

# The Plight of Working Children at Mankessim, Ghana

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## Abstract

*Children serve as social assets for domestic and economic activities. It is therefore not uncommon to see children in Ghana working under the instructions of their parents. In some instances, children are engaged in economic enterprises due to household poverty. Whereas some of these activities initiate children into adulthood, others affect their school attendance and development. The paper explores some of the activities children engage in at Mankessim in the Central Region of Ghana. It justifies that some of these activities constitute labour, and discusses other factors that contribute to household poverty in the area. Data were obtained from*

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*152 children engaged in various economic activities. Findings revealed that 69% of the children were asked by their mothers to work. Half of the children between 6 and 11 years and more than one-third aged 11-17 worked for over five hours a day. Sixty-six per cent complained of tiredness. In-school children missed school at least once a week to work while 10% dropped out of school due to work. Improving standards of living of women and strengthening societal organizational values are crucial in addressing the plight of working children in the area.*

**Keywords:** Child work; hawking; child labour; Mfantsiman Municipality; Mankessim; Ghana.

## Introduction

Children work for different reasons. They may be poor and have to work to ensure their own survival or supplement incomes of poor households and families (Morrow and Vennam, 2009; Porter and Abane, 2009). Other children may work because it is a cultural norm to start work at a young age rather than spend childhood time at play or at school. It has been argued that a child's work as physical and mental involvement in a family or social activity serves as a platform for a gradual initiation into adulthood and as a positive element in the child's development (Fyfe, 1989). Thus, children constitute a form of social assets for most households in many parts of the world (International Labour Organisation (ILO), 2000; Ahmed and del Ninno, 2003; Porter and Abane, 2009).

Principally, child work can be categorized into domestic work and economic enterprise or activity (ILO, 2000). Working may provide financial assistance for households and for the child's survival, but its effects can retard the development of the child in many dimensions. For instance, some children do not get access to education because of economic work while others drop out; a situation that is likely to impede the achievement of Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 2. In other cases, irregular or poor attendance at school due to work leads to poor academic results (Mortimore, 1996; Heady, 2000).

Work at times denies children not only of quality education but also of leisure and adequate time to play. Leisure and play constitute elements of psychological and physiological growth and development of children (Santrock, 1998, 2005; Bingley and Miligan, 2009). Some of the economic activities which children engage in are likely to affect their development needs; a situation conceptualized as child labour.

In Ghana, it is common to see children engaged in various economic enterprises and at different locations including commercial/market centres under the instructions of parents or guardians. At times, this occurs at the expense of the child's school attendance. A number of reasons account for children's involvement in economic enterprises. The fundamental reason in Ghana and in most developing countries is household poverty. Although the introduction of the Capitation Fund in 2004 as a poverty intervention under the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) makes basic education free, some children in Ghana are still on the street and at the market centres working during school hours. This practice is undoubtedly an affront to sustainable human development. It has been argued that the breakdown of traditional values that hold a society together as an integrated unit to ensure communal relationship as social capital, contributes to household poverty in Ghana (Braffii, 1992; Gyekye, 1997; Awusabo-Asare et al., 2000).

This study sought to explore the activities of working children and to justify the status of these activities as child work or child labour. It discusses other factors that contribute to household poverty. The questions addressed in the study are as follows:

*What categories of children are involved in economic enterprises?*

*How does economic work affect the educational and skill development of the children?*

*How do working children benefit from the economic enterprises they are involved in?*

*What measures can be put in place to address activities deemed as child labour?*

## **The Study Setting**

The study area, Mankessim, is located in the Mfantseman Municipality in the

Central Region of Ghana. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2005), the population of the municipality is 152,855, comprising 82,643 females and 70,212 males. The main economic activities the people are engaged in are agriculture, animal rearing and forestry (49.4%), sales work (17.2%) and production, transport and equipment (16.7%). The municipality also records the highest unemployment rate (14.8%), exceeding both the regional and national averages of 8.1% and 10.4 respectively. Females are the hardest hit by unemployment (15.1%) and sizeable number of the employed (23.4%) are involved in selling, the second major economic activity in the region.

Mankessim is the most populous town and constitutes one-sixth of the population of the Municipality. Its population comprises 11,511 males and 13,970 females. There are about 5983 households with an average household size of 4.3 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2005). There are three exclusively pre-school institutions; 20 schools each with nursery, primary and junior high schools; 10 primary schools; and one senior high school. Half of the 20 schools with pre-school, primary and junior high school components are government-owned (Mfantsiman Municipal Education Profile, 2008).

