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Child Work & Child Labour in Botswana

Analysis of Results from the 2005/06 Labour Force Survey

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List of acronyms & abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
APEC	National Action Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour
BIDPA	Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
CHH	Child-Headed Households
CRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Central Statistics Office of Botswana
CT	Cash Transfer
CWA	Children Working in Agriculture
CWOC	Children With Onerous Chores
HIES	Household Income and Expenditures Survey
HIV	Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LFS	Labour Force Survey
MVC	Most Vulnerable Children
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OAP	Old Age Pension
OVC	Orphans or Vulnerable Children
PES	Profitable Enterprise Sector
SNA	System of National Accounts
TECL	Towards the Elimination of Child Labour
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children´s Fund

Executive summary of major points

This paper reviews the results of the recent Botswana 2005/06 Labour Force Survey (LFS) as they pertain to children aged 7–17. The survey had a significant focus on children and child related issues. Comprising nearly one–third of the total respondents, this survey interviewed 7,281 children out of roughly 25,000 interviewees. In addition, approximately 20% of the questionnaire were dedicated solely to children: 20 questions out of 104. This focus on children was significantly greater than the previous LFS of 1995/96 which only recorded children aged 12–17 and asked far fewer child–related questions. Of particular importance for the 2005/06 LFS is the expansion of potential working children to include those aged 7–11 and the child-specific questions which focused on chores for the household, school activities and the seasonality of their work. Overall, this 05/06 survey represents the most comprehensive review of child work and chores in Botswana.

Above all it should be emphasized and celebrated that according to the 05/06 LFS, the majority of Botswana children enjoy high levels of school attendance and low levels of work and chores. The Central Statistics Office of Botswana (CSO) has created a dynamic survey that does well to capture the difficult and elusive nature of child labour in Botswana. However, it should also be noted that there is a small but significant group of children carrying heavy work and chore loads; they should be researched further for possible policy and programme intervention.

Child participation in the labour force refers to all those reported to be engaged in some form of 'work'; whether it is agricultural work, work in businesses, or carrying out domestic chores. Given the absence of a precise line at which 'child work' (acceptable) turns into 'child labour' (unacceptable) (see section 2.2, and Annex A for a detailed discussion) it is likely that some working children are engaged in child labour activities. This analysis attempts to clarify the level of involvement across the scale of chores, work and labour to stimulate discussion on where attention is required to address the problem of child labour.

The review of the survey has revealed several interesting trends, the most notable of which are summarized here:

- On average, taking all child respondents, Botswana children 7–17 enjoy low levels of work (2.1 hours per week), moderate amount of chores (5.5 hours a week) high levels of school attendance (enrolment is approximately 93.3%). However, these averages hide the fact that particular sub-groups are involved in disproportionately heavy amounts of work/chore loads or are not enrolled in school.
- More children are working today than a decade ago. The number of children aged 12–17 identified as occasionally working within the past twelve months has nearly doubled over the last ten years, rising from 15.4% to 30.4%.
- According to the survey, 2.6% of all children 7–17 begged in public during the past year.
- In total, working children (those who worked in the last 7 days) make up 8.5% of the total child population 7–17. In terms of age groups, 6.6% of primary school aged children (aged 7–13) were working in the last 7 days, and 12.3% of children aged 14 to 17. Of these children 3.5% had worked in the profitable enterprise sector (PES) in the past week (41.6% of these below the age of 14), while 5.5% had worked in the agriculture sector (56.1% below the age of 14). Some children work in both sectors at the same time.
- The average proportion of children aged 7–17 who worked in the last 12 months is 23.4%, suggesting a considerable degree of seasonality to the work pattern.
- There are considerable regional variations in terms of work activities. Among those who worked in the last 7 days, 18.4% of children in Kweneng West worked, compared to 1.85% in Sowa. Among those who worked in the last 12 months, 39.1% of children from Central Boteti worked, compared to 9% from Selebi Phikwe.
- The number of working children aged 12–17 also attending school has more than quintupled over the past decade. In 1995/96 12.5% of PES working children 12–17 were attending school. This figure has now risen to almost three quarters (71.8%) in 2005/06.

- Working children aged 7–17 are burdened with both high levels of work and school time commitments. On average, these PES children work 32.3 hours a week on top of the expected 30 hours a week at school (children below the age of 14 work an average of 21.6 hours per week).

- Children working in agriculture work significantly less than all working children with an average time commitment of 19.4 hours a week (12.4 hours for those aged below 14 years). In addition, the vast majority (95.8%) are working for their own families. Furthermore, 27.7% fear that a person might hurt them at work.

- Significant numbers of young children are working in violation of Botswana's Employment Act that does not allow for any child under the age of 14 to be working. Approximately 41% of identified PES working children aged 7–17 are under the age of14; a further 13% of children are aged 14 (at which age they are allowed to work only within limits).

- Urban girls, at 6.4%, are almost three times more likely not to be enrolled in school than urban boys (2.2%).

- In contrast to the Botswana average of 6.7% of children not attending school, children aged 7–17 working in agriculture are twice as likely to not be at school, children aged 7–17 with 20+ hours of chores are three times more likely and PES working children aged 7–17 are over four times more likely to not be enrolled in school. However, 92% of PES children aged under 14 and 95% of children working in agriculture, of the same age group, are attending school.

- Children aged 7–17 working over 20 hours a week are six times more likely than the average child not to be enrolled in school.

- Gender and geographical location are significant categories for explaining the chore loads of children. For example, rural girls perform over twice the amount of household chores as compared to urban boys.

- Boys are more likely to identify themselves with performing work and girls are more likely to say they are performing chores. Older boys aged 14–17 are six times more likely to perform twenty hours of work a week than their female counterparts. Older girls aged 14– 17 are nearly twice as likely to be performing twenty hours or more of chores a week.

- As a possible result of HIV/AIDS, the household structure for children is shifting away from parents towards grandparents. Between 95/96 and 05/06, the number of children aged 7–17 living with their parents decreased from 55% to 50%, and the number living with grandparents has increased from 17.8% to 21.3%.

- Over two-thirds of Botswana children aged 7–17 do not live with their fathers.

- Both the numbers of child-headed households and children aged 7–17 living in child-headed households have risen dramatically in the past ten years. Child-headed households have increased from 2.1% to 3.2% among children aged 12–17, and the average family size of these households has grown from 1.04 to 3.12. In terms of 05/06 demographics, approximately 96% of all people living in these households are under the age of eighteen and 30% are under the age of seven.

There is one limitation of the LFS that should be introduced outright. Because this survey was only dispensed to respondents living in fixed housing structures, the survey results are likely to mask many vulnerable and highly mobile working child populations such as children living and/or working in the street[1]. In our opinion, this most likely underestimates the scale of child labour in relation to Botswana's most vulnerable child groups.

1. According to the Labour Force Report, 'During each round, each one of the 14 teams listed all households in habitable permanent and private dwellings in their assigned Enumeration Areas within a period of two days. Temporary dwellings such as tents, military barracks and school/institutional hostels were excluded.'

