

Child Labour: Pull and Push Factors in Swaziland

“The cheapest to hire, the easiest to fire and the least likely to protest”¹
Duncan Green, CAFOD policy analyst, 1999.

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Summary background and introduction

Globally there are very positive trends showing a decline of child labour but Sub-Saharan Africa showed the least progress (ILO, 2006). Sub-Saharan Africa is also the epicentre of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the only region with rising numbers of orphans (UNICEF, 2004).

Whilst working children and those engaged in a variety of work-related activities are visible in Swaziland, there has been no survey dedicated to child labour which would provide us with similar trend perspectives or the levels of children's participation in different labour sectors. Furthermore, recent qualitative research on worst forms of child labour in Swaziland commissioned under the ILO Programme *Towards the Elimination of worst forms of Child Labour* (TECL) can only be taken as a baseline although preliminary findings indicate that the forms investigated could be much wider than reported or acknowledged.

I will refer to available quantitative data from the last census and the Central Statistical Office's second Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS II) to provide a snapshot of working children in Swaziland.

In 1997, 2992 out of 81 372 children in age group 12-14 years were found to be working. 19 064 out of 112 356 were found to be working in the ages 15-19 years, although this grouping includes those children that fall outside of the definition of a child as being a person under age 18. A statistical analysis of the last census results show that child labour is more acute in the rural areas and employment rates increase considerably amongst 12-14 year olds when subsistence workers are taken into account. Compared to previous census results, as reported in the first country report to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, current figures indicate that the number of children working has increased. There could be even more children working if it were not for the limitations of census instruments and methodologies. Census definitions of 'work' as "economic activity.....which is legal..." exclude unpaid work as well as illegal activities suggesting that the number of working children could be higher. This is in addition to limitations found by the child labour discussion document (working draft) that exclude informal sector data and data on all or part of the economically active below 15 years of age, which have also been outlined in a recent paper on an integrated labour force survey planned by the Labour Statistics Unit for the period 2006/2007. The CSO reports that some of these issues have been

¹ Apart from a child's age (in terms of being docile, easier to manage, union ineligible and less likely to be absent from work) being an obvious vulnerability factor, business is about making profits at the least cost in order to be competitive. Indeed, it can be argued that the driving force for governments competing in the global trade for investments and industry is, in response to the demands of international corporations, to tout cheap labour and a stable workforce (ie. comparatively less industrial action) amongst the variety of incentives offered to investors. However, as has been well-documented, the use of child labour is not the path to wards economic growth, which Swaziland is committed to. Instead, the use of child labour perpetuates poverty.

addressed for a more robust presentation on children's work and child workers from the next census in 2007.²

In 2000, MICS II found that 11.8% of sampled children aged 5-14 years, were found to be 'currently working' (defined as "any paid or unpaid work for someone who is not a member of the household or....more than four hours or housekeeping chores in the household orother family work"). 1 percent of the children were engaged in paid work whilst between 1.5- 4% were in unpaid work for someone other than a household member. 3% of the children were involved in a variety of domestic work for over 4 hours each day whilst 74% were found to be involved less than 4 hours per day. Girls [eg. *tidzandzane*] were generally found to be more involved in domestic work (defined as "cooking, shopping, cleaning, washing clothes, fetching water, and caring for children") than boys. In terms of volumes, 6 times more rural children were working and in terms of percentages, urban children were twice as likely to work. Although MICS II did not investigate children's participation in subsistence agriculture and livestock herding activities common to the population majority in the rural areas, it shows the predominance of domestic work in the work that children do in Swaziland. MICS II findings confirm those of an earlier qualitative child labour rapid assessment by UNICEF in 1999 that found a high prevalence in agriculture, domestic work, trading and hawking and the disproportionate representation of girls in domestic work. As to other occupations and sectors, worst forms of child labour or the work-related activities described in the child labour discussion document no statistical data was readily available. Despite this, children are visible on streets or in towns working as traders and hawkers, porters, car wash attendants, bus or kombi drivers and conductors and, if you travel the road to and from Pigg's Peak, dancing for tourists for a fee. In identifying the hazards associated with scavenging for recyclables in addition to citing the UNICEF rapid assessment findings that the commercial agricultural sector contained the most hazards for children, the draft child labour discussion document found that there was no quantified data on the hazardous forms of work children do in Swaziland.