Commerce is the main economic activity in the town. Generally, the market is active throughout the week except on Sundays. However, traditionally, Wednesdays and Saturdays are the market days. The market serves as a hub for a variety of food crops, vegetables, fruits and fish from both nearby and far-flung farming and fishing settlements. Non-food commodities are also brought from various towns and cities. Apart from the main market, there are four vehicle stations which attract working children.

## Theoretical and Conceptual Issues

The UNICEF's State of the World's Children Report (1997) explains that a child's work can be seen as happening along a continuum, with destructive or exploitative work at one end and beneficial work that promotes or enhances the child's development without interfering with his/her schooling, recreation and rest at the other. However, between these two directions are various work activities that need not negatively affect the development of a child. Such work also becomes exploitative (child labour), especially when children aged 12-14 are engaged in 14 hours of productive job in a week, or those aged above 14 employed for 42 hours a week with inadequate or no pay.

The World's Children Report is consistent with the Human Rights Act, 1998 and The Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560) of Ghana. For instance, according to Article 2 under The First Protocol of the Human Rights Act, 1998, no person shall be denied access to education. The Children's Act, 1998 on the other hand governs all activities that relate to children in Ghana. While Article 87, sub-section 1 of The Act prohibits any form of exploitative child labour, sub-section 2 defines labour as exploitative if it deprives the child of his/her health, education and development. Articles 6, 8 and 9 of the same Act define the duties and responsibilities of parents towards their children.

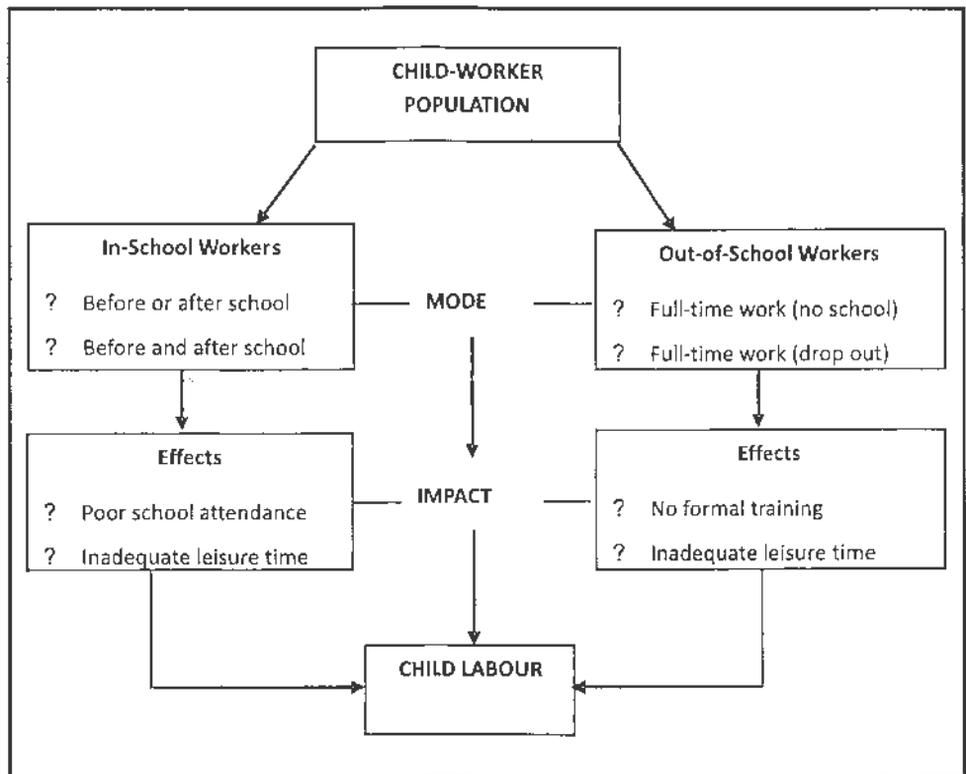
Ghana's attempt to improve the general welfare of children (Ghana's Poverty Reduction Strategy II, 2003) and access to education as well as encourage school attendance, led the government to set up a National Commission on Children, a Ministry of Women and Children, and a Capitation Fund. Government-sponsored basic schools receive a Capitation Grant of GH?13.50 per student per academic year to cater for government approved fees charged by the Ghana Education Service. The school feeding project, which is on a pilot scale, was also introduced in 2006 at the primary level to

achieve the same objective as well as serve nutritional purposes.