1 Outline

This report reviews the results of the recent Botswana 2005/06 Labour Force Survey (LFS) as they pertain to children aged 7–17 years. The survey had a significant focus on children and child related issues. Comprising nearly one-third of the total respondents, this survey interviewed 7,281 children out of a total of almost 25,000 total interviewees[2]. In addition, approximately 20% of the questions were dedicated solely to children: 20 questions out of 104. This focus on children was significantly greater than the previous LFS of 1995/96 which only recorded children aged 12–17 and asked far fewer child related questions. Of particular importance for the 2005/06 LFS is the expansion of potential working children to include those aged 7–11 and the child-specific questions which focused on chores for the household, school activities and the seasonality of their work. Overall, this survey represents the most comprehensive review of child work and chores in Botswana.

Box 1 Eight forms of child labour

1	Children involved in excessive domestic household chores	(covered in this report)
2	Children working in agriculture	(covered in this report)
3	Children used by adults to commit crimes	(not covered in this report)
4	Children victims of commercial sexual exploitation	(not covered in this report)
5	Children working in the liquor, retail and informal sectors	(not specifically covered)
6	Children working on the street	(not all covered in this report)
7	Orphaned and vulnerable children	(limited coverage in this report)
8	Children engaged in physical labour at schools	(covered in this report)

From the National Programme of Action for Children and the ILO's Programme 'Towards the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour'

Currently Botswana is in the process of drafting a National Action Plan towards the Elimination of Child Labour (APEC). The Department of Labour and Social Security in the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs oversees this process. This review of the 2005/06 LFS is written in respect to the structure, format and concerns of the most recently available draft of the APEC within the limits of data available in the LFS 2005/06 (the LFS covered only 6 of the 8 forms of child labour identified in Botswana as problematic [see Box 1]; questions about items 3 and 4 of the list of child labour were not [could not be] included).

We believe that labour policy should be continually informed by data, evidence-based research and organized qualitative inquiry. However data and its analysis should also seek to improve its usability in policy development. Our review and research work to operate strategically within the contextual framework they are to affect — in the case of this review — labour law and child-related policy within Botswana.

The outline of this 05/06 LFS review is as follows:

- *Introduction:*
  The introduction will describe difficulties in defining, quantifying and regulating child work and labour (this is further elaborated in Annex A). The section will also include the demographic context, drawing on a brief review of other general child related indicators from the most recent Census, 2001. These indicators are useful for understanding the context of child life and work in Botswana, but are not included in the LFS.

- *Findings — Review of the 2005/06 LFS:*
  This will summarize the results from the 05/06 LFS. It reviews the demographics and work habits of all child respondents, including those not currently part of the labour force. After creating these baselines we will then focus on four groups of children working in Botswana:
  1 – Working children in the profitable enterprise sector;
  2 – Children working in agriculture;
  3 – Children with onerous chores;
  4 – Children heading households.

- *95/96 — 05/06 LFS Time Trend Analysis:*
  This will include a comparison between the 05/06 results and relevant indicators from the 95/96 LFS. This section only includes those child respondents aged 12–17, because the 95/96 survey did not include children aged 7–11.

- *Reviewing the National Action Programme Towards the Elimination of Child Labour (APEC):*
  After this we will summarize other relevant child labour research and provide recommendations for policy formulation. This will be done in respect to the most recent draft of the APEC and its focus action items.

- *LFS survey scope & limitations:* APEC outlines eight forms of child labour of special concern to Botswana, however the 05/06 LFS was not able to address each of these individually. In this section we will articulate the scope and limitations of the 05/06 LFS results in respect to these eight forms. In addition we will include a description of each and how further research might be directed to better address each.

- *Conclusions and recommendations:* This section draws upon the findings and conclusions to propose specific steps to address the issue of child labour.

2. It should be noted that all of this research was performed without the commonly used population weighting forecasts. This was done because the authors felt the forecasts added another level of uncertainty to the results. Most of the research in this paper is presented in percentage format that accurately reflects the survey population and does not incorporate population estimates of what each respondent is hypothesized to reflect. In other words, if 3% of the sample for children head the households, and the sample accurately reflects the entire population, then that figure should basically hold true for the country. Absolute numbers could be derived from census figures if needed.

2
Introduction

2.1
The need for evidence-based policy making

"There is widespread agreement that policy that is 'evidence-based'– i.e. based on facts – is likely to be more effective and better targeted than policy that is not based on hard data.

Unfortunately, the very nature of child labour – and, in particular, the fact that it is often done in the privacy of the home or family business rather than in the more public spheres – means that without special studies government will not have good knowledge of its nature and extent and the particular groups of children who are more likely to be involved in different types of work.

The child activity survey is therefore intended to provide information on children's work that is not currently available." CSO.[ii]

The Central Statistics Office (CSO) has aptly summarized the goal of this paper and its attempt to raise awareness of potentially vulnerable children by quantitatively evaluating Botswana's child work/labour situation. However, as the quotation also alludes, there are difficulties associated with researching working children, especially when that work occurs largely within the household. The overlapping notions of public and private, family obligation and profit, instilling good work ethics versus exploitation, in addition to problems relating to carrying out interviews with children makes the analysis of child work and child labour difficult to do. This document provides both a detailed analysis and specific suggestions for improving research and future surveys on this important issue.

Evidence-based research requires accurate data and operational definitions for effective analysis. Effective analysis allows policy to be continuously developed in response to a population's diverse and changing needs. The CSO of Botswana recognizes the importance of this; in response to changing needs they have recently incorporated a young child (7–11) activity module into the National Labour Force Survey, augmenting the previous (1995/96) module that only recorded children aged 12–17. This recent effort underlines the country's continued commitment to child welfare and international labour charters[3].

The Government of Botswana and CSO deserve considerable praise as this represents a progressive stand for children's welfare. Additionally quantifying child work/labour is no easy task; for a variety of reasons, child labour is increasingly difficult to define, quantify, and regulate.

2.2
Definitions of child work and child labour

The terms *child work* and *child labour* require some definition and it is important to recognize the distinction between the two terms. But in summary it should be noted that throughout this review *child work* refers to any work activities done by children that are not necessarily considered harmful, while *child labour* refers to work that is hazardous or detrimental to a child. *Child work* includes activities done in support of family business, paid work and chores. Occasionally we do make a distinction between work and chores for clarity of the specific type of child work being performed.

Other important terms used in this review:

- *Working children:* Children, of all ages covered in the study, who have reported working, paid or unpaid, at least 1[iii] hour in the past week, excluding chores. This includes working in family businesses or farms.
- *Children working in the profitable enterprise sector:* Working children who have reported working, paid or unpaid, at least 1 hour in the past week in the retail sector or profitable enterprise sector (PES), including in family businesses.
- *Children working in agriculture (CWA):* Working children who have reported working, paid or unpaid, at least 1 hour in the past week in the agricultural sector, including in family farms.
- *Children with onerous chores (CWOC):* Children who reported doing 20 or more hours of chores, according to this study's definition, in the past week.
- *Urban children:* Children who live in one of the 7 major cities: Gaborone, Francistown, S/Phikwe, Lobatse, Orapa, Jwaneng, and Sowa.
- *Urban village children:* Children who live in villages where less than 25% of the workforce is in traditional agriculture.
- *Rural children:* Children who live in areas not included in definitions of urban or urban village.