The title of this paper and presentation immediately brings to mind the market production forces of supply and demand-a formula used in recent times by the International Labour Organisation for its causal analysis of this phenomenon-which will resonate with many economists and labour practitioners. The 'push' represents the supply whilst the 'pull' represents the demand side of the formula. The former really looks at the behaviour and the reasons for individual households to encourage use of child labour. It also looks at the factors that prompt children to work. The latter looks at the behaviour and reasons for employers, including self-employed children in engaging child labour.

Unfortunately much of the global and national literature on the causal factors of child labour focus on the supply side: the 'push' factor. As noted by the ILO's second Global Report *The end of child labour: Within reach* released in May this year, demand-side research needs to be strengthened in order to understand the incentives that exist in particular occupations and labour sectors and their effects on child labour.

In presenting the push and pull factors found in Swaziland, I will draw upon various literature, including the draft child labour discussion document commissioned under TECL together with preliminary findings of TECL primary research on worst forms of child labour (WFCL) in Swaziland. The draft child labour discussion document

² Interview with Amos Zwane, Senior Statistician, Central Statistical Office, Friday, 3 November 2006.

presents a problem statement as well as assesses the policy environment as a framework for an action programme to eliminate child labour. The strategy of WFCL rapid assessment methodologies on child consultations has been useful to also begin to understand why children themselves choose to work including to engage in harmful work: an important- if not key- consideration for prevention of child labour.

The causes of child labour and the relationship between push and pull factors are complex and cannot be oversimplified. For instance, it is now accepted that child labour is deeply rooted in poverty, but this on its own is insufficient to explain its incidence, especially when socio-cultural traditions and structures as well as limited educational opportunities are taken into account. It also does not explain the incidence of child labour, especially WFCL, in industrialised nations of the world.

Major causal factors in Swaziland

Background-Economic meltdown

Swaziland has a small, open economy with limited domestic markets, dependent on export, unable to effectively withstand international and subregional market shocks eg. from the loss of preferential trade quotas and unfavourable world prices experienced in the last two years. Prior to this period, the most significant 'shock' was South Africa's emergence from political and economic isolation with the demise of its apartheid government in 1994. The average economic growth rate for Swaziland between 1995 and 1999 was 3.7%. Continued poor economic performance from the 1990s has resulted in stagnation and declines in the growth rate to 2.1% in 2004, with real GDP growth estimated lower at 1.8% in 2005 (The Central Bank, 2006). The movement of goods and labour is largely between Swaziland and its largest neighbour, South Africa. Over 50% of exports and 87% of imports, including petroleum and consumer products, are to and from South Africa respectively. Whilst South Africa's good economic performance is good for increasing South Africa's demand for Swazi exports, expected monetary profits from overall exports have fallen below expectations due to the appreciation of the Lilangeni. The appreciation of the Lilangeni has not been mitigated by increases in export volumes.

A. Push factors

1) Poverty and impoverishment

Swaziland has high and increasing national levels of both poverty and unemployment. Swaziland's worsening poverty status, as for Sub-Saharan Africa trends, are attributed in part to high HIV infection rates. High levels of poverty and unemployment are usual proxies for child labour. In such circumstances, poor and impoverished children and their households rely on children's work to improve prospects of meeting basic needs and to access basic services. A combination of poverty and impoverishment variables was found by the Simelane child labour scoping report³ to influence the incidence of child work in a particular family or community.

- **Poverty.** Poverty in terms of lacking a basic income was the most commonly cited cause for why children engage in WFCL in the preliminary findings of TECL research on commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC),

³ Report of a 2003 child labour scoping study jointly finalised by Nomthetho Simelane, Dawie Bosch and Debbie Budlender which examined the 1999 UNICEF child labour rapid assessment. The report itself is the subject of review and update by the draft discussion document on child labour.

children used by adults to commit crimes (CUBAC) and child trafficking (CT)⁴ in Swaziland. Poverty was also cited as a major cause for why children work and undertake a variety of work-related activities to assist their families, to provide for their households as well as to afford school fees. Labour, including that of children, is the most important asset for poor households. From the observations of the child labour discussion document, children in extreme poverty will be prepared to engage in more harmful and detrimental forms of child labour and this will be condoned and encouraged by their families. The national poverty rate has increased from 66% in 1995 to 69% in 2001 with rural areas reflecting a higher rate of 76%. Not surprisingly, the largely rural Lubombo and Shiselweni regions were slightly poorer than the other two regions of Manzini and Hhohho. 37% of the population lives in extreme poverty. 30% of rural and 25% of urban households are headed by women. 63% of female-headed households compared to 52% of male-headed households were found to be poorer. Households with high dependency ratios, usually of 4 or more children, are poorer and 81% of households nationally have more than 4 children. Nationally there are high income inequalities with the richest segment of the population consuming 56% and the poorest 20% consuming 4.3%. These findings from the latest Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) between 2000 and 2001 include other findings that typically show a strong link between the household head's level of education and poverty incidence with higher incidence among those households headed by those with less than primary education. Further, HIES findings indicate that household heads in paid non-seasonal employment have a lower incidence of poverty.