Though substantial increases in school enrolments have been recorded, it is also the case that some children continue to be involved in economic activities, sometimes during school periods (Tanle and Awusabo-Asare, 2007; Porter and Abane, 2009); a situation that needs to be addressed without delay if we are committed to achieving the second Millennium Development Goal.

For the purpose of the study, the child-worker population is grouped into two. These are in-school child workers and out-of-school child workers (see Figure 1). This conceptualization outlines the mode of work which indicates that some in-school children work before or after school depending on their school shift schedules or the dictates of parents. Others, however, are likely to work before and after school or skip school for work. The likely effects are poor attendance, inadequate leisure time, tiredness and poor school performance which are likely to impact negatively on the development of a child (see Horowitz and Bordens, 1995; Mortimore, 1996; Meece, 1997; Heady 2000; Mukherjee et al, 2005).

The second group of child-workers comprises those who are out of school due to no education or as a result of dropping out of school. Such children are engaged in full work, which retards their development in terms of formal training as well as prevents them from enjoying adequate leisure.



**Figure 1: Child-worker population activity framework**

Source: Authors' construct (2009)

### Sampling and Research Instruments

Access to working children constitutes one of the onerous considerations in child work studies when determining a place of study and a unit (that is whether the household or workplace) for sampling. Mankessim was selected because it serves as one of the major and active informal market centres in Ghana and in the Central Region in particular. The market attracts mostly informal traders from various villages and towns far and near.

The study focused on children engaged in economic enterprise at the time of study. This method eliminated the difficulty child-respondents face with

recollecting reference periods of participation in economic enterprise. In order to reach the target population directly, the market place where children engage in economic enterprises was selected as the location for data collection. Accidental sampling (Sarantakos, 2005) was then employed to select children between the ages of six and seventeen years for a survey. This sampling method was appropriate because the target respondents were contacted at the place of work and within a particular period of time relevant to the study. An interview schedule was then administered to 152 respondents.

In addition to the survey, 20 in-depth interviews (IDIs) were conducted with an interview guide to elicit views which could not be expressed with the interview schedule. Other tools that were used to collect the data were non-participant observation and a scale. The scale was used to measure the weights of the respondents and the wares/loads they carried. It must be emphasised that, to a large extent, some of the weights of wares that were scaled were typically lower than they were when the child-sellers set out. This is because at the time of measuring the weights some of the wares had been sold. The use of multiple tools improved not only data quantity but also quality as the weakness(es) of a tool was addressed with the strength of the other(s) (Sarantakos, 2005).

### **Data collection**

The data were collected during the weekdays (Monday to Friday) between 9:00 am and 12:30 p.m. with the purpose of reaching respondents who, because of work, missed school or had to combine school and work at least once in a week. The timing enabled the research team to reach in-school child workers who attended non-shift schools as well as those in the shift schools. The shift schedules were 7:30am - 12:00noon and 12:30pm - 5:00pm.

Two young females aged 18 and 19 were trained to collect the data. These field assistants were selected because they have been involved in a child research project conducted by the Department of Geography and Regional Planning at the University of Cape Coast (Ghana) and the Department of Anthropology at the University of Durham (UK). One of the field assistants administered the interview schedule to the boys while the other did the same to the girls. The purpose, though it was not achieved, was to try to arrive at a common sample for both sexes of working children. It was realized that female working children were dominant. In order to avoid children being interviewed more than once, each respondent was told to indicate if he/she had already taken part in the data collection process. The use of the two field assistants (one for male and the other for female respondents) also enhanced easy recognition of respondents already interviewed.

## Findings

### *Background of respondents*

Background characteristics of respondents were found to vary with sex, age, level of education and place of residence. Seventy-one per cent of the working children were females and 64% were between the ages of 12 and 17. About 75% of the children resided at the study settlement, with the rest being from nearby villages and towns. Close to 81% of the respondents were in formal school; 72% were in primary school. More than 80% stayed with at least one of their biological parents. Trading was the main occupation of parents/guardians of the children. About 76% of mothers of the respondents were traders. This probably explains why the majority (90.3%) of the children hawked wares.

