Bachelor thesis in Peace and Development Studies

Local NGOs combat against Child Labour

A case study in Mwanza, Tanzania

Author: Halima-Sadiya Ahmed Abdullahi
Supervisor: Jonas Ewald
Examiner: Heiko Fritz
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Abstract
Children engage in paid and unpaid work that is damaging to them daily all around the world. They are categorized as child laborers, however when they are either too young to work or are engaged in dangerous activities that may jeopardize their physical, mental, social or educational development (Unicef 2021). The topic of Child labour relates to the broader area of peace and development due to child labour being a development issue. The theoretical frameworks selected for this thesis are Amartya Sen’s ‘capabilities’ theory. The aim with this field study is to recognize the strategies of NGO’s combat against child labour and their challenges as well as their improvements. To gain an understanding of child labour in relation to hazardous environments and their impacts on a local level in Mwanza, with the help of key informant interviews and stakeholders. Indirect data was chosen rather than direct data, because it would be unethical to interview children. The fact that children suffer makes child labor a touchy subject. It is impossible for me to discuss every aspect of child labor because the subject is so vast and sensitive. I therefore only have knowledge that is applicable to my research. I have come to the conclusion that the factor of child labour is mainly poverty. The strategies of the NGOs to prevent child labour differs from one another, but many of them use awareness as a strategy. Their challenges are lack of resources and the community’s perception.

Key words
NGO, child labour, artisanal small-scale mining, agriculture, Mwanza, Tanzania

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table of contents</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Relevance</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Research Objective</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Literature Review</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Critical overview about child labour</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Policy implications regarding child labour</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Child labour in mining industry and agricultural sector</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Theoretical Framework</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Amartya Sen’s ‘capabilities’ Theory</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.1 Prevention of Child Labour</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Methodological Framework</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Qualitative Method</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Primary and Secondary Material</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Selection</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 Ethical Consideration</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 Limitation and Delimitation</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Research Findings</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Poverty as a factor of Child Labour</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1 Religious Leaders and Teachers view on Child Labour</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Small-Scale Mining</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1 Agricultural Sector</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 NGOs Strategies to prevent Child Labour</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1 Challenges with NGOs strategies</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Analysis</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Main factor behind childrens involvement in Child Labour</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Stakeholder’s Strategies</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1 Challenges</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Conclusion</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 1</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 2</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Introduction

According to Human Rights Watch (2022) more than 70 million children worldwide are involved in dangerous working conditions such as mining, agriculture, domestic labor as well as other sectors. The age of the child, the type and hours of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed, and the goals pursued by specific countries all influence whether certain types of "work" can be classified as "child labour". Children work because it is necessary for their survival and that of their families, and because unscrupulous adults take advantage of their vulnerabilities in many circumstances. Inadequacies and flaws in national educational systems are partly to blame. It is firmly rooted in social and cultural attitudes and customs. Although child labor is virtually outlawed in Tanzania, it continues to thrive. It is a developing issue that is partly fueled and aided by the country's economic downturn and enduring poverty. The adoption of market reforms in Tanzania during the last decade has had a significant impact on the patterns and rates of child labor (Rwegoshora et. al., 1997 and International Labor Organization, 1998). The adoption of these measures has had an impact on the social sector budget, worsening poverty in both rural and urban areas (Kadonya et al 2002, p. 3). Mwanza is a large area with a growing population, and various formal and informal economic activities. Moreover, it is a location where children have been observed participating actively in the informal sector (Kadonya et al 2002, p. 7). Therefore, Mwanza is an applicable place for conducting this study.

1.2 Relevance

The government in Tanzania has prohibited employing children under the age of 15 through Employment Ordinance Cap. 366, by creating an environment to fight against child labour (Kandonya et al 2002, p. 11). However, the awareness about children's rights and the issue of child labour has increased in Tanzania, despite the articles and conventions against child labour activities by the United Nations. There is enough evidence which points out that child labour was becoming widespread from a number of measures imposed by Tanzania’s government with
assistance from ILO’s International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), operating on Tanzania since 1995 (ILO, 2000/2001). Child labour may be an impact of the country's economic downturn, but somehow it needs to be changed into healthy working conditions with suitable hours over the age of 15, and in a way that it does not restrict them from reaching their fullest potential. As mentioned above in the Indicative Literature Review, the research gap is that my research is more focused on local NGOs strategies to combat child labour in Mwanza which I found the lack of in previous academic literature.

1.3 Research Objective
The aim with this field study is to recognize the strategies of NGO’s combat against child labour and their challenges as well as their improvements, to gain an understanding of child labour in relation to hazardous environments and their impacts on a local level in Mwanza.

- What are the factors of child labour in Mwanza?
- What are the NGOs strategies to prevent children from working in hazardous environments such as the mining industry and agricultural sector in Mwanza?
- What are the main challenges for the NGOs to perform these strategies?
2. Literature Review

In this chapter different literature will be reviewed that relates to the research. Literature that relates specifically to the child labour in agricultural and mining industry in the world. Likewise, the policy implications and critical overviews of child labour. Lastly, the research gap that is mentioned at the end of the chapter.

2.1 Critical overview about child labour

In a critical overview about child labour and africanists scholarship, Grier (2004) argues that Africanist academics frequently treat children and teenagers who work as invisible, because they were continued to be undertheorized and underresearched although they were present everywhere in sub-Saharan Africa's wage and nonwage labor markets, not only in Zimbabwe. Like everywhere else in the world, childhood is a social construction that evolves through time and geography. The abolition of child labor, especially in its most dangerous and exploitative forms, is a major concern for many development and human rights organizations. The International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), a special initiative of the ILO, carries out research, publishes position papers, and promotes adherence to international conventions. Although there may be some overlap in the objectives of human rights, development, and academics who study Africa, these objectives are not the same. According to the authors, developing well-founded studies that situate child and adolescent labor within the larger context of economic, social, political, and cultural development is the duty of Africanist scholarship on child labor, just like many scholars have accomplished for children in Europe (Grier 2004, p. 3-12).

The causes of this neglect are examined in this essay, as well as how it affects both theory and empirical research. Research on child and adolescent labor that positions young employees within the larger context of economic, social, and political linkages and processes is suggested to be pursued. The conclusion of the essay is that child labor is either under researched or undertheorized to the disadvantage of our comprehension of gender, patriarchy, agency, the
development of worker and political consciousness, capital accumulation, and the state as a whole. The essay critically reviews the extant scholarly literature on children and work in the pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial periods.