- **Unemployment.** The 1999 UNICEF rapid assessment on child labour in Swaziland found that the second highest proportion of children interviewed reported having started paid work because of their parent/s' unemployment. Indeed, as noted by the Simelane child labour scoping report, children in Swaziland are employed despite high adult [and youth] unemployment. Preliminary TECL research findings indicate that adult unemployment and job retrenchments were key reasons, in addition to poverty, for children's involvement in CSEC. The HIES records national unemployment rate increasing from 22% in 1995 to 29% with unemployment rates for rural areas and amongst youth being higher, well above the national average. Regional variations confirm this too with the largely rural Shiselweni having the highest rate at 53% and the more urban Hhohho with the lowest at 20%. Seventy percent of the population relies on the agriculture sector (formal and informal-the latter is defined as commercial farming on SNL) as an income source and it is the largest source of employment for rural households (Swaziland Business Year Book, 2006). The processing of agricultural products such as sugar and timber is also counted as part of the agricultural sector share of the GDP and provides jobs for 26% of the labour force. The agricultural sector is counted as having made the greatest contribution to the current unprecedented high levels of unemployment. Over 17 000 employees have suffered job losses in the textile, sugar and forestry industries largely due to a "strong [er] Lilangeni exchange rate [and] loss of preferential markets, especially for sugar exports." (The Central Bank, 2006). This is in addition to the ongoing retrenchments within South African mines resulting in the return of many migrant labours. Prospects of re-employment in the formal sector are minimal, if any, with women at a greater disadvantage as indicated by international literature on gender disparities. Women are less likely to get re-

⁴ Defined by ILO Convention 182 as being amongst the unconditional worst forms of child labour that states parties are required to target for priority elimination.

employed or, if at all, at a slower rate and most likely in low-paying jobs. Most employees who suffered job losses appear to join the informal sector, which itself lacks access to finance (The Central Bank, 2006). Inevitably, the pressures on such households to use children's labour, including that from worst forms, will increase.

- **Low or inadequate pay.** Being kept in impoverished conditions, even while working (either legally or illegally), prompts children to engage in WFCL. For example, TECL researchers found that some of the commercially sexually exploited children—all girls—consulted indicated that they worked to supplement their factory jobs in Matsapha whose pay was inadequate.⁵ Textile factories are found in both Matsapha (Manzini region) and Nhlanguano in the drought and hunger-affected Shiselweni region whose working conditions were found by to be extremely poor with wages often below the minimum wage, inadequate social welfare and lacking social protection amongst other conditions. As in other countries around the world, gender wage differentials exist in Swaziland, placing women and girls at greater disadvantage. This is in addition to the existing wage disparities found in Swaziland's annual regulations for those above and below 18 years of age.
- **Death, separation or divorce of parents.** These factors have been cited as some of the underlying reasons for the impoverishment of children and their households ultimately leading them to child labour. A 2003 Swaziland African Girls' Education Initiative (AGEI) project mid-term evaluation by UNICEF also cited these amongst the factors negatively affecting children's access and retention in the education system. Clearly, being orphaned is a contributing factor to vulnerability, with the lifeline to household income, care and protection having been severed or reduced. Orphans are much more likely than other children to be engaged in child labour (UNICEF, 2005). Preliminary TECL findings that over 50% of the commercially sexually exploited children interviewed were orphans, whose mother or both parents had died, demonstrate that orphans are at increased risk of WFCL. Official orphan estimates currently stand at 69 000 with projections of their increasing to 120 000 and, when other vulnerable children are taken into account, this number is projected to increase to 150 000 by 2010. Separation or divorce of parents can lead to sharp variations in family income, which can lead to use of child labour.