3. Including the United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child (CRC), the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Convention No 135, their Recommendation No 190, and also the African Union's African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child.

The Botswana Children's Act 2009

Paragraph 24 states that every child (a person aged below 18 years of age) has a right to be protected against work and other labour practices which are inappropriate for a person of their age, or which place their education, health, spiritual, moral or social development or well-being at risk.

It goes on to say that any employment of children (as allowed under the Employment Act) should be for purposes of apprenticeship, with the consent of the child's parent or guardian. Records of such employment should be submitted to the Ministry responsible for labour.

Failure to comply with this act, or unlawful employment of a child, is considered an offence with a fine of not less than 10,000 Pula.

The UN definition of child labour [iii]

This defines child labour as:

- Age 5–11 years: At least 1 hour of economic work or 28 hours of domestic work ('chores' in the context of this study) per week
- Age 12–14 years: At least 14 hours of economic work or 28 hours of domestic work per week
- Age 15–17 years: At least 43 hours of economic or domestic work per week

It is not clear, however, whether these levels of work also relate to children who attend school at the same time; in the case of domestic work this would seem to place an unreasonable burden on children aged 5 and upwards.

UN System of National Accounts

An economically active child is one that has spent one hour or more on economic activities in the previous week. (ILO Report III Child Labour Statistics).

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)

Article 32:

1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

2. States Parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of the present article. To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments, States Parties shall in particular:

(a) provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment;
(b) provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment;
(c) provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article.

African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1999)

Article 15: Child Labour

1. Every child shall be protected from all forms of economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development.

2. States Parties to the present Charter shall take all appropriate legislative and administrative measures to ensure the full implementation of this Article which covers both the formal and informal sectors of employment and having regard to the relevant provisions of the International Labour Organization's instruments relating to children. States Parties shall in particular:

(a) provide through legislation, minimum wages for admission to every employment;
(b) provide for appropriate regulation of hours and conditions of employment;
(c) provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of this Article;
(d) promote the dissemination of information on the hazards of child labour to all sectors of the community.

The Botswana Employment Act 1982 (as amended 2008)

Paragraph 2 defines a 'child' as a person aged below 15 years of age. A 'young person' is defined as a person aged 15 up to 17 years old.

Paragraph 62 prohibits the recruitment of children or young persons into work. However, according to paragraph 107, while no children should be employed, those aged 14 may carry out 'light work not harmful to their health or development' if employed by their parents, or in work approved by the Commissioner. 14-year-olds must be able to return home each night. In total, children aged 14 should not work more than 6 hours a day or 30 hours per week. 14-year-old children may also work during their school holidays, with the same limitations on total weekly working hours.

Paragraph 110 states that 'No young person shall be employed on any work which is harmful to his health and development, dangerous or immoral'. Young persons may work up to 7 hours per day in an industrial undertaking, but school hours should also be treated as work hours (paragraph 111); they are entitled to rest periods of 30 minutes after 3 hours of work (children) or 4 hours of work (young persons; ibid). Neither group may work on rest days or on public holidays (paragraph 112).

The amended version available on the ILO website shows that paragraph 165, the prohibition of punishment of children, has been deleted. This gives some cause for concern – since the paragraph has been deleted, it is not clear whether, previously, it related to physical or other forms of punishment.

The International Conference of Labour Statisticians, in its resolution of 5 December 2008, stated that:

Children engaged in *child labour* include all persons aged 5 to 17 years who, during a specified time period, were engaged in one or more of the following categories of activities:
(a) *worst forms of child labour,* as described in paragraphs 17–30; **(b)** *employment below the minimum age,* as described in paragraphs 32 and 33; and **(c)** *hazardous unpaid household services,* as described in paragraphs 36 and 37, applicable where the general production boundary is used as the measurement framework.

The ILO Minimum Age Convention C138, 1973

Article 2 (1): No-one under the state's minimum working age shall be admitted to work.

Article 2 (3): The minimum age shall be no less than 15 years, though Article 2 (4) states that in certain circumstances a working age of 14 years is admissible.

Article 3: The minimum working age for work likely to be hazardous to the health, safety or morals of young people shall be 18 years.

Article 7: National laws may permit the employment or work of persons aged 13–15, provided that it is not harmful to their health or development, interferes with their schooling or other educational activities.

2.3
The difficulty of defining child labour

The above sets of definitions illustrate the difficulties of defining 'child labour', including the vagueness of this term (for a detailed debate see Annex A). The issues include:

- Semantic issues; the English words 'labour' and 'work' are not always translated differently into other languages.
- While 'work' is generally considered non-hazardous and 'labour' as hazardous, there is no clearly defined distinction between the two.
- Not all activities carried out by children are considered to be child work or child labour, eg begging, carrying out domestic chores etc. But still these can interfere with schooling or be hazardous in other ways.
- Domestic chores are not defined in legislation; for this review we consider chores taking more than 20 hours per week as 'onerous'.

2.3.1
Definitions used in this report

- We have considered a target of 50 hours per week, often combining school, work and chores as an indication of 'child labour' rather than 'child work'.
- We have divided the children into the following groups:
  — Children working in the profitable enterprise sector (PES)
  — Children working in agriculture (CWA)
  — Children with onerous chores (CWOC)
  — Child-headed households (CHH)

These are definitions created for the purposes of this report. A national debate is strongly warranted to clarify the

3
Demographic context (2001 Census)

Botswana situation around children who work, to ensure that 'child work' and 'child labour' can be measured accurately.

This review of the 05/06 LFS intends to raise national awareness of child work and child labour issues and recommend strategic actions for eliminating the problem. A long-term dependency on child labour at the national level may destroy the possibility of a vibrant diversified economy by preventing children from completing school and locking them into low-skilled, low-paying jobs.

Additionally, education tends to correlate with higher levels of health, both of mothers and their children. Improved health decisions in the future will have a positive affect on the nation[xix].

Individuals comprise the country, and ensuring that each person has an opportunity to pursue education, make better health decisions, and improve overall well-being will enhance the welfare and wealth of the country as a whole, also decreasing health and, in time, social protection expenditures.

This review of the 05/06 LFS survey is an important first step towards identifying which children are most susceptible to exploitative child labour practices. Further investigation of these children and placing the issue within the broader context of social protection is needed for consequential reform.

This section provides a brief overview of relevant child related indicators not included in the LFS questionnaire.