2.2 Policy implications regarding child labour

Fors (2010) review recent theory and evidence with policy implications regarding child labour. According to Fors, the topic of why child labor has attracted the attention of an increasing number of authors in recent years is relevant. The article will explore some of the more current theoretical and empirical research on child labor in order to show that no single factor alone can fully explain the phenomena of child labor. As a result, measures aiming at ending child labor will need to address a wide range of underlying causes, such as poverty, flaws in the market, and lack of educational opportunities. Fors (2010) argues that there is empirical proof that a decline in child labor rates is correlated with increased national GDP (Fallon and Tzannatos, 1998; Basu, 1999). However, the link between national income and child labor significantly declines once a certain level of national prosperity is reached. This may be because of distributional factors, such as how income inequality may negate some of the benefits of a greater GDP overall. It is not obvious that a rise in national wealth causes the drop in kid labor force participation on its own; other factors associated with economic development may also be important. A decline in child labor may be facilitated by improved educational opportunities and financial returns, modifications to societal standards, a transition from mostly agricultural to manufactured production, and advancements in governmental and judicial structures.

The author mentions two different kinds of poverty as an underlying factor of child labour. When the household is very poor and cannot encounter subsistence needs without falling back to child labour is referred to subsistence poverty. However, poverty of opportunity refers to the situation in which households may experience poverty not in terms of income but rather in terms of reduced returns on investments made in education, which results in lower adult salaries.

He also highlights that if the favorable equilibrium does not exist, then the households will suffer if child labor is outlawed. The adult pay will increase to a higher equilibrium, but it will
still be below the minimum wage required to cover basic needs. Therefore, for a ban on child labor to have the desired effects, policymakers must be convinced that a good equilibrium exists.

2.3 Child labour in mining industry and agricultural sector

The article, ‘You have hands, make use of them!’ Child labour in Artisanal and Small-scale Mining in Tanzania by Cuz Potter & Alexander Costantine Lupilya (2016) claims through ethnographic study conducted in Tanzania, that this paper explores child labor in artisanal mining. According to the poverty hypothesis, families send their children to work to increase the family's revenue. From a sociocultural perspective, child mining provides beneficial vocational training. This study adds to a growing body of literature that challenges the basic assertions made by these methodologies by demonstrating how household fragmentation is caused by the interaction between traditional cultural practices and the consumerist culture of mining. The identification of poverty by the majority of scholars and organizations is the cause of children's involvement in artisanal and small-scale mining (ASM), which they recognize by using an economic analysis. The participation of child labour creates a necessary part of the survival strategies of individual or household. The ‘poverty hypothesis’ also claims that consequently this places child labour as a result of poverty. With the economic situation of the parents, analysts from the economic perspective assumes that parents of children who engage in child labour see them as economic assets and threats them as such to increase the family’s income. The authors refers to Mwami et al (2002) who claims that extreme poverty is the main contributing factor to child labour in Tanzania, and that many children involve in mining activities come from female-headed households and vulnerable families that are extended. Therefore, the solution for others is not to eliminate children from the labor market, but instead fight against their exploitation (White 1996).

However, child labour in artisanal mining is part of wider socialisation processes from the sociocultural perspective. Mining communities have now advanced social roles that structure the whole community such as complex systems of age- and gender-specific roles. A study from the ILO (2002) found that any economic sector, including the mining industry, depends
critically on the sociocultural formation of childhood and work in relation to household structure, gender, the sexual division of labor, and kinship. As a result, some communities view child labor in mines as a necessary stage in the transition from childhood to adulthood, and deeply ingrained traditions tend to reinforce beliefs that support and explain the formative qualities that people associate with child labor (Potter 2016 et al, p. 1014-1015).

Potter et al (2016) mentions the two basic explanations for involvement of children in mining that the sociocultural view offers. The first one being that the labor of that sort is observed as household help instead of work. Just how other activities done by children are not valued as work from the parents, such as woodcutting, farming activities, taking care of the animals and household chores. The second explanation is that children that participate early in mining activities get offered vocational training that is valuable. For instance, in mining towns in South America, young children as young as 6 or 7 years old are introduced to mining activities and later become actively involved after they are familiar with the procedures involved. In Colombia, where many mines are run as autonomous family enterprises, child mining is an alternative way for young people to learn how to run the family business (ILO, 2004). In a similar vein, Hilson (2007) discovered that parents voluntarily permitted their children to apprentice in the mining industry so that their children might learn mining skills. Potter et al (2016) argues that the fuller comprehension of the issue of child labour in ASM requires how these approaches interrelate and its exploration in time and place on the ground (Potter 2016 et al, p. 1015).

Andre, Delesalle and Dumas (2020) explains in the article, Returns to farm child labor in Tanzania, the potential costs of children's time can seriously impede universal education in underdeveloped nations. In this study, they use the Tanzanian Living Standards Measurement Study - Integrated Surveys on Agriculture (LSMS-ISA) panel survey to estimate the agricultural productivity of kids between the ages of 10 and 15 years old. Also, taking advantage of the panel format of the data and instrument child labor with changes in the age distribution of the household because child labor can be endogenous. The approximation of the opportunity cost of children is the first strand in the literature that this article contributes, which there has been lack of. Instead the literature focused on paid employment. P. Andre et al (2020) claims that there was one study that assessed child productivity, but it overlooked farm labor. The ones that were
found and contained information on farm labor came from agricultural production in India and Peru. The productivity of child labor is the key contribution of this research. Given that the majority of African children who work are unpaid family employees on farms, they concentrate on them and track their output. For a variety of reasons, estimating production functions is difficult. Particularly, inputs are selected to maximize profitability, and estimate problems with endogeneity may arise. In this instance, they take advantage of the panel dimension of the data to account for the fact that families are grouped into villages and unobserved and long-term determinants of household productivity in order to account for common shocks (P. Andre 2020 et al, p. 1-2).

These articles discuss child labor in a variety of ways and have various objectives. However, there is a shortage of information regarding the strategies and methods used by NGOs to reduce child labor. Compared to the previously chosen literature, this study is more focused and solely examines the Mwanza region and regional NGOs. Therefore, lacking research on regional NGOs' tactics to combat child labor as well as their difficulties in the region of Mwanza is the research gap, as evidenced by past academic literature. Due to my understanding of the child labor-related issues raised by the key informants and my examination of the techniques employed by the NGOs to address those specific difficulties, the study differs from those reported in these papers.
3. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter Amartya Sen’s ‘capabilities’ theory will be described and applied to the research problem by explaining how the theory is relevant to the study. Furthermore, the theory will not only explain child labour but also the prevention of it.