2) HIV and AIDS

- **High morbidity and mortality rates.** High HIV prevalence rates must also be taken as a proxy indicator for child labour. The pandemic has made the situation of children, especially poorer children, ever more precarious. Infected parents who become ill and eventually die, do so usually during their productive years and after having exhausted household income and family assets (including savings) for medical costs and treatment. In such circumstances of impoverishment, and without external assistance and support, the household's demands on children's labour increases. At 42.6%, using pregnant women attending ante natal clinics as proxy, Swaziland has the highest HIV prevalence rates ahead of Botswana in the BLNS countries with high morbidity and mortality rates from AIDS-related diseases. Over 70% of reported TB cases are HIV infections. Officially accepted to be now generalised, regional variations however show dramatic increases in prevalence in the drought and hunger-affected Lubombo, whilst Manzini has

⁵ Prof. Keregero Keregero presenting rapid assessment draft findings at Programme Advisory Committee on Child Labour meeting, 25 July, 2006. Ministry of Enterprise and Employment conference room, Mbabane.

continued to have the highest over the years. Gender differences in HIV prevalence rates in population age groups regarding younger females and older males are said to reflect the prevalence of intergenerational sexual relationships, identified amongst key drivers of the pandemic in Swaziland.

- **Impact on schooling.** Education has become even less affordable. Ultimately, children have been withdrawn from school to care for ill or dying family members as well as to care for siblings and to help with household chores where adults are no longer able to. In such circumstances, their ability to continue with schooling is reduced. The diversion of household income from schooling results in their eventual, subsequently permanent, withdrawal from school. Notably, orphans are at higher risk of not being enrolled, dropping out and their labour being used (The World Bank, 2006, Vol. 1:16). Inevitably the pandemic will result in an increase in child-headed households, measured at the last census at 2.4%, a quarter of which were already classified as single person households (ie. children under 15 years of age who were staying on their own). While ongoing OVC education grants allow for school re-entry and retention, children in these households will need income and their labour will be required to provide such income unless some form of direct external assistance and support is provided.
- **Impact on household economy.** In household subsistence activities or productive family undertakings, children's labour (even if it is unpaid) is naturally seen as a unit of production. With adult productive labour lost from illness, children's productive labour is also diverted from land (whether during planting or harvesting) and tending livestock to provide care. HIV/AIDS accelerated adult morbidity and mortality rates exacerbate children's situation in such circumstances. Eventually, based on Mushala's model for his 2002 investigation of impacts on subsistence agriculture in Swaziland, where the adult is a breadwinner, such illness and death will result in decreased household income negatively affecting the purchase of agricultural inputs (including hired labour) and of food items. Children's labour moves from initially supplementing productive adult labour to replacing it as the sole source of income and in order to maintain or increase the food supply in their households. This will be addressed further in the next point.

3) Food insecurity and hunger.

The death of a breadwinner from subsistence households also means the loss of knowledge, skills and experience in farming practice, management and marketing resulting in poor sources of nutrition as well as income reduction. The proportion by which the vulnerability of children from these households has increased has not been measured. However, we can expect that they are at heightened risk of being trapped in child labour, including to engage in WFCL. RECLISA Swaziland has identified food insecurity as both a push and pull factor of child labour. Direct food aid (food and agricultural input) has been resumed in the past 4 years for vulnerable population groups (NB. latest estimates of the FAO/WFP mission and the Swaziland VAC cited by the draft child labour discussion document indicate that 226 640 out of 1.1 million people were in need of food aid for year 200/2006), reinforcing dependency on handouts that had been provided through government's National Disaster Task Force. RECLISA Swaziland highlights that child labour programmes cannot be effective without addressing problems of food insecurity in the drought-affected Lubombo and Shiselweni as well as areas of Manzini. Although the project has not withdrawn children from child labour it has been able to identify those at risk for direct support. Drought has not only adversely affected maize production for subsistence farmers who continue to rely heavily on rainfall in the absence of good water infrastructure, but has also adversely affected required pastures for livestock, predominated by cattle: *the Swazi stock*. Cattle conditions reached their lowest in

2003 from high deaths in the Middleveld, Lowveld (climatic areas) as well as the Lubombo plateau. This is in addition to the cattle sold to offset costs of care as observed from the findings of a 2002 UNAIDS study cited by the draft child labour discussion document that found a 29.6% reduction in numbers kept by households. Cost of living analyses confirm that it continues to be higher for 'low-income' groups with food prices continuing to be a major factor (The Central Bank, 2006).

