other skin and respiratory diseases caused by cold, dust, humidity, and pollution and at the extreme point lead to death (Wallace, 2004).

Through observation the researcher also realized that some child domestic workers some were deprived of their rights of physical development. For example they were carrying heavy jerrycans (for fetching water) that even an adult only can carry with difficulty.

Participants were also claiming that their employers don't provide them with proper medical care. Although, most of them asserted that they got tablets when feeling ill, they were never sent to hospital for better treatment. Employer's children however were immediately sent to see a doctor even for minor ailments.

Secondly, they are also vulnerable for stress and violence at the workplace including bullying, harassment, verbal threats and abuse. Participants revealed that they were abused verbally and physically through insults, humiliation, harassment, and sometimes beatings, and it was also reported that that one of the participants was sexually abused.

Social life: Participants revealed the effects of isolation, exclusion and lack of good relationships between child domestic workers and other household members, also lack of recreation, play and leisure with peers. Literature revealed that all of these effects could have negative effects on child development (Erikson, 1968; ILO, 2003).

Spiritual life: Concerning spiritual life participants asserted that their employers would not allow them to the Sunday prayer. In this regards, Soanes & Stevenson (2003) say that spiritual life is important in human life, especially when individuals need to restore moral and spiritual equilibrium.

5.3.4 Participants' perceptions and experiences of children's needs and rights

The literature review indicated that children should be protected from any form of discrimination and that anything possible should be done ensure that every child is given the opportunity to grow physically, mentally, emotionally and spiritually (OAU, 1999)

Findings have indicated that most of participants didn't have any notion of children's rights, especially interviewed child domestic workers. It was revealed that child domestic workers in this case study were totally deprived of their fundamental rights such as rights to basic needs, education, human dignity and respect, recreational and leisure.

Physical development: With regard to basic needs, Berk (1997) argues that nutrition during childhood is crucial. According to Galler, Ramsey & Solimano (1985a) malnutrition leads to two dietary diseases: *marasmus* (wasted condition of the body) and *kwashiorkor* (due to unbalanced diet). Children who manage to survive these extreme forms of malnutrition grow to be smaller in all body dimensions.

Findings from physical development exclusively resulted from researcher's observations. Researcher realized that most of participant child domestics were physically thin and short comparing them to employer's children. This can result from diverse factors. Despite the notion of heredity contribution to physical growth, good nutrition is also crucial to children whatever their stages of development (Berk, 1997: 208). The fact that participant child domestic workers came from poor rural families where malnutrition is predominant their physical development can easily be affected. Lack of rest and recreation can also be one of the factors that affected their physical development.

Mental development: This category refers to child domestic workers' education. Findings revealed that concerning education the evidence was that participant child domestic workers were not aware of their right to education. The reasons of dropping out school, as mentioned in Chapter Four were mainly due to poverty and the effects of war. Concerning going back to school, some were ready to go back on conditions that their families would be financially assisted. They also showed willingness to attend evening school should their employers agree to that. Boyden et al. (1998:273) support this idea of providing opportunities for these children to attend short courses, break-time classes, night classes or weekend schooling in order to allow them access to some sort of education.

The effects of lack of education can lead children to inactive adult unable to take over responsibilities (AVSI, 2001)

Emotional development: Findings showed that participants experienced emotional abuse, insofar as most of them were scolded, insulted, disdained, isolated, discriminated, and sexually abused.

Emotional well-being is very important in child relationships and is a basic right of the child. In this regard various psychologists asserted that a child who fails to develop close emotional relationships with her/his environment might have listing difficulties in forming social relationships. A child who is maltreated or developing in chaotic home environment for example may suffer permanent reduction of his/her intellectual potentiality (Krantz, 1994:80).

The National Center in Child Abuse and Neglect (2003) as well as Berk (1997:571) revealed that abused children show more anxiety, low self-esteem, depression, anger, and temperament problems than non-abused children. The trauma they experience is seen in emotional, behavioural, social and physical disturbances that effect their development and can continue into adulthood.

5.3.5 Participants' expectations about the well-being of child domestic workers and Suggestions to discourage child domestic work

This theme was subdivided into two categories: the first focused on expectations for the well-being of child domestic workers and the second on suggestions to discourage or to abolish child domestic work.

