

**Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies**

**CHILD LABOUR IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR
(A CASE STUDY OF CHILD
SHOE POLISHERS IN
GULELE KEFLEA KETMA)**

**By
SOLOMON SHIMELIS**



**June 2006
Addis Ababa**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
Addis Ababa University
In partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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Studies**

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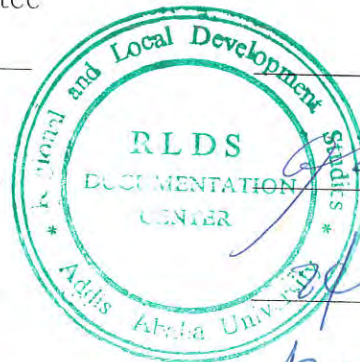
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Educational Status of child Shoe Shiners

Type of Injuries and Work Related health problems

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Abstract

Child labour is pervasive problem throughout the world, especially in developing countries. As in many developing countries, child labour is a widespread problem in Ethiopia. In rural areas, agriculture is by far the dominant sector of child employment where as in urban areas child workers are mostly engaged in the informal sector. There are different types of child labour in the informal sector in Ethiopia but the study focus only on those children who are engaged in shoe shining activities in Gulele sub city.

The objective of the study was to know the factors that led the children into shoe shining work, the types of hazards and risks they face, the number of hours they devote to work, the impact of work on the health and education of the working children, the physical and verbal abuse they encountered, they work related injuries they experienced, the type of treatment they received, the evaluation of working children about their work place, literacy status, levels of education and training, the attitude and perception of the children of their current and future life and to systematically observe the working conditions of the child shoe shiners and finally forward some plausible recommendations for consideration. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected by using survey method, focus group discussion and direct observation.

The findings of the study indicate that nearly all the child shoe shiners that participated in the study were with disadvantaged background involving lack of access to education, coming from poor families, some being orphaned and having migrated from other parts of Ethiopia to Addis Ababa. According to the study findings working children that participated in the study were forced to engage into shoe shining carrier by so many reasons including the socio- economic and cultural factor of their circumstances.

The study findings showed that child shoe shiners that participated in the study were leading adult leaves, normally working for long hours under conditions damaging to their healthy and to their physical development, facing physical and verbal abuse, frequently deprived of meaningful educational opportunities that could open up for them better future.

Finally some important recommendations have been raised as a solution to reduce the problem faced by child shoe shiners in the study area.

Chapter 1

1 Introduction

Child labor remains a widespread and growing phenomenon in today's world. Despite the International labour conventions to protect children from child labor, namely ILO convention on the worst forms of child labor, 1999 (No 182) and ILO minimum age convention 1973 (No 138) as well as local governments legislations to protect children from child labor, the practice continuous unabated. Many children world wide are engaged in all forms of work, in shops, in agriculture, in factories, market places, street corners and in household chores facing extremely dangers situations and exploitative and abusive conditions. Some of the underlying causes of child labor are poverty, insufficient or unbalanced economic growth, broken homes and unemployment in the formal sectors. The families of many working children are known to struggle for survival due to the pressing and chronic problem of the country they live in. Some of these working children work long hours in poor and unhealthy work environment and receive little remuneration. They have neither access to education nor adequate remuneration and living conditions, which constrain their holistic development (Bequele and Myers 1995).

The issue of child labor is not a new phenomenon. To greater or lesser extent, children in every type of human society have always taken a part, and still do take part, in the day to day activities of the family and human society since the beginning of time. In earlier times, it was assumed that child labour was easy work that is useful for children well being and development. However, after the industrial revolution child labor become to be considered as a social problem and a phenomenon hindering the harmonious physical and mental development of the child in Europe. The notion that child labor is a social problem and the

accompanying idea that the child should be protected against it, come to the fore when the systematic exploitation of children by employer outside the child's family become rampant (Myer 1998; ILO 2002).

Child labor is most prevalent in developing countries. Almost all developing countries have incorporated the principle of prohibition of child work in hazardous conditions and activities in their national legislation or define the conditions under which children may work. However, regulations frequently apply only to those persons who are under a formal employment. Under these circumstances, a great proportion of child workers remain unprotected because the kind of work they perform most frequently is found in agriculture and the informal sector. The informal sector has become an ideal place for children to be engaged in hazardous work, hidden from the public. Many employers also prefer children to adults because the lower costs of child workers (ILO, 2002).

According to the report of ILO, a wall of silence, indifference and apathy usually surround child labor (ILO, 2002). Child labor remains one of the most violated human right issue of our time. Child labor is almost invisible to most people, but child workers are largely available in many countries of the world. Sold or exchanged as cheap merchandise many children suffer form extremely dangers and unacceptable forms of exploitation like bonded labor and sexual exploitation. Others suffer, and may only barely survive, unhealthy and crowded work environment, the short and long term toxic exposures, long hours of work, the heavy work loads and the dangerous work tools. (ILO/ IPEC, 1999).

Currently, child labor has emerged as a global issue attracting attention at the international level. Concern about the working children can be understood in terms of economic, developmental and humanitarian concerns. The economic concern refers to the long term impact of child labor on capital formation and its contribution to the increasing number of adult unemployment in developing countries. The

humanitarian concern refers to the protection of children from extremely dangerous and exploitative occupations. Children have the right to receive education, not to be subjected to abusive and exploitative type of work and to grow enjoying their childhood. For this purpose, they should be free from work which may be hazardous or harmful to their health, education and well being. Finally, the developmental concern refers to the cognitive development that includes children's access to education (Anker 2001; Bequele and Myers,1995) .

The exact number of working children in the world is not known, however some estimates have been made. According to the estimates by ILO's Bureau of statistics 211 million children between the age of 5 to 14 work for a living. The overwhelming majority of these children are found in developing countries The Asia pacific region has the highest number of working children which was 127.3 million of working children followed by sub-Saharan Africa with 48 million and Caribbean and Latin American with 17.4 million. Together, these three regions accounted for about 90% of all child workers. Even if child labour is primarily a developing country problem; child labor also exists in many developed countries (ILO, 2002 and Valentine Forastieri 1997).

Similar to many developing countries, in Africa, Asia and Latin America, child labor is a wide spread problem in Ethiopia. The labor proclamation of Ethiopia (No. 42/93) stipulates that children under the age of 14 are not allowed to work (CSA, 2001) In Ethiopia child labor below the age of 14 is virtually prohibited yet it continues to flourish. The issue of child labor in Ethiopia is a growing phenomenon that is largely fostered and facilitated by the persistent poverty encountered in the country. In Ethiopia children participate in different economic and non economic activities that range from domestic work activities to cattle herding, farming, shoe shining and the like. The type of works they perform are not compatible with their age in both rural and urban areas.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Child labor is a widespread problem throughout the world and no country is immune from the problem of child labour. Many child workers are engaged in activities that are not permitted by national and international standards. It is widely believed that children should be protected from any kind of exploitation and neglect. But in reality unacceptable forms of exploitation of children at work exists and persist in almost all parts of the world. Child labor is one of the major causes and form of child exploitation and abuse. Even if, child labor exists in all parts of the world, the extent varies according to the level of development of a country. Relatively few children work in hazardous conditions in developed countries. However, in developing countries where most people live below and just above poverty line the extent of child labor is very high (ILO, 2002).

In urban areas child workers are mostly concentrated in the informal sector. The number of children who are working in the formal sector is insignificant when compared to the informal sector. The governments of developing countries are struggling with spiraling unemployment rates in cities and deepening poverty in the country side. As employment opportunities in the formal sector have decreased particularly relative to the number of job seekers, informal sector becomes a source of employment for more and more people. The informal sector is growing at an alarming rate in developing countries and it absorbs more than 60% of inhabitants. (CSA 1997). Since child labor is prohibited in the legislation of many nations, children are engaged in the informal sector of the economy working in hazardous and unsuitable work environment that jeopardizes the physical, psychological and moral development of a child. Furthermore, children working in the informal sector are vulnerable since it functions with little or no protection from the legal sector. This by itself puts children working in the informal

sector in a vulnerable situation and exposes them for danger from different directions.

Ethiopia is one of the countries where child labor exists on a large scale. According to child labor survey report of 2001 about 85 percent of children in Ethiopia are engaged in some kind of activity. The study showed that 9, 483, 611 children who account for 52.1 percent of the total children have worked in productive activities. The survey also revealed that the participation rate for boys was 62 percent compared to 41.9 percent for girls. Although the participation rate for boys is higher than girls the reverse is true when house keeping activities are taken into consideration. The house keeping activities are dominated by girls accounting for 44.3 percent compared to boys who account for 22.8 percent (CSA, 2001).

A study done in Addis Ababa in 1998 showed that child workers suffer from various forms of abuse including verbal, physical, sexual, emotional abuse and neglect. The study showed that prevalence of child abuse was 70% among working children and but only 25% among non working children. The study was a comparative study that compared working and non working children. The study showed that the type and frequency of abuse among the working children were physical 14.6% of sexual 12.1% and emotional 37.9% respectively. According to the study the physical, sexual and emotional abuse against the working children was five times more frequent than the non working children (ILO, 1998).

In Addis Ababa a significant number of children earn their living from shoe shining. At a time when they should be at school and preparing for a productive adulthood, small boys and girls are losing their childhood and, with it, the promise of a better future. Working from dusk till dawn every day on the streets, these children are constantly exposed to the heat, dust, rain and to street violence, traffic accidents and police harassment. In compensation for their labor and for taking such risks they earn a very small amount of income. Child shoe polishers

are vulnerable section of society in Addis Ababa. Their work is likely to expose them to physical, emotional and verbal abuse at their tender age when they need utmost care and protection by adults.

Although a nation wide survey was conducted in the year 2001, there are still considerable gaps in understanding the variety of forms and conditions under which children work. The 2001 child labor survey does not show the situation of working children at a specific workplace, like shoes shiners in the informal sector. In addition, little is known about the situation of shoe polishers in Addis Ababa in particular, and the country as a whole. Without having a deeper understanding of the situation of child shoe polishers in the informal sector and the rationale behind the cause of the problem, no meaningful solutions can be proposed to tackle the problem. Since child labor among shoe polishers is becoming a serious problem in Addis Ababa it should be given a greater emphasis and studied carefully and as much information as possible should be provided in order to fight child labor or at least to improve the working conditions of child shoe polishers.

1.2 Research Objective

The major objective of the study is to examine the causes and consequences of child labor on child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city.

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To examine the nature of child labor among shoe polishers in the study area
 - 1.1. How many hours have been devoted to work
 - 1.2. The nature of work and the difficulties encountered while performing the job.
2. Assess the impact of work on the education, health, physical and mental development of the children

3. Identify the factors that led children to work at an early age in the study area
4. Assess the working conditions under which child shoe polishers are working
5. Assess the housing conditions and family status of child shoe polishers in the study area
6. To examine child shoe polishers attitude towards their work and their employment mechanisms in the study area
7. To assess the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the working children: literacy, age, sex, hours of work, the level of education and other living and working conditions

1.3 Significance of the Study

In Ethiopia there is no comprehensive and adequate study which shows the situation of working children at a specific work place. Even if a nation wide survey, which indicates the seriousness and magnitude of the problem was conducted in 2001, the survey does not consider the situation of working children at a specific work place like shoe polishers. Moreover, the study was conducted four years ago and there may be some changes on the situation of child labor.

In line with the growing concern about child labor in Ethiopia, different studies have emerged in order to understand and revert the situation. However, although the problem of child labor exploitation and abuse is affecting child shoe polishers profoundly, researches on child labor in Ethiopia appear to give little attention to the problem of these children. Though exact figures are still unavailable, large number of children in Addis Ababa are working in the informal sector as shoe polishers. In Addis Ababa, where child labor is rampant no research has been done so far, to identify the causes, magnitude and impact of child labor on child shoe polishers. Therefore, the study will contribute to a deeper understanding of the

magnitude of the problem and it will also try to give practical insight to the situation of child shoe polishers in the informal sector in Addis Ababa.

By assessing and analyzing the impact of child labor on the wellbeing and holistic development of a child, this study will contribute to the scant information available on child labor in the country. In addition, the findings of the study will create awareness to the public and policy makers. In order to design programs and strategies that would help to tackle the problem of child labor, information that show the nature of work performed by children, their work environment, the magnitude of the problem, causes and consequences are required. Thus, this study will give information that would enable government officials, NGOs and other bodies concerned for the safety of children in the study area to have a deeper understanding of the magnitude of the problem and to tackle the problem on the ground.

Finally, the research will provoke ideas concerning child labor and identify the major issues for further research in Ethiopia.

1.4 Limitations of the Study

The following are some of the limitations of the study.

1. Given the mobile nature of child shoe shiners it was not possible to develop a sampling frame. As a result of this problem the selection of the sample for the study was to a large extent based on convenience sampling. Thus, the study population cannot be labeled as representatives of all the child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city. Due to the unrepresentative nature of the sample the findings of the study cannot be generalized to Gulele sub city, let alone Addis Ababa.
2. Some of the child shoe shiners were a bit suspicious, even though the enumerators made the aim of the study very clear from the start, that the information obtained was used for the benefit of governmental and non-governmental organizations and not for academic purposes. These suspicions in some cases translated into reluctance to let the enumerators interview them. These problems in some cases caused

some delays. The method that was used to tackle this problem and to gain the confidence of the child shoe shiners was to be introduced by a person from the area that they know and trust .For this purpose 3 adult shoe shiners who were working in the study area were recruited to work with the enumerators.

Chapter 2

2 Methodology of the Study

2.1 Data Collection Technique

The major objective of the study is to examine the causes and consequences of child labor on child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city. Understanding child labor in the informal sector requires special skills. Child shoe shiners in the study area were approached gently and at most care and attention was taken to reach out and gain the trust of children to elicit the required information. Reaching out to a child shoe shiner and engaging him/her in a discussion of work, life, his or her feeling about the work he or she is performing is a challenging task that requires different methods. The study employed a child centered research, which used different approaches in a complementary way. For the study both primary and secondary sources of data have been gathered and used.

2.1.1 Primary data

Various methods were used to collect primary data. The major instrument being survey, other techniques including focus group discussion and direct observation were applied to explore and analyze the situation of child shoe polishers in the study area.

2.1.2 Survey Method

Primary data generated through survey was the main source of information for the study .The survey covered a sample of 168 child shoe polishers. The survey was conducted to inquire about the impact of work on the health and education of the working children, the physical and verbal abuse they encountered, the work related injuries they

experienced, the type of treatment they received, the evaluation of working children about their work place, the factors that led children to work, literacy status, levels of education and training, hours of work, housing conditions of the working children, family status of the working children, and the attitude and perception of the children of their current and future life. The survey was a cross sectional survey that employed a structured questionnaire. Data collection was carried out through visits to locations where child shoe shiners were at work in the study area.

Both the sampling unit and the unit of analysis are the child shoe polishers in the study area.

2.1.3 Direct Observation

Direct observation was used as an instrument to enrich the information gathered through other methods. In many key locations in the study area the working children as well as the interaction between them and their clients was directly observed. By using this method it was possible to systematically observe the working conditions and associated hazardous, existing behaviors and the physical and mental abuses the children face in the study area. This method was used to observe the actual situation of child shoe polishers and the type of hazards and risks they face. Moreover, direct observation was useful in counting the child shoe polishers in order to understand the relative magnitude and severity of the problem in the study area.

2.1.4 Focus group discussion

The participants of the focus group discussion include the child shoe polishers and their parents or guardians. The focus group discussion was organized in two groups. The first focus group discussion was with 25 child shoe shiners who were selected by using non probability sampling and useful information was obtained from them due

to the fact that some child shoe shiners that participated in the focus group discussion tend to encourage others who were shy to express their views in the survey .In the second focus group discussion 25 parents and guardians of child shoe shiners participated. Focus group discussions provided information that was useful in filling the gap of information that was not covered by the survey and direct observation.

2.1.5 Secondary Data

To supplement the primary data, information from official documents such as national child labor survey, informal sector survey, labor survey etc were used. Moreover, books, academic literature, international labor office publications and other secondary sources of materials were also used. The secondary sources of data provided useful background knowledge and helped to focus on the research problem at hand.

2.2 Sampling of Respondents

Gulele Kefle Ketema was chosen for the study because it has densely populated urban centers with a high rate of informal economic activities taking place as well as places where children are found taking an active role in the informal sector.

To select a sample for a study, sampling frame is required for selection of different sampling units. However, due to the highly mobile nature of child shoe shiners and lack of permanent work place for many of them, it was not possible to develop a sampling frame. Therefore, the study used two main approaches to collect data. First, purposive non probability sampling was used to select the specific key locations where the child shoe polishers are at work. After identifying the key areas that are densely populated by child shoe polishers, the next approach that was used for the study was to randomly select the working children in

the locations for the purpose of conducting the survey. For selecting focus group discussion participant's non probability sampling was used. However, the sampling approaches that were used in this study have some short comings. One of the major limitations of the methods is that since the study populations are mobile the issue of double counting can not be avoided. Moreover, given the non representative nature of the sample that was used for the study it was not possible to generalize the findings to the study area.

2.3 Sample Size

The question about the right sample size in research is one that concerns several researchers. The sample size generally depends on the total number of population, the level of confidence and the maximum deviation from true population that can be tolerated in the study. The size of the sample is greatly affected by different factors. The major ones are cost of the survey, time and level of aggregation and logistical feasibility.

Several statistical methods can be used to determine the appropriate sample size. However, when calculating the sample size the cost of the survey and the amount of time available to conduct the study should be taken into consideration. Considering these facts and the homogeneity of the community a total of 168 child shoe polishers were selected for the survey. For the focus group discussion 25 child shoe polishers and 25 parents and guardians of child shoe shiners were selected.

2.4 Data processing and Analysis

The data that was gathered was analyzed and processed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The quantitative data that was collected

was processed by using the SPSS program and analyzed by using descriptive statistics like percentages and frequencies.

Special emphasis was given to qualitative analysis which helped to understand the causes, the working conditions, the perception of children towards their work, the work related emotional, physical and verbal abuses they face and the extent and magnitude of the problem among child shoe polishers in the study area.