4) Aspects of the education system

Primary or basic education is neither free nor compulsory with sub-sector allocation biased towards-instead of balanced with-tertiary education. Although government allocation to the sector is generally adequate, it is yet to match the prioritisation that has been given to it by governments in other BLNS countries in pursuit of global Education for All (EFA) goals (The World Bank, 2006).

- **Costs of schooling.** School fees were cited by almost all the children interviewed in the 1999 UNICEF child labour rapid assessment as the reasons why they work. Indeed, school fees are the main reason why many children drop out of school as reported by all children interviewed in the TECL rapid assessments on WFCL, the majority of whom were either primary or [lower] secondary school drop-outs. Vocational schooling costs were not readily available at the time of the preparation of this paper, but in the absence of a national policy on fees, we can assume that fees would be in addition to other challenges of access and retention. Households have traditionally borne the costs of schooling in the provision of school fees and other costs for uniforms, textbooks (now fully subsidised up to seventh grade), exercise workbooks and stationery (subsidised up to the fourth grade from the beginning of 2006). However, there are other 'more hidden' costs like additional fees for exams, building fund levies etc. that add to the burden on households. OVC households are in an equally precarious position regarding costs where primary school OVC grants were reduced after three years at the end of 2005 to allow for provisions extending government subsidies to workbooks and stationery. In the context of high poverty and unemployment levels children work to better afford schooling or they drop out from school. If costs of schooling are not addressed children will continue to be pushed out of school and into the labour force. As noted by The World Bank study as part of its Human Development report series on educational efficiency to achieve EFA, recent increased enrolment from increases in OVC educational grants as well as from diversions to the less costly recent non-formal education options offered by SEBENTA adult literacy programme bear strong testimony to the need to address costs of schooling as a critical issue (The World Bank, 2006 Vol. 1: 12).
- **High (repetition) and dropout rates.** Children who leave school early are not well-equipped with the necessary life skills. They have neither the quantity nor quality of education required of a skilled labour force. The majority of children consulted for the TECL research were primary and [lower] secondary school dropouts: the majority of the children in CSEC were higher level grade dropouts whilst the majority in CT were lower grade level dropouts. Preliminary findings of TECL research suggest that frequent failures precede school drop-out. All CSEC and some CT children who were no longer in school often cited frequent failures amongst their other reasons for school drop-out. The average child in Swaziland takes 11 years to complete the first seven years of schooling, suggesting the internal inefficiencies noted by The World Bank study. Despite universal access, children in the rural areas are still not reaching higher grades confirming MICS II findings. The World Bank notes that Swaziland's primary school completion rate, estimated in 2003 at just over 60%, is lower than in Botswana (87%), Zimbabwe (81%)

and others whilst the Form 3 [secondary school] completion rate is estimated at 36%. (The World Bank, 2006, Vol. 1:10). Grade survival rates are very low: 20% of children enrolled in the first grade dropout by the fourth grade and ultimately only 23% of primary school entrants complete Form 5 (twelfth grade). Unfortunately, these survival and completion rates were not disaggregated to indicate the proportions of girls, who often report pregnancy as a cause for school drop-out second school fees. Socio-economic factors are linked to higher risks on a child's chances of repeating and dropping out of school grades. The higher the parent's education level; especially that of the mother; and children from the richest income group, the least likely they are to repeat and drop out from school grades (The World Bank, 2006).