Expectation about the well-being of child domestic workers: Concerning expectations, diverse viewpoints from participants indicated that some child domestic workers wished to continue their work saving a part of their salary in order to buy their own plot of land, pigs and goats for rearing, expecting that with that they will become independent during the adulthood. Others were expecting to attend school, on the condition that the community or other benefactors will assist their families financially, instead of supporting only their studies.

Suggestions to discourage child domestic work: Concerning suggestions of what can be done to discourage or to abolish child (domestic) work, findings revealed that participants believed in enabling poor families to raise their living conditions, and inform them about

children's rights and the importance of studies in children's life and adulthood. Others added that the government should increase the number of schools in order to reduce the distance between schools and villages so as to reduce the dropout in rural areas.

The literature recommends that social mobilization is essential for dealing with detrimental child work (ILO and UNICEF in Boyden et al. 1998:214). These authors argued that such mobilization must in particular secure the involvement of those groups who are most intimately involved in the issue – working children and their family, employers, educators, and organizations providing basic services to children or advocating for their rights (Boyden et al., 1998:214).

5.4 Conclusion and recommendations

5.4.1 Conclusion

At the outset of this report the posed question was focused on the participants' perception and experiences of the living and working conditions of child domestic workers in the selected districts of Kigali city.

After meticulous analysis and discussions of findings, and after comparing findings to the research question and the aim of the case study, the researcher realized that the objective of this case study has been achieved. Findings confirmed by relevant literature, the research indicate that participants experience the main factors for child domestic work as poverty and family and social conflicts. Findings revealed that child domestic work is a social problem that can emotionally, behaviourally and physically affect children in their immediate future and/or later in adulthood and can also affect the community if the number of dropout continues to rise. The impact of living and working conditions of child domestic work on child and developmental needs and rights, expectations and suggestions for their future well-being have been also explored.

5.4.2 Recommendations

It is crucial to bear in mind that this was a contextual case study and that it cannot be generalized to the phenomenon of child domestic work globally. However, the following are presented based on the salient findings:

- a) Poverty in this case study has been noticed as the main factor motivating children to the job market, especially in domestic work. Therefore, the government has to focus on poverty alleviation in order to abolish child domestic work. In order to achieve this aim a multi-sectoral intervention is needed. The government alone cannot solve the issue of poverty without contribution of others. The community, civil society, local NGOs, private sector, family and individuals might participate in the process of poverty alleviation. Therefore, community educators, social practitioners and experts in socio-economic development and other issues related to community development, may play a crucial role. The current government of Rwanda is addressing of poverty reduction through micro-credit programme. However, the government should also contribute comprehensively to support small local enterprises for the generating of income in order to deal with underemployment; this should especially be focused on those who are very poor and who send their children to work instead of studying.
- b) Social and political conflicts may be prevented through good governance and decentralization of authority and resources. Civic education to promote respect for human rights, tolerance and reconciliation should be enhanced, and local security may be reinforced. The government of Rwanda has formulated policies related to these issues and has achieved some of them. Social work agencies for family conflicts mediation and counseling may be encouraged and supported in different areas, especially in the remote rural areas where many child domestic workers come from. In order to achieve this aim, social work education should be enhanced and supported in higher education institutions in order to increase the number of social workers. Thus, a marketing effort should be embarked upon in

order to motivate students for the social work profession. Social workers are the best positioned to deal with all factors that motivate children to enter domestic work and child work in general.

c) Most of the participants revealed that children's rights were unknown to them. It is then crucial to inform the community and especially people who are somehow involved in the issue of child domestic work about children's rights. As mentioned above, children's rights are violated and therefore it is recommended that communities and individuals should have knowledge at least about the following children's rights:

- The right to be cared by parents or guardians (Articles 7 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) and 19 of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (OAU, 1999);
- The right to be brought up by parents or guardians whose basic concern is his best interests (Articles 18 of UNCRC, 1989) and 4, 18, 19, 20, 21 of AC (OAU, 1999);
- Right to be protected from physical or mental ill-treatment, neglect or exploitation (Articles 19 of UNCRC, 1989) and 21 of AC (OAU, 1999);
- Right to well-being through providing them the conditions of living necessary for child development (Articles 27 of UNCRC, 1989);
- Right to education (Articles 28 of UNCRC, 1989) and 11 of AC (OAU, 1999);
- Right to rest, leisure play and recreation (Articles 31 of UNCRC, 1989) and 12 of AC (OAU, 1999);
- Right to protection from economic exploitation and from performing any work that interferes with his or her mental, spiritual or social development (Articles 32 of UNCRC, 1989) and 15 of AC (OAU, 1999);
- Right to be protected from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse (Articles 34 of UNCRC, 1989) and 16 of AC (OAU, 1999);

- Rights to protection from the effects of armed conflicts and other sorts of violence (articles 22, 23, 24, 25 of UNCRC, 1989) and articles 10,13, 14,15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 24, 26, ...of AC (OAU, 1989).
- d) The researcher recommends the *diffusion* of information about children's rights by means of multi-media communication approach such as radio broadcasting, television, video, drama, leaflets, community educators, and social workers.
- e) The government and its partners through civil societies, local authorities and NGOs should assist child domestic workers' families even in the remote rural areas to send children to formal schools.
- f) The researcher supports the ILO's suggestion that children should be economically dependent, at least until a specified minimum age. Therefore, the authorities should make the implementation of this right of children, a priority.
- g) Child domestic work as well as other kinds of harmful child work should be abolished. However, it is recommended that this should be done with great consideration of the specific circumstances of the child (Boyden et al., 1998). Sometimes, as in the case of child headed households, children do need to survive. The researcher's suggestion however, would be that local communities and governments should contribute to discourage or abolish any kind of child work. If not international community should intervene where the local community is unable to do so.
- h) In case of child domestics who present acceptable reasons for working and are allowed to work, employers should help them to attend at least evening school and/or during the weekend by reducing their daily workload. Employers are also recommended to give them opportunities to meet and talk with others in order to address isolation. Youth organizations in each area should recognize these

children's needs and integrate them in their associations. They should also be assisted to form their own associations for socializing with peers.

- i) It is recommended that government take responsibility to ensure that employers attend to the well-being of these children in their homes and that they respect their basic rights.
- j) Mechanisms of advocacy and protection of child domestic workers, child abuse and neglect through the aforementioned means of communication at all public administrative levels and through civil societies organizations, community organizations, NGOs, and individuals are also recommended.
- k) The researcher suggests the following future researches in order to address issues on child domestic work:
 - Similar qualitative research extended to the whole country focusing on the viewpoints of child domestic workers as well as the views of parents living in the remote rural areas.
 - Research to address the issues of implementation of recommendations that emerged from various research reports on child domestic work.
 - Research on the State's responsibility to support and promote social work administration and management, as well as social development projects in Rwanda.

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Appendix 1

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

Dear participant,

Good Day. I am Joseph G. HAHIRWA from the University of Western Cape, South Africa. I am presently enrolled in a Master's programme and I am conducting a research for my thesis. For the successful completion I require information on your working conditions in general (or of others, for example, that of neighbours). The interview will last approximately 30 minutes and all the information will be handled confidentially. Please bear in mind that participation is voluntary and that you also can withdraw at any time if you don't want to participate.

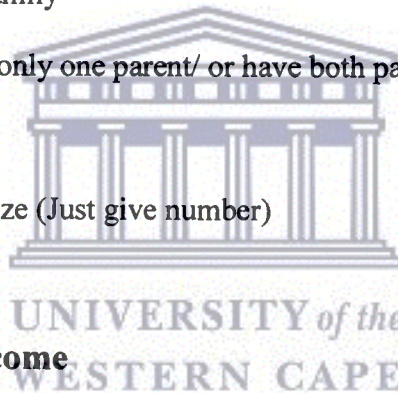
Thank you for your cooperation.

HAHIRWA G. J.

