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Child labour in rural and urban Kenyan settings: A comparative study of Kakuzi location, Murang'a County and Kibera slum, Nairobi County

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Abstract

This paper is drawn from a study that was done in 2014 in Kenya. The study focuses on child labour-a typical issue of concern in Kenya and beyond. More specifically, the study explores in detail the phenomenon of child labour in rural and urban Kenyan settings taking the cases of Kakuzi location, Murang'a County and Kibera slum, Nairobi County. To achieve this broad objective, the study was guided by four research questions namely; (a) what is the nature of child labour?; (b) what is the magnitude of child labour?; (c) what are the determinants of child

labour and (d) what are the consequences of child labour in Kenya? A comparative survey research of a total of 160 female heads of households was undertaken in the two study sites. The study found out that there are more opportunities for child labour in rural areas than in urban areas. Hence, it was found that child labour is apparently more common in the rural areas as compared to urban areas. Commercial agriculture is the main sector that demands the use of child labour in rural areas while domestic labour is the greatest consumer of child labour in urban areas. The findings further suggested measures that can address the problem of child labour in Kenya including; (a) improved access to education; (b) economic empowerment of parents/guardians; (c) proper enforcement of law safeguarding children's rights and (d) provision of basic necessities to the affected children.

Keywords: Child labour, rural, urban, Kenya

1. Background and Problem Statement

Kenya is the largest economy in Eastern Africa and is categorized as a middle income country. It is bordered by Ethiopia and Sudan to the north, the Indian Ocean and Somalia to the east, the United republic of Tanzania to the south, and Uganda and Lake Victoria to the west (GoK, 2013). The country has a total area of 582,646 sq. kms. Only about 20% of this land is arable which consequently accommodates a large proportion of the country's population (GoK, 2013). The country had its new constitution promulgated in 2010 which provides for 47 devolved county governments which are distinct from, but interdependent with the national government, each with a governor and a county government. The counties are in turn subdivided into sub-counties, wards and villages (GoK, 2013). Hence, the country is divided into 47 counties[1] for administrative purposes with Nairobi being the capital city. Kenya's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) stands at 5.8% with agriculture as the most prominent industry (KNBS[2], 2017). The 2017 estimate of the Kenyan population is 48 million with 26.9% of the population accounting for urban population and 73.1% accounting for rural population[3].

The Kenyan education system consists of three main cycles; primary[4], secondary and post-secondary education. The categories that are of particular interest to this study include the primary and secondary. The primary school net enrollment rate[5] (NER) stood at 89.2% in 2016 while the secondary school net enrollment rate stood at 51.3% (Economic survey, 2017). The

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[1] A county is a geographical unit envisioned by the 2010 Constitution of Kenya as units of devolved government.

[2] Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) is a semi-autonomous government agency mandated by law (Statistics Act 2006) to collect, analyze and disseminate socio-economic statistics needed for planning and policy formulation in the country.

[3] http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/kenya-population/ (retrieved on 13th June 2017)

[4] The primary education cycle is the most critical stage in comparison to other phases of learning in Kenyan education system. It takes the longest time and lasts for eight years. Children enroll at the age of six years and by the end of the cycle they are adolescents (Ngugi, *et al.*, 2015).

[5] Net Enrolment Rate refers to the enrolment of the official age group for a given level of education expressed as a percentage of the corresponding population.

primary pupil completion rate in Kenya stood at 83.5% in 2016 while the primary to secondary transition rate stood at 81.3% in 2016. According to MoEST (2014), highest dropout rates[6] have been observed during the final grade of the primary education cycle (standard eight) which stood at 23.1% (22.7% for boys and 23.5% for girls). The statistics further show that approximately 1.3 million children aged between 6 and 13 years were just out of primary schools in Kenya in 2014. The prominence of basic education in the life of an individual can hardly be overstated. Basic education helps the individual to develop his or her own abilities and to comprehend and communicate with the world in which he or she lives (Ngugi, *et al.*, 2015). In Kenya, basic education has been declared as a human right. This consequently, led to the implementation of free and compulsory primary education in 2003. However, a declaration does not automate its achievement (Ngugi, *et al.*, 2015).