3.1 Amartya Sen’s ‘capabilities’ Theory

According to Robeyns et al (2011) the capabilities theory includes two fundamental claims, that the freedom to pursue well-being is of main moral concern, and that well-being should indeed be interpreted in terms of the function of individuals capabilities. Pertile (2008) argues in most cases, international legal requirements are presented as duties on States to ‘recognize’ or ‘defend’ particular rights, in this case, the rights of children. States must "plan and implement programs of action to eliminate as a priority the worst kinds of child labor," he says. International legal responsibilities now have a positive duty instead of a negative one, which is significant. The idea of positive obligations can theoretically be argued to incorporate Amartya Sen's 'capabilities' theory. This definition of freedom emphasizes agency, or the capacity to act in accordance with one's principles, rather than the lack of official pressure (Pertile et al, 2008 p. 421). He refers to the actions that people would want to take as ‘functionings’, and the functionings that are within a person's reach as ‘capabilities’. Economic opportunities, political freedoms, as well as elements like excellent health and a minimum education, all affect what people can do. Therefore, achieving freedom requires removing significant hindrances like poverty, oppression, social hardship, and a lack of education.

To raise people over this barrier of minimum capability is the social objective. The state now has a positive obligation to make sure that people are functioning at the required level. These theories, when applied to children's rights, imply that the capacity of children and their families to operate in society depends on state initiatives for fundamental education, the alleviation of poverty, and other such initiatives. The right of a child to be free from economic or sexual exploitation cannot be realized without such state intervention. The positive
obligations might be viewed as a way to attain equality of opportunity, or giving kids a reasonable chance to live decent lives. (Pertile et al, 2008 p. 422)

3.1.1 Prevention of Child Labour
An example by Saguineti Raymond in chapter 18 (2008), shows over hundreds of direct action programmes in South America instructed by Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No.182) on improving the children’s capabilities. Among the programs are those that focus on education, assisting communities and families, and looking for new ways to increase family income and release children from labor exploitation. The previous artificial division between civil and political rights and socio-economic rights is also destroyed by the new emphasis on positive obligations. The principles of freedom, equality, democracy, and solidarity serve as the cornerstones of all human rights. In terms of children's rights, solidarity refers to the idea that both adults and the government have moral and legal obligations to protect kids from being forced into labor that is harmful to them. (Pertile et al, 2008 p. 422)

Child labour restrict the children from reaching their fullest potential. In this theory, the capability of children and their families to contribute to society depends on the state's efforts to provide basic education, alleviate poverty, amongst other things. The right of a child to be protected from sexual or economic exploitation cannot be realized without any such state intervention. The positive obligations might be viewed as a means of creating equality of opportunity, or giving children a fair chance to live decent lives (Pertile et al, 2008 p. 422).
4 Methodological Framework

This section will explain the selected methodological framework and the kind of interviews that have been done. The type of material will be mentioned and how the respondents were chosen as well as ethical considerations. In addition, limitations and delimitations will be acknowledged at the end of this chapter.

4.1 Qualitative Method

The selected method for this study is a qualitative method to answer the research questions. This method fits well with my study, due to the topic being about local NGOs combat against child labour. Numerous qualitative researchers make an effort to view the social world through the eyes of the subjects they are investigating. Qualitative researchers assert that face-to-face interaction is required in order to fully engage in another person's thinking, or, to put it in sociological terms, to participate in another person's mind. The goal of looking through the eyes of the subject of the study is sometimes combined with the closely related goal of looking past outward manifestations. Researchers may be able to observe things differently than an outsider with minimal direct interaction by adopting the perspective of individuals being studied (Bryman et al 2019, p. 206-207). Through this method I have gained an understanding about child labour in Mwanza. Not only about the theoretical aspect of it, but the practical by doing a field study.

I used a semi structured interview where the following questions were asked if needed. This gave me a clearer comprehension of the respondents’ answers, but also a room to be spontaneous in the conversations. The aim with this type of interview was to explore the topic to get deeper and more detailed information. Comparatively to quantitative research, which tends to have a built-in momentum once the data gathering is underway, qualitative research allows the researcher to shift the direction of the investigation considerably more quickly (Bryman et al 2019, p. 209).
4.2 Primary and Secondary Material

The primary material used in this research is the transcription of the interviews of the respondents as firsthand information of the study. The secondary material is academic articles which also are previous studies which I got accessed through Google Scholar and OneSearch from Linnaeus University’s online library. The information provided in the secondary material is overall accurate as they have been carefully reviewed. They all focus on different aspects of child labour which is fundamental for the literature and it gives a good basis for the theoretical part. However, the primary material is more based on the practical view such as conducting interviews.

4.3 Selection

This study consists of eleven respondents in total and they divide into seven key informants and four stakeholders. Key Informants are extremely important to ethnographers, especially those who are knowledgeable in the research and skilled at identifying situations, events, or people that might be pertinent to the inquiry. Fieldwork stress can also be reduced with the assistance of key informants. However, an excessive reliance on them could lead researchers to disregard the views of other group members or the group as a whole in favor of only viewing social reality from their own perspective (Bryman et al 2019, p. 222-223). Stakeholders helped me to get the issue of child labour from an organizational point of view, as they had strategies to prevent it.

The respondents were not directly selected by the author, but through a Non-governmental organization called Hakizetu. A snowballing technique was used to get in contact with respondents. All of the religious leaders were contacted through members of the Hakizetu Organization that personally know the Imams and Pastors. However, Plan International was the only stakeholder that I selected as a respondent. Ethnographers frequently encounter opposition to their research; as a result, they are typically open to hearing from anyone wanting to share ideas or opinions. A technique to find these people is called snowball sampling which works by using a viable contact to find additional people who would be prepared to offer information.
about the study's subject (Bryman et al 2019, p. 233), which is an advantage. Nonetheless, the disadvantage of snowballing can be that the ones who give out further contacts only aim to find people they know.