A. INTERVIEW WITH CHILD WORKERS

► Personal details and basic information of the child

- Gender (male/female)
- Age
- Place of birth (Province/District)
- Current place of living (employer's house or elsewhere).
- Children's family size: Number of siblings + parents
- Child's position in the family
- Orphan of both parents/ only one parent/ or have both parents.
- Parents' occupation
- Employer's household size (Just give number)



► Family status and income

- Tell me your life story until the time you were employed here (Probe for specific information on living conditions of family - housing, work, relationships and reasons for leaving home.)

► Working and living conditions

- Describe to me a typical day in your life at work, from the time that you wake up until you go to bed. (Probe for working hours, duties, meals, rules, rewards and punishments, what happens if you feel ill).
- What work means while other children are attending school?

- What does a good working day means for you?
- What does a bad working day means for you?
- Tell me about your relationship with your employer.
- Tell me about your relationship with employer's family
- Give me a picture of the place that you live if you do not work
- Tell me about your friends and what you do for fun.
- What has happened in your work and living situation that made you unhappy
- What happens if you are not happy? Who cares for you?

► **Questions related to education and other rights**

- What is your opinion about children going to school? (Probe for knowledge about children's rights, perceptions about compulsory school attendance)
- What do you think about your own needs for education?
- What do you think will make children happy in this country?
- What does "fair treatment" of a child means for you?

B. INTERVIEW WITH EMPLOYERS

- Tell me the story of employing your domestic worker? (Probe for information on motivation for employing a child and, background knowledge of the child, contact with family of the child)
- What does "fair treatment" of a child means for you?
- How do you insure his/her current medical care? Please describe.

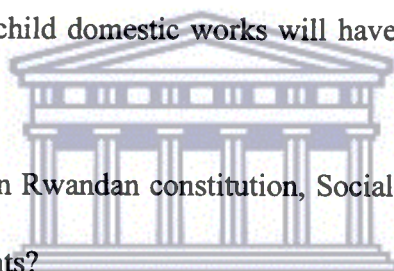
- Describe how you treat him/her in terms of sleeping, feeding, salary (how often does he/she get paid), etc.
- What arrangements are made participating in formal or non-formal educational activities?
- What social activities is the child involved in?
- What effects do you think child domestic works will have on the lives of children in their future? (Probe for social, emotional, physical, educational consequences)
- What system should be in place to protect children in Rwanda?

C. INTERVIEW WITH LOCAL AUTHORITY

- Tell me about child works in your area?
- If you can find child domestic workers in this area, how would you describe the relationship with their employers and other employer's family members?
- As a local authority did you already receive the cases of rape or sexual abuse of child domestic workers in this area? If yes please describe.
- Describe the child worker's relationships with her/his peers.
- What effects do you think child domestic works can have on the lives of children in their future?
- Tell me about child rights in Rwandan constitution, Social Policy or other national or international Instruments of rights?

D. INTERVIEW WITH NEIGHBOURS

- Tell me about child works in your area?
- What is her/his age (approximately)?
- How would you describe the child's relationship with her/his employer and other employer's family members?
- If you have heard a case of rape or sexual abuse of child domestic workers in this area, please describe the history and if the child is still around allow me to meet her/him.
- Describe the child domestic workers' relationship with other peers?
- What effects do you think child domestic works will have on the lives of children in their future?
- Tell me about child rights in Rwandan constitution, Social Policy or other national or international instrument of rights?
- What do those instruments suggest about this issue of child works?
- What system should be in place to protect children in Rwanda?



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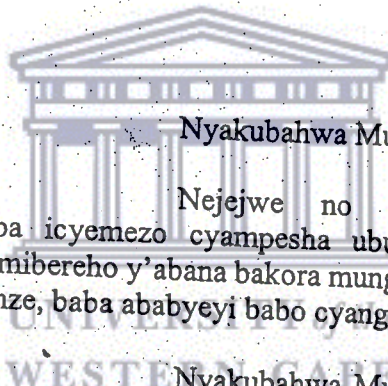
A Letter presented to different
Authorities asking for a
permission of conducting
research in their areas.