Although the implementation of Free Primary Education (FPE) in Kenya has brought great achievements in terms of increase in enrolments, not all children are able to stay in school to the end of primary education cycle. Child labour, poverty, education level of parents, lack of role model and various social cultural issues are some of the factors contributing to high dropout cases in primary schools in Kenya (Chemwei & Morara, 2013; Mwenda, *et al.*, 2013). In a study done by Munene and Ruto (2010) on the right to education and domestic labour in Kenya, it was found out that child labour was both poverty induced and adult initiated. Other studies (Mwenda, *et al.*, 2013) have also confirmed that child labour and high poverty levels among households lead to increased school drop out. Hence, child labour is still a thorny issue in Kenya that is hindering children from accessing basic education in Kenya. Ending child labour is a goal in itself; but it is also a powerful way of promoting economic and human development (Njoka, *et al.*, 2009:1).

The overall purpose of the study was thus to understand the dynamics of child labour in rural and urban Kenyan settings. Child labour is a global problem for there is no region in the world, which is completely free of the problem (Fallen and Tzannatos, 1998). Child labour is however a common phenomenon, particularly in the developing world (Haspels & Jankanish, 2000:4). Child labour is "work that is unacceptable because the children involved are too young, and should be in school, or because even though they have attained the minimum age for admission to employment, the work that they do is unsuitable for a person below the age of 18" (Blume and Breyer, 2011:2).

Global statistics on child labour indicate that there were 168 child laborers in the world in 2012 (Diallo, *et al*., 2013). In Kenya, the most comprehensive and consolidated nation - wide child labour survey done in 1999 estimated that there were 1.9 million child labourers aged 5 to 17 years. The Child Labour Analytical report drawing from the KIHBS[7] 2005/2006 indicated a

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[6] Dropout rate refers to the proportion of pupils from a cohort enrolled in a given grade at a given school year who are no longer enrolled in the following school year.

[7] Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS) is a survey of a representative random sample of all comprehensive household in the republic of Kenya

decrease in the number of child labourers from 1.9 million in 1999 to 1,012,184 in 2005/2006. This implies that child labour is on a decline which can be partly attributed to Free Primary Education that was implemented in 2003 in Kenya. This report further indicated that the bulk of child labourers (80%) is found in the rural areas (KNBS, 2008). Hence, this explains why most of the past studies on child labour in Africa and other developing countries, have focused on the rural areas as opposed to few studies in urban areas. However, child labour is becoming predominant in the urban areas and more specifically in the slum areas where majority of the urban poor live. Continuous research needs to be done across the rural and urban divides in Kenya in order to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on child labour. Therefore, this comparative study was quite timely and endeavoured to examine the similarities and differences in the dynamics of child labour in the rural and urban Kenyan settings.

3. Research Methodology

The study focused majorly on understanding the dynamics of child labour in rural and urban Kenyan settings. This study thus adopted a comparative survey design. This involved selecting a sample of rural and urban households in Murang'a and Nairobi Counties respectively, where child labour was likely to occur. Bearing in mind the comparative nature of the study, quantitative strategy was largely used by the researcher supplemented by the qualitative strategy. The weaknesses of the quantitative strategy were compensated for by the strengths of the qualitative strategy. The bulk of the data was collected through a survey of rural and urban female household heads interviewed using a standardized household questionnaire on matters focusing on child labour. Typically, in Kenya women take care of children at a tender age. Hence, female household heads are better placed to understand the experiences of their children than their male counterparts. Consequently, they were assumed to have details on child labour that would address the specific objectives of this study. More specifically, the researcher targeted the female household heads with children aged between 5 and 17 years who are at risk of engaging in child labour. The researcher ultimately collected quantitative data from 160 respondents from rural and urban settings.