4.4 Ethical Consideration

The reason for the selection of indirect instead of direct data is due to ethical considerations to not interview children. Child labour is a sensitive topic due to children being the ones who suffer, therefore it would be ethically incorrect to interview them. I chose key informants and stakeholders who are dealing with children one way or another, and it was sufficient information even if it was indirect. The respondents who were being interviewed were fully aware of their rights, as consent is important in the research. In order to get as much information as possible with a limited amount of time I recorded the interviews with the respondents approval. Lastly, I want to make it clear that my intention was not to blame those who are involved with children in any shape or form. Rather I want to gain knowledge from them in that subject.

4.5 Limitation and Delimitation

There could have been a misunderstanding with the translation due to language barriers and me not understanding Kiswahili. For instance, a key informant wanted the interview questions beforehand in Kiswahili which can be problematic, because the answers could have been rehearsed and not sincere. Child labour is a broad and sensitive topic and It will be impossible for me to cover it all. Therefore, I have only information that is relevant to my study. Furthermore, there was not enough information provided from the stakeholders such as gray materials. With being a woman from East African origin, I have had many advantages with my respondents such as similarities and being able to relate to them to a certain extent. Through my background I have been able to connect to the respondents, due to curiosity before and after the interviews. I have delimited my study to Mwanza specifically the mining industry and agricultural sector which was through the Hakizetu organization. Moreover, the number of the interviews are limited.
5 Research Findings

This chapter presents the findings that answer the research questions, which was done as an interview with eleven respondents. Both key informants and stakeholders were asked similar and different questions to get different points of view. Poverty will be mentioned as a factor of child labour, and the religious leaders perspectives on child labour. Moreover, child labour in small scale mining and agricultural sector with following the NGOs strategies of preventing child labour and their challenges.

5.1 Poverty as a factor of Child Labour

According to Our World in Data (2022), one of the world's most urgent issues right now is global poverty. The world's poorest people frequently go without access to basic necessities like power and clean water, undereat, have less education opportunities and have far worse health. The main reason for children engaging in child labour in urban cities are poverty and unhealthy lives of families. Families that are suffering from financial hardships have trouble with meeting the demands of their children, which can lead to the failure of providing enough nutrition for them. This is the reason why children look for their own earnings of income (International Labour Organization 2020).

Many of the respondents believed that poverty was the underlying factor of child labour. They described poverty in various ways. The first Imam said that most of the children were hungry and they needed food to feed their stomachs, because of that reason they could not stay home. They had to work to earn an income. The first pastor said that the children become the bread earners of the family due to poverty. The teachers said that children work because a few of them come from very poor backgrounds, and sometimes the children had to work to get money for uniforms and transport to school. The children who work do not have anyone to support them like other children. One teacher described poverty as the life status of their parents.
5.1.1 Religious leaders and Teachers view on Child Labour

The first Imam is a leader at the mosque. He said that children would come to the mosque to pray and that they look after the street children, orphans and the ones that were abandoned by their parents. He is familiar with children who are work, and it is therefore easy to find them. He did not believe that children working under the age of fifteen is considered to be child labour, due to them living in a poor country and that they will do anything to survive. The bad environments around children can shape them to become adults who get drawn to all kinds of bad behaviors. He thinks that as a child you lack morals when you do not have parents who guide you. It is easier for adolescents over fifteen to get an easier job, because they are mature and trusted with their age.

The first pastor works at a church and he also identifies himself as self-employed. He deals with probiotic yogurt, which he believes is good for the children. He said that his probiotic yogurt is a brain and immunity booster, and because there is a problem in Africa with immunity children are going to schools with hunger and many other things. Apart from poverty, from his view children are working because of malnutrition or parental torture. When the children are tortured in the family they find an alternative to find jobs elsewhere. He believes that a child working under the age of fifteen is considered as child labour, because of the interpretations of the laws. Anybody below the age of eighteen in Tanzania, he says that they call him or her a child. In fact, by law they are not allowed to be employed, due to them not being able to enter into contacts and be exploited. The pastor says that if a child starts working under fifteen that child can not attend school, because that is the age that the child should be at school. It will affect the child's whole life. Apart from that, the children can get overworked and they can get work that is beyond their age limit. He thinks that adolescents over eighteen are able to work in an environment that is favorable to them, due to negotiations for example. According to him, the solutions are to educate the families who force the children to work while they have the ability to take them to school, and the government to strengthen the laws. He also thinks that NGOs, churches and mosques all have roles to ensure that child labour is eliminated.

The second Imam is a chairperson of a mosque and he also works with the government to take the lead on making peace. He helps orphans who stay in orphanages and through that he has
come in contact with a lot of children. He believes that children work because they lack parental guidance and come from families where the parents are divorced. He thinks that sex outside of marriage is a problem, because if a man impregnates a woman outside of marriage he will not feel dedicated to that child. Poverty is also a reason for children working. He takes as an example that some men can seduce young girls by telling them that they will get food in return. For him, it is not the government's fault. The problem is within the family, because the government takes care of its people. The Imam does not think that a child working below fifteen is considered as child labour. He says, “when a child is below 15 you give them a job such as cooking, cleaning or washing clothes. For that reason I don't consider it as child labour”. Then he explains that in the Tanzanian laws they do not allow any child under eighteen to work energetically or be employed in a home when they should be at school. He thinks that it is easier for adolescents over fifteen to negotiate, because they already know themselves and they can speak up. He ends the interview by saying that the people who mistreat children should fear their lord. According to him, following the instructions of the quran or bible makes people not kill, rape or be involved in any other bad behavior that does not please the lord.