### *Children at work*

During the major market days, the number of children who engaged in economic activities increased. Some of the children from nearby villages avoided school to go and sell. The items that they predominantly sold were *pure water* (sachet water), bread, iced cream, fruits and biscuits. Close to 10% of the respondents were engaged in head portorage. It was observed that whenever there was slow-moving traffic, hawkers (both children and adults) ran to reach potential buyers on the moving vehicles. On some occasions, during this stampede some of the children collided with other hawkers and/or fell down, spilling their wares. Often, the younger ones cried if wares got destroyed in the process, while others sometimes sustained minor injuries. It did not help their situation that almost all the children observed wore *chalewote* (bathroom slippers) to work and thus could easily slip while running.

Hawking was also commonly done in groups of children of similar age, or sex, or who sell similar items, or a combination of these. This practice, according to the children, reduces stress and the loneliness associated with working alone (see Cobb, 2001). Such children were often seen chatting and laughing together in groups. They explained that group selling ensures a form of security and is thus recommended by their parents/guardians. Nevertheless, the fear of being knocked down by a moving vehicle was expressed by some of the children.

It was realized that some of these children had been engaged in economic ventures for months and years. About 43% of the respondents had been engaged in selling for 11 months while a little over three per cent had worked for more than four years. A substantial number of the children had been working for up to two years (Table 1).

**Table1: Age of working children and years engaged in economic activity (%)**

| Age      | Years Engaged in Economic Activity |      |      |      |         | Total |
|----------|------------------------------------|------|------|------|---------|-------|
|          | <1 yr                              | 1 yr | 2 yr | 3 yr | 4 yrs + |       |
| 6-11 yrs | 38.2                               | 32.7 | 18.2 | 9.1  | 1.8     | 100   |
| 12-17yrs | 45.4                               | 13.4 | 26.8 | 9.3  | 4.1     | 100   |
| Total N  | 65                                 | 31   | 37   | 14   | 5       | 152   |
| %        | 42.8                               | 20.4 | 24.3 | 9.2  | 3.3     | 100   |

Source: Fieldwork (2006)

Generally, mothers instructed children to work. Sixty-nine percent of the respondents indicated that their mothers asked them to work. A little over nine percent of the children however took personal decisions to work. Other adults who influenced the children to work were grandmothers, foster parents and sisters. About 80% of the respondents worked to supplement household income while 12% of them worked to cater for themselves.

### *Hours of work*

In-school children are likely to work for fewer hours than out-of school children. On the average, 37% and 49% of the in-school children worked for 2-5 hours and above five hours respectively. About 51% of the out-of school children on the other hand worked for more than five hours daily or for 30 hours in a week (excluding Sundays). Generally, nearly half of the in-school and out of school children below 12 years of age worked for more than five hours daily or for 30 hours per week (Table 2).

**Table 2: Age of in-school/out-of school children and hours of work (%)**

| Currently in School | Hours of Work per Day (%) |                |            | Total |     |
|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------|------------|-------|-----|
|                     | Less than 2hrs            | Between 2-5hrs | Above 5hrs |       |     |
| Yes                 |                           |                |            |       |     |
| Age                 | 6-11yrs                   | 13.3           | 37.8       | 48.9  | 100 |
|                     | 12-17yrs                  | 17.9           | 50.0       | 32.1  | 100 |
| Total N             |                           | 20             | 56         | 47    | 123 |
| No                  |                           |                |            |       |     |
| Age                 | 6-11yrs                   | 20.0           | 30.0       | 50.0  | 100 |
|                     | 12-17yrs                  | 10.5           | 36.8       | 52.7  | 100 |
| Total N             |                           | 4              | 10         | 15    | 29  |

Source: Fieldwork (2006)

### *Effects of work*

#### *Tiredness and punishment*

Children complained of discomfort such as tiredness, headaches and neck pains. For instance, about 66% complained of tiredness due to work. Factors such as hours of work as well as weight of load carried in relation to age and body weight of children (Table 3 and Appendix 1) contributed to various degrees of tiredness experienced by the children. The in-depth interviews revealed that some of the out-of school children worked from 7am to 6pm; a duration of 11 hours daily or 66 hours in a week (excluding Sundays). The girl-children complained that they had to combine domestic chores with hawking, which often made them tired (see Heady, 2000).