HAHIRWA G. Joseph
University of the Western Cape
Cape Town
South Africa

Butare, 08 Mutarama 2004

Nyakubahwa Umukuru w'Intara ya Kigali
Ngali

Impamvu : Gusaba uruhusa rwo gukorera
ubushakashatsi mu Ntara ya
Kigali Ngali



Nyakubahwa Mukuru w'Intara,

Nejewe no kubona aka kanya ko
kubandikira ngamije kubasaba icyemezo cyampesha uburenganzira bwo gukorera
ubushakashatsi ku bijyanye n'imibereho y'abana bakora mungo, baba abakora bahembwa
cyangwa se abakorera ababatunze, baba ababyeyi babo cyangwa se abiyemeje kubarera.

Nyakubahwa Mukuru w'Intara, ndateganya
gutangira ubwo bushakashatsi mu matariki yambere y' ukwezi gutaha (12/01/2004).
Nkaba narateganiye kuzabukorera mu Muji wa Kabuga.

Mugihe ngitegereje igisubizo cyanyu cyiza,
Nyakubahwa Mukuru w'Intara, mbaye mbashimiye.

HAHIRWA G. Joseph

REPUBULIKA Y'URWANDA

Kigali, le 28/1/04
N° 218/07/02/AS

Permission
the ministry
social affairs

MINISITERI Y'UBUTEGETSI BW'IGIHUGU,
AMAJYAMBERE RUSANGE
N'IMIBEREHO MYIZA Y'ABATURAGE
B.P. 3445 KIGALI
TEL 83595
FAX 8228

✓ BWANA Joseph G. HAHIRWA
C/o University of the Western Cape
Cape Town South Africa

Impamvu: Kwemererwa gukora
ubushakashatsi
mu Muji wa Kigali
no mu Ntara ya Kigali Ngali.

Bwana,

Nishimiye kukwandikira nkumenyesha ko ibaruwa yawe yo
kuwa 05 Mutarama 2004 wandikiye Minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu, Amajyambere Rusange
n'Imibereho Myiza y'Abaturage yangezeho.

Nk'uko wanditse usaba guhabwa uruhushya rwo gukora
ubushakashatsi ku bijyanye n'imibereho y'abana bakora mu ngo mu Muji wa Kigali (mu Turere twa
Nyarugenge, Kacyiru na Gikondo) no mu Ntara ya Kigali Ngali (muri Masaka n'Umujyi wa Kabuga),
ndakumenyesha ko urwo ruhushya urwemerewe.

Nkaba nifuza ko Abayobozi mpaye kopi y'iyi baruwa
bakorohereza muri icyo gikorwa.

Nkwifurije akazi keza.

NYATANYI Marie Christine

Umunyamabanga wa Leta ushinze
Amajyambere Rusange
n'Imibereho Myiza y'Abaturage

Bimenyeshejwe :

- Bwana Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu,
Amajyambere Rusange n'Imibereho Myiza y'Abaturage.
- Bwana Umunyamabanga wa Leta muri MINALOC
ushinzwe Imiyoborere Myiza.
- Bwana Umuyobozi w'Umujyi wa Kigali.
- Madamu Umukuru w'Intara ya Kigali Ngali.
- Bwana Umuyobozi w'Akarere ka Nyarugenge
- Bwana Umuyobozi w'Akarere ka Kacyiru
- Bwana Umuyobozi w'Akarere ka Gikondo
- Bwana Umuyobozi w'Umujyi wa Kabuga



PO
BARIKANA Eugène
S.G. MINALOC



UMUJYI WA KIGALI
AKARERE KA KACYIRU

Bwana HAHIRWA G. Joseph

Impamvu : Kwemererwa gukora
Ubushakashatsi

Bwana,

Mpereye ku barwa yawe watwandikiye udusaba uburenganzira bwo gukora ubushakashatsi mu Karere ka Kacyiru ku bijyanye n'imibereho myiza y'abana bakora mungu, baba bakora bahembwa cyangwa se bakorera ababatunze, baba ababyeyi babo cyangwa se abiyemeje kubarera ;

Nkwandiye nkumenyesha yuko wemerewe gukora ubwo bushakashatsi mu mirenge igize akarere ka Kacyiru guhera kuwa 16 mutarama 2004, nkuko wabidusabye.

Icyitonderwa : usabwe kuzasiga kopi imwe ku Karere ukimara gukora ubu bushakashatsi.