In addition, a total of ten (10) in-depth qualitative interviews with the key informants were conducted in the two study sites; five in each site. These key informants included; teachers, local administrators/chiefs, village elders[8] and children officers in the respective areas. Two Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with children were conducted in each of the research site. Four case studies were done with the child labourers as a follow up to enrich the quantitative data collected using questionnaires. The in-depth interviews, FGDs and case studies were used to collect qualitative data that was used to supplement the bulk of quantitative data collected from the female household heads using a standardized household questionnaire.

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[8] Local administrators/chiefs are the leaders who in charge of the local administrative unit called a location. Village elders are in charge of smaller administrative units under the location called villages.

Sources of data: The main source of primary data for this study was quantitative data using the standardized household questionnaire supplemented by qualitative data which was collected using the interview guides. On the other hand, secondary data was obtained from the review of past studies that have been done on child labour that helped the researcher understand the past trends of the phenomenon including local and international published and unpublished works, journals, books and internet.

Data analysis: The study employed both quantitative and qualitative procedures of data analysis. The first phase of the quantitative data analysis involved generating descriptive statistics using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) such as frequency tables which was used to outline the demographic characteristics of the respondents such as age and marital status. The second phase involved carrying out various statistical tests to assess the relationship and differences between variables of interest. Inferential statistics such as the cross tabulation and use of Chi-square were adopted in order to test the hypotheses stated in this study. On the other hand, qualitative data from the key informants', case studies and FGDs notes were reorganized schematically using word tables. Qualitative data from the case studies, FGDs and key informants was used to expound on some of the quantitative components in the study where necessary.

3.1 Sampling Design of the Study

The study adopted a multi-stage sampling design. The first stage entailed the purposive sampling of the two study sites. At this level, the study ensured a typical rural and urban research sites were identified to mirror the characteristics of the two divides in Kenya. Approximately, 26.9% of the population in Kenya is urban population and 73.1% is rural. The country is divided into counties. There are other smaller administrative units within the counties including; division, location and sub-location. In the rural areas these administrative units are functional and were used in the current study to map out the areas to be targeted. More specifically, a location[9] was targeted as an area of study in the rural research site. In the urban research site, a slum was purposively selected. In the slum areas in Kenya, people live in distinct villages. The two research sites were purposively selected since they are characterized with poverty which is a major determinant contributing to child labour in Kenya and developing countries at large.

The second stage targeted to draw a sample of female household heads who had children aged between 5 and 17 years. Cluster sampling[10] was used to draw this sample and it entailed the use of administrative boundaries including locations for the rural area and villages for the urban area. Once the clusters[11] were identified, the researcher proceeded to sample the households with

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[9] A location is a local administrative unit under the county that is governed by a chief in Kenya

[10] In cluster sampling, first the population is divided into clusters, usually along geographical boundaries (Singh 2007:105). Then some clusters are randomly selected from all clusters formed to measure all units within sampled clusters in the end

[11] For the purposes of this study, a cluster refers to a sub-village. A village thus consisted of a number of sub-villages that were demarcated by major land marks such as roads, hills or rivers.

children aged 5 and 17 years in that particular cluster and interview the female household heads. Those households that did not have children aged between 5 and 17 years were skipped during data collection. Overall, the study targeted a sample of 160 households in the two research sites. This large sample size was appropriate since it was a comparative study and required a relatively larger sample. The researcher selected the key informants, children who participated in FGDs and child laborers for case studies in each of the sites using purposive sampling.