According to the most recent Census (2001):

- The population of Botswana is relatively young with nearly 45% of the population aged 7–17. Nearly 59% of households have at least one child.
- Proportionally, more children live in rural areas than in urban (though this depends on whether or not the emerging urban village category is considered as rural).
- Child mortality has increased between the 1991 and 2001 census years. This, in addition to the high number of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC), is related to the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic.
- In 2001 OVC constituted nearly 20% of the child population.
- In addition, 2% of all households were headed by children and 27% of all households have taken in at least one orphan.

While Botswana children tend to enjoy higher standards of living than their regional counterparts, a number of children still do experience significant poverty:

- 63% of children live in households where wood is the preferred cooking fuel.
- 30% of children live in households without adequate toilet facilities.
- 23% live without access to improved sanitation.
- Over 30% of children live without access to a radio within their household.
- Only 5% of children do not have access to an improved water source.
- Overall, according to the 2002/3 Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) approximately 30% of all households lived below the poverty line at the time (more recent data are not available).

4
Findings

4.1
Summary of child responses in the Labour Force Survey: review of the 2005/06 LFS

The establishment of a child work baseline for Botswana is a critical component of achieving the objectives of the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) conventions and Botswana's National Action Plan for Eliminating Child Labour (APEC)[i]. Action taken based on the results of the Botswana Labour Force Survey (LFS) 2005/06 is considered to be an essential part of operationalizing the APEC. The evidence provided here on the current state of child work in Botswana should be used by policymakers to better inform policy and programme implementation.

This LFS is the first to include a child activity module detailing the work of young children (7–11) in a variety of work activities. It is also the first LFS to question children about their type and time commitment to chores. In addition it is possible to include a time series analysis of 12–17 year olds using the current 2005/6 LFS and comparable results from the 1995/6 LFS. The ways in which child work has changed over the past decade is relevant to understanding the demographic and work patterns of children 12–17. These results can then, in turn, be used to inform more relevant programmes, policy and interventions.

While it would have been simple to use the obvious break-downs of 7–11 and 12–17 that reflect the natural break between the two most recent LFS surveys, this was not done. Rather, the age break was done at 13 to reflect the Employment Act of Botswana, which states that no child under the age of 14 shall be allowed to do work of any sort, including light work[xix] (see section 2.2). Therefore, the categories of 7–13 and 14–17 are used for the 2005/6 survey and 12–13, 14–17 are used for comparisons between 1995/6 and 2005/6 surveys. This will allow for a quicker assessment on the state of child labour in Botswana. In some contexts we have shown the number of children working, or carrying out chores, for each age from 7 to 17.

Table 1 summarizes the demographics for all child respondents (7–17) in the 2005/06 Botswana LFS. Table 2 describes the average work done by children in Botswana.

- on average (taking all children in the sample) children enjoy relatively low levels of labour time (2.1 hours per week), high levels of school attendance (attendance is approximately 93.3%) and moderate amount of chores (5.5 hours a week, see Table 2).
- Smaller percentages of the child population are performing relatively large amounts of work – of the 8.5% of children who actually worked in the last week:
  – they performed about 24.3 hours of work a week,
  – have only an 80% school attendance rate, and
  – an average age of 13.2 years (below the legal working ages of 14 for limited work, or 15 — the overall 'minimum working age').

Table 1 Demographics of child respondents aged 7–17

Botswana Labour Force Survey 2005/06. N = 7281 (100%)

Characteristics *(Question number)*		No.	%
Age and sex	Boys 7–13	2418	33.2
(Q1, Q2)	Girls 7–13	2338	32.1
	Boys 14–17	1237	17.0
	Girls 14–17	1288	17.7
Location	Urban	1432	19.7
(GI, Q3)	Urban villages	2645	36.3
	Rural	3204	44.0
Relation to family head	Head	118	1.6
(P03–2)	Son/Daughter	3637	51.8
	Grandchild	1874	25.7
	Other	1652	22.6
Education	Boys attending school †	3413	93.4
(Q16)	Girls attending school ‡	3381	93.3
	Not attending	484	6.7

Unless otherwise noted, all percentages are relative to total number of child respondents aged 7–17. For example, 'Boys 7–13' is: 2418 / 7281 = 33.2%.
Other percentages for this table are as follows:
† = % of all boy respondents aged 7–17. ‡ = % of all girl respondents aged 7–17.

This does not suggest that problems are endemic to the entire society but rather there are some serious challenges to smaller segments of the population. This survey seeks to go into detail of these most vulnerable groups in order to raise awareness and improve specific policy action and interventions.

As would be expected, both gender and rural/urban[4] categories are important for explaining work/chore differences.

- Children living in rural areas tend to work more than urban children – only 5% of urban children identified working in the past week while approximately 12% of all rural children identified as doing so.
- Rural boys represent about two-thirds of those identified as working.
- In terms of chores the average of 5.5 hours a week hides the fact that there are significant variations in chores based on sex and geographic location. Rural children perform more chores than urban children (the difference is greater in the case of boys), girls are more likely to perform chores and they consistently perform more chores than boys.
- Urban boys undertake the least amount of chores,

4. Urban children are defined as living within one of the 7 major cities: Gaborone, Francistown, S/Phikwe, Lobatse, Orapa, Jwaneng and Sowa. Rural children are defined as those not included within the definitions of Urban or Urban Villages.

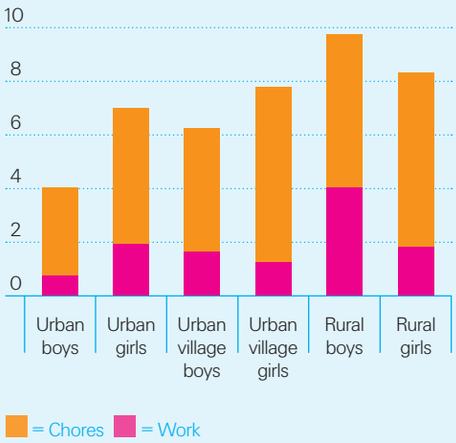
Table 2 Work done by child respondents aged 7–17

Botswana Labour Force Survey 2005/06. N = 7281 (100%)

Characteristics *(Question number)*		No.	%
Work done in the last 12 months *(Q4)*	Total (of all children)	1701	23.4
	Girls (of all girls)	713	19.7
	Boys (of all boys)	988	27.0
Hours / week of work (of average children) *(G10, Q56)*	Worked in the last week (of all children)	622	8.5
	Average hours in last week	2.1	
	Urban boys	0.9	
	Urban girls	1.9	
	Urban village boys	1.6	
	Urban village girls	1.2	
	Rural boys	4.0	
	Rural girls	1.8	
Chores done in the last week *(P03–2)*	Total (of all children)	5823	80.0
	Girls (of all girls)	3028	83.5
	Boys (of all boys)	2795	76.5
Hours / week of chores (of average children) *(Q84)*	Average hours in last week	5.5	
	Urban boys	3.3	
	Urban girls	5.0	
	Urban village boys	4.5	
	Urban village girls	6.6	
	Rural boys	5.5	
	Rural girls	6.7	

Figure 1 Regional differences in time use[5]

Chores/Work ratio in hours for children in urban areas, urban villages and rural areas.



performing only 3.3 hours while rural girls perform over twice that amount, with an average of 6.7 hours of chores a week.