2.5 Definition of Terms and Concepts

Informal Sector

The international labor organization first used the term informal sector in the early 1970s to refer to informal economic activities (ILO, 1972). Despite the popularity of the term, informal sector, its precise or concise definition continues to elude both policy makers and individuals targeting practical assistance to the sector. The concept of the informal sector has been defined differently by various scholars and policy makers. There is no universally accepted definition of the term. According to Mazumdar (1976), classical theories of development view the informal sector as a passing phenomenon destined to phase out with time. However, contrary to the assertions that the informal sector is unstable and short lived, the informal sector operators in developing countries have found it to be a stepping stone to more lucrative businesses.

Informal activities are often outside the scope of official statistical enumeration and government regulations, and beyond formal systems of labor and social protection. Being dynamic and heterogeneous, informal sector is adoptable to changes and it is characterized by labor intensive technologies, unstable income, small scale operation, unregulated competitive market and poor and unpredictable working conditions (ILO, 2000). In an attempt to present the characteristics of the formal and

informal sector, Santos (1979) has come up with a comparative analysis of the informal versus formal sector dichotomy. The table below shows the characteristics of the formal and informal sectors.

Characteristics of formal and informal sector enterprises

Characteristics	Informal Sector	Formal Sector
Work hours	Irregular	Regular
Wage labor	Limited	Normal
Markets	Unregulated competitive markets	Protected markets (tariffs, quotas, licenses)
Ownership	Family ownership	Corporate ownership
Inventories	Small	large
Capital	Scarce	Abundant
Management	Family based	Bureaucratic
Entry barriers	Low	High
Technologies	Labor intensive	Capital intensive
Financial services	Personal, informal	banks
Prices	Often negotiable	Often fixed
Customer relations	Personal	Impersonal
Government subsidy	None	Often large
Advertising	Little to none	Necessary
Fixed costs	Negligible	Large

Source Santos, 1979 page 38

With regard to Ethiopia, on a report on urban informal sector sample survey, the central statistical authority defined informal sector as follows.

"Home based or individual establishment activity operated by the owner with few or no employees..... these establishment or activities include those engaged in market production which are not registered as

companies or cooperatives which have no written book of accounts and which have less than ten persons engaged in the activity" (CSA, 1997: 1)

Child

The term child does not have a universally accepted definition. According to UNICEF and African charter on Human right and welfare of the child, the term "child" means a young human being who has not reached the age of 18. On the other hand the United Nations defines a child as a person below 15 years (Minimum age convention 1973 No.138). Following the 1989 UN convention on the rights of a child and ILO convention No 182 a child is defined as an individual under 18 years of age (ILO, 2002).

Child Labor

Child labor as defined by ILO consist of all children below the age of 15 years of age who are economically active excluding those children who are below 5 years of age and those children between 12-14 years old who spend less than 14 hours a week on their jobs, unless their jobs or activities is likely to jeopardize the health, safety or morals of young persons (ILO, 2002). The labor law of Ethiopia provides that the minimum age of employment is 14 and children under the age of 14 are not allowed to work. However, children between the age of 14-18 years of age can engage in light work provided that

- a) The working hours do not exceed 7 hours a day
- b) There is no over time work and night work
- c) There is no work on weekly rest days and public holidays (labor proclamation No. 42 of 1993 Article 89). Thus, child work is classified as child labor in legal terms if it is violating the restricted activities mentioned above.

Economic Activity or Productive Activity

In the national Labor survey report (1999) economic or productive activity is defined as work which involves the production of goods and/or services for sale or exchange and production of certain products for own consumption (CSA, 1999).

Operational Definition

Child shoe shiner: Throughout the study child shoe shiner refers to any boy or girl who is within the age group of 5 to 14 and who is engaged in shoe shining activity.

Child: in this study the word "child" refers to children within the age group of 5-14

Health impact: It refers to the harms that are inflicted on child shoe shiners because of the circumstances in which they carry out their work.

Working children: In the study the word "working children" refers to children who are engaged in shoe shining activities.

Child labor: The study defines child labour as all children aged between 5 to 14 who are engaged in shoe shining activities.

Work: refers to the activities performed by the child in giving shoe shining services to clients.

Shoe shining: refers to the cleaning services that is given by child shoe shiners who use tools like a small box containing a brush, shoe polish and pieces of cloth and a tin half full with water.

2.6 Description of the Study Area

This part describes the profile of the areas where the study will be undertaken. The historical, social, economic, geographical and political profiles of the areas are highlighted. In view of this, the description of the study area is divided into two parts. The first part describes the profile of

Addis Ababa and the second part describes the specific study area, namely, Gulele Kefle Ketema.

2.6.1 A Glimpse at Addis Ababa

Historically, the city of Addis Ababa was born in 1886. The prime mover of this event was empress Taytu who coined the name and took the first significant step in the establishment of the city. Unlike other cities of developing countries that have experienced the strong impact of colonization in city formation, Addis Ababa is characterized by its spontaneous growth as an indigenous city with very small impact of colonial powers (Horvath 1966). With the introduction of modern education, public services and the establishment of small scale and large industries, the city of Addis Ababa began to develop as a political, economic and cultural center in subsequent years. Currently, the city is serving as a diplomatic capital of Africa and the seat of African union and many other international organizations. Today, the city of Addis Ababa is suffering from multidimensional problems. Poverty in the city has manifested itself in the form of growing unemployment, homelessness, expansion of slums, increasing number of street children, beggars, increased criminal activities and other social evils (Girma, 2003).

2.6.1.1 Geography

Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia is located at 38^o44, longitude and 09^o 02 latitude with an average elevation of 2408 meters above sea level. It is the highest capital in Africa. The air temperature is fairly constant throughout the year, with an average minimum temperature of 5^oC and maximum temperature 27^o C. Average rainfall is 1188.27 millimeter per year, with major rains occurring in July and August (Addis Ababa city administration, 2000 and CSA, 2004).

2.6.1.2 Population

The 1994 population census estimated that the city of Addis Ababa had 2.1 million populations and this number is expected to reach 2.3 million in 1997 (CSA, 1995). However, other sources give higher estimates. According to Solomon (1985) the population of Addis Ababa was only 65, 000 in the year 1910 and this number reached 2.1 million in the year 1994, as indicated by the 1994 population census, revealing an increase of 32 folds in 84 years. One of the major reasons for the high population growth in the city is internal migration due to drought, famine, conflicts, land degradation and fragmentation and other political, social and economic problems (Solomon 1985 and CSA, 1994). In a nutshell the city of Addis Ababa is growing at an alarming rate and as a result of this high population growth public services, educational facilities and infrastructure facilities which were built for small number of people decades ago are now unable to satisfy the needs of the millions of people that are currently living in the city. The rapid population growth in the city has put severe stress on public services and infrastructure.

2.6.1.3 Socio-economic Aspect of Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa faces socio-economic problems arising from poverty. Housing is one of the pre-requisites for human growth and development. However, the majority of the population of Addis Ababa lives in highly congested shanty towns with very little public services. In fact, shortage of housing, the flourishing of illegal squatter settlements and slums and poor housing conditions are visible indicators of the incidence of poverty in the city. According to CSA (1994) out of 380,307 houses in Addis Ababa 82.3 (313, 153) of housing units have wood and mud walls and 23.5% of the total housing stocks are in need of expensive maintenance. Unlike other cities of developing countries, Addis Ababa has a distinct

feature of rich and poor living together in peace without segregation. Squatter settlements and slums are found in well to do areas, while, tall buildings and wealthy residences are found in the midst of shanty towns.

Besides being the main economic center, Addis Ababa is also the main industrial, commercial and transport centers of Ethiopia. The city provides a range of economic activities from large industry, commerce and business in the formal sector to peti- trading, retail trading, street vending, shoe shining services and other services in the informal sector. A report by Addis Ababa city administration indicates that about 50 percent of the population in the city lives on monthly income of less than 200 birr. With regard to employment opportunity in the city, CSA (2004) indicates that 32.1 percent of the population is unemployed and females comprise 66 percent of the unemployed (CSA, 2004). Basic social services like water supply, toilet facilities, sanitation, sewerage and lighting facilities are in critical shortage. According to 1994 population and housing census, out of 374, 742 urban houses 2511 hosing units obtain water form wells and spring and 1191 housing units use river and lake ponds, to obtain water and 89,508 (23.8%) houses are without toilet facilities. The census also indicates that only 4.4% of the houses have tap water inside and about 45% of the housing units fetch their water outside their compound (CSA, 1994).

2.6.1.4 Administration

Currently the city of Addis Ababa is a chartered city government as well as the capital of the federal state. Addis Ababa city was divided into 6 zones 28 weredas and 284 kebels or neighborhood association. At present the administrative structure of the city has been reorganized to form 10 sub cities and to reduce the number of kebeles from 284 to 99. The metropolitan city of Addis Ababa has experienced major changes based on the AACGRC proclamation 361/2003 in institutional

restructuring. This move was made with the aim of changing the rigid system to more flexible and development oriented one and making services closer to the public. Presently the city administration is divided into three tiers of government, namely, the city center, kifle ketema and kebele. The city center is divided into kifle ketema's and kifle ketemas into kebeles, which form the smallest administrative unit of the city. There are 10 kifle ketema's and 99 kebeles in the city of Addis Ababa after the subsequent restructuring program (Plan and Economy Office of Gulele sub city, 2004)

2.7 The Specific Study Area

Gulele sub city has boundaries form the south east with Yeka, form the south west with kolfe Keranyo, form the south Addis Ketema and Arada Sub city. Historically Addis Ababa grew out of an area that is found in Gulele sub city which is named Entoto. This area had been selected as a royal camp by Menilek in 1881. However, the pace of development of this historical part of the city has stagnated for the past decades. In Gulele sub city increasing rate of unemployment, shortage of housing, expansion of slums and insalubrious neighborhoods, poverty, increased number of beggars, street children and other social evils are rampant (Plan and Economy Office Gulele sub city, 2004).

According to Solomon and Mcleod (2004) it is estimated that Gulele sub city has a total population of 346, 023 people. Gulele sub city accounts for 10.91% of the total population in Addis Ababa. The sub city has a population density of 106.40 persons per/ha. The total area of the sub city is 3,252.14 hectares. Despite its earlier establishment the growth of Gulele sub city is very stagnant. The sub city exhibits multidimensional social and economic problems. Within the sub city many social problems like unemployment, homelessness, HIV/AIDS, street children, prostitution and other social evils are flourishing at an

alarming rate. Most of the houses in the sub city are very rugged and substandard without the necessary facilities. Since formal employment opportunities are not being created fast enough to absorb them, the majority of unemployed adults and youth in Gulele sub city are either employed or self employed in the informal sector which is the only available alternative to them. (Plan and Economic office of Gulele sub city, 2004 and Solomon and Mcleod, 2004).

Chapter 3

3 Literature Review

3.1 Theoretical Perspectives on Child Labor

Despite a multitude of studies devoted to the issue of child labor, the basic matters as to what constitutes child labor, what causes it, how it affects children and society and how to best deal with it remains an intensively debated issue.

Although there are many ways of categorizing approaches to child labor, a review of literature on the issue reveals that the most commonly used approaches can be described in terms of four general perspectives. Each of the perspectives starts from important concerns and leads to unique insights and social application. Moreover, each of the perspectives have different views on children, on the work of children and on the role of education in solving the problem. The four general perspectives on the issue of child labor are, namely, the human capital perspective, the labor market perspective, the social responsibility perspective and the child centered perspective (Anker and Melkas, 1996, Boyden et al, 1998 and Myers, 2001).

3.1.1 The Human Capital Perspective

The human capital perspective views child labor through the lens of national economic development. According to this perspective under development is one of the chief causes of child labor in developing countries. This perspective points out that low income and poverty are driving forces behind the prevalence of child labor worldwide.

The proponents of this perspective argue that the remedy to the problem of child labor is to eradicate poverty and its causes. They suggest that one of the most effective ways to break the self-perpetuating cycle of poverty in developing countries is by providing enhanced income

option for the future poor children by promoting policies and activities that develops their educational skills and other capacities that are needed by the children for their eventual contribution as adults to national economic development and their own economic progress. The human capital perspective argues that the supply of child labor to the labor market perpetuates the cycle of poverty in two ways.

- A) By hindering the accumulation of human capital, child labor reduces adulthood labor market productivity of child laborers, thereby, becoming disincentive to development and economic growth.
 - B) By reducing adult wage rates, child labor will negatively affect households by forcing them to be dependent on child labor.
- (Psacharopoulos, 1999 and Fallon and Tzannatos, 1998)

Advocates of the human capital perspective mistrust coercive policies that simply require employers to discharge all child workers from work place because it will make some children and their families worse off by removing their source of income that is necessary for survival. As a result, children will find themselves into more dangerous forms of work such as prostitution, drug trafficking and other criminal acts. The human capital perspective strongly argues that the removal of children from work place should be accompanied with nuanced adjustment programs for their rehabilitation, education and direct assistance. This perspective sees economic development as the best overall cure for the problem of child labor. It supports policies that create conducive environment for children and their families such as improvement of school quality, free education for poor children and provision of micro credit for families of child workers so that they can establish income generating small enterprises (Anker and Melkas, 1996 and Gootaert and Patrions, 1999)

The human capital perspective is not against child work that can contribute to their development as responsible adults and helpful to them and their families. However, this perspective is totally against child labor that denies children their right to education and that expose them

to physical and mental abuse. The human capital perspective judges children's work based on its contribution to the development of children. It supports work that is important to the socialization of child because children will be future adults who are expected to handle families. On the other hand, it opposes child work that deprives children of education and with it lifetime earning (Psacharopoulos, 1999 and Anker, 1999).

The human capital perspective argues that child labor without schooling perpetuates a vicious cycle of poverty across generations. This perspective suggests that increased education contribute to a virtuous cycle of rising incomes and economic development. This perspective points out that with the elimination of child labor human capital would increase accompanied by increased knowledge and education and this would help increase economic growth and development. According to this perspective the economic impacts associated with the eradication of hazardous and other forms of child labor and child labor which interferes with education are:

- a) Reduction of poverty and more equal distribution of income due to decline in the supply of unskilled child labor and increase in relative wages for unskilled labor.
- b) Increased labor productivity and economic growth due to increases in human capital
- c) Increased capital investment and technological advancement in response to higher wage rates as a result of the decline in child labor
- d) Decline in fertility rates and population growth rates due to increased education and decreased child labor (Myers, 2001 and Anker and Melkas, 1996).

The human capital perspective views child labor as a symptom of underlying economic problems and this perspective stresses that the effective ways to combat child labor is by reducing the problems that generate it and by creating more accessible ways out of chronic poverty. Advocators of the human capital perspective strongly contend that

investment in primary and secondary education will serve as a catalytic factor in bringing economic development in developing countries. Moreover, in addition to emphasizing on the importance of education, the human capital perspective also gives a strong attention on values and attitudes such as entrepreneurship that can promote economic growth (Anker and Melkas, 1996 and Grootaert and Patronos, 1999).

3.1.2 The Labor Market Perspective

The labor market perspective in general argues that there is a negative relationship between child labor and adult employment. This perspective is mainly concerned about the potential impact of child labor on adult labor markets. This perspective points out that child labor would supersede adult labor, burden society with a combination of adult unemployment and child servitude and worsen working class poverty. According to this perspective, since child labor increases the supply of labor in the labor market, it will reduce wage rates and /or decrease adult employment. The labor market perspective advocates recommend policies that discourage economic participation of children in order to protect adult employment and wages from child workers competition. This perspective argues that the state has the highest responsibility in eradicating child labor by using minimum age prohibitions on work and compulsory education. (Lavalette, 1999 and Boyden et al, 1998)

The labor market perspective views children as helpless victims, or potential victims that are highly dependent on the protection and rescue of adults. According to this perspective children are not able to recognize their own best interest because they are innocent, ignorant of the world and incompetent to defend themselves from its evil. Such a view of childhood makes children free of the responsibility to make economic contribution to their families and obliges adults to take care of children. This perspective assumes that excluding children from work and forcing

them to attend school will benefit both children and adult workers. (Zelizer, 1985, Boyden et al, 1998 and Anker, 1999)

It cannot, however, be said that labor laws and policies that prohibit child work necessarily benefits children. Many children in developing countries may have to work in order to attend school, so abolishing child labor may only hinder their education.

Many scholars criticize the labor market perspective by arguing that adult unemployment cannot be eliminated by the elimination of child labor. This scholars emphasize that reduction in child labor do not necessarily translate into increases in adult employment. Moreover, scholars like White (1996) and Boyden et al (1998) criticize the labor market perspective by contending that this perspective places adult workers interest before children because it is mainly concerned about the labor market of adults and ignores children situational reality. (White, 1996 and Boyden et al, 1998).

3.1.3 The Social Responsibility Perspective

The social responsibility perspective argues that poverty is not the major explanation of child labor. According to this perspective the problem of child labor is caused by social differentiation with in society, racial and cultural discrimination, dysfunctional family and community relationships, unfair concentration and use of political and economic power, declining of social values and moral fiber and social irresponsibility. This perspective is mainly concerned about the marginalization and exclusion of children form the protection and essential services that should have been given to them by the society. This perspective argues that the most effective way to eliminate child labor is not through reduction of poverty or legal enforcement of child labor laws. The solution to the problem lies in better connecting them to the protective and enabling elements of society and this protective mobilization of society is achieved through reinforcement of families, public pressure on governments to make them more responsive to

children, organization of children to defend their own interest and improved basic services for children (Bachman 2000, Myers, 2001 and Swift, 1997).

The social responsibility perspective views child labor as work that alienates, exploits and oppresses children and that isolates them from society's normal protection. This perspective, takes a particular view of child labor, envisaging it as a condition in which children are exposed to greed, oppression and exploitation because they are not connected to their families and communities. This perspective sees child labor within the context of social rather than economic development. According to this perspective, poverty is seen as less of a problem than are the processes of alienation and discrimination that isolates children from protection and essential services that empowers them in society (Swift, 1999 and Myers, 2001).