**Table 3: Selected sample of weights of body and load**

| No | Sex    | Age | Weight of Body (kg) | Weight of Load (kg) | Related Response                             |
|----|--------|-----|---------------------|---------------------|--|
| 1  | Female | 12  | 40                  | 14                  | I feel uncomfortable. Load is very heavy     |
| 2  | Female | 9   | 35                  | 10                  | It is tiring carrying load and selling       |
| 3  | Female | 8   | 20                  | 11                  | Load is too heavy for me. I get tired always |
| 4  | Male   | 10  | 25                  | 11                  | Load is heavy. It is tiring selling          |
| 5  | Male   | 12  | 31                  | 4                   | Selling is tiring. It is uncomfortable.      |
| 6  | Male   | 15  | 45                  | 8                   | Load is heavy. Selling is tiring.            |

Source: Fieldwork (2006)

When they felt tired, some of the children sat on tables, chairs, walls or any available material and conversed with peers for relief. It was difficult for some of the children to go home when tired because of the fear of being punished by parents/guardians. There are consequences associated with children's failure to work. About 36% percent of the children were beaten for refusing to sell.

*My load is heavy and selling is a tiring task. I get tired whenever I sell. At times I fall when running to reach a customer. I wish I stopped but my mother insists I sell. She beats me if I refuse to sell. [A 10-year old primary two girl]*

Other punishments meted out to children who refused to sell included threats/insults, and the denial of money (for school) or food. Some of the children were therefore compelled to sell to avoid such punishments. Such

punishments do not only affect the emotional development of children (see also Berkerman-Wiedman, 2008), but also infringe on their basic rights.

### *School attendance*

One of the development needs of a child is access to quality education. Access to quality education is a right of the child as enshrined in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. Although the majority of working children interviewed were enrolled in basic schools, eight percent had never attended school before. While some usually skipped school and worked at least once a week on market days, 10% dropped out of school due to work.

Some of the children worked before going to school. Others also worked after school. Those who worked before going to school complained of lateness to school as a result of work. It was also realized that those who worked after school got little or no time to study or do their homework. Some of the children, for fear of being punished by their teachers for not doing their homework, skipped school to work. Sometimes they worked with other friends without the knowledge of their parents.

The study identified three child-heads of households who dropped out of school due to poverty. According to the children, they dropped out of school to work after their parents divorced. Some had to work to help take care of their younger siblings. Two of them shared their experiences.

*My father has divorced my mother and no one takes care of me. I went into a relationship with a boy who was taking care of my daily meals. I got pregnant*

*and as a result dropped out of school. [A 16-year girl bread seller]*

*I sell because my mother says she does not have money to take care of all of us. My parents are divorced. I sell to help her take care of my siblings who are younger. I am the eldest. I don't know if I will go back to school. [A 14-year boy iced cream hawker]*

#### *Time for homework*

The process of educating a child depends on various roles played by stakeholders. One of the major stakeholders in child education is the parent. In Ghana, most children who are not in the boarding house spend more time with their parents/guardians than with teachers at school. None of the children interviewed was in the boarding house. This means that the parents had to supervise these children to do their homework, assignments and personal studies. However, it was realised that some of the respondents spent most of the time selling after school. To them, this grossly affected the time for homework and studies (see Heady, 2000; Mukherjee et al, 2005). One of the respondents had this to say:

*I started selling at age 13 when in primary five after the death of my father. I don't get time to do my homework. After school I am*

*asked to sell. I want to be serious with my books but I have no way of doing so. If you combine schooling and selling, it affects your academic work.*

*[A 15-year old female]*

### *Skill training and development*

Out-of-school children and drop-outs are likely to face difficulties in skill development for future use. The desire of some of the working children was to learn trades such as tailoring, hairdressing or to pursue professions such as teaching and nursing. However, with some of these children in full-time work at the market, their dreams of future careers are less likely to be achieved.

Some of these children, especially the school drop-outs, were willing to go back to school to continue their education. They said it was prudent and beneficial to go to school than to sell at the market. As one put it, *'I go through the sun all day selling for meagre profits that cannot take care of my future'*. Even though the majority (83%) of out-of-school children were aware that basic education is free, the challenge was finding someone to take care of their basic school needs such as bags, uniforms, books and food or money for food.