- While boys are more likely to work than girls, girls are more likely to do chores. This has potential implications for policymakers who would tend to emphasize child problems associated with formal work (therefore mostly boys) over the informal chores done by girls. Whether or not boys are more likely to associate activity with work, or girls are more likely to suggest that their activities are chores, is a separate but important issue.

It is also important to note that for combined work/chore hours, girls on average exert more hours and therefore have less time to do other activities such as schoolwork or leisure activities.

- On average, of all the children in the survey, girls spend 8 hours on work/chores a week while boys spend about 7.2.
- When accounting for regional differences as shown in Figure 1, rural boys have more work/chores than their female counterparts, while girls in urban areas and urban villages[6] have more work/chores than their male counterparts (of all children in the survey).

However, breaking the data down by age and gender shows the spread of child work among those who worked. According to Table 3, a total of 892 children in the survey aged below 14 years of age worked in the last 12 months (1017 under the age of 15). Given the difference between those who worked in the last 12 months and those who worked in the last 7 days, this also suggests considerable seasonality/temporarity in child work activities.

In terms of particular age groups, 6.6% of primary school aged children (aged 7–13) were working in the last 7 days, and 12.3% of children aged 14 to 17. In terms of the last 12 months, the figures for labour participation are respectively 21.9% for children aged 7–13, and 32% for children aged 14–17.

Table 3 Children working by age and gender, in the last 12 months (Q4) and the last 7 days (Q10)

Age	Boys (12 months)	Girls (12 months)	Boys (7 days)	Girls (7 days)	Total children in survey
7	28	12	7	3	514
8	33	31	8	10	697
9	61	43	20	17	708
10	75	70	29	26	748
11	87	74	38	28	703
12	93	89	38	22	705
13	110	86	40	26	680
14	110	69	53	23	636
15	155	87	56	25	697
16	117	77	41	26	637
17	119	75	50	36	555
Total	**988**	**713**	**380**	**242**	**7280**

5. Average figures for all children. Some may carry out work as well as chores, some only work, others only chores and some may do neither work nor chores.

6. Urban villages, as classified by CSO, are villages having fewer than 25% of their workforce in traditional agriculture[ii].

Figure 2 **Average number of hours worked by age and gender** (among children who have worked in the last week, excluding chores; Q56)

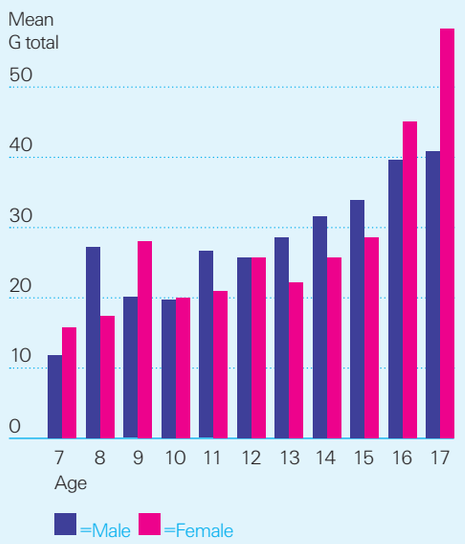


Figure 2 summarises the average number of hours worked by age and gender. Apart from ages 7, 9, 16 and 17, on average boys tend to work more hours than girls. It gives considerable cause for concern that among working children boys, from the age of 8 upwards (girls from age 9), work on average 15 hours or more per week. Note that from age 12 secondary occupations are also included in these averages (this question was not asked of younger children). Table 4 breaks down in detail the activities child workers were involved in in the 7 days prior to the research being carried out. Most children (55%) were involved in agricultural work, boys more so than girls, though girls were more likely to work unpaid in the family business.

Table 5a shows the percentage of working children in each district in the 7 days prior to being surveyed. Kweneng West has the highest proportion of working children (18.39%), followed by Central Boteti with 14.94%. At the lowest end is Sowa with 1.85% followed by Lobatse with 2.73%.

Table 5b suggests that on a seasonal basis considerably larger proportions of children are working. The hierarchy of the districts differs slightly from that of Table 6 — this may be related to seasonality, local industry and availability of work.

Table 6 below shows what those children, who stated they worked during the 7 days prior to the survey, did with their earnings. 79% of the children did not themselves receive any cash payments for their work. Given that in Q10, 145 children stated they worked unpaid in the family business and a further 364 children worked on the family farm or cattle post (totalling 509 children), probably also largely unpaid, this suggests that the majority of child work is unsupervised in terms of the Employment Act.

In relation to education, according to the 2005/06 LFS only 6.7% of all children aged 7–17 in Botswana are not currently enrolled in school or college.[7] Of these children only 1.9% have never attended school[8], the remaining 4.7% includes children who have been to school but left early or graduated. However, much like the information on child work, the overall averages hide important sex and locational differences.

- Urban boys have the lowest rates of non-attendance with only 2.2% currently not attending school.

Table 4 **Child work broken down by age, gender and activity in last 7 days (Q10)**

Age	Any kind of business activities		Help unpaid in family business		Helped in family (agricultural work)		Did any work for pay in cash or kind		Hunting/gathering		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
7	0	0	0	2	7	1	0	0	0	0	10
8	0	0	2	2	5	8	0	0	1	0	18
9	3	1	0	3	17	12	0	1	1	2	40
10	2	4	8	8	19	10	0	1	2	4	58
11	2	1	2	11	33	15	0	0	2	5	71
12	0	6	4	7	26	10	6	1	2	1	63
13	8	1	6	12	25	11	3	2	4	1	73
14	5	3	11	8	30	12	8	0	2	0	79
15	3	1	7	11	42	11	7	3	2	1	88
16	2	3	7	11	24	10	11	3	0	1	72
17	1	1	11	12	29	7	7	17	4	0	89
Total	**26**	**21**	**58**	**87**	**257**	**107**	**42**	**28**	**20**	**15**	**661**

7. Both question 16 and question 85A are 'Do you currently attend school or college?' We consistently used the responses to Q16.

8. Question P12–1 asks 'Have you ever attended school?' with the answers:
1: Yes, attending.
2: Yes, left.
3: No, never attended.