The social responsibility perspective argues that children in developing countries are trapped into abusive work due to traditional factors such as rigid cultural and inflexible social norms that do not respond to changing times and technology. According to Weiner (1991) the main cause of child labor in India is the acceptance of social class separation that systematically oppresses the majority of the population. In India, people from the lower castes are deprived of education and they are expected to perform manual labor, whereas people from the upper strata get quality education and good white-collar jobs. The exploitative cast system in India is highly supported by religious conservatism and self-aggrandizing political elite (Weiner, 1991 and Myers, 2001).

The social responsibility perspective emphasizes on the importance of mobilizing the whole society to protect children from hazardous work. This perspective contends that the problem of child labor cannot be solved merely through "technological fixes" like improving basic services, improving educational quality and access and better law enforcement. This perspective does not deny the important role of education,

improving government services and legal enforcement plays in reducing the incidence of child labor. However, this perspective argues that cultural values and norms, social inequality and injustices, dysfunctional family, social irresponsibility and inadequate social compassion and deterioration of values and moral fiber are the major reasons for the flourishing of child labor in developing countries (Bachman, 2000, Boyden et al, 1998 and Myers, 2001).

3.1.4 The Child Centered Perspective

The child-centered perspective indicates that children must have a stable and nurturing environment in order to become self-sustaining adults capable of caring for their own families. This perspective recognizes children as persons with rights and voices of their own and puts their interests first and foremost without filtering them through prior adult agenda. This perspective strongly argues that there is a need to actively participate children in community development to ensure that their interests are met. According to this perspective children are capable of being actors in their own development and they have ideas and plans as good as adults and they also have the capacity to change things and get things done (Milijeteig ,1999 and Myers and Boyden, 1995).

The child centered perspective views child labor as work which undermines children's wellbeing and individual and social development. This perspective defines work to comprise much more than economic participation and it gives support to policies that guarantee children's rights, welfare and development. This perspective strongly emphasizes on the need to make national policy and other labor actions more accountable to children. According to Myers and Boyden (1995) and Milijeteig (1999) many programs and actions under the child centered perspective tend to be characterized by at least three essential elements. These three essential elements are:

- A) Working children actively participate in defining and addressing child labor problems and many working children even take the initiative on their own.
- B) The operational focus is first and foremost on the best interest of the working children involved and actions should focus on children development rather than child rescue objectives. Moreover, an action should be planned and evaluated based on its contribution in making children better off.
- C) Solid understanding of children including their development and their situational reality are the corner stones on which actions are based (Myers and Boyden, 1995 and Milijeteig, 1999).

The child-centered perspective is highly dominated by modern ideas of human rights and human development. This perspective argues that it is not simply enough to deal with children's immediate physical needs because children have social and emotional needs that are as just important. This perspective argues that no longer should children be seen and not heard and they should be consulted and involved. This perspective indicates that children by taking part in development activities acquire skills and confidence that not only helps them now but in later life. The child-centered perspective tries to see the world in the eyes of children as they see it. According to Myers (2001) the child centered perspective views children as:

".... resilient as well as vulnerable to be capable as well as inexperienced, to be characterized by knowledge as well as ignorance, to have a variety of intelligences as well as learning need, and to be active rather than passive agents of development" (Myers, 2001:11).

3.2 The History of Child Labor

Child labor is not a new phenomenon and children have participated in the day-to-day activities of human society since the time

of immemorial. Although it is unknown whether children's participation rate in economic activity was higher in the pre-industrial or industrial period, many economic historians agree that during the early industrial period there was an increase in the incidence of child labor. In the early years of industrial period, children accounted for a significant share of the manufacturing labor force. During this time, the economy of today's advanced industrial countries began to shift from production for household consumption to production for the market and this has led to a greater demand for child labor. As a result, there was a high demand for child labor and many children were found in labor intensive sectors that only want limited skill. These children were doing menial jobs for low pay in a dangerous work environment. (Brown et al, 1992 and Nardinelli, 1990)

According to Brown et al (1992) during the early stages of the industrial revolution child labor was preferred than adult labor in many industries because children were cheap to employ, more docile and easily coerced. According to Basu (1999) today's advanced industrial countries faced the problem of child labor in large magnitude during the industrial revolution period. Basu points out that "currently no continental region in the world has higher participation rates than Britain did in the middle of the last century. However, some nations such as Ethiopia have a much higher rate" (Basu, 1999:10). Currently, the problem of child labor has become the problem of developing countries, since the majority of children engaged in child labor are found there. Estimates of child labor by ILO in 2000, shows that almost 90% of economically active children are found in developing countries (ILO, 2002).

During the 19th century, as the number of child workers increased the opposition against child labor also increased. By the end of the century child labor started to decline in the industrialized countries. Some scholars argue that the period after the industrial revolution saw a decline of child labor due to gradual sophistication of technology.

Technological sophistication led to an increase in demand for educated workers and also provided an incentive for children to stay in school to meet the new demands of industry. On the other hand, other scholars argue that the principal cause of the decline in child labor in the industrialized countries were the passing of legislations that prohibit child labor, the establishment of compulsory education restricting the full time work engagement of children and the economic development that occurred in the industrialized countries enabled parents and family members to sustain without the contribution of children to family income (Basu ,1999 and Cunningham, 2000 and Weiner, 1991).

Cunningham (2000) argues that the sharp decline in the supply of child labor was a result of an increase in family income. Families in the industrialized countries were able to provide their children with all their basic needs and they no longer needed the economic contribution of their children to survive. On the demand side, the sharp decline was the result of technological progresses and greater capital intensity. The nature of production in the technologically sophisticated industries no longer needed unskilled child workers and it was dependent on highly skilled adult labor force (Basu 1999 and Cunningham, 2000).

3.3 Global and Regional Incidence of Child Labor

In the year 2000, the international labor organization (ILO) estimated that there were 211 million economically active children between the ages of 5 to 14 worldwide. This latest global estimate is remarkably lower number compared to the one estimated by ILO in 1995 which is 250 million of economically active children with in the same age category.

The ILO estimates of child labor in 2000 indicates that out of 211 million economically active children between the ages of 5 to 14, a total of 186 million were involved in child labor. The child labor estimate also

shows that among those aged 15-17 years old, the economically active children were estimated to be 352 million in 2000 (ILO, 2002). The new global estimate and the regional breakdown is shown in the table below.

Table 1 Regional estimate of economically active children aged between 5-

14

Region	Number of Children (in millions)	Participation rate (in percent)	Regional share of child population (in percent)	Regional share of child laborers (in percent)
Asia and the Pacific	127.3	19	54.98	60.33
Sub-Saharan Africa	48	29	13.58	22.75
Latin America and Caribbean	17.4	16	8.92	8.25
Middle East and North Africa	13.4	15	7.34	6.35
Transition Economies	2.4	4	4.92	1.14
Developed Economies	2.5	2	10.26	1.18
Total	211	18	100	100

Source (ILO, 2002)

As presented in the above table comparison of the number of children between the ages of 5 to 14 by region shows that the Asian Pacific region harbors the largest number of working children with 127.3 million children followed by sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America and Caribbean with 48 million and 17.4 million respectively. The high percentage of child workers in Asia is attributed to the large population density. However, in relative terms, it is sub-Saharan Africa which has a much higher child labor participation rate with 29 percent followed by Asia Pacific region with 19 percent participation rate. In developed and transition economies child labor is less common. The two regions have

the lowest absolute number of child workers. Only slightly less than 5 million with the each group having almost 2.5 million. (ILO, 2002)

According to the latest estimate done by ILO in 2000, about 73 million working children between the ages of 5 to 9 are found in the world. Comparison of the increase in child labor participation rate with age shows that it is much faster in the Asia Pacific region than in Sub-Saharan Africa. Consequently, for children between the ages of 10 to 14 and between the ages of 15 to 17 groups, the participation rates of the Asia Pacific region is higher than those in sub Saharan Africa. The breakdown of the child workers by three age groups is presented in the table below.

Table 2 Estimate of economically active children aged between 5 to 17 in sub- Saharan Africa and Asia

Age group	Region	Number of children (in million)	Participation rate (percent)
5 to 9 years	Sub Saharan Africa	20.9	23.6
	Asia Pacific	40	12.3
	World (Total)	73.2	12
10 to 14 year	Sub Saharan Africa	27.1	21.5
	Asia Pacific	87.3	26.5
	World (total)	137.8	23
15 to 17 year	Sub Saharan Africa	18.1	35
	Asia Pacific	86.9	48.4
	World (Total)	140.3	42.3

Source ILO (2002)

3.4 Causes of Child Labor

Despite the existence of child labor in every country its size nature and causes varies form country to country depending on the level of economic development, cultural and traditional settings, institutional interventions, lack of peace and social harmony and other factors. Child labor is a complex issue that involves economic, political, social, legal and religious factors. There are many causes of child labor and different

forms of child labor often have different causes. Child labor is the outcome of variety of factors that push children to work in order to ensure the survival of their family and themselves. The causes of child labor are determined complex interaction among various factors acting at different level. Thus, the only way to understand the phenomena of child labor is by taking a holistic view of the situation (Myers 1998 and UNICEF, 1997).

From the supply side, some of the underlying causes of child labor are poverty, deficiencies in the educational system, lack of public awareness, rapid population growth, rapid urbanization, inadequate regulation and ineffective enforcement of laws and other social economic, political and contextual factors. From the demand side, many employers are often keen to recruit children because they are less aware of their rights, less troublesome, and more submissive than adult workers .Moreover, child workers are less likely to complain about their wage and working conditions and they are also much cheaper than adults .If the employers are parents, then child labor is free.

3.4.1 Poverty

Most researchers claim that poverty is the main cause of child labor. They argue that the absence of child labor is a luxury that many parents in developing countries cannot yet afford. For destitute parents trapped in poverty children still serve as a major contributors to family income. Child labor is often a response by households to the need to satisfy basic requirements that are critical for survival. Poor households in developing countries are forced to put their children to work because they cannot afford to feed idle and unproductive children. Moreover, in addition to getting incomes that are low, most poor households in developing countries face incomes that are extremely volatile and unpredictable over a course of time. This is especially so in case where

household income depend on rain fed agriculture, where climate change and poor rainfall affect production output and income. In developing countries where the economy is highly dependent on rain fed agriculture, whenever there is a fall in income due to shortage of rainfall or natural disasters investment on children will also fall and children will be put to work by their families by whatever means in order to meet basic needs (Jensen and Nielson, 1997 and Mehrakerpelman, 1996).

Generally, poverty is the main reason why children work. There is a direct relationship between poverty and child labor. A study conducted in Cotdevoir in the 1960's confirmed that in poor households child labor participation rate was high compared to other households with higher income (Grootaert, 1998). However, it cannot be said that poverty necessarily causes child labor. There are regions in developing countries where child labor is extensively practiced while in other equally poor regions it is not. For instance, Kerala, which is a poor state in India has virtually abolished child labor. At the global level, countries which have the same level of national income may have widely different child labor participation rate. Thus, the idea that poverty and child labor are closely related should not be taken as an excuse for the prevailing problem of child labor (ILO, 1996).

3.4.2 Traditional Factors

According to Beguele and Boyden (1988) traditional factors play an important role in pushing children to work. The widely held view in certain countries dictates that women will not fit into traditional roles if they are educated. In some countries there is a strong cultural belief that educated females will not get married nor have children. Thus, many families do not send their daughters to school and this leads them to take over households duties or to be sold into domestic employment or sex work. Such cultural practices will limit the chance of female children

to receive education that is crucial to their development and promote child labor (Bequele and Boyden , 1988 and Parton, 1999).

In many societies, the attitude that children should work to support their families and themselves is deeply rooted in the local customs and cultural beliefs. The supply of child labor only arises where societal and family stances and attitudes tolerate or even approve child labor. According to Lindert (1976) children in developing countries are seen as economic assets and one of the reasons why parents in developing countries have children is because they are profitable. Children in developing countries are much less of an economic burden than their counter parts in developed countries (Lindert, 1976). Parents in developing countries depend on the contribution of their children either in cash or in kind for survival.

3.4.3 Rapid Urbanization and Migration

Rapid rural-urban migration and urbanization are the causes for increasing rate of child labor in urban areas of developing countries. Many families have migrated to urban areas due to rural push and urban pull factors. Child migrants looking for economic opportunities that often do not exist contribute in large number for the increasing number of child laborers in the city of developing countries. According to Salazar (1988) high level, rural-urban migration exacerbates child labor into direct ways. First, internal migration depletes the rural countryside of valuable adult human capital and this leads to an increase in child labor in the countryside due to adult labor shortage. Secondly, migration disproportionately increases the growth rate of urban job seekers relative to urban population growth and the limited absorptive capacity of the formal sector leads to the proliferation of the informal sector and associated increase in child labor (Salazar, 1988)

Due to rapid urbanization the number of people living in urban areas has shown a drastic increase over the last four decades and the trend is likely to continue. Based on United Nations estimate 17% percent of the population of the developing countries in the 1950's lived in urban areas. This figure increased to 32% in 1988. By the year 2025 it is estimated that the proportion of people living in urban areas will increase to 57 percent (United Nations, 1989). Such increases, coupled with worsening economic trends, force children and their families into urban poverty and this puts families and their children under serious strains and force children to work to cope up with the chronic poverty and intolerable pressure they and their families are facing.

3.4.4 Age Structure and Family Size

The age structure of a society can favor the increase in the supply of child labor. Countries with a large proportion of children in the over all population will have a greater number of child workers compared to countries with a small proportion of children and young persons in the overall population. The 2001 child labor survey report in Ethiopia indicates that those aged below fifteen years make up about 46 percent of the population and those aged above 65 constituted only 3.4 percent of the total population (CSA, 2001).

Family size also contributes to the supply of child labor. Raising children and educating them involves huge costs and since poor households have fixed income, having more children means investing less in each one. Thus, it can be said that there is inverse relationship between the number of children and investment in each child.

3.4.5 School Related factors

Education represents one of the most effective instruments in drawing children away from labor markets. Many studies indicate that

for businesses in the informal sector to hire children is because they are cheaper than adults. Firms will be motivated to employ child labor, if the marginal product of child labor is greater than that of adult workers. This could be the case for instance if child workers are able to perform jobs that are considered not suited for adult workers such as working in small, cramped areas, weaving and the carpet industry where the so called nimble fingers argument applies. In fact, however, most of the activities that are performed by children can also be performed by adults. Studies conducted by ILO in India concluded that the "nimble fingers" argument was totally fallacious in a number of hazardous works, including carpet making, glass and gem and diamond polishing and in other hazardous works (ILO, 1996).

3.5 Child Labor in Ethiopia

Ethiopia has an estimated population of over 77million and total surface area of 1,104 square kilometers. Agriculture is the backbone of the economy and about 85% of the country population lives in rural areas. Agriculture contributes for about 55% of the GDP of the country and 85% of the total employment. The country's dependence on subsistence rain fed agriculture has left it vulnerable to periodic drought and famine. Consequently, wide spread poverty in Ethiopia has become its main feature both in the rural and urban areas (Yohannes, 1996 and CSA,2004).

The division of very few "haves" and many "have-not" characterizes Ethiopia. While the former leads a luxurious life, the latter suffer form lack of decent, healthful and productive life. Besides the number of poor is getting higher and higher as the year go by. According to the World Bank, report of 1999 over 55.8 percent of the total population of the country is poor. Furthermore, 42.3 percent of the total populations have a life expectancy of less than 40 years of age. Besides, adult illiteracy,

people without access to safe water, sanitation and health services account for 64.6%, 75%, 85% and 45% of the total population respectively (World Bank Report, 1999)

Just like other developing countries of the world, child labor is necessary for family survival in Ethiopia. Working children in Ethiopia are making significant contribution to family income in cash or in kind. About two-third of the children between the age of 10 to 17 in the 2001 child labor survey in Ethiopia indicated that they were giving all or part of their earnings to their parents or guardians. The survey result by comparing children between the ages of 10 to 14 with children between the ages of 15 to 17 also showed that the proportion of children who gave their entire earnings decline sharply as the age of the working children jumped from 10-14 to 15-17 years, while those working children who gave a portion of their income and those who did not make any income contribution to their parents or guardians increased. These finding indicated that children tend not to give their earnings or only give part of their earnings to parents or guardians when they get older (CSA, 2001).

The prevalence of child labor in Ethiopia in general and the urban informal sector in particular is symptomatic of the general state of the economy. According to Zerihun Gezahegn (1996) more than 60% of urban population in Ethiopia lives below absolute poverty level and this situation is expected to be even worse in rural areas. Thus, the high level of poverty in the country forces children into child labor.

Population growth is often one of the main causes of child labor in Ethiopia . From Sub-Saharan Africa, Ethiopia ranks in the second place in terms of population size. Ethiopia has an average population growth rate of 3.1 percent and the annual population growth rate of Addis Ababa is 3 percent. By the year 2019 the country population is estimated to grow in to 92 million and, if the existing population growth continues unabated without fundamental change, it will contribute to the increase in child labor (CSA, 1994)

In Ethiopia, legislation has been able to control child labor in the official sector to some degree and as a result child labor in the official sector is infrequent. However, child labor is frequent in the unorganized, unregulated, and mostly legal but unregistered informal sector. It has been stated in the 1999 national labor force survey in Ethiopia that the informal sector contributed more than 74 percent of the total employment in the whole country and 52 percent of the total urban employment. This figure is expected to rise due to the fact that there is a growing expansion of the informal sector in recent years. Conventional wisdom tells us that even by assuming that this figure has not changed in the last seven years the contribution of the informal sector is much high than the formal sector (CSA, 1999).

According to a sample survey conducted in 48 major towns in Ethiopia there were an estimated 584, 913 informal sector activity operators and 2, 731 small scale manufacturing industries, employing a total of 739, 898 workers. The survey indicates that, though, the informal sector is diverse in nature, the majority of the informal sector activity is concentrated in two main broad areas: namely 42 percent in trade and services and 47 percent in manufacturing. The distribution of activities among the rest of the informal sector is about 6 percent in personal and community services with the remaining 5 percent in engaged in mining and quarrying, construction, hunting, forestry, fishing transport and other activities (CSA, 1997).