The second pastor is the leader of the church. He works directly with children spiritually by teaching them religious teachings. From his point of view children work due to parents not having an important role in their children's lives, and that people who are divorced can not handle their children at once. He thinks that it is easier for the children to be nurtured if they are raised by both parents. He said that in African traditions a child is not owned by the parents, it is owned by the community. The parents do not take responsibility over their children, which makes the children look for other ways to survive. He also mentioned that another reason for children working is that they are not given spiritual guidance, if a child does not believe in Christ they can adapt behaviors from the streets where some people are not disciplined. He personally know people who are involved in child labour. Most of them are housekeepers who are young girls. They have no other choice than to engage in child labour. He says that it is against the Tanzanian law for children to work under fifteen, and that he sees them all as his own. He believes that people should put more effort on knowing God, and that living a Christ way of life is good, because it shapes somebody to stay away from anything that does not associate with Christ. He states that children need to come from good families that give them
The first teacher said that they as teachers relate to children by being their mentors, and cherishing them as their own children. The kind of teaching they do are parental and normal classes. She thinks that children work because of poverty, because many families depend on less than a dollar per day. That makes them less ambitious to look for anything else, because they only want basic needs. For example, children are at school from 8-10 hours and it must be difficult to be there without eating. She said that children come to school and see that other children are given money to support themselves. The children need money to do the same. She later says, “they can look at their status and ask themselves why they are studying, because they don’t have anyone to look up to or anyone to take care of them. They tell themselves that I would rather go work and earn a living, then support myself and my future family”. In the school she teaches, she has not seen any child who are involved in child labour because most of them are at school. She thinks a dangerous working condition for children are when the total surroundings of a child is associated to great risks of being raped. She then draws an example that there are children in environments where beers are sold or drugs are used, which could be an influence to them. She believes that the environment should be safe, and children should not be surrounded by rapists. According to her, girls are mostly affected by child labour in Tanzania, due to them being the ones who are demanded to work. She knows that there are some housekeepers under the age of fifteen, because they are easily controlled and mistreated. She also thinks that boys are discriminated against in certain jobs.

The second teacher teaches in primary school. She works directly with children not only in terms of teaching, but also parental guidance in order for the children to be comfortable enough to share any type of concern with her. She believes that children work due to the hardships in life and the environments that surround them. Their attendance can become bad as a result of them coming from poor families, due to the children not having anyone to support them. She thinks that it is very rare to see child labour in urban places, because of the environment in town.
that they do not show. In her knowledge, most of the children who engage in child labour come from rural areas who come to town looking for jobs. She states that it is important for children to take the initiative to check on their children, because they can still fall behind even if they attend school. For her, children working under fifteen is considered to be child labour, because that is the age where they should be at school learning and preparing for the future. She said that it is important for children to see people who support their dreams and they need love. She thinks that girls are mostly affected by child labour, because they can get diseases and become pregnant.

The third teacher teaches class six and seven, and she educates the children and teaches them the importance of education. She states that children work due to the life status and poor traditions of their parents. Also, lack of education from the parents, because they are not aware of the importance of education. She said that most of the traditions in Tanzania think that a child can bring home wealth when they have reached the age of puberty by getting married. The same traditions also influence most girls to stay at home and be caretakers instead of studying at school. In her view, the factors of children working are poverty and violence against children at home. She strongly believes that it is violence against children to work under the age of fifteen. She thinks it is dangerous when children are working to prepare and cook for large families, due to the firewoods they are using. Also, children working in bars, where they can get raped. She says that adolescents can discover what they can do. If they can not study they can work with jobs that are limited to their age to earn a living such as hand crafts. According to her, both parents and children should be educated about the importance of education. She first answered that girls are more affected by child labour from my question about who are mostly affected. Later she said boys, because they can easily go to the streets and get any kind of employment due to their situations rather than girls.

5.2 Small Scale Mining

According to Human Rights Watch (2013), small-scale gold miners in Tanzania employ children as young as eight years old, putting their health and even lives in great danger. The Human Rights Watch claims that the World Bank and donor nations should support Tanzania's efforts to reduce child labor in small-scale mining, notably at unregistered, unauthorized mines.
Children run the risk of suffering injuries from tool mishaps and pit collapses, as well as long-term health problems from mercury exposure, dust inhalation, and hard lifting. Orphans and other vulnerable children lacking support and basic necessities make up a large portion of the workforce in the mining industry. Human Rights Watch also discovered that girls encounter sexual harassment on and near mining sites, including coercion to do sex labor. Some young women suffer from commercial sexual exploitation and run the danger of getting HIV or other STDs.

All of the teachers and stakeholders answered that the mining industry was a dangerous environment for children. The second teacher said that the mining industry has a great effect on children due to the exposure to environments with chemicals. She believes that the mining industry should only employ older people, because they know how to manage the risks that can come up and with them being older they already have experience on how to avoid the risks and protect themselves from the occurrence of danger. She then added by saying, “children just play around, and they can even end up dead because of the environment”. The third teacher said that the overall environment of mining has many problems. For instance, the mining industry produces poison which can be harmful to children. In addition, she said that men in the mining industry always think about prostitution, which can lead to them raping.

Two members of the Fadhili organization answered the question if they considered the mining industry to be dangerous, one was a field officer in girls programming and the other worked as a report officer. The report officer said that the mining industry not only was dangerous for children, but also older people. He stated that most of the registered mining industries do not employ children in their areas, but the ones that do employ are the local people who engage in mining. He believes that it was very dangerous for children, due to the lack of basic education in those areas on issues related to rights. The report officer says, “you see, they think that things go however they wish. If you are powerful. You can hold the cake”. He mentioned that the government is attempting to provide education in the communities. For example, to form security groups around to make sure that those mining areas are safe, although there still are many issues remaining. He thinks that people who engage in mining have only one vision and that is to earn an income not develop careers. The field officer later said that children get
involved in mining due to the street children getting convinced to do anything. She said that one can find children on the streets advising themselves to get involved in the mining industry, because they believe that it can bring wealth. She believes that they do not have any role models, which makes it easier for them to engage in such activities.

The Ni Hekima Pekee organization with the executive director and field officer, answered with their thoughts on the mining industry. The executive director said that he had been in the small-scale mining area where children work. He mentioned that there were not any protective gears, and that children can be exposed to dangerous chemicals without any protection. He believes it to be child abuse, and that people do not call it what it is. He said that the children are denied their rights of attending school. The executive chairperson at MYCN organization mentioned that the mining areas are a dangerous environment for children, and that they have a remaining problem with children getting involved with the mining industry. The reason why he believes that is due to the nature of the activities that take place in mining areas compared to the children's age. That they are treated badly and are doing heavy work. In most cases he also said that they are not well paid.

The member of Plan international has worked at Geita region to educate about the worst forms of child labour. He has also worked against child labour for more than twenty years. He said that the mining industry is dangerous, especially in the informal sector because of children being exposed to chemicals such as mercury. He explains that mercury is involved in gold mining and that it is a toxic subsistence. The children who are exposed to mercury are likely to get diseases that can sometimes lead to disabilities. He also believes that the children who work in mining contribute to underperformance and school dropouts. According to him, mining contributes to good revenue, when it is not regulated mining which is dangerous to children.