Table 5a District rates of working children (last 7 days)

District	% working in last 7 days	District	% working in last 7 days
Kweneng West	18.39%	North East	8.73%
Central Boteti	14.94%	Barolong	7.39%
Ngamiland West	14.83%	Kgalagadi North	7.32%
Central Bobonong	13.17%	Ngwaketse West	7.02%
Kgalagadi South	12.87%	FTown	6.57%
Chobe	11.43%	S/Phikwe	6.56%
Central Serowe/Palapye	11.11%	Kweneng East	5.77%
Central Tutume	10.26%	Orapa	5.45%
Ghanzi	9.84%	Ngamiland East	5.01%
Jwaneng	9.28%	Gaborone	4.19%
Central Mahalapye	9.16%	South East	3.93%
Ngwaketse	9.03%	Lobatse	2.73%
Kgatleng	8.90%	Sowa	1.85%
		Average	**8.5%**

Table 5b District rates of working children (previous 12 months)

District	% working in last 12 months	District	% working in last 12 months
Central Boteti	39.08%	Ngwaketse West	21.05%
Central Bobonong	38.87%	Chobe	20.00%
Ghanzi	34.43%	Central Mahalapye	19.55%
North East	34.06%	FTown	16.42%
Ngamiland West	31.94%	Lobatse	16.36%
Central Serowe/Palapye	30.94%	Orapa	16.36%
Kweneng West	28.74%	Sowa	14.81%
Central Tutume	27.85%	Gaborone	14.75%
Kgatleng	24.66%	Kweneng East	14.62%
Ngwaketse	23.97%	South East	14.61%
Jwaneng	23.71%	Kgalagadi South	13.86%
Kgalagadi North	21.95%	S/Phikwe	9.02%
Ngamiland East	21.83%	**Average**	**23.37%**
Barolong	21.13%		

- Urban girls represent the overall average with about 6.4%.
- Above average rates of children not attending school are located in the rural areas where 8.3% of rural girls are currently not in attendance and 10.5% of rural boys are not attending. Put another way, rural boys are five times more likely to not be enrolled in schools than urban boys. Although the numbers are small, it is troubling that urban girls are three times more likely to not be enrolled than their urban boy counterparts.

If the data are broken down by age cohort, school enrolment numbers become even more dramatic.

- 3.3% of older urban boys (ages 14–17) are not enrolled in school.
- 12.3% of older urban girls (14–17) are not enrolled. Breaking this down even further, 31.2% of urban girls aged seventeen are not enrolled in school.
- 2% of younger urban children (ages 7–13) are not enrolled in school.
- Older rural children (ages 14–17) of both sexes have similar rates for not attending; about 20% do not attend school. More specifically, 40% of rural boys and 50% of girls age 17 do not currently attend school. Younger rural children aged 7–13 have 4.9% non-attendance for boys and 3.7% for girls.

Thus most of the data suggest that girls are less likely to be attending school at an older age, particularly in urban areas.

An entire section of the 2005/06 LFS was dedicated to children working at school or college. According to the ILO, anecdotal reports of children being forced to do inappropriate chores while at school, such as cleaning toilets or teachers' houses, have caused recent concern in Botswana[xviii]. When asked if they performed a variety of chores:

- 68% of child respondents said they did at least one of the six activities identified in the survey.[9]
- Of all children, 62% said that they had done cleaning, which includes the cleaning of toilets, and 63% of students said they did these chores while at school expressly because it was a prescribed school activity. The issue does not vary significantly with sex or rural/urban distinctions.
- In terms of hours, the hours were relatively insignificant at about 1.5 hours a week on average.

The issue of children performing inappropriate chores, such as cleaning toilets, appears to exist, but the extent to which children do these chores is minimal. A sharpened survey design with more specific questions could provide a more complete answer to these issues.

Seasonality of work also represented a significant component of the questionnaire, though much of the information does not initially appear to be statistically significant. While seventy–two total questions centered on some aspect of seasonality within a question, fewer than 1% of total children answered the question or registered it as pertinent.[10] The only significant observation that was found occurred when children were asked if they worked the whole month:

- While less than 1% of children identified working for most months (Jan–Nov), the December figure rose to 5.2% of all children. This dramatic increase suggests that children are often working full-time during the end of year holiday season, but not full-time during the rest of the year.

9. Question 89 included the following chores:
A. Cleaning at school.
B. Working in school garden.
C. Helping teacher with marking.
D. Helping teacher at their house.
E. Fetching water.
F. Serving other children school meals and other.

Table 6 Are any of the earnings paid to parents/adults in the family? (Q13)

	Yes all	Yes half	Yes less	No	No cash received	Other	Total
Male	9	7	10	50	301	0	**377**
Female	4	5	5	37	186	2	**239**
Total	**13**	**12**	**15**	**87**	**487**	**2**	**616**

In regards to the low level of child respondents for seasonality questions, it is possible that children found it difficult to recall the details of their seasonal labour.

However, seasonality is important and the survey methodology should continue to work at better capturing the seasonal labour of children, especially given that the Botswana Employment Act specifically allows children aged 14 to work during their school holidays. In addition to the likelihood of children working in the more informal sectors of the economy, seasonality is another way in which child labour is hidden from many surveys and thus the public eye and policy.

An additional benefit of the LFS was the information it provided on the changing family structure in Botswana, most likely as the result of the HIV/AIDS crisis. Family structure initially appears stable with 75% of all children being directly related to their household head, as a son, daughter or grandchild.[11] However some changes have occurred between 95/96 and 05/06:

- The number of children living with their parents declined from 55%—50%
- The number living with grandparents has increased (17.8—21.3%).
- While 89% of mothers are alive and 62.2% of children reported living in the same household as their mother, only 73.3% of fathers were reported alive and 30.1% were living in the same household. Thus more than two-thirds of Botswana children do not live with their fathers.[12]
- The number of child-headed households has increased from 2.1%—3.2%.

While the reasons behind this changing demographic need to be explored, this development is troubling.

4.2

Children working in the profitable enterprise sector

This category of working children is defined as those children who acknowledged working at least one hour in the profitable enterprise sector (PES) in the last week.[13] There are 256 PES working children in the 05/06 LFS; they comprise 3.5% of the child respondents in this survey (see Table 7). Somewhat disturbingly, young children, aged 7–13, represent 41.6% of all PES working children. This goes against the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) conventions and Botswana law. The Employment Act clearly states that no child under the age of 14 should be performing any work whatsoever. A further 13.2% of PES children are aged 14; an age at which they can only work in certain prescribed circumstances.

Thus 55% of PES children are of an age at which they either may not work at all or only within strictly defined limits. Table 7 shows a breakdown of PES working children by age, gender and type of activity/business.

- Older boys (14–17) represent 30.5% of the total PES working children category (nearly twice the average of boys age 14–17 represented in the entire sample (17%)).
- PES working children, perhaps not surprisingly, are over 5 times more likely to be household heads.
- About 25.8% of the total PES working children are from urban areas; rather more than the overall sample average of 19.7% of the sample urban child population. Urban villages were below the relative average and rural working children were consistent with the average.
- PES working children overall are less likely to be in school — 71.1% rather than the average 93.3%.
- On average, these children worked a substantial 32.3 hours per week[14] (see Table 9).
- For those 71.8% of children who at the same time attend school (see Table 9) this means a commitment of 30 hours at school plus 32.3 hours at work, totalling 62.3 hours, a figure which often exceeds adult work commitments.
- The average age is 13.8 and is below the legal working age.
- 8.2% of children working in PES were household heads; this is consistent with children who need to work to support their family. Clearly this subgroup of children is taking on a significant number of work and familial responsibilities.