- **High number of children out of school.** As noted in the draft child labour discussion document citing the most recent EFA Global Monitoring Report, 24.7% of primary school-aged children were reported in 2003 as not enrolled in school. Indeed, the out-of-school comprise both the never enrolled and school dropout and the latter may, as suggested by AGEI mid-term evaluation findings, represent the higher proportion of this group. Whatever the reasons (family attitudes towards education and accompanying views with respect to education of boys and girls, unaffordability of school fees, orphaning, parent's unemployment or abandonment, too large a family or disability), such percentages suggest that many children have to become self-sufficient at an early age with little or no skills, making them particularly vulnerable and at risk of child labour, especially WFCL, exploitation and other forms of abuse.
- **Limited vocational education opportunities.** The draft child labour discussion document finds that existing government and private vocational educational opportunities do not provide options or alternatives for children never enrolled or dropped out of school. Transition to vocational education is practically non-existent as the linkages are unclear, especially for grades below Form 3 due to a prevocational curriculum available only from Form 4, in a pilot group of 16 schools. Admission requirements of the two main government institutions are Forms 3 (tenth grade) and 5 (twelfth grade) for VOCTIM and SCOT respectively. Plus, both public and private vocational educational institutions are fee-paying, an obstacle to access including for school dropouts from the higher grades. Trainee admission requirements and costs for private institutions, including the Catholic-owned MITC in Manzini and NASTIC in Nhlngano with entry lower than that of VOCTIM, were not available at the time of preparation of this paper. Future elaboration on the findings of GTZ project progress review report on the low demand for VOCTIM in particular and vocational education in general may be particularly useful for further analysis on access and linkages to socio-economic factors.
- **Quality issues: school violence.** Preliminary TECL research findings (with the possible exception of CUBAC) do not cite educational quality issues as a reason for engaging in WFCL. However, some mention must be made about the levels of violence in school leading to school absenteeism eventually leading to drop-out. The AGEI study as well as a 2005 study by Save the Children Sweden on corporal punishment in Swaziland found that learners feared punishment to the extent that they stayed away from school. School corporal punishment is permitted by law and is poorly regulated. Sexual violence by teachers and headteachers is high, some of which linked to corporal punishment, which can often lead to pregnancies. In these circumstances girls are at particular risk of drop-out. A recent biennial conference of delegates by the Swaziland National Association of Teachers during August this year looked at stopping violence against girls in school and discussed findings from international literature that confirmed such violence as contributing to high drop-out rates for girls.

B. Pull Factors

- 1) Children's own aspirations and desires
 - **To help their families/households.** Children also work to assist their families or households. Children work because they are expected to work, whether paid or unpaid. In such an environment, it is likely that work is seen as an opportunity to fulfil filial obligations to assist their families. For example, children will either voluntarily sacrifice their schooling to release funds for the education of younger siblings in large families or they will accept the delay of their entry into school until the eldest sibling, completes the education level deemed appropriate and affordable by the family for returns on their investment made. An example can be found from neighbouring South Africa. A 1999 survey of activities by young people found that 59% of children gave their reasons why they work as based on their perceptions that they had a duty to help their families, whilst some 15% reported working to assist their family with money. The adults interviewed shared the same views on the reasons for children's involvement in economic activities. Although this has not emerged from the stakeholder analyses conducted in preliminary TECL research, parents in Swaziland share similar perceptions, which are so strong that they found their way into the new constitution with provisions⁶ that place a duty of support on a child to maintain its parents "in case of need." It will probably continue to be so unless there is a true transformation of both schooling as the 'social vaccine' popularised by HIV/AIDS programming and social protections are strengthened to de-emphasise work in children's roles to fulfil moral obligations towards their parents and the elderly.
 - **To be or appear successful.** Children, as is the case for adults, aspire to certain symbols of success to gain esteem and peer respect as well as to survive. The popularised, 3 "Cs" of cash, cellphone and cars are all symbols of wealth, style or taste and are readily available, for example, from those who were listed as commercial sexual exploiters of children. Preliminary TECL research findings indicate children in CSEC describing being motivated by 'lots of money', 'to buy cellphones, expensive clothes and to have a good time with friends,' 'luxury cars', 'designer clothes', 'expensive gifts', 'entertainment', 'peer pressure' and 'being admired for being sexy.' Those for CUBAC in Swaziland describe children's motivation as 'desire for cars and a lot of money,' 'peer pressure', 'buying luxury goods', 'need to prove maturity,' (21% of sellers of stolen goods reported encouraging others as "it gave one a macho feeling' [and] enabled children to boasting to older people."). These preliminary findings on children's motivation and the variety of perceived achievements resonate particularly with similar issues discussed in presentations made at RECLISA sub-regional conference in July on a 2005 CUBAC child consultation in South Africa and CSEC in Swaziland. But, as noted, such achievements are short term, and such symbols amongst other things are attained without anticipated achievement of "social, self-esteem and self-actualisation needs." (Keregero and Keregero, 2006).
- 2) Social attitudes and expectations
 - **Socialisation and educational purpose.** Typically, as found in most African societies, work in Swaziland is used to educate and inculcate values of responsibility in children as well as supplementing household labour force. There are many examples of adults citing how valuable work was in their own childhood to justify their expectation and tolerance of children working.

⁶ Article 29 (5), The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland (2005).