4. Ethical Considerations

Child labour is quite a sensitive issue especially since it involves an infringement on the rights of children who are perceived to be passive. Ethical considerations were addressed at every phase of the study including the design, data collection, data analysis and report writing. The researcher thus could not interview any respondent without their informed consent. For the children, the researcher sought consent from the parents/guardians. The researcher was also keen to adhere to the professional ethics while undertaking the study. Therefore, approvals for authorization to undertake the study from relevant institutions was sought before embarking on data collection. Confidentiality and anonymity was also ensured during data reporting whereby there was no name mentioning of those who participated in the study.

5. Results and Discussions

This section captures key findings on various aspects of child labour in Kenya including; (a) key characteristics of the respondents; (b) nature of child labour; (c) magnitude of child labour; (d) determinants of child labour; (e) consequences of child labour; (f) measures to curb child labour and; (g) levels of awareness of child labour policies.

5.1 Key characteristics of the respondents

Age is an important variable in explaining the characteristics of any population set. Overall, majority of the female household heads in the two research sites (42.5%) fell in the 20-29 years age bracket. This age structure displayed by the findings in both Kakuzi and Kibera is not surprising since Kenya's population has a youthful structure (KNBS, 2009). On the marital status, majority of the female house hold heads were married. Marriage was a more common phenomenon in rural areas than in urban areas. Regarding education, majority of the female household heads (69.4%) in the two study sites had primary education. Generally, the respondents in the urban areas had a relatively higher education achievement as compared to their rural counterparts. On Occupation, vast majority of the rural female house hold heads (98.7%) were farmers while the vast majority of urban female household heads (60%) were petty traders. This depicts that most of the respondents were working in the non-formal sector where wages are generally low, indicating that majority fall in the category of the working poor. Income is a powerful tool of gauging the socio-economic status of a certain household and thus a vital influence on child's involvement in labour. The rural mean monthly household income was

found to be Ksh[12]. 10,636 while for the urban counterparts was Ksh. 15,494. Hence, monthly incomes were higher for the urban setting since they are wide range of opportunities for earning a living as compared to their counterparts in the rural setting who might be limited to the agricultural activities with low incomes.

5.2 Nature of child labour

Defining child labour is a difficult task since it is defined differently by different societies, organizations, countries and individuals. Hence, many past studies globally have faced difficulties in defining child labour. Children involved in child labour perform economic activities voluntarily (for example, to increase the amount of available pocket money), while others are forced by the necessity of income for survival. Some children work only a few hours a week or only during peak seasons such as harvest times or festival; while others work full time every day, year-round (Blume, & Breyer, 2011:1). Depending on the workload, some children are still able to combine school attendance and work, while in other cases children are deprived of their right to education due to heavy workload (Boyden and Myers, 1998).

Other studies that have been done in Kenya on child labour have attempted to define child labour. For instance, Njoka (2007) states child labour entails a situation of a child (persons under 18 years) working for more than four to six hours. In addition, the child is unsupervised by a responsible adult and exposes the child to hazards or conditions that endanger the physical, mental, moral and social wellbeing of the child. This definition is not clear since it implies that a child who is supervised by a responsible adult, for instance, a child accompanying the mother to work as casual labourers, may not qualify to be considered as child labour. All these situations presented in the aforementioned definitions do not point to some uniform criteria for defining child labour. Bearing this in mind, the current study sought to document the perceptions of the rural and urban female household heads in regard to the definition of child labour. This study further shed light on the nature of child labour in the Kenyan context.

In the current study, a number of perceptions were used to describe child labour in the two research sites. Vast majority of the rural female household heads (80%) described child labour by the nature of work or activity being undertaken by the children in the area. The urban female household heads had similar perception since majority of them (91.2%) defined child labour by the nature of the work or activity being done by the children. Hence, the vast majority across the Kenyan rural and urban divides, viewed children engaging in activities which translate to heavy workload as children engaging in labour. The emphasis on the duration of work done, timing of the activity and the age of children was absent in both settings. These findings were similar to that of a study done by Boyden and Myers (1998) where there is a lot of emphasis on the workload in defining child labour. However, they did not concur with those of Njoka (2007) who captured the issue of supervision by a responsible adult as one of the criteria for defining child labour.