One of the more disconcerting results from this survey is the number of children, under the age of fourteen, that are performing significant amounts of work (see Table 7). While it is not possible to follow the trends of the youngest workers (7–11) because they were not included in previous surveys,

10. Question 6 encompasses nearly all of the seasonality questions within the survey. It is comprised of 72 components or questions within a question. The survey itself is comprised of approximately 350 components in total. Q6 consists of a grid with the 12 months across the column headings and the following five 'activities' down the row headings:
A. Worked whole month,
B. Worked part of month and available for seeking work,
C. Worked part of month and not available for more work,
D. No work at all and available for work or seeking work,
E. No work at all and not available for work. Tick marks are placed to represent each 'Yes' answer and then are totaled at the side.

11. Question P03–2 gave 13 possible relationships to the household head:
0: Head; 1: Spouse/Partner;
2: Son/Daughter; 3: Child-In-Law;
4: Stepchild; 5: Grandchild;
6: Parent; 7: Parent In-Law;
8: Grandparent; 9: Brother/Sister;
10: Nephew/Niece;
11: Other relative; 12: Not related.

12. Questions P08 — P11 were about surviving parents and their presence in the household: 'Is your biological mother/father alive?' and 'Does your biological mother/father usually live in this household?'

13. The definition of working children is based on Q10 and includes self-employment, working for cash or in-kind payment and working unpaid in the family business. It was felt that since the family business was operating for profit this constituted work in the Profitable-Enterprise sector for children. The definition excludes children who admitted to working on family owned lands and hunting or gathering at least one hour in the past week. More specifically, Q10 identified five types of working activities in the last seven days. For our purposes questions Q10A, Q10B and Q10D reflected more formal work related activities. Q10C and Q10E were related to subsistence agricultural work and those respondents were omitted from our definition of working children.

Table 7 Breakdown of PES children by age, gender and type of activity (Q1, Q2, Q10)[15]

Age	Male			Female			Total
	business paid	unpaid family business	other paid work (in cash or kind)	business paid	unpaid family business	other paid work (in cash or kind)	
7	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
8	0	2	0	0	2	0	4
9	3	0	0	1	3	1	8
10	2	8	0	4	8	1	23
11	2	2	0	1	11	0	16
12	0	4	6	6	7	1	24
13	8	6	3	1	12	2	32
14	5	11	8	3	8	0	35
15	3	7	7	1	11	3	32
16	2	7	11	3	11	3	37
17	1	11	7	1	12	17	49
Total	**26**	**58**	**42**	**21**	**87**	**28**	**262**

Table 8 PES children attending school (Q16, Q56), and average working hours[16]

Age	PES children at school	Total PES children	% attending school	Average working hours per week (all PES children)
7	2	2	100.00%	15.50
8	4	4	100.00%	10.75
9	7	8	87.50%	38.88
10	23	23	100.00%	36.00
11	15	16	93.75%	23.75
12	21	24	87.50%	29.17
13	28	32	87.50%	25.71
14	25	35	71.43%	27.18
15	23	32	71.88%	32.13
16	20	37	54.05%	39.74
17	20	49	40.82%	45.29
Total	**188**	**262**	**71.76%**	**32.32**

Table 9 Demographics of working children in Profitable Enterprise Sector (PES) aged 7–17

Botswana Labour Force Survey 2005/06. N = 256 (3.5%)

Characteristics *(Question number)*		No.	%
Age and sex	Boys 7-13	45	17.6
(Q1, Q2)	Girls 7-13	61	23.8
	Boys 14-17	77	30.0
	Girls 14-17	73	28.5
Location	Urban	66	25.8
(GI, Q3)	Urban Villages	77	30.0
	Rural	113	44.1
Relation to family head	Head	21	8.2
(P03–2)	Son/Daughter	118	46.1
	Grandchild	46	18.0
	Other	71	27.7
Education	Boys Attending School †	81	66.4
(Q16)	Girls Attending School ‡	101	75.4
	Not Attending	74	28.9

Unless otherwise noted, all percentages are relative to total number of child respondents aged 7–17 who worked in the PES sector within the past week.
For example, 'Boys 7–13' is: 45 / 256 = 17.6%.
† = % of all boy respondents aged 7–17.
‡ = % of all girl respondents aged 7–17.

14. Question 56 asks respondents to declare the number of hours they worked each day in the last 7 days. The 'Grand Total' hours worked was used for analysis. Children aged 7–11 were only asked to account for time spent on their main economic activity, while children aged 12–17 were asked to relay this in addition to any secondary economic activities.

15. Given that the total numbers of work activities declared by PES children is 262, exceeding the number of PES children (256), it is likely that a few work at more than one occupation.

16. The higher number of PES children attending school in this table (compared to Table 9) can be explained by children having more than one occupation.

the fact that many children under the age of fourteen are working currently is a significant legal and social problem. According to the Botswana Employment Act young persons aged 15 and older, who work for the government or in a large corporation and are allowed to work for up to 7 hours per day, must include the numbers of hours they spend in school when totalling their number of working hours. Effectively the inclusion of this clause suggests that the Government of Botswana feels children, who are going to school, cannot reasonably handle the additional burden of employment.[17] This means that young persons of 15–17 years old can theoretically only work for about one hour per day in addition to their approximately 30-hour weekly school commitment, as opposed to the average hours children work at all ages (Table 8).

However, this legal clause is limited to only certain types of employment carried out in highly regulated spaces, omitting the vast majority of working children who work for their family or in other unregulated situations. Considering the very limited number of children working for the government or large corporate entities, this clause does little to alleviate the workload or offer legal protection for many older PES working children. Thus the law is not protecting most children from the realities of work.

On average PES children aged 7–17 work 32.3 hours per week, with children aged under 14 working 21.4 hours per week on average (this figure is artificially low due to the much shorter working hours faced by children aged 7 and 8), and those aged 14 and above working on average 37 hours/week. 92% of children aged below 14 years also attend school (57.5% of those aged 14 years or older).

4.2.1
Working conditions and environment

It is likely that certain types of work might expose children to undue risk:

- 21.1% of working children work in the street, market or transient location
- 52.3% of PES children work in someone's home

These are likely to be more exposed to individuals outside their family. Both children who work in the street or are involved in paid domestic work (and these range from aged 7 to 17) are involved in work listed in the worst forms of child labour by the ILO and Botswana[xviii]. Another essential concern of the ILO, the Government of Botswana and UNICEF is the number of young girls, especially those who have moved from their family in the rural areas to more urban areas, and are now working as domestic labourers in the homes of relatives or another employer[xviii]. Girls represent about 60% of the category of working in someone's home. From the survey it was difficult to discern the exact details or numbers of this very specific group of child workers,[18] and the survey should be adjusted for this in future LFS.