*I wish to go back to school but money to buy food and other basic school needs such as books, bag, clothes are not available. I know*

*basic education is free. I wish I got someone who can afford to take me to school. I don't need to go through the sun all day selling oranges. I pray that one day I make it back to school. [A 17-year old girl dropout]*

The willingness of the out-of-school children to go back to the classroom in order to achieve their future occupational dreams showed their personal attitude and zeal to be educated. The future, however, seems bleak if their financial status remains unchanged. One of them commented: *'I wish I could get back to school, but I don't see any help coming from any angle'*.

### *Leisure*

The significance of leisure in child development cannot be played down. Leisure brings out and develops the mental and physical potential of a child for development (Meece, 1997; Bingley and Milligan, 2009). Though there were school parks for child recreation, work prevented some of the respondents from accessing these facilities in the study area. The children who were interviewed explained that their only period of leisure was during break periods in school. Work was identified as the main barrier to leisure after school. Respondents were of the view that parents must allow and encourage children to access the available recreational grounds for leisure at least once a week.

### *Benefits associated with work*

Studies of child work indicate that most children are involved in unpaid or inadequately paid informal economic activities (ILO, 2000). The case is no different at the study site where most of the respondents worked for their parents/guardians to support household income. There was no evidence of regular pay for work done. However, some of the children said that they benefited from a form of irregular cash incentive from their guardians to entice or motivate them to work. About 84% of the respondents received such an incentive. Sixty-nine percent said their cash incentive was kept by their parents/guardians for future use or for fear of losing it. About 25% kept such monies themselves. The rest kept them with colleagues and other relatives. Close to 80% of the children spent their cash incentive on clothing while 11% bought food with it. Parents largely influenced how, when and on what the money was to be spent.

There were however other non-cash benefits. Making new friends, seeing new products on the market, developing the ability to quickly effect a transaction and getting assistance from colleagues at work were some of the non-cash benefits mentioned. Respondents were however quick to explain that these benefits did not make up for the sacrifices they make with respect to school attendance and general academic work.

### **Discussions and Conclusion**

All children are trained to obey their elders, especially their parents/guardians. On the other hand, parents/guardians are obliged to seek the welfare of their children by providing them with basic needs for their growth and development. However, various factors, mainly economic, affect the provision of some of these basic needs for the household. Hence, children are put to work to help provide such needs. Nevertheless, there are

conventions, both local and international, which protect and prevent children from being engaged in economic activities that could have negative effects on their development. Based on the findings from the study, the paper discusses and justifies that the work the children engaged in at Mankessim is child labour.

The difference between child work and child labour lies in the effects on the development of a child. For instance, any form of work that denies a child access to education is labour. Education develops the skills of a child for employment in the future and for the development of the society in general. Any denial of access to education therefore becomes a denial of a child's basic need, especially in our context where basic education is free. Again, any work that affects school attendance as well as the academic progress of a child goes beyond child work. This is because school attendance rates are often used as indicators of positive attitudes towards schooling and as such, provide a tool for monitoring and evaluating performance in the academic process of a child (Mortimore, 1997).

The inability of these children to enjoy leisure also constitutes a denial of a basic need for growth and development. Moreover, if children below age twelve work as adults with inadequate or no wages, then such work ceases to be child work; it constitutes exploitation. Such exploitation does not benefit the child in her/his development in school, nor in skill development for future use. Rather, it exacerbates the stress the child must cope with, in addition to other challenges both at home and at school (if in-school), especially if s/he is unable to do her/his home work or assignment.

Lastly, some of the punishments meted out to these children who refused to work are cruel and unacceptable according to existing legal frameworks.

Such punishments do not only constitute child neglect as well as physical and emotional abuse (Santrock, 2005), but also an infringement on the human rights of children and a breach of The Children's Act, 1998. The need to address these issues is therefore imperative.

With reference to the conceptual framework, both in-school and out-of-school child-worker populations are, to a large extent, victims of economic exploitation. This is because the effects of the economic enterprises the in-school child-worker population was engaged in include poor school attendance and inadequate leisure time. These can have potential effects on academic performance. The out-of-school group, on the other hand, receive no formal training, enjoy inadequate or no leisure and are denied skill development for future use. These, including the number of hours some of the children had to work in a week, constitute child labour.