The urban informal sector in Ethiopia, excluding agriculture, absorbs the largest number of economically active population. The informal sector in Ethiopia serves dual roles; economically the important role that the informal sector plays in providing income opportunities for the poor is no longer open to debate and consumer wise as poverty excludes many people buying from the formal sector the informal sector becomes the only option left for the poor. Thus, the informal sector in Ethiopia is the poor man's sector, catering to his needs.

3.6 Child Labor in the Informal Sector and child Shoe Shining in Addis Ababa

Child labor remains a widespread and growing phenomenon in the services and manufacturing activities of the informal sector in Addis Ababa. The flourishing of child labor in the informal sector in Addis Ababa is highly related to the crushing and widespread poverty in the city. Apart from poverty lack of education, over population, rural urban migration, long years of economic stagnation and disintegration of families due to HIV/AIDS are also contributing factors to the increasing trend of child labor in the informal sector.

According to Getahun (1998) more than 60% of the population of Addis Ababa city live below the poverty line and about 63% of the urban population in Ethiopia makes a living on an income below 100 birr per month. The problem of child labor in Addis Ababa is integrally related to the phenomenon of urban poverty. The majority of child workers in Addis Ababa contribute economically to the merger income of their family. Widespread poverty and the growing income and asset inequalities are the major reasons for the existence of child labor in the city of Addis Ababa. According to the 2001 child labor survey report about 32 percent of children engaged in productive activity in Addis Ababa indicated that their major reason for working was to supplement household income, whereas about 23 percent of children stated that the reason they were working was to assist household enterprise (CSA, 2001).

The sample survey conducted in 48 major towns in Ethiopia shows that the informal sector is providing employment for about 166,405 people in Addis Ababa and this accounts for about 23% of the total urban informal sector employment in the country. Out of the total number of people who are engaged in the informal sector, those who are under the age of 10 are 3269, while those who are with in the age group

of 10-14 and 15-19 are about 27, 065 and 52, 130 respectively. These figures in the study reveal a widespread incidence of child labor in the city of Addis Ababa (CSA, 1997)

The high incidence of child labor in the urban informal sector in Addis Ababa is closely associated with the current influx of children and youth from rural and urban areas and the rapid population growth.

In developing countries like Ethiopia, we find urbanization without industrialization and economic development, while, in developed countries urbanization goes hand in hand with industrialization and economic growth. Addis Ababa, like any metropolitan centers in developing countries is growing at a rate faster than the capacity of the existing job opportunities, health services, infrastructural services, housing and other social services to support the increasing population. Various studies indicate that the population of Addis Ababa has increased mainly due to internal migration, particularly in the late 1970s the yearly population growth rate of the city is estimated to be about 7% of which 4.6% due to internal migration. The major factors that are influencing the decision to migrate to Addis Ababa are famine, drought, land fragmentation and loss of fertility of soil, lack of employment opportunities in other small towns which do not have complex industrialization and service giving organizations and underemployment in rural areas (Solomon, 1993). However, many migrants do not find the employment opportunities they had dreamt of when they left their places of origin. As a result of this migrant families may not be able to satisfy their children needs and this in turn pushes children to end up as child workers for the survival of their family and themselves.

The most visible child workers in Addis Ababa are those working on the streets but there is a bigger number of children engaged in various types of tasks and activities like prostitution, domestic work and other activities. A study on domestic child workers in Addis Ababa found out that they are usually invisible in their communities; working for long hours with little or no pay, frequently beaten, mentally and sexually

abused and frequently deprived the chance to play or go to school or religious institutions (ILO, 2002)

One of the most visible child workers on the streets of Addis Ababa are shoe shiners. The work performed by child shoe shiners is not exploitative and abusive on its face as they can take time to rest and they are not forced to performed difficult tasks beyond their capacity since they are their own boss. As a result, the immediate threats to their physical health are often low for most child shoe polishers. However, the serious negative effects of work on child shoe shiners are related to the long-term impacts of their work and these long term impacts are lack of education, emotional abuse and inability to break out of the cycle of poverty. Child shoe shiners are prematurely leading adult lives, normally working long hours for a very small amount of income, under condition that are devastating to their mental and physical development, often isolated from their families, frequently devoid of educational opportunities that can led them in to a bright future.

One of the major problem child shoe shiners in Addis Ababa are facing is the conditions under which these children work. The conditions under which child shoe shiners are performing their duties are very dishearting to say the least. Some of the clients of child shoe shiners address these children in demeaning language and at times physically abuse them. What characterizes the livelihoods of such children is that some of the children not only work on the streets but also live on the streets and many of these children are isolated from their families and they only get a chance to visit their families in rural provinces only once or twice a year.

Child shoe shiners work for a variety of reasons. The major one is poverty. Child shoe shiners work to ensure the survival of their family and themselves. Though they are not well paid, they still serve us contributors to family income. Moreover, these children are exposed to cold temperature in the early morning and to excessive heat due to the scorching sun in the mid day and afternoon while performing their duties as child laborers in the urban informal sector in Addis Ababa.

Chapter 4

4 General Characteristic of Child Shoe Shiners

This section presents the characteristics of the child shoe shiners who participated in the survey. In total, 168 child shoe shiners were interviewed. The analysis in this section reveals the age, sex distribution, ethnicity, and religion, place of birth, housing conditions and living arrangements of child shoe shiners.

4.1 Size, Age and Sex Distribution of the Respondents

The table below shows the distribution of child shoe shiners by age and sex and from it, it can be seen that from a total of 168 child shoes shiners 158 (94%) are males and 10 (6%) are females. As shoe shining is the traditional domain of men, a brief glance at the data presented in table 3 suggests that males have greater propensity to be involved in shoe shining work than females. As indicated in Table 3 the age of the respondents range from 5 to 14, but the majority 43% of the respondents are within the age group of 12-14. Child shoe shiners within the age group of 5 to 9 and 9 to 11 accounted for 24 percent and 33 percent respectively.

Table 3 Age and sex distribution of Respondents

Age of the child	Gender				Total	
	Male		Female		%	Freq
	%	Freq	%	Freq		
5-8	25	39	10	1	24	40
9-11	33	52	40	4	33	56
12-14	42	67	50	5	43	72
Total	100	158	100	10	100	168

(Own survey, 2006)

4.2 Ethnic Background and Religion

Almost all ethnic groups are represented in the child shoe shining industry in Gulele sub city in varying degree. Gurage, Amhara and Oromo children tend to be larger in number, whereas Tigre, Gambella and Harrare children tend to be much lower. Pertaining to religion, the child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city are divided into three main religions, namely, Orthodox, protestant and Muslim. Table 4 shows the ethnic background and religion of child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city.

Table 4 Ethnic background and Religion of Child Shoe Shiners

Ethnic group	Religion								Total	
	Orthodox		Protestant		Muslim		Others			
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Gurage	37	22	2	1.2	9	5.3	1	0.6	49	29
Somali	0	-	0	-	1	0.6	0	-	1	0.5
Amhara	27	16	5	3	0	-	0	-	32	19
Oromo	15	8.9	4	2.4	7	4.2	0	-	26	16
Tigre	6	3.6	0	-	0	-	0	-	6	4
Gambella	0	-	2	1.2	0	-	0	-	2	1
Harrare	0	-	0	-	1	0.6	0	-	1	0.5
Others	31	18.4	16	9.5	2	1.2	2	1.2	51	30
Total	116	69	29	17.3	20	11.9	3	1.8	168	100

(Own survey, 2006)

According to the response of the children, their ethnic background included Gurage (29%), Amhara (19%), Oromo (16%), Gambella (1%), Harrare (0.5%), Somali (0.5%) and others (30%). As indicated in the above table the majority of the respondents are from Gurage ethnic background. Regarding the religious distribution of the child shoe shiner respondents the majority 116 (69%) of the children are Orthodox Christians followed by protestants which accounted for 29 (17%) of the child shoe shiners and Muslim and other religions which accounted for 20 (12%) and 3 (2%) respectively.

4.3 Place of Birth and Living Arrangements of Child Shoe Shiners

It was important to analyze the living arrangements and the place of birth of the child shoe shiners to know whether this had any bearing on children to join shoe-shining work. In the course of conducting the survey child, shoe shiners were asked to mention with whom they were living with and the places they were born.

Table 5 Living arrangement and place of birth of child shoe shiners

Living arrangement	Place of Birth						Total	
	In Addis Ababa		Out side Addis Ababa					
			Urban		Rural			
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Living with both parents	39	23.2	2	1.2	6	3.5	47	28
Living with mother only	18	10.7	0	-	3	1.7	21	13
Living with father only	8	4.7	2	1.2	4	2.3	14	8
Living with relatives	14	8.3	3	1.7	20	11.9	37	22
Living with friends/peers	6	3.5	4	2.3	31	18.4	41	24
Living on the street	3	1.7	1	0.6	4	2.3	8	5
Total	88	52.3	12	7.1	68	40.4	168	100%

(Own survey, 2006)

The responses summarized in table 5 shows that out of the total study population, those living with both of their parents were dominant, accounting for 28% of all the working children interviewed. Child shoe shiners that were staying with only mothers comprised 13% and those that were living with only their father comprised 8% while those children living with friends/peers and children living with relatives accounted for 24% and 22% respectively and the remaining 5% were living on the streets.

It is a common belief among many people that living arrangement is a significant determinant of children engaging in child labor and fewer child laborers stay with their parents and a child who lives with a father and mother is less vulnerable to involvement in child labor and many children

who stay with relatives are child laborers. Contrary to this popular perception as indicated in table 5 out of the total number of child shoe shiners who were born in Addis Ababa the majority 74% (65) are living with one or both of their parents while those living with relatives, friends and on the street together accounted for 26% (23) only. The conclusion one can draw from this finding is that living arrangements some times does not have a direct impact on whether a child should work or not and other intervening variables such as poverty, migration status, death of parents may facilitate the process. Regarding the child shoe shiners that are born out side of Addis Ababa, the majority 44% (35) were living with friends/peers followed by those who were living with relatives who constituted 29% (23) of the study population that is born outside of Addis Ababa while those living with one or both of their parents and those living on the streets accounted for 21% (17) and 6.25% (5) respectively.

4.4 Housing Conditions of Child Shoe Shiners

An indicator of the quality of life of child shoe shiners is their housing conditions such as the availability of toilet facilities, crowdedness, the availability of drinking water etc. In light of this, the survey has collected data on the housing conductions of child shoe shiners. Information was collected on the occupancy status, source of water, toilet facility, number of rooms, construction material and type of fuel used. The findings are summarized in table 6

Table 6 Housing Characteristics of Child Shoe Shiners

Characteristics	Status	Gender				Total	
		Male		Female		Freq	%
		Freq	%	Freq	%		
Occupancy status	Rented from private	68	43%	2	20%	70	42%
	Rented from kebele	40	25%	4	40%	44	26%
	Family ownership	12	8%	2	20%	14	8%
	Owned by relatives	30	19%	2	20%	32	19%
	Has no house	8	5%	0	-	8	5%
	Total	158	100%	10	100%	168	100%
Construction material	Mud and wood	130	82%	8	80%	138	82%
	Has no house	8	5%	0	-	8	5%
	Stone and cement	2	1%	0	-	2	1%
	Blocket and cement	2	1%	2	20%	4	2.5%
	Bricks and cements	4	3%	0	-	4	2.5%
	Others	12	8%	0	-	12	7%
	Total	158	100%	10	100%	168	100%
Water	Bono	42	27%	2	20%	44	26%
	Tap inside house	17	11%	0	-	17	10%
	Tap inside compound shared	50	32%	8	80%	58	34%
	Rivers /pond	18	11%	0	-	18	11%
	Wells /spring	16	10%	0	-	16	10%
	Others	15	9%	0	-	15	9%
	Total	158	100%	10	100%	168	100%
Number of Rooms	0	8	5%	0	-	8	5%
	1	100	63%	7	70%	107	64%
	2	30	19%	3	30%	33	20%
	3	16	10%	0	-	16	9%
	>=4	4	3%	0	-	4	2%
	Total	158	100%	10	100%	168	100%
Toilet	Has no toilet	56	35%	0	-	56	33%
	Pit, private	0	-	0	-	0	-
	Pit, shared	102	65%	10	100%	112	67%
	flush toilet, private	0	-	0	-	0	-
	Flush toilet, shared	0	-	0	-	0	-
	Total	158	100%	10	100%	168	100%
Power	No electricity	31	20%	0	-	31	18.5%
	One bulb	100	63%	7	70%	107	63.5%
	Two bulb	27	17%	3	30%	30	18%
	More than two bulb	0	-	0	-	0	-
	Total	158	100%	10	100%	168	100%
Cooking fuel	Cow dung	6	4%	0	-	6	3.5%
	Fire wood	22	14%	2	20%	24	14%
	Charcoal	10	6%	0	-	10	6%
	Gas	6	4%	0	-	6	3.5%
	Electricity	0	-	0	-	0	-
	Combination of above	114	72%	8	80%	122	73%
Total	158	100%	10	100%	168	100%	
Household size	=<4	29	18%	3	30%	32	19%
	4-7	49	31%	5	50%	54	32%
	8-10	32	20%	2	20%	34	20%
	=>10	40	26%	0	-	40	24%
	Living on the street	8	5%	0	-	8	5%
	Total	158	100%	10	100%	168	100%

(Own survey, 2006)

It is widely argued that the larger the family the more vulnerable the children in the families are to child labor. In an attempt to test this assumption child shoe shiners were asked about the total number of members in their households.

As can be seen from table 6 households between 4 to 7 persons make up the highest proportion about 32% followed by households with greater than or equal to ten persons and households between 8 to 10 persons with 24% and 20% respectively. Households with less than or equal to 4 persons accounted for 19%. During the survey children living on the street and working as a shoe shiner constituted 5% of the surveyed population. The household size of the majority of the child shoe shiners is high and since households have limited income and raising children involves large costs many parents of child shoe shiners with large household size are likely to end up providing less education for each child and may need to send children to work to help earn income to meet basic household needs.

The information collected about the occupancy status of the child shoe shiners shows that the majority of child shoe shiners who constituted 42% stay in houses rented from private individuals followed by houses rented from the kebele which accounted for 26%. Those child shoe shiners that were staying in family owned houses and in houses owned by relatives constituted 8% and 19% respectively. Child shoe shiners who indicated having no house accounted for 5%. With regard to the construction materials used for housing the majority of houses of child shoe shiners that accounted for 82% were made up of mud and wood while those made from stone and cement, blocket and cements, bricks and cement and others accounted for 1%, 2.5%, 2.5% and 7% respectively. Majority of households 34% of child shoe shiners got their drinking water mainly form tap with in compound shared with other households but quite a large proportion of child shoe shiners that constituted 26% relied on water from outside their house as a source of water and 10% use tap water inside house. A substantial proportion of

households of child shoe shiners that participated in the survey use unclean water. This was evidenced by the fact that about 11% are fetching water from unprotected rivers/ponds and about 10% are fetching water from wells /springs. The survey result indicated that the overwhelming majority of the households of child shoe shiners, which accounted for 73% use more than one type of fuel by using firewood, charcoal, kubit and gas in combination. Regarding toilet facility, only 67% of households of child shoe shiners have access to toilet facilities and all of them use pit, shared, while the rest 33% have no access to toilet facilities.

4.5 Migration Status

In the course of conducting the survey child shoe shiners were asked to mention about their migration status. It was assumed that the trend in migration was one of the prominent indicators that help to understand the situation of child shoe shiners. Table 7 shows the migration status of child shoe shiners by age.

Table 7 Migration and Child Shoe Shiners

Age	Sex	Place shifted from								Total	
		Born in Addis Ababa		Came to AA from Rural Area		Came to AA from Urban Area		Other Country			
		Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
5-6	Male	24	14.2	12	7.2	3	1.8	0	-	39	23
	Female	1	0.6	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
	Total	25	14.8	12	7.2	3	1.8	0	-	40	24
9-12	Male	26	15.4	22	13	4	2.4	0	-	52	31
	Female	4	2.4	0	-	0	-	0	-	4	2
	Total	30	17.8	22	13	4	2.4	0	-	56	33
12-14	Male	28	16.6	32	19	5	3	2	1.2	67	40
	Female	5	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	5	3
	Total	33	19.6	32	19	5	3	2	1.2	72	43
Overall	Male	78	46.4	66	39.4	12	7.1	2	1.2	158	94
	Female	10	6	0	-	0	-	0	-	10	6
	Total	88	52.3	66	39.4	12	7.1	2	1.2	168	100

(Own survey, 2006)

According to the survey, 80 child shoe shiners who accounted for 48% of the total child shoe shiner respondents have migrated from other parts of Ethiopia to Addis Ababa. On the other hand child shoe shiners that were born in Addis Ababa accounted for 52 percent (88) of the total respondents that were interviewed in the survey. The findings of the study indicates that all the female child shoe shiners which constitute 6% of the total number of respondents interviewed were born in Addis Ababa. Among the child shoe shiner migrants those from rural areas were dominant, accounting for 39 percent (66) of all child shoe shiners interviewed in the survey. Child shoe shiners that have migrated from urban areas of Ethiopia into Addis Ababa accounted for 7 percent (12) of the total respondents interviewed. The above table reveals that more child shoe shiners in the upper age category 12-14 years have migrated into Addis Ababa than their counter parts in the lower age categories.

During the study information was gathered regarding the reasons for migrating. The table below shows child shoe shiners reasons for migrating to Addis Ababa.