5.2.1 Agricultural sector

Three quarters of Tanzania's workforce works in agriculture, which contributes over 30 percent of the nation's GDP (International Trade Administration 2022). Tanzania's economy is
unquestionably dominated by agriculture, which has the advantages of a broad production base that includes livestock, staple food crops, and a number of income crops.

The first teacher considered the agricultural sector to be a dangerous working environment for children. However she said that most of the urban people did not have farms, and that the children who live in rural places may have to farm before going to school. The second teacher viewed the agricultural sector to be dangerous, because she thinks that it is important for children to only focus on one thing and that should be school. The third teacher said that children are working at the farms a lot of the time instead of being at school and studying. For that reason she also believes it to be a dangerous working environment for children.

The report officer from the Fadhili organization first said that he did not think the agriculture sector was dangerous for children, but then he said that it depended on the type of agriculture. For example, he believed the plantation areas to be hazardous for children, but not small farms. He said that in Mwanza it is part of learning for children to know how to farm. He elaborated by saying that 80% of Tanzanians engage in agriculture, and because of that it is a good for children to farm, but not in an exploitative way. However, his colleague, the field officer, thinks it is dangerous and she said that it happens in most of the areas they work in. She mentioned that the children engage in agriculture activities before going to school, and that they do it to accommodate food for their families.

The executive director at Ni Hekima Pekee said that it depends if the agricultural sector is a dangerous working environment for children. He sees it as both negative and positive, because of 80% of Tanzanians being involved in agriculture. He said that this means that most of the children come from these families who depend on agriculture. He thinks that with the technology nowadays they are not aware about protection for their children. He says, “most of the agriculture is safe but we don’t know for sure. It is dangerous when they don’t allow their children to go to school”. The executive chairperson at MYCN organization did not think that the agricultural activities in Mwanza were dangerous per se, due to them being engaged in the production of rice. For instance he said that in other regions such as Tabora, there are children who are involved in Tobacco production.
The program manager from Wadada organization said that they did not focus on agricultural areas, but she gave her thoughts from the perspective of her understanding. She believed it to be somehow dangerous to children, because in rural areas agriculture is one of the core activities and it is in these areas where children do not attend school. She thinks that it is through these agricultural activities that makes children not go to school. Then she says, “for example, it is the rainy season right now and if you go to schools and ask for students' attendance registers you will find that most young people are not going to school”. She said that because of that reason it is somehow dangerous in some areas, and that it happens because of unawareness by not understanding the importance of children being in schools. The member from Plan International mentioned that Tanzania was built on agriculture, but he believed that agriculture becomes bad when it is exploitative for children and they are exposed to chemicals. Furthermore, when time is lost due to children engaging in agricultural activities instead of being at school.

5.3 NGOs strategies to prevent Child Labour

Five different NGOs have been interviewed as respondents in this section to get different perspectives of their strategies to prevent child labour.

The report officer from Fadhili organization said that they had many strategies as an NGO to prevent child labour. He said that they are working with programs in different areas, and that they educate the parents in communities. They have child policies which explain what they should do and avoid for the child. To help them understand how they can push their children's dreams and not encourage them into employment. Moreover, Instead of spending money, parents should invest in sending their kids to school and supporting them so they may get an education that will benefit them in the future. He believes that this would benefit not just the parents, the family, and the community, but also the children. They are also educating the neighborhood. Additionally, they took part in advocacy. The Tanzanian education networks which the organization are working with to address the issue that forces children to leave school. Therefore, they are also supporting initiatives that will facilitate for children with disabilities to find better jobs in the future. The Fadhili organization works on advocacy and
awareness, and they occasionally interact with different types of families and have conversations with them. They also offer some psychological assistance to parents who are dependent on their kids.

The aim of the members of Ni Hekima Pekee is to get social services to children so that they can have access to those social services. They are working with their families to recognize the challenges they are facing by not being able to give social services to their children. MYCN organization has different kinds of strategies. One of them is to engage with the ministries. Apart from that they are economically empowering some families to help the children who are at risk. The organization is raising awareness by doing mass media campaign, and community outreach to influence awareness to the community on how they can attempt to help the children who are involved in child labour. They are also trying to strengthen the systems of child protection, so that communities can end violence against women and children.

The Wadada organization have various strategies to make sure that they prevent child labour, one of them is that they are training younger people on life skills to comprehend their goals and the reason they are in schools. The program manager mentioned that they create awareness for those who dropped out to have other opportunities apart from the fishing market and other industrial areas. They also involve the parents such as creating more awareness about the disaster lack of guidance from the parents can cause in the future. She stated that they try to make awareness sessions in the communities around the lake zones, due to most of the economic activities being there. To make elders understand the importance of having children at home at the right moment and in schools at the correct time. The organization includes other stakeholders such as the community development officers who also work with creating awareness. Furthermore, they work with health care providers to make sure that they are creating awareness of how these kind of areas or environment of child labour can bring eruption diseases such as HIV and AIDS.

According to the respondent from Plan International they have child protection strategies to prevent child labour. They work with the government relating to the mining department, social welfare and education as well as communities where the program persists. He mentioned that
they believe child labour has different phases, and therefore it is not enough tackle child labour by enforcing the law. First part of their strategies is that they build the capacity to understand their responsibility as an organization, then they also build the capacity of families to be able to have sufficient income to support their children, due to the push factor for children involved in child labour being that households are not economically provided for. He states that the demographic shift can occasionally be the push factor for children's engagement in child labor. The second part of their strategies is that they build the capacity of local communities to overcome that level through creating structures. They support the demonstration of social workers, and to educate and make the children quit engaging in mining and going back to school. He said that they support the children who work in mining with school uniforms and other equipment. He thinks that the schools sometimes do not attract children to stay in schools. For that reason they support the schools to have sports activities and training teachers, because if they do not make the school look attractive and teachers talk about the school as a negative social labor it will result in children turning to the mining industry. He stated that they have created bill saving allowance associations to make sure that parents have adequate savings for their children. He admits that they as an organization have failed in part by not creating decent jobs for families of child laborers.