The future of every society lies in the development of its children. It is therefore vital to make the concerns of children crucial in household, community and national decisions. Though generally, household poverty is perceived to be the main reason why parents engage their children in economic enterprises, there are some other specific factors that initiate or increase household poverty. These are the death of a spouse and divorce. Death is inevitable. In our part of the world where males with well paid jobs dominate the economic market and are culturally responsible for the socioeconomic welfare of the household, a loss of a male spouse is likely to plunge members of that household into temporary, if not permanent socioeconomic hardship. Measures therefore need to be put in place by households, families and communities to guarantee the future development needs of children even before the death of a parent.

Divorce also affects child development (Berkerman-Wiedman, 2008). Social or legal frameworks that facilitate the process of divorce must equally ensure that the development of the child or children in such relationships is not compromised. It is worth noting that divorce was one of the causes that led to the formation of child-headed households, a situation that is likely to lead to child labour and/or adult poverty. There must be a sustained effort by civil society, especially traditional groupings such as clans and religious bodies, to institute and/or strengthen local structures to protect children from the negative effects of divorce.

Comparatively, women tend to be the most badly hit by divorce or the loss of a spouse because of their low socioeconomic status in the society. Therefore, improvement in the standard of living of women becomes crucial if the plight of working children is to be addressed. Specific interventions intended to empower women economically are very important in fighting household poverty (Sharma, 2003). The government must show greater commitment in this regard.

The current trend of activities engaged in by the working children in the study settlement could impede the achievement of MDG2. Beyond the achievement of this goal is the building of a human resource, which is the backbone of development in every society. The country cannot build a solid human resource base if some children work instead of schooling. With the law on FCUBE in operation, all law enforcement agencies and social welfare departments need to act on behalf of these children to ensure their welfare.

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Appendix 1: Selected sample of body weights of children and weights of load carried

| No. | Sex    | Age | Level of education reached     | Weight (kg) | Good sold (carried) | Load (kg) | Comfortable?                            | Duration                             | Caretaker     |
|-----|--------|-----|--------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------|---|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1   | Female | 12  | Dropout<br>(reached Primary 4) | 40          | Pure water          | 14        | No, load very heavy                     | 10 hours<br>(full-time work)         | Grandmother   |
| 2   | Female | 13  | Dropout<br>(reached Primary 4) | 42          | pure water          | 10        | No, tiring hawking                      | 10hrs<br>(full-time work)            | Sister        |
| 3   | Female | 16  | Dropout<br>(reached JHS* 3)    | 55          | Bread               | 8         | No, tiring walking<br>and selling       | 12 hours<br>(full-time work)         | Foster Parent |
| 4   | Female | 13  | Primary 6                      | 40          | Pure water          | 5         | Yes, convenient                         | 4 hours<br>(after school)            | Parents       |
| 5   | Female | 15  | Dropout<br>(reached JHS 3)     | 53          | Pure water          | 13        | Convenient to carry,<br>tiring selling  | 7 hours<br>(full-time work)          | Mother        |
| 6   | Male   | 10  | Primary 2                      | 25          | Pure water          | 11        | No, tiring selling                      | 3hrs (before and<br>after school)    | Mother        |
| 7   | Female | 16  | Dropout<br>(reached JHS 1)     | 56          | Bread               | 16        | No, very tiring.                        | 12hrs<br>(full-time time)            | Child-headed  |
| 8   | Female | 9   | Dropout<br>(reached Primary 3) | 35          | Pure water          | 10        | No, tiring carrying<br>and selling load | 10 hours<br>(full-time work)         | Foster Parent |
| 10  | Female | 15  | Primary 2                      | 41          | Pure water          | 12        | No, uncomfortable                       | 4 hours<br>(after school)            | Parents       |
| 11  | Female | 12  | Primary 5                      | 38          | Pineapple           | 6         | Yes, comfortable                        | 4 hours<br>(after school)            | Parents       |
| 12  | Female | 8   | Primary 2                      | 20          | Yam                 | 11        | No, load very heavy                     | 3 hours<br>(after school)            | Mother        |
| 13  | Male   | 15  | JHS 2                          | 51          | Spring rolls        | 4         | No, tiring.                             | 3 hours<br>after school)             | Mother        |
| 14  | Male   | 12  | Primary 3                      | 31          | Bread               | 4         | No, very tiring                         | 5 hours (before<br>and after school) | Mother        |
| 15  | Male   | 15  | JHS 3                          | 45          | Ice cream           | 8         | No, load heavy, tiring<br>selling       | 11hrs (market<br>days)               | Grandmother   |

Source: Fieldwork (2006) JHS\* - Junior High School