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[12] Ksh refers to the Kenyan shillings which is the currency used in Kenya. 1 USD = Ksh. 100

As expected, vast majority of the rural female household heads (98.8%) observed commercial agriculture[13] is the main sector that demands the use of child labour in the area. The children are involved in farm work activities such as planting, ploughing, weeding, digging and harvesting of crops. Majority of the urban female household heads (85%) observed that domestic work was the greatest consumer of child labour. The respondents admitted that it was still considered a hidden enterprise where girls are the most affected by this problem and thus it was difficult to trace these domestic child labourers.

5.3 Magnitude of child labour

The study was meant to conceptualize child labour in the rural and urban settings of Kenya in a measurable way. Nearly 32% of the households covered in the rural setting reported having children engaged in child labour as compared to only 5% in the urban setting. These findings are a clear indication that child labour is quite invisible and thus difficult to detect at the household level. The situation was worse in the urban settings where the respondents were unwilling to admit that there were children engaged in labour. Moreover, most of the children in urban areas tend to engage in domestic labour outside their homes. The 'invisibility[14]' of child labour in urban setting was thus evident as compared to visibility of child labour in rural setting. This may give a false impression that child labour is more prevalent in rural settings than urban settings.

A total of 49 children in the rural setting were reported to be engaged in child labour. Of these children, 51% were boys while 49% were girls indicating that child labour affects both girls and boys on an almost equal measure. However, most of the children were combining work and school and thus few of these child labourers had completely dropped out of school. In the urban setting, there was a sharp contrast in terms of gender and the number of children involved in labour found in the targeted households. A total of 10 children were found to be involved in child labour. This depicts a seemingly low engagement of children in labour as compared to rural setting. Of these child labourers, 30% were boys while 70% were girls. Thus, the findings showed that girls were the most affected by child labour than boys in urban settings as compared to the rural settings.

5.4 Determinants of child labour

Personal attributes of the children;[15] Age is a major determinant influencing children's entry into the labour market (Nanjunda, 2009: 89). It is clear that the most affected age group in the two

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[13] Commercial agriculture in the targeted rural setting for this study entailed the growing of maize and beans for commercial purposes.

[14] According to the author, reporting of child labour cases in the urban setting may have been under reported. Child labour happens mainly within the households which might be difficult to capture. In addition, people living in urban areas are more enlightened on children rights and may fear that labour officers may arrest them once they admit that their children are involved in child labour.

[15] Given the few cases of child labour that were reported in the urban setting (rural setting=49 child labourers, urban setting=10 child labourers), a comparative analysis of these child labourers would not be sustained. Accordingly, the study combined the cases of child labour in the two sites in the analyses of the personal attributes of children that follow.

research sites was 14-17 years accounting for more than half (52.5%) of the child labourers captured by the study. The older children were more affected by child labour as compared to their younger counterparts. This can be explained by the relative complexity of informal sector especially in the urban areas that call for such children to enroll for apprenticeships and vocational training (Mutie, 2007). Consequently, this requirement locks out the younger children out of the informal labour market. It was interesting to note that quite a number of child labourers in the two research sites (16.9%) begin working at a tender age of between 6 and 9 years. Most of them were involved in undertaking domestic chores at home such as taking care of their younger siblings while their parents worked within or outside home. Regarding **gender,** the overall findings revealed that there more girls involved in child labour, 31 (52.5%) than boys 28 (47.5%) in the two sites. As expected, there are more girls engaged in child labour at the early age (6-9 age group) which accounts for 70% of the cases of child labour captured in that age group. On the other hand, there are more boys are engaged in child labour when they get older (14-17 age group) accounting for 54.8% of cases of child labour captured in that age group. This is because girls are more likely to begin working at a young age in the domestic sphere engaging in unpaid domestic work such as taking care of younger siblings as compared to boys.