Table 8 Main Reason for migrating

Main Reason for migrating	Age						Total	
	5-8		9-11		12-14		Freq	%
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%		
To look for employment	2	2.5	7	8.7	12	15	21	26
Search for education	1	1.3	5	6.2	5	6.2	11	14
Family transfer	2	2.5	1	1.3	2	2.5	5	6
Poor agricultural out put	1	1.3	4	5	5	6.2	10	12.5
War	0	-	0	-	2	2.5	2	2.5
Parents death	3	3.7	3	3.7	6	7.5	12	15
Running away from abuse	2	2.5	0	-	1	1.3	3	4
Come to stay with relatives	4	5	4	5	5	6.2	13	16
To experience city life	0	-	2	2.5	1	1.3	3	4
Total	15	18.9	26	32.7	39	49	80	100

(Own survey, 2006)

As indicated in table 8 search for employment, search for education, family transfer, poor agricultural output, war, death of parents, child abuse, to stay with relatives and the desire to experience city life were some of the reasons mentioned by the child shoe shiners for migrating to Addis Ababa. Table 8 indicates that 26 percent of all the child shoe shiners interviewed have migrated to Addis Ababa to look for employment. This percentage is higher compared to the 14 percent of child shoe shiners who have migrated into Addis Ababa in search of education. About 15 percent of all child shoe shiners interviewed in the survey reported that death of parents was their main reason for migrating into Addis Ababa while those who migrated to Addis Ababa to stay with their relatives and due to family transfer accounted for 16 percent and 6 percent respectively. Child shoe shiners who have migrated into Addis Ababa because of poor agricultural output, war and to experience city life accounted for 12.5 percent, 2.5 percent and 4 percent respectively.

Chapter 5

5 Causes that led Children to Enter Shoe Shining Work

Children predominantly work for lack of any other alternative to survive. Generally, the factors that cause child labor are multi faced and range from social, economic, cultural to political. This section of the paper presents the factors that caused children to work as shoe shiners in Gulele sub city. The analysis in this section is based on the response of 168 child shoe shiners that participated in the survey and the information obtained from the responses of 25 parents and guardians of child shoe shiners and 25 child shoe shiners that took part in the focus group discussions. The findings of the study indicates that destitute family, famine, death of parents, family disintegration, desire to support family income , to be able to attend school, inducement from friends and parents, desire to be economically independent and inadequate parenting were the major reasons mentioned by the children for taking up employment as a shoe shiner.

Table 9 Reasons why children are working as Shoe Shiners

Main reason for entering Shoe shining carrier	Age of the Child						Total	
	5-8		9-11		12-14		Freq	%
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%		
Support family income	10	6	12	7	14	8.3	36	21
Disintegration of family	2	1.2	2	1.2	2	1.2	6	4
Death of parents	7	4.2	5	3	9	5.4	21	12.5
To be self reliant	2	1.2	9	5.4	10	6	21	12.5
Induced by friends	4	2.4	4	2.4	4	2.4	12	7
Forced to work by guardians	0	-	0	-	2	1.2	2	1
Poor agricultural output	2	1.2	3	1.8	4	2.4	9	5
For school expenses	5	3	7	4.2	4	2.4	16	10
In adequate parenting	0	-	0	-	3	1.8	3	2
Destitute family	8	4.7	13	7.6	18	11	39	23
Other reasons	0	-	1	0.6	2	1.2	3	2
Total	40	23.8	56	33.2	72	43	168	100

(Own survey, 2006)

Table 9 presents the percentage distribution of children by reasons of entering the shoe shining work. The findings that are shown in table 9 indicate that poverty is the main cause that forces children to engage in shoe shining work. From the reasons chosen for the cause of child labor among child shoe shiners the most important factor responsible for pushing children into shoe shining work was destitute family which accounted for 23% of the reasons given by the child shoe shiners. The child shoe shiners in the study population mostly come from economically disadvantaged families, and unfortunately, they are forced by poverty to engage in child labor for survival. Many studies indicate that children get involved in child labor to contribute to family income. About 21% of the child shoe shiners pointed out that the reason why they are working as a shoe shiner was to support their family income. Poverty was noted as a significant determinant of children being forced to take up employment as a shoe shiner in the study population that participated in the survey and this is shown by the high percentage of children being forced to work because of destitute family and to support family income. These indicates that strong efforts to improve the household income and living standards can deter parents from engaging their children in shoe shining activities to supplement their merger incomes.

Another important reason given by 12.5% of the child shoe shiners was the death of one or both of their parents. Other factors that forced children to enter shoe shining employment include, the need to be self reliant (12.5), disintegration of family (4%), induced by friends (7%) , for school expenses (10%), poor agricultural output (5%), forced to work by guardians (1%), inadequate parenting (2%) and other reasons (2%). In order to determine the causes that forced children to engage in shoe shining employment, focus group discussions were also held with 25 child shoe shiners and 25 parents and guardians of child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city. The findings from the focus group discussion

participants shows that there were many factors that pushed children into shoe shining work. These Factors are summarized in Table 10

Table 10 Main Reason for Working

Main Reasons	Participants of Focus group discussion			
	Parents and guardians		Child shoe shiners	
	frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Social factors				
Death of parents	4	16	6	24
Disintegration of family	2	8	1	4
large family size	1	4	2	8
Irresponsible parent hood	1	4	3	12
Migration	4	16	1	4
Peer influence	2	8	1	4
Economic factors				
Poverty	7	28	8	32
Debt	1	4	0	-
Political and School Related factors				
No access to schooling, Non conducive school Environment and low quality of education	2	8	1	4
Government policies	1	4	2	8
Total	25	100	25	100

(Focus group discussion response, 2006)

5.1 Social Factors

As presented in table 10 the two categories of participants of the focus group discussion mentioned different factors for children to engage in shoe shining work in the informal sector. The above table indicates that death of parents, disintegration of family, large family size, irresponsible parenthood, migration and peer influence were among the major pushing factors that were mentioned by the participants of the focus group discussions for children to get involved in shoe shining work in the informal sector.

Among the socio-causal factors death of parents was mentioned as the most important factor by both categories of respondents. Six participants (24%) in the child shoe shiners focus group discussion

category said they were forced to work as a shoe shiner because of the death of their parent. Moreover, these child shoe shiners testified that most of their colleagues who have dropped out of school and joined shoe shining activities did so after the death of their parents. Out of the total 25 parents and Guardian 4 of them (16%) mentioned death of parents as the most important reason for children to get involved in shoe shining work at an early age. One guardian that participated in the focus group discussion elaborated this by saying.

"Many parents in Gulele sub city are dying of HIV/AIDS leaving behind vulnerable young children with no security or any other persons to take care of them. Since this orphans have no one to support them they will be forced to get involved in child labor for survival"

Findings from table 10 shows that irresponsible parenthood was one of the causes that forced children to engage in shoe shining work in Gulele sub city. This cause was mentioned as the most important factor forcing children to engage in shoe shining work by three child shoe shiners (12%) and one Guardian (4%). One child shoe shiner that participated in the focus group discussion explained the reason why he started working as a shoe shiner by saying:

My mother, I was told, was involved in a daily labor work and she was living with us until she died. My mother died when I was very young. I was told that I was three years old when she died. My father is a drunkard and he spends all the money he gets every day on drinks. After getting drunk he comes home and starts cursing insulting, yelling and screaming at me almost every day and often beats me brutally. One day he came home drunk and he spilled hot water on my left leg. At that day I promised my self that I will run way from home because no life can be worse than the life I was leading with my father. The next day I ran away from my home. I was so scared that day and I started weeping. A woman while passing on the street saw me crying and she asked me why I was crying. I told her about the whole story.

She was very sympathetic with me and she gave me 30 birr. I was so confused at the time and I did not know what to do with the money she gave me. Then I saw child shoe shiners cleaning shoes. I went to them and told them about my situation. They felt sad and they told me that I could use the 30 birr that I have to buy shoe shining equipment and I could start working with them. I was very happy and the next day I started shoe shining work.

As presented in table 10 disintegration of family because of marriage breakdown and divorce was mentioned by both categories of the focus group participants as a prime cause for children entering the shoe shining employment. Two individuals (8%) from the parents and guardians category and 1 child (4%) from the child shoe shiners category mentioned disintegration of family as the most important factor compelling children to engage in shoe shining activities. One guardian in the focus group discussion said

"Marriage breakdown forces children to stay with one parent and if the parent with whom the child is living marries again, it is a common practice for many step parents to abuse step children both physically and mentally by beating them, by not giving them food, by insulting them and by mistreating them. The end result of such mistreatment and abuse is the running away of the child from home to the streets to live and work there independently free from the constant abuse and mistreatment of the step parent."

Another significant factor mentioned by both categories of participants of the focus group discussion for children engaging themselves in child labor was migration. Four individuals (16%) from the parents and guardians category and 1 child (4%) from the child shoe shiners category pointed out that migration was the most important factors that pushes children into shoe shining work. One child shoe shiner that participated in the focus group discussion explained how he started working as a shoe shiner by saying.

"I was born in Hadya. I used to live with both of my parents there. Both of my parents love and care about me very much. Life was wonderful in my parent's house in Hayda. However, my happy life ended because of the strong desire I have to experience the big city life. When I was living with my parents in Hayda I used to think that Addis Ababa was heaven. One day I run away form home and came to Addis Ababa. When I arrived in Addis Ababa I realized that the city was not heaven, on the contrary, it was hell. Before I ran away from home I had stolen some money and I used that money for shelter and for food for some time. I was paying 50 cents for shelter every day and in the shelter I was staying I found a child shoe shiner who came from Haydia and he told me that I could start shoe shining work with the money that I have and I followed his advice and started shoe shining. I always want to go back to Hadyia but I cannot go back there after what I have done."

Another participant in the parents and guardians focus group discussion explained his opinion as follows:

"Many children leave their place of origin based on wrong information given to them by friends and relatives. They come to Addis Ababa with an illusion of good city life. Many child migrants expect higher wages, better living conditions and a vision of bright future. Once they are far from home, away form the protective net of the family and the social support structure of their community, they will be forced to engage in shoe shining activity or other forms of child labor for survival"

Table 10 shows that one participant (4%) from the parents and guardians category and two participants (8%) from the child shoe shiners category mentioned large family size as the most important factor for pushing children to take up employment in shoe shining work at an early age. One parent who mentioned large family size as the most important factor for children entering shoe shining work commented.

"Many of the parents in Ethiopia strongly believe that "leje Habete newu" which translates to mean "every child born is an economic asset." Such beliefs motivate parents to have more children without family planning. Moreover, many parents in Ethiopia lack family planning education. That is why most families/households are large. These large families cannot afford to provide proper childcare and education to their children. As a result children decide to join the labor force to fulfill their basic needs"

Among the parents and guardians that participated in the focus group discussion 2 of them (8%) said that peer influence was the most important reason why children took up employment as a shoe shiner and other types of work. Out of the total child shoe shiners that participated in the focus group discussion one child shoe shiner (4%) said peer influence was the reason why he started working as a shoe shiner and he also said that many children who are involved in shoe shining work are convinced by their friends to start the career of shoe shining.

5.2 Economic factors

It is an indisputable fact that the flourishing of child labor in the informal sector in Addis Ababa is caused by the growing poverty in the city. During the focus group discussions held with the parents and guardians of child shoe shiners and child shoe shiners themselves it was revealed that poverty was one of the most important factor that was responsible for children involving themselves into shoe shining activity. Poverty was reported by 8 parents and guardians (32%) and 7 child shoe shiners (28%) that participated in the focus group discussions as the most important factor for children to engage in shoe shining activities.

According to one parent that participated in the focus group discussion the prime cause of children joining shoe shining employment is the widespread poverty in our country. he said:

"The increasing level of poverty in Addis Ababa has made it impossible for parents to take care of themselves, let alone their children. I have 8 children. My monthly income is less than 200 birr. I love my children very much but with the salary I am getting I can not feed my children, let alone sending them to school and buying them books, uniforms and pay other unofficial fees required by the school. As a result six of my children that are above the age of five are expected to contribute to family income for the survival of the family. Two of my children are working as a shoe shiner and the other four children that I have work as domestic workers"

5.3 School Related factors

Apart from socioeconomic factors contributing to the involvement of children in shoe shining activities school related factors also determine the involvement of children in shoe shining activity. During the focus group discussions held with parents and guardians of child shoe shiners and child shoe shiners themselves two child shoe shiners (8%) and one guardian (4%) that participated in the focus group discussion reported that non-conducive school environment and low quality of education as the most important factors for children joining shoe-shining employment. Child shoe shiners that participated in the focus group discussion commented that the school environment in their school was far from conducive. One child shoe shiner further described the situation by saying.

"Many of our teachers are poorly trained and poorly prepared. Moreover, our school suffers from significant shortage of textbooks, exercise books, classrooms desks, toilets and other educational infrastructures. Because of this problem it is better to work than waste time in school"

5.4 Family Status

It was necessary to examine the family status of child shoe shiners to know whether this had any impact in forcing children to engage in shoe shining activities. With in this frame work , child shoe shiners that participated in the survey were asked to report the circumstances of their parents, family bread winner, paternal occupation, maternal occupation, paternal educational status, maternal educational status and family income. The responses of the child shoe shiners are summarized in the table below.

Table 11 Profiles of the parent of child shoe shiners

Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage	
Circumstances of parents	Both alive	91	54
	Both deceased	25	15
	Mother only alive	29	17
	Father only alive	17	10
	Do not know	6	4
	Total	168	100
Family bread winner	Both	36	21
	Father only	45	27
	Mother only	32	19
	Others	38	23
	Do not know	17	10
	Total	168	100
Paternal occupation	Farmer	52	31
	Small trader	14	8
	Civil servant	5	3
	Do not know	17	10
	Daily laborer	31	19
	Others	49	29
	Total	168	100
Maternal occupation	House wife	36	22
	Domestic Worker	7	4
	Small trader	27	16
	Daily laborer	26	15
	Civil servant	0	-
	Farmer	21	13
	Do not know	12	7
	Total	168	100
Paternal education	Illiterate	53	32
	Read and write	39	23
	Grade 1-6	37	22
	7-12	20	12
	Diploma	5	3
	Don't know	14	8
	Total	168	100

Maternal education	Illiterate	67	40
	Read and write	32	19
	Grade 1-6	27	16
	7-12	21	13
	Diploma	2	1
	Don't know	19	11
	Total	168	100
Monthly Family income	<= 150 birr	32	19
	151-250 birr	41	24
	251-350 birr	26	15
	351 and above	15	9
	Don't know	48	29
	Missing	6	4
	Total	168	100

(Own survey, 2006)

As indicated in table eleven 42 percent of child shoe shiners were orphans who have lost either a mother or father, or both parents. Majority of the orphans have more of their mothers alive who constituted 17 percent of the survey population compared to those children who have only their fathers alive who accounted for 10 percent. These findings suggest that more mothers carry the responsibility of taking care of orphans than father among the participants of the survey. However, in Ethiopia only few mothers have access to education and well paying jobs to enable them to fulfill the basic needs of their children. For this reasons, many children will be forced to engage in child labor. Fifteen percent of the child shoe shiners in the survey population were orphans who have lost both of their parents. On the other hand child shoe shiners who reported both parents were alive accounted for 54 percent the study population. Child shoe shiners who reported they have no idea about the circumstances of their parents constituted 4 percent of the survey population. The high level of orphanhood among child shoe shiners that participated in the survey forces children to engage in shoe shining activities as a survival mechanism.

In the survey, information on education attainment of parents was collected from every child shoe shiner that participated in the survey. The purpose was to understand the impact of educational level of

parents in influencing children to take up employment as a shoe shiner. Table 11 presents the educational status of the parents of the child shoe shiners. Overall, about 32% (53) of the fathers of child shoe shiners and 40% (67) of the mothers of the child shoe shiners were found to be illiterate. Among the illiterate parents, mothers registered slightly higher illiteracy level than fathers. As indicated in table 11 about 23 percent (39) of the fathers and 19 percent (32) of the mothers were able to read and write. Looking into the population by grade level, highest proportion 22 percent of fathers and 16 percent of mothers were found to be those that completed grades from 1-6. Among parents who have completed grades from 7-12, the mothers accounted for 13 percent (21) while the fathers accounted for 12 percent (20). The proportion of literate parents declines as educational attainment level increases. As indicated in table 11 only 3 percent (5) of the fathers and slightly above 1 percent (2) of the mothers have got diploma. The findings of study indicates that the majority of the child shoe shiners that participated in the survey come from illiterate families and families with poor educational background and the number of working children declines with the increase in the educational level of the parents. In the survey child shoe shiners who have no idea about the educational status of their fathers and mothers accounted for 8 percent (14) and 11 percent (19) respectively.

A vast body of research suggests that low family income and the various aspects of poverty are of primal importance in understanding why children work. According to Basu and van (1998) child labor will decline dramatically with improvements in family income in four ways.

Firstly, higher family income will encourage the purchase of machines that will substitute child labor and this will result in the decline of child labor within the family.

Secondly, with higher income families can give up the money they could have earned by sending their children to work and they can afforded to send their children to school and buy them better schooling

inputs like exercise books, uniforms and text book and this will decline the involvement of children in child labor and improve their productivity in the future.

Thirdly, with diminishing marginal utility of income, the value of the marginal contribution of the child to family income will decline .

Fourthly, with improvements in family income parents start to see child labor as having a negative effect in the family's welfare function. As a result of this with an increasing income, families prefer to have their children work less.

In the survey every child shoe shiner was asked to state his/her family income. Table 11 shows the family income of the child shoe shiners. Out of the total number of child shoe shiner respondents, the majority 29 percent (48) responded by saying they have no idea about their monthly family income, followed by those child shoe shiners who reported their monthly family income to be with in 151 to 250 birr category and these respondents accounted for 24 percent (41) of the total child shoe shiners interviewed in the survey. Out of the total number of respondents who participated in the survey, 19 percent (32) reported their monthly family income to be less than 150 birr. About 9 percent (15) child shoe shiners reported their family income to be equal to or more than 351 birr. As it is indicated in table11 the results of the study shows that the majority of the child shoe shiner respondents came from poor families. In addition to family income child shoe shiners were also asked regarding the bread winner of the family and out of the total number of respondents 27 percent (45) said that only their father was the bread winner of the family while those child shoe shiners who said only their mother was the bread winners of the family accounted for 19 percent (32). Child shoe shiners who reported both of their parents as breadwinners and those child shoe shiners who reported others as breadwinners accounted for 21 percent (36) and 23 percent (38) respectively while the remaining 10 percent (17) said they have no idea about the breadwinner of the family.