Ugire amahoro.

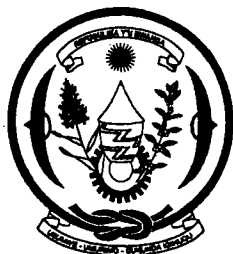
KANAMUGIRE Callixte

Umuyobozi w'Akarere ka kacyiru

Bimenyeshejwe :

- Abahuzabikorwa b'Imirenge (bose)
- UMWANYAMABANGA NSHINGWABIKORWA





UMUJYI WA KIGALI
AKARERE KA NYARUGENGE

REF : 071/07-11/08

HAHIRWA G. Joseph
University of the Western Cape
Cape Town
South Africa

Impamvu : Ubushakashatsi mu Karere
ka Nyarugenge.

Bwana,

Twabonye ibarwa yanyu yo kuwa
15/01/2004 isaba uruhusa rwo gukorera ubushakashatsi mu Karere ka
Nyarugenge, nkaba nejewe no kukumenyeshya ko urwo ruhusa urwemerewe.

Ariko nkaba ngusaba cyane
cyane mu buryo bwo kwinjira mu ngo ukaziyambaza inzego z'ibanze z'aho
uzaba wiyemeje gukorera ubwo bushakashatsi.

copie y'imyanzuro uzaba wazazeho.

Twizeye kandi ko uzatugenera

Ugire akazi keza.

Umuyobozi w'Akarere ka
Nyarugenge

KAMPAYANA AUGUSTE



REPUBURIKA Y'U RWANDA
UMUJYI WA KIGALI
AKARERE KA GIKONDO

Gikondo, kuwa 29/1/2004
Réf. 00.83./07.11/02/04

IMPAMVU :Ibaruwa yawe yo kuwa
15/01/2004 .

Bwana HAHIRWA G. Joseph

Bwana,

Mpereye ku ibaruwa yawe watwandikiye udusaba uburenganzira bwo gukora ubushakashatsi mu Karere ka Gikondo, ku bijyanye n'imibereho myiza y'abana bakora mu ngo, nejejwe no kukumenyesha ko nyuma y'inama ya Komite Nyobozi yateranye tariki ya 29/1/2004, ko urwo ruhushya urwemerewe nk'uko wari wabisabye.

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN CAPE
Ukaba usabwe by'umwihariko ko mbere yo gutangira icyo gikorwa wakwegera Umuhuzabikorwa w'Umurenge w'aho ushaka gukorera ubushakashatsi, nawe uhawe kopi y'uru rwandiko, kugirango akorohereze muri icyo gikorwa.

N.B. : Nibyiza ko nyuma y'iki gikorwa wazagera Akarere kopi y'ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi wakoze.

Ugire amahoro.

Umuyobozi w' Akarere ka Gikondo.

KABERUKA VETAS



NIMENYESHEJWE :

Madamu, Bwana Umuhuzabikorwa w'Umurenge (base)

REPUBLIKA Y'U RWANDA
INTARA YA KIGALI NGALI
UMUJYI WA KABUGA

Kabuga, kuwa 11/2/2004

N° 88/07.04/02/06

Bwana HAHIRWA G. Joseph

**Impamvu : Kwemererwa gukora
ubushakashatsi.**

Bwana HAHIRWA,

Mpereye ku ibaruwa yawe wanditse usaba gukorera ubushakashatsi mu Mujiyi wa Kabuga ku bijyanye n'Imibereho Myiza y'abana bakora mu ngo; nejejwe no kukumenyesha ko nyuma y'Inama ya komite Nyobozi yateranye tariki ya 11/2/2004, yemeje ko wemerewe gukora ubwo bushakashatsi, ukaba usabwe kwegera abahuzabikorwa b'Imirenge kugirango bakoroherenze muri uwo murimo.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Ugire amahoro.

Umuyobozi w'Umujyi wa Kabuga,

KAMI Arthur.

UWIMANA Jean Pierre
Secrétaire Exécutif
de la Ville de KABUGA



letter given by
the Mayor of Kabuga districts,
allowing the researcher to conduct
his research in the said district.