School characteristics; since schooling is the main competing time use for children, it stands as the major reason that the cost of schooling would be an important determinant of the likelihood of child work (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995). The findings revealed that most of the child labourers in the two research sites were enrolled in school since they used to work on weekends, during school holidays and whenever they were sent home for school fees. Of all households that reported cases of child labour in the two research sites (29), only 3 (10%) of those households had child labourers who were out of school. This suggests that the cost of schooling including non-tuition fees such as examination and activity fees has forced some children into the labour market. This was echoed by one the female household head in the urban setting;

> *"…I am a single mother and the sole bread winner in the family. One of my daughters is a teenage mother and she could not continue with her education. This is because I earn little money from my chicken roasting business and so she has to work in order to provide for her child and her siblings who are still in school…"*

Attributes of the parents; the study sought to analyse how the level of education of the mother influence the incidence of child labour in a particular household. The Chi-square test pointed to a lack of relationship between the level of education of the mother and the child's involvement in labour. Thus, it was concluded that the two variables are independent or not associated and thus the null hypothesis was upheld. In regard to the type of occupation of the mother and child's involvement in labour, the Chi-square test confirmed that there was no relationship between the type of occupation of the mother and the child's involvement in labour. It was concluded that the two variables are independent or not associated and thus the null hypothesis was upheld. This

indicates that the level of education and the type of occupation of the mother do not influence the child's involvement in labour in a particular household.

Household characteristics; on the household size, majority of the households that reported cases of child labour had more than six household members (72%) which is a relatively large household size. This suggests that there might be an association between the household size and the child's involvement in labour in a particular household. The Chi-square test of independence done indicated that there is a relationship between the household size and the child's involvement in labour. It was thus concluded that the two variables are dependent or associated. Thus, the null hypothesis of the study was rejected and the alternative hypothesis adopted. On the **household income**, majority of the households that reported cases of child labour (69%) had a monthly income of less than Ksh. 10,000. This shows that these households had relatively low monthly incomes and is indicative of the fact that parents of these child labourers belonged to the class of the working poor. The Chi-square test of independence done indicated that there is a relationship between the household size and the child's involvement in labour. It was thus concluded that the two variables are dependent or associated. Hence, the null hypothesis of the study was rejected and the alternative hypothesis upheld for the current study.

5.5 Consequences of child labour

Positive consequences; Majority of the respondents in the rural setting (56%) cited 'socialization' as one of the positive effects of children engaging in labour; it instills a sense of responsibility in children whereby they are socialized into adult roles such as undertaking household chores and farm work activities. Other female heads of households (36%) stated that the child labourers earn some income and thus can purchase school necessities such as stationery which the parents may not afford due to their low incomes. Similar observations were made in the urban setting where all the female heads of household with children engaged in labour (100%) stated it was meant for 'socialization purposes'.

Negative consequences; the reported positive consequences of child labour notwithstanding, this study found quite a number of negative consequences of child labour which were categorized into three levels namely; child, household and community. At the child's level, majority of the female heads of households in the two research sites observed that the involvement of children in labour contributed to physical deterioration. This is was further emphasized by the children who participated in a FGD;

> *"....when children engage in hard labour for long hours, they fall sick. They experience chest problems and backache…"* (FGD Participant, Rural Setting)

Other negative effects experienced by the child laborers include; (a) low educational attainment due to lack of concentration in class and; (b) adverse psychological consequences such as development of low self-esteem and bad habits such as stealing, lying and rebelliousness. At the household level, economic retardation, familial conflicts, social stigma and bad role models were reported as some of the negative consequences of child labour. At the community level, negative

peer influence, economic retardation and community conflicts were the major consequences that were captured during this study. This implies that the negative consequences of child labour outweigh the positive consequences of socialization purposes and supplementing household income. Thus, the need to put in place measures to curb the problem of child labour in Kenya.