Chapter 6

6 Consequences of Shoe Shining on the Education, Health, Safety and Emotional Development of child Shoe Shiners

The analysis in this section was based on data obtained from the survey, direct observation and focus group discussion. During the survey and focus group discussion child shoe shiners gave information about the impact of shoe shining on their education, the physical injuries they experienced and the physical and emotional abuse they faced at their work place.

6.1 The Impact of Shoe Shining on Education

In the study one of the major variables that was examined in relation to the child shoe shiners was education. This is because education is one of the basic rights children have to enjoy. According to (Federal Negarit Gazeta, August, 1995 Article 36:12) "every child has the right not to be subjected to exploitative practices, neither to be required nor permitted to perform work which may be hazardous or harmful to his or her education, health or well being". In the survey, information on the educational status was collected from every child shoe shiner. The purpose was to understand the impact of work on the education of the working children. The graph and table 12 shows the percentage distribution of child shoe shiners according to their gender and educational status

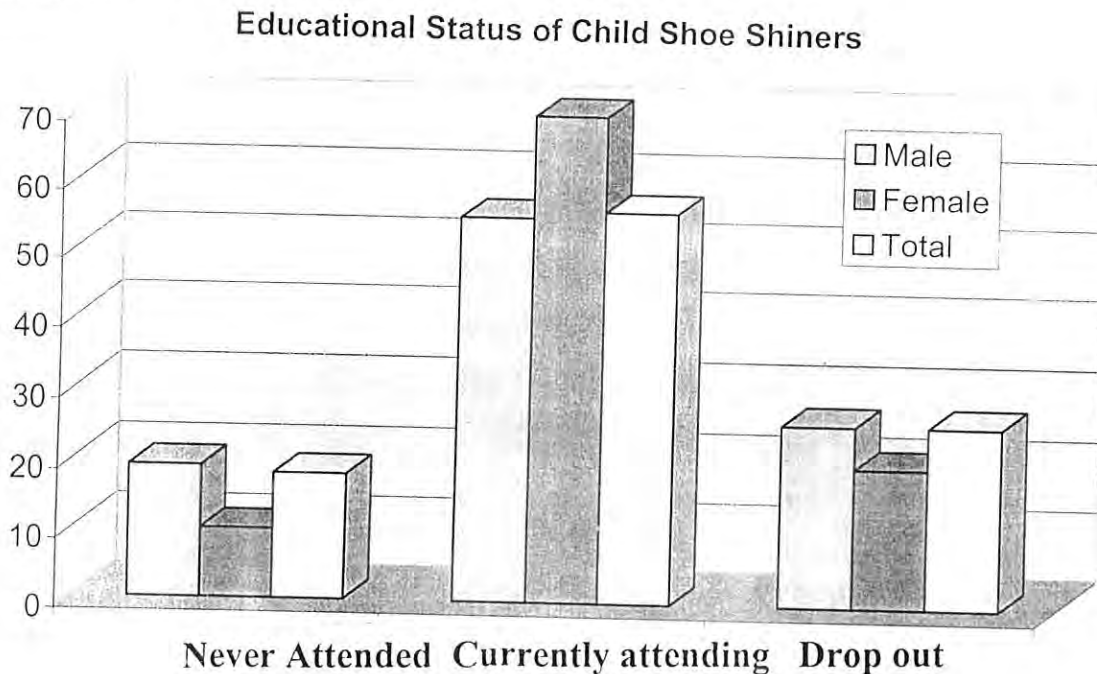


Table 12 Percentage distribution of Child Shoe Shiners by Educational Status and Age

Educational status	Age Group			Total
	5-8	9-11	12-14	
Never attended school	6.5	4.8	7.1	18.4
Drop out	2.4	9.5	13.7	25.6
Attending preprimary education	4.8	2.4	0.6	7.8
Attending lower primary education (1-4)	10.1	14.9	11.3	36.3
Attending upper primary education (5-8)	0.0	1.8	6.5	8.3
Attending secondary education (9-12)	0.0	0.0	3.6	3.6
Total	23.8	33.4	42.8	100

(Own survey 2006)

The graph and table 12 indicate that 18 percent of the child shoe shiners have never been to school. Furthermore, nearly 26 percent of the child shoe shiners left school indicating a large number of school dropout rate. This finding also indicates that many child shoe shiners are school dropouts due to several factors that make it difficult for them to continue their education and an attempt is made in the next section to investigate these factors further. Child shoe shiners who were currently going to school constituted the largest proportion (about 56 percent) of the total respondents that participated in the study. Even though most child shoe shiners attend school, there may still be substantive consequences of work for schooling. Time spent on shoe shinning takes away from study, play and sleep and may undermine the effectiveness of the working children in pursuing their education. With respect to educational attainment level, child shoe shiners attending lower primary education (1-4) constituted the majority 36.3 percent of the total respondents interviewed in the survey. These child shoe shiners were followed by those who were currently attending upper primary education (5-8) who accounted for 8.3 percent. Out of the total number of child shoe shiners that participated in the survey those who were currently attending pre primary education and secondary education constituted 7.8 percent and 3.6 percent respectively. The picture that emerges from these findings is that a large percentage of child shoe shiners that constituted 44 percent

of the total number of respondents were either school dropouts or had never been enrolled in school.

In the course of conducting the survey, child shoe shiners were asked to mention the reasons why they have never been enrolled or dropped out from school. Tables 13 and 14 show the reasons for dropping out from school and the reasons for never attending school respectively.

Table 13 Percentage distribution of child shoe shiners by Reason for dropping out of school

Main reason for dropping out of school	Age group			Total
	5-8	9-11	12-14	
Migration	2.3	9.3	13.8	25.4
Being extremely tired	4.7	7	9.3	21
Family does not permit schooling	0	2.3	2.3	4.6
High cost of education	0	0	4.7	4.7
Lack of school facilities	2.3	4.7	7	14
Orphanhood	0	7	7	14
Family disintegration	0	2.3	2.3	4.6
Sickness	0	4.7	2.3	7
No reason given	0	0	4.7	4.7
Total	9.3	37.3	53.4	100

(Own survey 2006)

As presented in table 13 child shoe shiners who dropped out of school were asked to report their reasons for dropping out of school. Table 13 gives the reasons of child shoe shiners for dropping out of school. The major reasons given by the child shoe shiners were migration (25.4%), orphanhood (14%), being extremely tired (21%), lack of school facilities (14%).

Other reasons reported by the child shoe shiners include family does not permit schooling (4.6%), high cost of education (4.7%), no reason given (4.7%), sickness (7%) and family disintegration (4.6%). For a significant percentage of the child shoe shiners aged between 12-14, their reason for dropping out of school was their migration from different

parts of Ethiopia to Addis Ababa, while for children aged between 5-8 years, the major factor for dropping out of school was being extremity tired due to work.

The study also tried to examine the reasons why some of the child shoe shiners never attended school. Table 14 shows the percentage distribution of child shoe shiners by reasons for never attending school.

Table 14 Percentage distribution of child shoe shiners by reasons for never attending school

Main reason for never attending school	Age group			Total
	5-8	9-11	12-14	
Young to be enrolled	9.7	0.0	0.0	9.7
To work full time	6.5	9.7	12.9	29.1
Orphaned	12.9	6.5	6.5	25.9
Family does not allow schooling	3.2	0.0	0.0	3.2
High cost of education	0.0	3.2	3.2	6.4
Sickness	0.0	0.0	3.2	3.2
Being a street child	3.2	6.5	9.7	19.4
No reason given	0.0	0.0	3.2	3.2
Total	35.5	25.9	38.6	100

(Own survey 2006)

Table 14 indicates that the main reason given by 29.1% of the child shoe shiners for never attending school was the need to work full time. This was followed by a child becoming an orphan (25.9%). The other reasons which were mentioned by the child shoe shiners who never attended school include, being a street child (19.4%), high cost of education (6.4%), young to be enrolled (9.7%), family does not allow education (3.2%), no reason given (3.2%) and sickness (3.2%). The findings of the study indicate that out of the total number of respondents the majority of children who end up in shoe shining work instead of going to school were forced by the circumstances rather than a deliberate choice of their own. Thus, in order to reduce the negative impact of shoe shining work on the education of the children that participated in the survey, it requires solving the problems that families and children face which are primarily economic in nature.

6.2 Working Time and Education

According to Assefa (2001) excessive and long hours of work adversely affect both school attendance and literacy skills of the child. The time endowment of every child is fixed. Thus the trade off between work and schooling is that when children prefer schooling over work the cost of schooling is that they will give up the money they could have earned if they were working or what they could have produced around the household. However, schooling is an investment that incurs costs in the present and yields benefits in the future. Since child shoe shiners have limited amount of time available and more time in one activity means less time in another, long hours of work will adversely affect the school attendance and academic performance of the working child in the sense that it reduces the time allocated for schooling purposes.

In the informal sector where labor regulations are difficult to apply many children remain unprotected from working long hours and consequently endangering their physical and mental development. Information on the number of hours spent on shoe shining in a day and the number of working days spent on shoe shining activities in a week has great importance to determine whether child shoe shiners had ample time for schooling and leisure. In an attempt to gain insight into the situation, child shoe shiners were asked to indicate the actual and usual number of hours they spend working in a day and the number of working days spent on shoe shining in a week. Tables 15 summarizes the responses of child shoe shiners. During the data collection period the irregular nature of working hours and working days for the majority of child shoe shiners have made it difficult for them to tell the exact number of hours worked in a day and the exact number of days in a week. Thus, the accuracy of the data on the number of working hours and days should be accepted with caution.

Table 15 Working hours Per Day and Working days per week

Working days per week	Working days per week														Total	
	One day		Two days		Three days		Four days		Five days		Six days		The whole week			
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
1-3 hours	0	-	2	1.2	0	-	3	1.8	7	4.2	8	4.8	5	3	25	15
4-6 hours	1	0.6	12	7.1	10	6	8	4.8	14	8.3	17	10	12	7.1	74	44
7-9 hours	3	1.8	7	4.2	2	1.2	4	2.4	8	4.8	14	8.3	5	3	43	25
10-12 hours	2	1.2	3	1.8		-	3	1.8	4	2.4	7	4.2	4	2.4	23	14
13-15 hours	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	0.6	2	1.2	3	2
Total	6	3.6	24	14.3	12	7.2	18	10.8	33	19.7	47	27.6	28	16.7	168	100

(Own survey, 2006)

Table 16 Working time and education

Working days per week	Hours of work per day	Educational Status												Total	
		Never attended		Dropped out		Pre primary		lower primary (1-4)		Upper primary (5-8)		Secondary (9-12)			
		Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
<=2days	1-4 hours	0	-	0	-	2	6.7	1	3.3	0	-	0	-	3	10
	5-8 hours	0	-	3	10	1	3.3	5	16.7	4	13.3	3	10	16	53
	9-15 Hours	1	3.3	3	10	0	-	4	13.3	2	6.7	1	3.3	11	37
	Total	1	3.3	6	20	3	10	10	33.3	6	20	4	13.3	30	100
3-4 days	1-4 hours	0	-	1	3.3	2	6.7	0	-	1	3.3	2	6.7	6	20
	5-8 hours	0	-	4	13.3	4	13.3	7	23.3	2	6.7	0	-	17	57
	9-15 hours	1	3.3	2	6.7	0	-	4	13.3	0	-	0	-	7	23
	Total	1	3.3	7	23.3	6	20	11	36.7	3	10	2	6.7	30	100
5-6 days	1-4 hours	4	5	3	3.8	3	3.7	8	10	2	2.5	0	-	20	25
	5-8 hours	5	6.2	7	8.8	1	1.3	23	28.8	3	3.8	0	-	39	49
	9-15 hours	8	10	10	12.5	0	-	3	3.8	0	-	0	-	21	26
	Total	17	21.2	20	25	4	5	34	42.5	5	6.3	0	-	80	100
7 days	1-4 hours	2	7.1	2	7.1	0	-	4	14.3	0	-	0	-	8	29
	5-8 hours	4	14.3	5	17.8	0	-	2	7.1	0	-	0	-	11	39
	9-15 hours	6	21.4	3	10.7	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	9	32
	Total	12	42.8	10	35.7	0	-	6	21.4	0	-	0	-	28	100
Overall	1-4 hours	6	3.6	6	3.6	7	4.2	13	7.7	3	1.8	2	1.2	37	22
	5-8 hours	9	5.4	19	11.3	6	3.6	37	22	9	5.4	3	1.8	83	49
	9-15 hours	16	9.5	18	10.7	0	-	11	6.3	2	1.2	1	0.6	48	29
	Total	31	18.5	43	25.6	13	7.7	61	36	14	8.3	6	3.6	168	100

(Own survey, 2006)

As presented in table 15 the majority of child shoe shiners ,28 percent (47) were engaged in shoe shining activities six days a week .On the other hand ,child shoe shiners who work five days a week and seven days a week accounted for 20 percent (33) and 17 percent (28) respectively. Those respondents who reported saying they are working four days a week, three days a week and two days a week accounted for 11 percent (18),7 percent (12) and 14 percent (24) respectively. A few child shoe shiners, only 4 percent (6), reported to have worked one day a week.

Regarding the amount of time spent on shoe shining work per day, out of the total number of respondents the majority 44 percent (74) indicated to have worked 4 to 6 hours per day. This was followed by child shoe shiners who reported to have worked 7to 9 hours per day and these respondents accounted for 25 percent (43) of the total number of respondents interviewed in the survey. As indicated in table 15 those child shoe shiners that worked for 1 to 3 hours and 13 to 15 hours per day constituted 15 percent (25) and 2 percent (3) of the total child shoe shiners interviewed in the survey. And about 14 percent (23) of the respondents indicated to have worked 10 to 12 hours per day

The general picture one can get from this findings is that the majority of child shoe shiners are working several days of the week for long hours with little or no time for study, schooling and leisure .This clearly indicates that the majority of the respondents that participated in the survey don't have ample time to study, complete homework's given by their teachers at school and to have rest.

In order to capture the negative effects of shoe shining work on school attendance and academic performance, parents and guardians of child shoe shiners and child shoe shiners themselves that participated in the focus group discussions were asked to comment on the negative impact of engaging in shoe shining work on the education of child shoe shiners. Information obtained from the focus group discussion held with child shoe shiners indicated that child shoe shiners find it hard to attend

school, and when they attend they find it difficult to concentrate in class because they are extremely exhausted from long hours of shoe shining work. Furthermore, child shoe shiners who were attending school in the focus group discussion indicated that while attending school they face many types of discrimination from their classmates because shoe-shining work is devoid of dignity and prestige. They also explained that the discrimination they face is worsened by their dirty clothing because their clothes are always dirty due to the nature of their work. Child shoe shiners that participated in the focus group discussion have also indicated that they are frequently absent from school and many times they arrive late in class. One child shoe shiner that participated in the focus group discussion indicated his reason for dropping out of school by saying:

"The teachers in my school used to give me a large amount of home work. However, I have no time to devote to homework and study because I get extremely tired when I get home from long day of work. When I go to school without doing my homework my teachers try to discipline me all the time. My teachers do not understand that the reason I was not doing my homework was because I have to work for a living. If I do not work, I do not eat and I will starve to death. The daily punishment made me lose my interest in pursuing my education and I dropped out of school."

Focus group discussion held with the parents and guardians of child shoe shiners revealed that the major reason why many parents and guardians were not sending their children to school was poverty. The parents and guardians commented that even if education in government school is free the costs of exercise books, uniforms and other forms of payments are extremely high and they cannot even afforded to feed their children let alone send them to school. On the other hand parents and guardian whose children were attending school expressed their concern

over their children's future and felt that it was too hard for their children to study and work as a shoe shiner at the same time.

6.3 Working Environment and the Effects of Work on the Health Status of Child Shoe Shiners

Allowing children to undertake tasks which are beyond their capacity is likely to negatively affect their physical and psychological development. Child shoe shiners encounter many problems while they are working. Hazardous and boring work environment, long hours of work load and injuries due to *Wosfea* (a sharp tool used for sewing shoes) are some of the factors that affect the physical and mental development of child shoe shiners. In the study, child shoe shiners were carefully observed while they were working. The purpose of the observation was to systematically observe the working conditions and associated hazardous child shoe shiners were facing in the study area. Direct observation findings indicated that child shoe shiners were working in a dirty, open air environment with excessive dust. During the direct observation it was discovered that they are exposed daily to cold temperatures in the early mornings and to excessive heat due to the scorching sun in the mid day and afternoon. Furthermore, during a sunny day child shoe shiners were exposed to dust and windy conditions and when it rains their work place becomes muddy. Most of the child shoe shiners normally worked sitting on the streets thus during a dry day they were affected by dust and in a rainy day by mud and these situation made them look unclean and dirty. Most of the child shoe shiners were seen wearing old, dirty and torn cloths. Moreover, child shoe shiners are prone to accidents from cars and bicycles.

The surroundings of the work places of some child shoe shiners were dirty and covered by solid and liquid wastes, creating a conducive place for breeding flies. Moreover, some child shoe shiners were observed

eating food in their unhygienic work place without washing their hands. Due to this unhygienic working environment child shoe shiners were at high risk of getting infected with Typhoid, cholera, flu, diarrhea and other related diseases.

In the work place of some child shoe shiners all types of dangerous items such as used syringes, condoms, rusty nails and broken glasses were found and some child shoe shiners working in the study area were seen walking on bare foot and this is highly dangerous for their health. Furthermore, some child shoe shiners were observed to have infections, swollen pus, and scabies, unhealed open wounds caused by a sharp tool used by child shoe shiners called Wosfea and coarse skin, perhaps due to the bad working conditions. When there was no work to be performed child shoe shiners were observed playing football on roads exposing themselves to traffic accidents.

The direct observation revealed that many child shoe shiners were involved in carrying and lifting loads for walking passengers as a secondary work. These child shoe shiners were seen carrying heavy loads, over and above their weight and age. Several studies indicate that children that carry heavy loads beyond their capacity are likely to damage their healthy physical development and face backaches and pains in the shoulder. This suggests that child shoe shiners who were involved in carrying and lifting heavy loads beyond their capacity are likely to experience backaches, chest pain and other associated physical health problems.