5.3.1 Challenges with NGOs strategies

According to the field and report officer from the Fadhili organization, they find it difficult to advocate for policies that empower children to not work and be in schools. The report officer said that there is a lot of political pressure in the policies. He thinks that it is a huge challenge to not have enough resources, because they are using the organizations funds to provide awareness which leads to them only covering a small part of the community and not reaching the others. The field officer mentioned that another big challenge for them as an organization is that there is not much they can do to stop the families when they are just trying to survive. The executive director of Ni Hekima Pekee organization said that most vulnerable families depend on their children as a source of income, and if they empower the family to allow the children to have access to social services it makes it difficult for the families to get income. He says, “So, you are distracting or breaking the circle of income for these families. There are some difficulties with that”. The executive chairperson from MYCN organization said a similar challenges with
performing their strategies to prevent child labour. He believes the challenge to be the community's perception, because the working children's parents earn an income and when they are trying to educate the parents think that the organization gets money while wanting to keep them in poverty.

The most challenging about Wadada organizations performance of strategies to prevent child labour, according to the program manager is that the community does not report such issues relating to child labour, and that they expect to hear more from them. She said that the children are open with what they are going through, but when they are trying to follow up with the parents they hide it. The respondent from Plan International finds the challenges to be that their projects are not funded and they rely on donor support to complete the projects. He then asked a rhetorical question by saying "you want to stop child labour. Have you created an opportunity for decent work for parents of child laborers? You tell them to stop working, but that mother is trying to survive. Have you created a decent job for her?". Another challenge from his view is that the projects usually have good results while they have been present, but they can not influence what happens after they are no longer there. He explains that in Tanzania there are two departments that deals with child labour, the department of labour that is responsible to see the manner which people are employed and the mining department which issues licences to ensure that people are mining. He believes that perhaps the emphasis has been to getting the revenue from the mining not to deal with child labour. According to him, the reason for this can be that people from the department of labor are highly understaffed. He said that in a district there could only be a single personnel or two. For the most part they would maybe focus on the formal sector and leave the informal sector behind.
6. Analysis

In this chapter, the findings will be discussed and analyzed with the research problem. As presented in the theoretical framework this analysis will be linked to the ‘capabilities’ theory by Amartya Sen in each headline.

6.1 Main factor behind childrens involvement in child labour

The respondents as key informants and stakeholders had dissimilar perspectives on why children are involved in child labour, as expected due to them having different roles in the society. For instance, the second Imam and pastor blamed much of the issues of child labour on the parents and they spoke very little about poverty as a factor. The mosque where the second Imam was the leader was located in the town of Mwanza and it seemed to be a busy area, while the second pastor’s church was in the total opposite. It seemed to be a poorer neighborhood and it would therefore be understandable if he mentioned poverty. From the perspective of Sen’s ‘capabilities’ theory (Pertile et al, 2008 p. 421), the parents capabilities depend on whether they can provide basic needs to their children to keep them in schools and out of child labour. If the families live in poverty it is beyond the parents capability to provide for their children. Therefore, it would make sense if the second imam and pastor would keep that in mind instead of just blaming them on being divorced or not present. Although that could be an issue that affects the children's lives, but it seems to be superficial problems because the root factor of child labour in this case is poverty. Besides the conservative thoughts, the factors that the second imam and pastor mentioned are problems that can come with poverty. The first pastor was speaking about child labour like everybody had a role to play for it to be diminished, while the others did not acknowledge the main factor. As mentioned earlier in the findings, the second Imam said that it was not the government's fault that children work, due to them taking care of the people. Instead he believed that the problem was within the family. However, the imam also stated that he worked with the government on creating peace. Perhaps he did not want to take accountability out of guilt, and it was easier to blame families. As stated in the third chapter, Pertile (2008) claimed that the government must prioritize the implementation of programs as action to prevent worst kinds of child labour to protect childrens rights, which he argues in the incorporation of Sen’s theory.
The difference of the relationship that the teachers and religious leaders have with the children is that the teachers work directly with children. The religious leaders have classes with them, but they may engage in various other things apart from teaching, while the teachers mainly do teaching. It is the teachers duty to educate the children and prepare them for the future, therefore it would be intelligible if they had more accurate information about the children. The findings shows that all of the teachers and members of the NGOs view poverty as the main factor on why children engage in child labour. On one hand, the teachers said that some children work to get basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter as well as school equipment. On the other hand, the field officer from the Fadhili organization stated that some children work with farming before school to accommodate food. The ‘capabilities’ theory brings up that economic opportunities amongst other things affect what people can do, which in this case is the children's abilities. If the children can not get money in school, that limits their ability to get an education.

6.2 Stakeholder’s strategies

The findings have shown that many of the NGOs strategies are to create awareness in different ways. They create awareness in families and educate the parents about the danger in child labour through advocacy or occasional interactions with them. The parents who depend on their children get offered psychological assistance. Families who are not able to give social services to their children get recognized by NGOs. They engage with ministries on preventing child labour to get assistance from authorities. Following that, they are also trying to strengthen the systems of child protection. The NGOs also work with health care providers to create awareness on how these hazardous environments of child labour can bring diseases such as HIV and AIDS.

Nonetheless, the findings from Plan International show different strategies that are more detailed. The organizations attempt to understand their responsibility as an organization before building the capacity of families to have the ability to have adequate income to support their
children. As mentioned above, the push factor for children engaged in child labour is that the families are not provided for economically. They educate and make the children quit mining by supporting them with uniforms and other school equipment. In addition, they create bill saving allowance associations so that parents have enough savings for their children. However, the respondent admits that the organization failed to create jobs for families of child labour, which is something I assume he would hope they would achieve. From a theoretical point of view, the organization is somehow improving the children’s capabilities which leads to them being able to reach their fullest potential. Therefore, hindrances such as poverty and lack of education needs to be decreased in order for them to have the capability to reach their fullest potential. The aim is to raise the children and their families over this barrier of minimum capability (Pertile et al, 2008 p. 421). The reason to why the respondent from Plan International has more detailed information and strategies regarding the prevention of child labour is because of his long experience of working with worst forms of child labour. He has worked with the problem more directly while the other NGOs have dealt with it alongside prioritizing other issues in their communities.