5.6 Measures to curb child labour

Various measures have been put in place in past to curb child labour globally and nationally including the international and national policies. Majority of the female heads of households in the two research sites were of the opinion that child labour should be curbed. They suggested a number of measures to be put in place namely; (a) improving access to education by increasing the number of bursaries provided to bright needy students; (b) economic empowerment of parents/guardians through initiation of income generating activities; (c) sensitization of children, parents and community members on the importance of education; (d) proper enforcement of law by implementing the existing child labour policies and; (e) provision of basic necessities such as food, shelter and clothing to the affected children by well-wishers and civil society organizations.

5.7 Levels of awareness of child labour policies

Manda, *et al*., (2003:14) asserts that legislation has been the single-most important response of governments to the problem of child labour. Various legislations and policies both at the international and national levels have been instituted aimed at removing children from the labour market and eventually, promoting their wellbeing. Close to half of the respondents in the urban setting (44%) were aware of the Children's Act 2001[16] as compared to only 18.8% respondents in rural setting. The higher levels of awareness in the urban setting can be attributed to more sensitization campaigns against the violation of children's rights that are carried out by civil society organizations that are more vibrant in the slum areas as compared to rural areas. Moreover, people living in the urban areas have a greater access to many forms of media such as television, radio, billboards, newspapers and internet that usually contain such important information on children's rights.

6. Conclusion

This study endeavoured to understand the dynamics of child labour in rural and urban Kenyan settings. In conclusion, a number of key findings are captured under this section. **First**, the study findings suggest that child labour is apparently more common in rural than in urban settings. The "invisibility" of child labour especially in the urban areas was quite evident as illustrated by the unwillingness of the respondents to admit that there were children involved in labour in their households. Child labour is more visible in the rural areas. Hence, researchers need to be more careful methodologically in order to ensure they capture incidences of child labour in the urban areas in future. **Second**, commercial agriculture was cited as the greatest consumer of child

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[16] This is an act of parliament which is the most comprehensive legislation in Kenya that seeks to protect children from economic exploitation.

labour in rural areas while domestic labour demands the use of child labour in the urban areas. **Third**, the study revealed that the most commonly cited indicator of child labour in both rural and urban areas is the nature of work or activity undertaken by the child which translated to heavy workload for the children. This indicator was helpful in defining child labour since past studies globally and nationally have experienced difficulties in defining child labour. **Fourth**, the study did show that there were more girls involved in child labour at an early age (6-9 age group) in the two research sites as compared to boys. This is because girls are more likely to begin working at a young age in the domestic sphere engaging in unpaid domestic work such as taking care of their younger siblings as compared to boys. On the other hand, there were more boys engaged in child labour as they get older (14-17 age group) which shows that boys start working later and mostly outside home in paid child labour. **Fifth**, the Chi-square tests of independence done to test the hypotheses of this study, revealed that there was no association between the attributes of the parents (level of education and type of occupation of the mother) and the child's involvement in labour in a particular household. This implies that there are other factors that influence the incidence of child labour that were beyond the scope of this study. Most of the past studies have focused on the household specific factors that include type of occupation of the parent/guardian as some of the main factors that influence the incidence of child labour. Since, the current study did not find any association between the two variables then it would mean that future studies might need to focus more on child specific factors such as personality traits of a child that may propel a child to look for a source of income.

7. Recommendations

The main recommendations made for policy by this study include; (a) the need for the national government to come up with a comprehensive national child labour policy; (b) the need for sensitization campaigns at the grass root level meant to improve the levels of knowledge on child labour policies and; (c) the need for the national and county governments to put in place measures to ensure the affected children can be re-integrated back in schools. The study also recommends two areas for further research namely; (a) a modification of the methodology for future studies on child labour where by tracer project can be done to cover the subjects themselves; child laborers and; (b) a further exploration of psychological consequences of child labour on the development of a child should be done.

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