In the study child shoe shiners were asked to evaluate the working conditions under which they were performing their work. The responses of the child shoe shiners are summarized in the table below

Table 17 Perception of conditions of work place by child shoe shiners

Nature of working place	Response	Gender				Total	
		Male		Female		Freq	%
		Freq	%	Freq	%		
Have access to latrines at work place	Yes	27	17	4	40	31	18
	No	131	83	6	60	137	82
	Total	158	100	10	100	168	100
Have access to drinking water at work place	Yes	100	63	8	80	108	64
	No	58	37	2	20	60	36
	Total	158	100	10	100	168	100
Find work environment conducive	Yes	35	22	0	0	35	21
	No	123	78	10	100	133	79
	Total	158	100	10	100	168	100
Have enough space to do work	Yes	134	85	8	80	142	85
	No	24	15	2	20	26	15
	Total	158	100	10	100	168	100
Have enough amount of time per day for rest	Yes	96	61	3	30	99	59
	No	62	39	7	70	69	41
	Total	158	100	10	100	168	100
Highly exposed to heat and sun at work place	Yes	141	87	10	100	151	90
	No	17	13	0	0	17	10
	Total	158	100	10	100	168	100
Highly exposed to dust at work place	Yes	128	81	9	90	137	82
	No	30	19	1	10	31	18
	Total	158	100	10	100	168	100

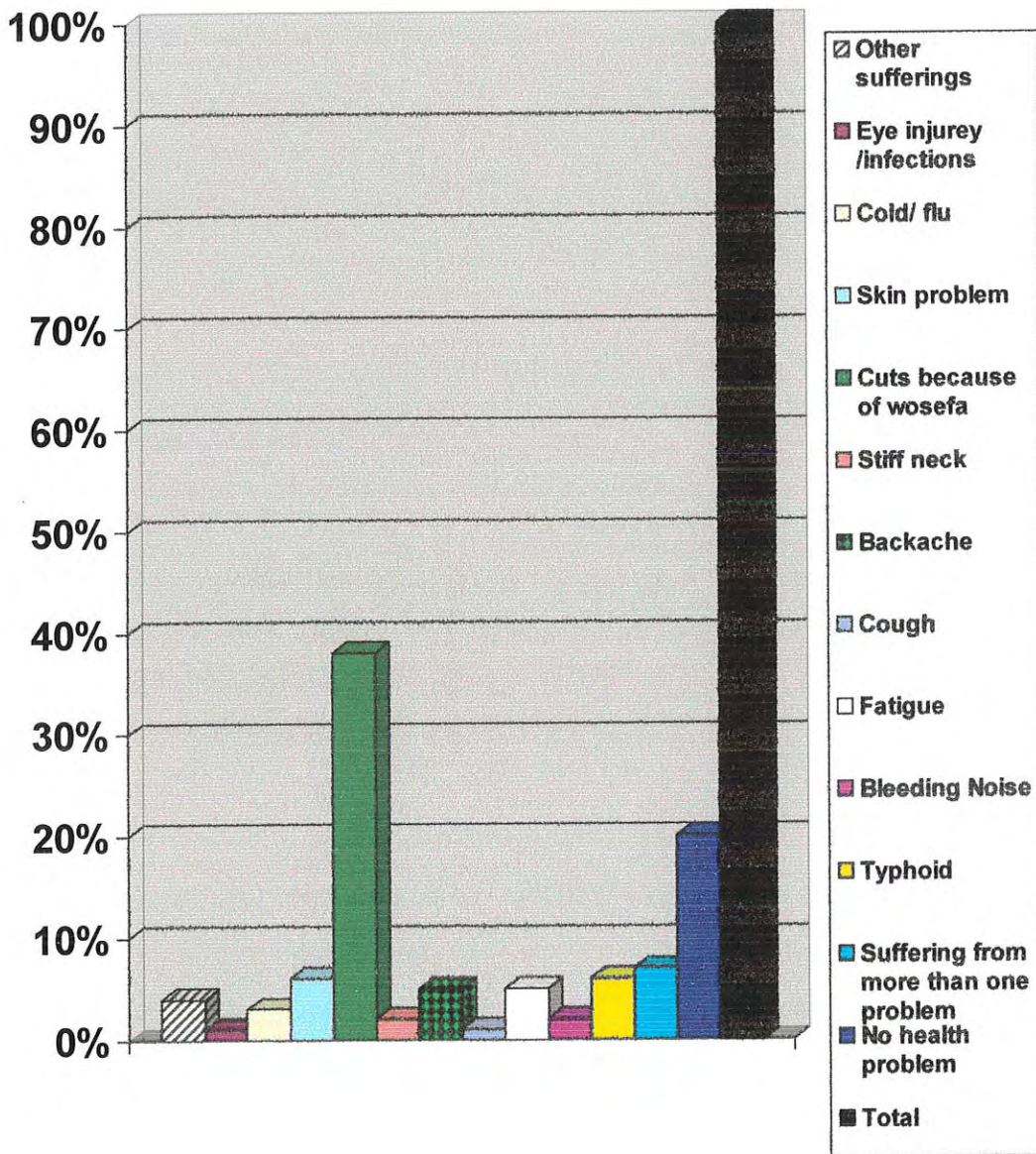
(Own Survey)

Lack of access to latrines/toilets can negatively affect the health and comfort of a child. And out of the total number of respondents 82 percent of the child shoe shiners reported that in their place of work they have no access to toilet/latrines while the remaining 18 percent said they have access to toilet/latrines at their place of work. This finding leaves an important question of where the 82 percent of child shoe shiners go to use toilet facilities unanswered. Regarding access to drinking water about 64 percent of the child shoe shiners said they have access to drinking water at work place where as the remaining 36 percent of child shoe shiners indicated that they have no access to drinking water at work place. The other aspect of interest was to know how child shoe shiners feel about their work environment. Only 21 percent said their work environment was conducive, where as the majority 79 percent said their work environment was not conducive. Furthermore, child shoe

shiners were asked whether they have enough workspace or not. As indicated in the above table the majority 85 percent said they have enough workspace to do their work, while the remaining 15 percent said that they have no enough work space to perform their duties. In the study child shoe shiners were asked whether they have sufficient amount to rest per day or not. And 59 percent said that they have sufficient amount of rest per day while the remaining 41 percent said that they did not have enough amount of rest per day. This finding indicates that a large proportion of the child shoe shiners interviewed in the survey did not get enough amount of rest per day. Concerning exposure to heat and sun at work place the majority of child shoe shiners who accounted for 90 percent indicated being highly exposed to heat and sun. And only 10 percent said they were not highly exposed to heat and sun. In addition to exposure to heat and sun, child shoe shiners were asked to indicate whether they were highly exposed to dust at work place. And 82 percent said that they were highly exposed to dust at work place while the rest 18 percent said they were not exposed to dust at work place. Admittedly, several of the work processes performed while shoe shining are not hazardous under normal conditions. However, when they are undertaken in a state of fatigue due long hours of work and in non conducive environment, even simple tasks can be hazardous. Thus, having conducive work environment and enough amount of rest per day is important not only for the psychological development of child shoe shiners but also to protect them from work related injuries.

In the study an attempt was made to assess the nature of injuries and health problems faced by child shoe shiners that participated in the in the survey. The working children were asked to report the nature of health problems and physical injuries they encountered because of shoe shining work. It is evident from the participant's responses that there were several types of health problems and injuries experienced by child shoe shiners that were interviewed in the survey. The information on the nature of injuries and health problems encountered by child shoe shiners are summarized in the diagram below

Nature of injuries and health problems encountered by child shoe shiners

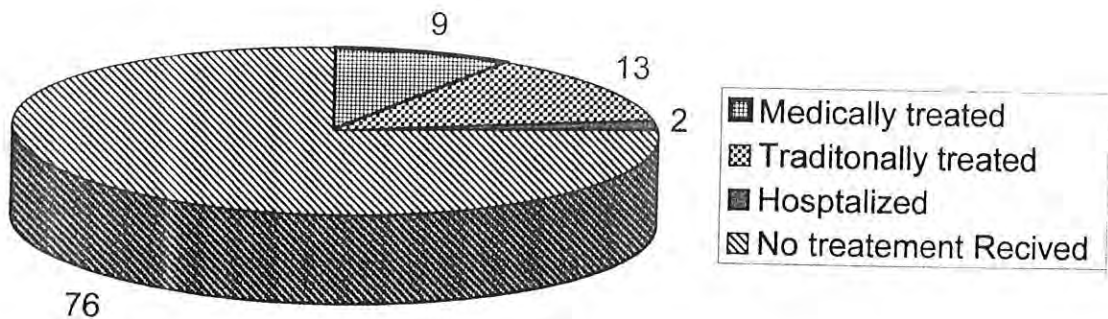


As indicated in the above diagram the majority 38 percent of the child shoe shiners reported being injured while using Wosefa. This was followed by child shoe shiners who suffered from more than one health problem or injury and these child shoe shiners accounted for 7 percent of the total respondents interviewed in the survey. Furthermore, out of the total number of respondents 6% of child shoe shiners indicated suffering from Typhoid. Other health problems and injuries experienced by child shoe shiners include, bleeding noise (2%), Skin problem (6%), Cold/ flue (3%) other sufferings (4%), eye injury/ infections (1%), fatigue (5%) cough (1%), stiff neck (2%) and backache (5%). Many of the health problems and injuries experienced by child shoe shiners resulted from the work environment, which was not conducive while others were directly as a result of a sharp tool used by child shoe shiners called Wosefa and the work process. On the other hand, child shoe shiners who were not injured or encountered illness due to work constituted 20 percent of the total number of respondents interviewed in the survey

6.4 Type of Treatment Received

All the child shoe shiners who reported having been injured or sick due to shoe shining work were asked to indicate the type of treatment they received to recover from the injury or sickness. The responses of the child shoe shiners are summarized in the pie chart below

Type of Treatment Received



As indicated in the pie chart 76% of the child shoe shiners who have encountered health problem, injury or both did not receive any treatment. On the other hand, about 13 percent of the child shoe shiners who have experienced health problem injury or both had received traditional treatment, while about 9 percent were given medical treatment for recovery. The proportion of child shoe shiners who were hospitalized for treatment accounted for only 2 percent of the child shoe shiners who encountered a health problem/injury or both.

6.5 Physical and Emotional Abuse Encountered by Child Shoe shiners

In the study an attempt was made to examine the physical and emotional abuse faced by child shoe shiners. The analysis in this section of the study is based on information obtained from direct observation, focus group discussion and survey. Findings from direct observation revealed that most common problems experienced by child shoe shiners relate to physical abuse, psychosocial abuse and denial of payments. From the observation it was discovered that child shoe shiners were victims of verbal and physical abuse. Being insulted, screamed at or

being beaten are the common forms of punishment for making a mistake at work, for working slowly and for not properly cleaning a shoe.

During the direct observation some clients of child shoe shiners were seen harassing, insulting and in some cases refusing to pay the children for the service rendered. This usually happens when child shoe shiners make minor mistakes like accidentally brushing socks and trousers with shoe polish and being slow in performing their tasks which some customers use as an excuse to physically and verbally attack the child shoe shiners and deny them their pay.

However, this does not mean that all customers of child shoe shiners are necessarily bad persons. Without doubt there are many good customers who provide support for child shoe shiners, over pay them for services rendered and who provide them life lessons. Nevertheless, it was discovered that, a large number of child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city are exposed to physical, verbal and emotional abuse. Moreover, child shoe shiners were seen frequently fighting among themselves and receiving beatings from adult shoe shiners who forcefully take customers away from them. It was observed that adult shoe shiners who are strong physically are more likely to get more clients by chasing away child shoe shiners.

In order to understand the physical, verbal and emotional abuses child shoe shiners encountered child shoe shiners who participated in the survey were asked to provide information on whether they have encountered physical, verbal, emotional, sexual abuses or not and on the type of abuse they encountered. The response of the child shoe shiners are summarized in table 18.

Table 18, Types of abuse encountered by child shoe shiners

Types of abuse	Response	Gender				Total	
		Male		Female		Freq	%
		Freq	%	Freq	%		
Insults/verbal abuse	Yes	87	55	4	40	91	54
	No	71	45	6	60	77	46
	Total	158	100	10	100	168	100
Physical abuse/beating	Yes	51	32	3	30	54	32
	No	107	68	7	70	114	68
	Total	158	100	10	100	168	100
Sexual abuse	Yes	0	0.0	1	10	1	0.6
	No	158	100	9	90	167	99.4
	Total	158	100	10	100	168	100
Laughing stock	Yes	47	30	7	70	54	32
	No	111	70	3	30	114	68
	Total	158	100	10	100	168	100
Payment refusal/deduction	Yes	94	59	4	40	98	58
	No	64	41	6	60	70	42
	Total	158	100	10	100	168	100

(Own survey, 2006)

As indicated in table18 child shoe shiners that participated in the survey had encountered various types of abuses including insults/verbal (54%), physical abuse/beating (32%), sexual abuse (0.6%), laughing stock (32%) and payment refusal/ deduction (58%). These findings clearly indicate that child shoe shiners are highly vulnerable and thus need special protection by the larger community and government against all types of abuse.

During the focus group discussions held with the parents and guardians of child shoe shiners and child shoe shiners themselves it was revealed some clients harass, insult or even beat and refuse to pay the child shoe shiners for the services rendered. On the question of being abused at their work places, many child shoe shiners that participated in the focus group discussion confirmed that they were verbally abused by clients. Moreover, these child shoe shiners indicated that they were frequently threatened ,verbally and physically abused by adult shoe

shiners .A large number of child shoe shiners in the focus group discussion disclosed that their clients are taken away from them by force by adults shoe shiners. One participant in the parents and guardians category of the focus group discussion was very cynical regarding communities indifference to working children whose rights are violated. He indicated that many individuals in Gulele sub city are ignorant of children's rights and the consequences of violation of the rights.

6.6 Child Shoe Shiners Attitude towards Work

With in Ethiopian society, shoe shining in general is not recognized as a respectable profession. It is perceived to be left for those who have no other option. Negative cultural and psychological feeling of child shoe shiners towards shoe shining are enforced by the non- conducive work environment, verbal abuse and physical abuse child shoe shiners are facing.

In order to examine the attitude of the working children towards their work the child shoe shiners were asked to indicate their attitude towards their work and a very low percentage of the interviewed in the survey (11%) wanted to stay in shoe shining work others (89) wanted to become civil servant, teacher, merchant, nurses, soldier, football player or have own business. The majority of the child shoe shiners (61%) who did not like to continue working as a shoe shiner gave "work is too tiresome" as a reason for their dissatisfaction with shoe shining work. Child shoe shiners who were dissatisfied with their work due to bad working environment and verbal abuse accounted for 21 percent and 18 percent respectively.

On the other hand, 54 percent of the child shoe shiners who wanted to stay working as a shoe shiner in the future gave "have fun with friends" as a reason while the remaining 46 percent gave "can earn money for school "as a reason."

6.7 Employment Mechanism

In order to understand the patterns of recruitment that lead children to join shoe shining work, child shoe shiners were asked to indicate the person who introduced them to shoe shining work. Table 19 shows the distribution of working children according to the persons who introduced them to shoe shining work.

Table 19 Percentage distribution of child shoe shiners by persons who introduced them to shoe shining work

Person who introduced them	Gender				Total	
	Male		Female		Freq	%
	Freq	%	Freq	%		
No one (self)	42	27	3	30	45	27
Relatives	19	12	0	0	19	11
Parents	21	13	2	20	23	14
Brothers	10	6	0	0	10	6
Sisters	0	-	1	10	1	0.6
Friends	37	23	2	20	39	23
Guardians	23	15	2	20	25	15
Neighbors	4	3	0	0	4	2.4
Missing	2	1	0	0	2	1
Total	158	100	10	100	168	100

(Own survey, 2006)

As indicated in the above table out of the total number of respondents 27 percent (45) of the child shoe shiners who participated in the survey indicated introducing themselves to shoe shining work. This was done on their own initiative in an attempt to further their education and to reduce the economic hardship they were facing. The remaining child shoe shiners, except for those who did not respond to this question, were introduced by other individual to shoe shining work. About 14 percent (23) of the respondents got introduced to shoe shining work through parents where as 15 percent (25) of the respondents were introduced by guardians. Friends introduced 23 percent (39) of all the respondents, while relatives and neighbors introduced 11 percent (19) and 2.4 percent (4) respectively. Brothers and sisters introduced 6 percent (10) and 0.6 percent (1) respondents into shoe shining work respectively.

Chapter 7

7 Conclusion and Recommendation

7.1 Conclusion

Childhood as a foundation for adult life requires a conducive environment and opportunities for adequate care and attention so that children can develop into capable adults. Children are the source of hope and inspiration for the future. However, millions of children in the world are living and working in the most health hazardous and dangerous situations, at times with even their young lives at risk. Child labor is not confined to developing countries. Both in the developed and transition economies children are engaged in child labour. However, the majority of working children are found in developing countries. As in many developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, child labour is a widespread problem in Ethiopia. In rural areas agriculture is by far the dominant sector of child employment where as in urban areas child workers are mostly engaged in the informal sector. There are different types of child labour in the informal sector in Ethiopia but the study focus only on those children who are engaged in shoe shining activities in Gulele sub city.

In the study quantitative and qualitative data were collected by using survey method, focus group discussion and direct observation. Quantitative data was collected from 168 child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city .Qualitative data was collected through focus group discussion held with parents and guardians of child shoe shiners and child shoe shiners themselves .The intention of collecting the two types of data was to know the factors that led the children into shoe shining work ,the types of hazards and risks they face, the number of hours they devote to work , the impact of work on the health and education of the working children, the physical and verbal abuse they encountered, the work

related injuries they experienced, the type of treatment they received, the evaluation of working children about their work place, literacy status, levels of education and training, the attitude and perception of the children of their current and future life and to systematically observe the working conditions of the child shoe shiners .