6.2.1 Challenges

A challenge for the NGOs to perform these strategies is lack of resources and the fact that they have to depend on donors to fund programs. They think that it is difficult to prevent child labour when the families are trying to survive. The children are working to survive and that is something that is hard to stop unless there is a solution to support these families financially. As mentioned earlier, the executive director from Ni Hekima Pekee said that they are distracting or breaking the circle of income for these vulnerable families, which is something similar to what the respondent from Plan International stated, that if the one who wants to end child labour has asked themselves if they have created a decent job for the parents of child laboreres. Moreover, the executive chairperson from MYCN organization said that the community's perception was a challenge, because the families may think that they as an organization are trying to keep them in poverty. Other challenges according to the findings, is that people do not report cases of child labour.
It seems as if some of the NGOs have difficulties financially which is reasonable because they rely on donors to fund for upcoming programs. This makes them less capable of accomplishing their strategies or at least not to a large extent that they perhaps would hope for. As mentioned before, the NGOs have these strategies to in one way or another improve the children's capabilities, and when they themselves have difficulties with that it affects what they can do as an organization. They need economic opportunities to be able to help these children to rise over the barrier of minimum capability (Pertile et al, 2008 p. 421). The challenges of performing the strategies can also be due to cultural reasons. That the organization is trying to keep the families in poverty by preventing the children from working as it can be their only source of income.
7. Conclusion

The three research questions have been answered in this study. From my findings I have concluded that poverty is the main factor of child labour and some parents send their children to work because they do not have any other source of income. However those families who can survive without their children being involved in child labour, and yet still decide to send them to work instead of school do it to get another source of income. Poverty is a factor that all the respondents mentioned, but some stated it more than others. I wanted to know the strategies of the NGOs to understand what they are doing to keep the children out of labor. I am fully aware of that being a great task which is why I also had to know the challenges that come with the strategies. Just to recognize their limitations that is making it difficult to preventing child labour. The comparison of the strategies of the NGOs and their challenges was a way to see if they are doing enough. For example, the Wadada organization mentioned that they create a lot of awareness in different ways which is reasonable. Creating a lot of awareness is unfortunately not sufficient because it does not change much by itself, especially when the main factor of child labour is poverty. These people need economic opportunities as a solution, not people informing them about how they should develop when they need to feed their stomachs. Awareness can be a solution if the parents send their children to get extra income, even that can sometimes not be adequate, due to the community’s perception and how some believe that the NGOs are breaking their circle of income and want to keep them in poverty. What I found interesting is how the Wadada organization did not mention that they had lack of resources or difficulties with funds as their challenge. It would make sense if they did, because then I could comprehend why they could not do much other than creating awareness. Instead the program manager said that their challenge was that people do not report issues of child labour or cases overall. I am not belittling awareness as a concept, but one has to keep in mind that the families need financial solutions. The respondent from Plan International stated that if we want to prevent child labour we have to create decent jobs for the parents of child laborers. Education is
very important for the children, because it can be their only way out of poverty and potentially avoid exploitations.

On one hand, the mining industry, specifically small-scale mining, is a dangerous environment for many of the respondents because of the risk that children can be exposed to poison and all the long term damage in relation to it. One of the respondents said that children on the street advise themselves to go to mining due to lack of role models. Some children fall on the idea that they can become wealthy from the mining industry, which is something they get sold into. Instead, it is just a trap that restricts them from reaching their fullest potential. The agricultural sector on the other hand is different, because some of the respondents said that Tanzania as a country has a lot of agriculture, many of the children come from the families where they engage in agriculture. The report officer from the Fadhili organization did not see it as a problem if a child is farming. In fact, he believed it to be good for them as long as they are not exploited. He saw it more as a learning skill. Nonetheless, I think that children need to put their focus on school and that alone. Helping to do house chores or learning how to farm is not considered to be child labour, but any type of work that makes people take advantage of children for ones own benefit is. The Wadada organization said that children do not attend school during this season in rural areas where most of the agricultural activities happen. It could be because these children are forced to help out with the farming instead of being at school. That is exploitative, because the families may depend on their children to help out.

One issue that some of the respondents have pointed out is that many young girls are housekeepers in Mwanza and it has become normal. Girls are sometimes under the age of 15 and they are caretakers for homes. Many of them are exploited and treated very badly. One teacher said that they hire young girls to easily control them. This is an issue that needs to be studied in the future.

Through this study I have recognized the strategies of the NGOs combat against child labour and their challenges as well as gained a better understanding of child labour in dangerous environments in Mwanza. With the help of the respondents, this field study has given me the chance to see NGOs combat against child labour on a local level, despite the secondary
material. In addition, the research gap has been filled by gaining more information about the strategies to reduce child labour.
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Appendix 1

Respondents

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<td>First Imam</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Imam</td>
<td>Chairperson of a mosque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First priest</td>
<td>Priest at a church and self employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second priest</td>
<td>Pastor at a church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First teacher</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second teacher</td>
<td>Teacher in primary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third teacher</td>
<td>Teacher of class six and seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fadhili organization</td>
<td>Field officer in girls programming and report officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni Hekima Pekee organization</td>
<td>Executive director and field officer</td>
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<td>Executive chairperson</td>
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<td>Wadada organization</td>
<td>Program manager</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plan International organization</td>
<td>Have worked against child labour for 20 years</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2

Interview questions

Questions for Imams and priests

1. What is your name and what do you do?
2. How does your job relate to children?
3. Why do you think children work?
4. Have you noticed any children being engaged in child labour?
5. Does it count as child labour if children are working under 15?
6. Why do you not consider it as child labour?
7. What is a dangerous working environment for children?
8. What are healthy working conditions for teenagers over the age of 15?
9. What do you think can be done to change the dangerous working environment of child labour into healthy working conditions for teenagers over the age of 15?

Questions for teachers

1. What is your name and what do you do?
2. How does your job relate to children?
3. Why do you think children work?
4. Have you noticed any children being involved in child labour?
5. What do you think are the underlying factors of children working?
6. Does it count as child labour if children are working under 15?
7. What is a dangerous working condition for children?
8. What are healthy working conditions for teenagers over the age of 15?
9. What do you think can be done to change the dangerous environment of child labour into healthy working conditions for teenagers over the age of 15?
10. Do you consider the mining industry a dangerous environment for children, if so why?
11. Do you consider the agricultural sector a dangerous working environment for children, if so why?
12. Do you think boys and girls are differently affected by child labour?
Questions for NGOs

1. What is your name and what do you do?
2. What do you identify as child labour?
3. What do you know about child labour in Mwanza?
4. What strategies do you have to decrease child labour?
5. What is the most challenging about these strategies that you face as an NGO?
6. What do you consider a dangerous working environment for children?
7. Do you consider the mining industry a dangerous environment for children, if so why?
8. Do you consider the agricultural sector a dangerous environment for children, if so why?
9. Do you think boys and girls are differently affected by child labour?