Swaziland is yet to develop national consensus on the types of work that are or could be considered harmful, and therefore, child labour. For example, the RECLISA regional conference presentation on the extent of child labour in rural and urban Malawi confirms this with its findings that the majority of Malawian families use child labour for “training them... [and]... prepar[ing] [them] for the roles they would occupy in the future.” whilst some indicated other reasons related to preparation of the children for school or as part of school arts and crafts lessons and others, who were mainly from poor families, indicated that it was to supplement existing household workload. The presentation also indicated that there were families that did both: training and supplementation of household labour.

- **High tolerance of intergenerational sexual relationships.** Swaziland is not unique in tolerating sexual relationships between old men and younger women. However, when it is with a girl under 16 years of age, it is statutory rape, and if it is in the form of transactional sex and child prostitution, ILO Convention 182 classifies it as CSEC thereby bringing sexual relations into the realm of ‘work’. This tolerance in Swaziland has extended to sexual relationships with children [the prevailing ‘sugar daddy’ (and more recent anecdotes of ‘sugar mommy’) phenomenon], including between men and their younger sister or female in-laws within the potentially polygynous customary marriage. This social tolerance without enforcement of traditional safeguards has allowed the incidence of the most prevalent WFCL found in the country ie. CSEC, where children as young as 12 years of age are prostituted and are engaged in transactional or ‘survival’ sex quite openly with little or no community enforcement of sanctions. Those with the power to pronounce and enforce such sanctions are listed amongst the ‘clients’ or ‘customers’ that engage children in prostitution and transactional sex: the business people, the important public figures, even priests and the police. Statutory rape laws are weak, exclude prostituted children from protection and are poorly enforced. Prosecution of statutory rape cases (whether or not some form of transaction to the benefit of the child or third party exists) can be defended by a consequent customary marriage of the perpetrator to the child. All this in the context where no legal protections against early or forced marriage exist. Cultural and traditional safeguards against early sexual debut for children are not enforced. Additional compounding factors are the prevailing misconceptions that having sex with a virgin affords a cure for HIV infection and young children are ‘safe’ or HIV-free.

3) Low risks to employers.

There are little or no risks for employers using child labour. Swaziland has very limited legal and social protections for working children which is a shield for employers using child labour. For example, labour laws do not provide a minimum age for employment and include special exemptions allowing for child labour to persist in agriculture and domestic work. Existing labour laws are poorly enforced to prevent and protect children from working due to the DOL labour inspectorate being poorly resourced (in terms of budget and personnel) and lack of prioritisation of child labour law compliance. For example, the labour inspectorate has mandates over both formal and informal sectors but has limited reach, especially regarding the latter sector. The DOL annual reports on Swaziland’s labour law compliance have never reported on employer contraventions, least of all, prosecutions (successful or unsuccessful) on its current child labour provisions in employment laws. Trade unions have challenges similar to that of the DOL inspectorate but are subject to existing industry agreements for organised labour. Even the further round of AGOA from 2004 through to 2015 that contains conditionalities that require the elimination of

certain child labour practices for preferential trade and contracts is dependent on such limited enforcement capacities.

4) Outsourcing and outgrower schemes in agriculture.

As part of mitigating the effects of Swaziland's economic downturn, employers have increased their use of subcontracts and outgrower schemes which can drive some aspects of child labour 'underground.' Extensive subcontracting can intentionally or unintentionally hide the use of child labour, making it difficult to monitor. It also makes it easier for employers to disclaim the use of child labour, thereby making it difficult to hold employers liable for contravening existing employment laws.

Conclusion

Whilst the triple threats of HIV/AIDS, poverty and impoverishment and food security together with limited educational opportunities (both access and quality) operate to prompt children in Swaziland to work, factors such as children's own perceptions of their relative poverty and how to escape it have a role in 'enticing' children to work and to continue working, whilst socialisation attitudes and perspectives both push and pull children into work.

As observed above, there is an intricate network relationship between push and pull factors for child labour in Swaziland. Whilst some are reciprocal, if not a mirror image of the other, others are clearly mutually reinforcing. Some, like food insecurity have been identified as both a push and pull factor. There are also layers of causality: some are clearly classified as structural determinants (eg. poverty, income inequalities) while others can be classified as the underlying or immediate causes of child labour. The net result of all these factors is disruption in the households, especially in the rural areas, and fewer adult, much less youth, employment opportunities (including those that are legal), as well as large numbers of children at high risk.

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