Considering the findings from the survey and focus group discussion, it appears that nearly all the child shoe shiners that participated in the survey were with disadvantaged background involving lack of access to education, coming from poor families, some being orphans and having migrated from other parts of Ethiopia to Addis Ababa. Therefore, their participation in shoe shining activities is a consequence and manifestation of multifarious vulnerabilities they experience.

Causes that led children to engage in shoe shining work were complex and varied. The study findings indicate that working children that participated in the study did not join shoe shining work without reasons. They were pushed down by so many reasons including the socio-economic and cultural factors of their circumstances. According to the study findings the core causes that were mentioned by the participants of the study for children's involvement in shoe shining work were:

Economic factors- the findings of the study indicate that poverty was the dominant factor that forces children to engage in shoe shining work. About 21% of the working children that participated in the survey pointed out that the reason why they were working as a shoe shiner was to support family income. Destitute family, to be self reliant and to pay for school expenses were mentioned as the core causes for children involvement in shoe shining activity by 23%, 12.5% and 12.5% of the total study population that participated in the survey. This clearly indicates that there is a strong link between poverty and child labor.

Social factors- family disasters such as death of parents, family disintegration and inadequate parenting were found to be major factors that force children to engage in shoe shining activities for survival. About 12.5% of the children that participated in the study reported being orphan as the reason for engaging in shoe shining activity. Since HIV/AIDS has now become a major problem, especially in Addis Ababa where many people are living with the disease, there may be a close relationship between child labour and HIV/AIDS because the disease generally kills the family bread winner and shifts more of the income earning burden to child shoe shiners.

Other factors- out of the total number of respondent's child shoe shiners who reported peer influence, poor agricultural output and being forced by parents accounted for 7%, 5% and 1% respectively.

Child labour not only deprives working children of their education and moral, social and physical development but also steals their childhood away from them. The study findings indicate that child shoe shiners were working in unsanitary and non conducive work environment. According to the findings of the study the negative consequences of shoe shining work on children that participated in the study were.

Impact on education- the study shows that a large number of child shoe shiners that participated in the study are either illiterate or school dropouts. Moreover, child shoe shiners who were currently attending school find it hard to concentrate in class because they are extremely exhausted from long hours of shoe shining work. The findings of the study shows that child shoe shiners are working for long hours, sacrificing time and energy they may have spent at school or leisure enjoying their childhood. They are losing the vital opportunity education provides in equipping them with the knowledge and life skills. The

continuous involvement of children in shoe shining work with little or no prospect of education perpetuates the vicious circle of poverty.

Impact on health- Shoe shining has negative consequences on the health status of child shoe shiners that participated in the study. A large number of child shoe shiners that participated in the survey complained of sustaining injuries due to Wosefa and suffering from Typhoid, backache and other diseases due to the nature of their work and their work environment. The findings of the study indicate that the principal cause of injury of child shoe shiners was a sharp instrument called Wosefa.

Physical and emotional abuse- The study findings indicate that child shoe shiners were victims of physical and emotional abuse. According to the study child shoe shiners that participated in the survey faced various types of abuses including insults/verbal abuse (54%) physical abuse /beating (32%), sexual abuse (0.6%) and payment deduction/ refusal (58%). These finding clearly indicates that child shoe shiners in the study population were suffering from physical and emotional abuse at their young age which should have been reserved for play and learning.

The goal of interventions concerning child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city should focus on providing increased protection to them rather than the immediate elimination of child shoe shining work because the immediate elimination of child shoe shining work without putting in place necessary measures to support the working children may hinder their livelihood and force them to change their employment and end up in jobs with even worse working conditions.

7.2 Recommendation

The development of Ethiopia is highly dependent on the development of its children who are its major future assets. However, if children are involved in child labour they become highly vulnerable to physical emotional and sexual abuse that can negatively affect their cognitive, emotional, physical, social and moral development becoming a major obstacle to human capital formation. Therefore, protecting working children from physical, verbal and sexual abuse should be a priority and considered with utmost urgency. In view of the vast and complex nature of child labour in Ethiopia, the task of mitigating the problem requires a multidimensional approach that is based on the cultural and socio-economic context of our country.

The study finding indicate that the prime cause that forces children to engage in shoe shining activities is the wide spread poverty of child shoe shiners families. Recognition that poverty and the need of poor families for income are the most important factors that push children to engage in shoe shining activities carries with it obvious policy implications. These policy implications are raising the income of the poor by financially assisting them and by developing income generating programs for them so that they can afforded to give up the money they could have earned by sending their children to shoe shining work.

A vast body of research suggests that the elimination of child labour would benefit a wide range of institutions and actors. This includes, in addition to children and their families, governments, labour markets, communities and national economies. The positive economic effects which the eradication of child Labour would bring to working children and their families in general and child shoe shiners and their families in particular would benefit them in the long run. However, the problem for child shoe shiners and their families is that they have to survive the short run to be able to take advantage of the optimistic future

which is predicated. This suggests that other actors and institutions in society especially the government, civil society and the larger community who would take advantage from economic growth that results from the macro economic effects due to the elimination of child labour should provide assistance to child shoe shiners and their families to survive the short run.

The problem of child shoe shiners that participated in the study is a complex problem that is caused by multiple factors. Due to the vast and complex nature of the problem no single intervention strategy is adequate by it self and, therefore, solving the problem of child shoe shiners requires a multi pronged strategy that includes mass awareness programs, legislation and enforcement, advocacy of children's right, reduction of poverty and adult unemployment, providing support services for child shoe shiners, development policies, programs and strategies which focus on human capital formation and quality schools and the development of rehabilitative, protective and preventive programs.

In line with the findings and conclusion drawn the study suggests the following measures to be taken in order to alleviate the problem of child shoe shiners.

1. There is a need to educate parents on methods of solving their socio-economic problems that do not involve sending their children to work. Parents should be given encouragement and advice on how to start income generating activities. Schemes like revolving funds and credit facilities should also have to be arranged for them. This will enable parents to give up the income contribution of their children and to meet their basic needs.
2. The study has revealed that many of the child shoe shiners that participated in the study are orphans who have lost either one or both parents and this could be due to the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS. Therefore, there is a need to conduct research to

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Appendix I

Focus group discussion Guide for Parents and Gurdians of Child Shoe shiners in Gulele Sub city.

1. What do you understand about child labor?
2. Do you see and difference between child labor and work that is normally done by children in Gulele sub city?
3. What are the major problems experienced by child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city?
4. What are the major push or pull factors that force children to engage in shoe shining activity in Gulele sub city?
5. When the children in Gulele sub city engage in shoe shinning, what happens to their education?
6. What are the impacts of shoe shining on the health, safety and moral development of children?
7. What benefits do you get from child shoe shiners?
8. What is the perception of the local community in Gulele sub city about shoe shining children?
9. Do you have non-governmental or governmental organizations that are working on the issue of child labor in Gulele sub city?
10. What possible intervention areas do you suggest to reduce the problem of child shoe polishers in Gulele sub city?

Appendix II

Focus Group discussion Guide for Child Shoe Shiners in Gulele Sub City

1. What do you know about child labor?
2. What kind of families do child shoe shiners have?
3. What makes children to engage in shoe shinning?
4. What social support net work do you have?
5. What are the working conditions of child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city?
6. What are the risks faced by children engaged in shoe shinning in Gulele sub city?
7. Where do the majority of child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city come from?
8. What are the work related health hazardous child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city face?
9. What is the impact of shoe shinning on children's education in Gulele sub city?
10. What are the common problems experienced by child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city?
11. Are there any initiatives/ organizations working to reduce the problem of child labor in Gulele sub city?
12. What should be done to solve the problems faced by child shoe shiners in Gulele sub city?

Addis Ababa University School of Graduate Studies Regional and Local Development Studies

Questionnaire

This questioner is related to a survey being conducted by a student in Addis Ababa University. The objective of the study is to get information about the current situation of child shoe polishers in Gulele Sub City. The aim of the questionnaire is to collect data on the educational status, health status, employment history, socio-economic characteristics, working hours etc. The researcher would like to assure you that the information you provide would be used purely for academic purpose.

Background information of the child

- | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Age of the shoe polisher | | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |
| 2. Sex of the shoe Polisher | 1= Male | 2= Female | <input type="text"/> |
| 3. What is your religion? | 1= Orthodox | 2= Muslim | <input type="text"/> |
| | 3= Protestant | 4= Catholic | |
| | 5= Traditional | 6= others (specify) | _____ |
| 4. Place of birth | 1= In Addis Ababa | | <input type="text"/> |
| | 2= Out of Addis Ababa (Urban) | | |
| | 3= Out of Addis Ababa (Rural) | | |
| 5. What is your ethnic group? | | | <input type="text"/> |
| | 1= Guraghe | 2= Oromo | 3= Amhara |
| | | | 4= Tigre |
| | 5= Others (Specify) | _____ | |
| 6. Whom do you live with? | | | <input type="text"/> |
| | 1= Both parents | 2= Mother | 3= Father |
| | | | 4= Brother |
| | 5= Sister | 6= Alone | 7= Relatives |
| | | | 8= Others (Specify) |
| | _____ | | |
| 7. What is the size of your household? | | | <input type="text"/> |
| | 1= <4 | 2= 4-7 | 3= 8-10 |
| | | | 4= >10 |
| 8. What is the job of the bread winner of the family? | | | <input type="text"/> |
| | 1= Small trader | 2= Civil Servant | 3= Teacher |
| | 4= Tailor | 5= Domestic laborer | 6= Daily laborer |
| | 7= Military /police | 8= Others (specify) | _____ |
| 9. Who earns the main source of income for the family? | | | <input type="text"/> |
| | 1= Father | 2= Mother | 3= Children |
| | | | 4= Grand parents |
| | 5= Combination of above | 6= Others (specify) | _____ |
| 10. What is the total family income per month in birr? | | | <input type="text"/> |
| 11. Do you think this is a sufficient amount of money to support you family? | | | <input type="text"/> |
| | 1= Yes | 2= No | 3= I don't know |
| 12. Is your father alive? | 1= Yes | 2= No | 3= I don't know |
| 13. Is you mother alive? | 1= Yes | 2= No | 3= I don't know |
| 14. What is you mothers educational attainment level? | | | <input type="text"/> |
| | 1= Illiterate | 2= 1-6 | 3= 7-12 |
| | | | 4= Diploma |
| | 5= Degree | 6= Read and Write | |
| | 7= Others (Specify) | _____ | |
| 15. What is your father's educational attainment level? | | | <input type="text"/> |
| | 1= Illiterate | 2= 1-6 | 3= 7-12 |
| | | | 4= Diploma |

5= Degree 6= Others (Specify) _____
 16. What is you parent's marital status?
 1= Married 2= Divorced 3=Single 4=Widowed

5= Others (Specify) _____
 17. Parents occupation
 A) Father's occupation

1= Small trader 2= Civil Servant 3= Teacher
 4= Tailor 5= Domestic laborer 6= Daily laborer
 7= Military /police 8= Other (specify) _____

B) Mother's occupation

1= Small trader 2= Civil Servant 3= Teacher
 4= Tailor 5= Domestic laborer 6= Daily laborer
 7= Military /police 8=House Wife
 9= Others (specify) _____

Employment history of the child shoe shiner

18. How old were you when your first started working as a shoe shiner?

19. Who introduced you to activity
 1= No one (self) 2= My parents arranged it 3= Friends
 4= Relatives 5= Neighbors 6= other (specify) _____

20. How long have you been working as a shoe shiner?
 1= Less than one month 2= 2 to 5 months 3= 5 to 10 months
 4= 1 to 2 years 5= 2 to 3 years 6= 4 to 5 years
 7= 5 to 8 years 8= Other (Specify) _____

21. What was the main reason that made you start to work?
 1= Broken family 2= Orphan 3= To be self reliant
 4= to assist my parents 5= I have no one to support me
 6= Forced to work by guardians 7= others (specify) _____

22. Have you ever been engaged in other work activities before starting the current one?
 1= Yes 2= No

23. If you were engaged in other work activity before starting the current one, please describe the kind of work you were engaged in?

24. Why did you leave your previous employment
 1= For better working condition 2= For better income/payment
 3= For better satisfaction of work 4= Disagreement with employer
 5= Permanent closer of enterprise 6= Others (specify) _____

25. Do you help with the household chores in your home?
 1= Yes 2= No

26. If yes, please explain the domestic works you are performing

Educational status of child shoe shiners

27. Are you currently attending school or training institution?
 1= Yes 2= No

28. If your answer is yes, what is your educational level?
 1=Pre Primary 2= Lower primary (1-4)

(45) Is Addis Ababa your birth place?	(46) If not born in Addis Ababa in which year did you come to Addis Ababa?	(47) The main reason for moving in the Addis Ababa?	(48) Who send you away from home?	(49) What was your last place of residence before coming to Addis Ababa Urban?	(50) How often do you visit family /village?	(51) Main activity prior to coming to Addis Ababa?	(52) If you were working for whom were you working for?
1= Yes 2= No <input data-bbox="219 867 315 919" type="text"/>	<input data-bbox="427 828 600 879" type="text"/>	1= Looking for employment 2= Parents death 3= Search for education 4= Displacement (war/famine) 5= Family transfer 6= Found a job 7= others specify <input data-bbox="674 1085 853 1137" type="text"/>	1= Came with my parents 2= Nobody, came on my own 3= Parents encouraged it 4= Relatives encouraged it 5= Friends encouraged it 6= Others Specify _____ <input data-bbox="943 1130 1115 1182" type="text"/>	1= Rural 2= Urban <input data-bbox="1211 867 1384 919" type="text"/>	1= Once a month 2= Once in 2 months 3= Once in 4 months 4= Once in 6 months 5= Once in 9 month 6= Once in a year 7 Once in 2 years 8= Others, specify _____ <input data-bbox="1473 1185 1646 1236" type="text"/>	1= Nothing (idle) 2= Animal herding 3= Domestic work 4= Attending school 5= playing 6= Pet trading 7= Others, specify _____ <input data-bbox="1742 1109 1915 1161" type="text"/>	1= Working for relative 2= Independent worker 3= Working for other employers 4= Working for family 5= Others specify _____ <input data-bbox="1973 1155 2145 1206" type="text"/>

Nature of the work of child shoe shiners

53. Is shoe shinning your first job? 1= Yes 2= No
54. Prior to your current job, please describe the kind of work you were engaged in?

55. In your current shoe shinning job you are working as?
1= Full time worker 2= Part time workers 3= Half day worker
4= Temporary worker 5= Others (specify)
56. Describe briefly the shoe shining work you are engaged in?

57. Describe briefly the activities carried out and the service offered to your clients?

58. Do you face any problems or difficulties with your present shoe shinning job?
1= Yes 2= No
59. Describe the main reasons for the problems of difficulties with your shoe shining job?

60. Do you find your work difficult to handle? 1= Yes 2= No
61. If your answer is yes, please describe your reasons?

62. Describe briefly the tools and equipments you are using?

63. Do you find it difficult to use these tools and equipment ?
1= Yes 2= No
64. If yes, Please explain your reasons

Work environment of child shoe shiners

65. Do you encounter any of the following problems while shoe shinning?
- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------------------|
| 1. Insults/verbal abuse | 1= Yes | 2= No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Physical abuse/beating | 1= Yes | 2= No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Sexual abuse | 1= Yes | 2= No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Laughing stock | 1= Yes | 2= No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Payment Refusal /Deduction | 1=Yes | 2=No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
66. If you make mistakes while shoe shining are you reprimanded by clients?
1= Yes 2= No

- 9= other diseases (specify) _____
 10= other injury (specify) _____
- 84 If you encountered a health problem did you get treatment for it?
- 1= Yes 2= No
- 85 If your answer is yes, what kind of treatment did you get?
- 1= No medical treatment or traditional treatment
 2= Medically treated and released immediately
 3= Traditionally treated and released immediately
 4= Hospitalized 5= Others (specify) _____
- 86 Who paid for most part of the expense of medical or traditional treatment Received?
- 1= Parents 2= Guardians 3= Free medical treatment
 4= Self 5= others (specify) _____
- 87 What treatment was prescribed?
- 1= Medication 2= Rest only 3= Rest and medication
 4= Use of traditional medicine 5= others (specify) _____

Attitude of child shoe shiners towards work

89. Do you like to continue working as a shoe shiner in the future?
- 1= Yes 2= No
- 90 .If your answer is yes, why do you like working as a shoe shiner?
- 1= Have fun working with friends 2= Can help support family
 3= Can earn money for school 4= Others (specify) _____
- 91 . If your answer is no, why do you hate working as a shoe shiner?
- 1= Do not like to work 2= Work hazards make me sick
 3= Do not like the work environment 4= Can not go to school, too tired
 5= Do not like the verbal abuse 6= Do not like the physical abuse
 7=Work is too tiresome
 7= Others (specify) _____
- 92 Do you like the people working with you? 1= Yes 2= No
- 93 If your answer is no, please explain your reason?
-
- 94 Would you stop working if you could? 1= Yes 2= No
- 95 What do you need in order to be able to stop working?
- 1= More money for my self 2= More money for my parents
 3= Money for school 4= Learn a different skill or job
 5= Others (specify) _____
- 96 What would you do if you do not have to do shoe shining for a living?
- 1= Go to school full time 2= Go to training institution fulltime
 3= Play /free 4= Return back to my province
 5= Others (specify) _____

- 97 Have you ever looked for another job? 1= Yes 2= No
- 98 If your answer is yes, please explain your reasons?
-
-

- 99 What would you like to do in the future?
- 1= Going to school full time 2= Working for income full time
3= Going to school part time and working part time
4= Find a better job than the present one
5=Others (specify) _____

- 100 What do you wish to do when you get older?
- 1= Become civil servant 2= Become merchant
3= Become teacher 4= Become farmer
5= Have own business 6=others(specify) _____

- 101 What is your opinion about your future?
- 1= Dark 2= Bright 3= Hopeless
4= Full of joy 5= _____ Other(specify) _____
-

Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and all sources of materials used for this thesis have been dully acknowledged.

Declared by:

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