Table 11 describes the work environment of PES working children and other risks children feel they face.

- 3.5% of working children were injured this past year while working.
- Two-thirds (66.7%) of those injured children received medical assistance from their employer.[19] However what is disturbing is the work environment described by many working children:
  - Approximately 20% of children work in fear of bodily harm inflicted on them by another person.
  - Tiring work was mentioned by 70 (27.3%) PES working children.
  - 72 (28.1%) described long hours.

Thus significant numbers of PES children do feel overworked by their employers, and describe unnecessarily risky working conditions.

A cause for major concern is that considerable numbers of PES working children are working for their own family (56.6%); this supports much of the current research: 'Despite the stereotypical image of children at work in factories, family businesses are a more typical setting for child work...Parents are the number one employer of children'[xvii]. Results from surveys conducted by UNICEF in over 30 countries suggest that globally only 2.4% of children work outside the home, whereas 22.0% work for a family business or farm[xvii].

In summary, from the 2005/06 Labour Force Survey it seems that though the number of children working in the profitable enterprise sector (PES) is relatively small, those that do work are likely to feel overworked and describe markedly unhealthy work environments. What is additionally troubling is that a high percentage of these children are working for their family. The feeling of being overworked is also likely due to the high number of PES working children that are also currently enrolled in school and working over 20 hours a week. Many working children, when accounting for their time spent in school, have a larger time commitment than many adults.

17. Ultimately this clause legally suggests that children should only be working during holidays and school breaks. Though less than 1% of child respondents answered seasonality questions, there is a comparatively large influx of children admitting to working in December, most likely during a holiday break, according to the LFS.

18. Question 33 asked a respondent to give the location of their work. Possible answers included 1: In a permanent building/fixed location, 2: On a footpath, street or open space, 3: At market, 4: In the owner's or someone's home, 5: No fixed location and 6: Other. Answer 4, "In the owner's or someone's home," could encompass children who work in their own home as well as children who work for an employer, or relatives.

19. The working environment of working children is encompassed by three survey questions: Q94, Q95 and Q99. Q94 asks 'In the last 12 months have you ever been injured while doing any of the activities in Q4?'. Q95 asks 'Did you get medical assistance from your employer or person whom you were doing activity for, during the injury?'. Q99 asks 'What are the conditions of work you have experienced while doing activities?' for which there were 13 answers: 1: The work is very tiring, 2: Work for long hours, 3: Work environment too hot, 4: Work environment too cold, 5: Very dusty work, 6: Very noisy work, 7: Bad lighting or cannot see properly or light too bright, 8: Working with dangerous or poisonous substances, 9: Working with dangerous machinery or tools, 10: Working with or near dangerous animals, 11: Fear that a person may hurt you, 12: No drinking water available, 13: Other.

Table 10 Employment of working children in the Profitable Enterprise Sector (PES) aged 7–17: type, term, hours, motivation and temperament

Botswana Labour Force Survey 2005/06. N = 256 (3.5%)

Characteristics *(Question number)*		No.	%
Work as *(Q32)*	Paid employee	71	27.7
	Self employed	40	15.6
	Unpaid family helper	145	56.6
Location of work *(Q33)*	Permanent building or fixed location	60	23.4
	Street, market or transient location	54	21.1
	Someone's home	134	52.3
Term of employment *(Q9)*	Permanent	50	19.5
	Temporary or casual	113	44.1
	Seasonal or fixed period	14	5.5
Main reason for working *(Q11)*	Obligation to family	150	30.5
	To obtain money	78	10.9
	Other	28	28.9
Hours worked in the past week *(Q56)*	Average hours	32.3	—
	5 or fewer hours	27	10.5
	6–19 hours	72	28.1
	20+ hours	156	60.9
20+ hours worked in the past week *(Q56)*	Boys 7–13	24	9.4
	Girls 7–13	32	12.5
	Boys 14–17	53	20.7
	Girls 14–17	47	18.4
Would you like additional hours? *(Q59)*	Answer 'Yes' (of those who responded)	10	4.2
Would you like to change jobs? *(Q64)*	Answer 'Yes' (of those who responded)	71	35.0

All percentages are relative to total number of child respondents aged 7–17 who worked in the PES sector within the past week. For example, 'Paid employee' is: 71 / 256 = 27.7

4.3

Children working in agriculture

The second group of working children, children working in agriculture (CWA), are those children working at least one hour in the last week either hunting or gathering, or working on their own family's lands or cattle post[20].

- The majority of CWA are boys located in rural areas (see Table 14).
- Older boys are approximately three times more likely than older girls to be performing agricultural work.
- Older boys are less likely to be attending school with about an 83% attendance rate as compared to the 93% national average.

This is supported by current research that suggests that many Botswana boys start school late and tend to leave early to take care of cattle or work on the farm, while girls, who are usually working in the home, have more of an opportunity to go to school[xviii].

However more recent research offers a more nuanced view and may describe an oversight in the LFS questionnaire. Recent research found that families in the Okavango Delta who rely on agriculture tend to keep girls out of school, while those that depend on cattle herding tend to remove boys from school. Because the LFS questionnaire combines both agricultural families with cattle post families, it is impossible to tell whether this is an important indicator for specific gender enrolment fluctuations. Additionally, in families who rely on foraging, children contribute very little, but it is not clear whether these families have higher school attendance rates for both boy and girl children[vi].

Table 11 Work Environment of working children in the Profitable Enterprise Sector (PES) aged 7–17

Botswana Labour Force Survey 2005/06. N = 256 (3.5%)

Characteristics *(Question number)*		No.	%
Injured in the past year *(Q94)*		9	3.5
Received medical assistance from employer for the injury *(Q95)*		6	66.7
Poor conditions experienced while at work: *(Q99–1), (Q99–2), (Q99–3), (Q99–12), (Q99–9), (Q99–11)*	Work is very tiring	70	27.3
	Working long hours	72	28.1
	Work environment is too hot	74	28.9
	No drinking water is available	20	7.8
	Working with dangerous machines	27	10.5
	Fearful that a person may hurt you	51	19.9

All percentages are relative to total number of child respondents aged 7–17 who worked in the PES sector within the past week. For example: 'Injured in the past year' is: 9/256 = 3.5%

20. Children working in agriculture answered yes to either question 10–C or question 10–E. Q10–C stated 'Helped in the family/own lands/cattle post (example ploughing, harvesting, looking after cattle, weeding etc.)' and Q10–E stated "Did hunting/gathering.'

On average, children in agriculture work an average of 19.4 hours per week, with those aged below 14 working an average of 12.4 hours per week; those aged 14 years or older worked an average of 24.3 hours per week. 95% of children aged below 14 also attend school; 74.4% of those aged 14 or older attend school — a higher percentage than those working in PES.

Table 12 CWA activities by age and gender (Q1, Q2, Q10)[21]

Age	Male		Female		Total
	Helped on farm or cattlepost	Hunting or gathering	Helped on farm or cattlepost	Hunting or gathering	
7	7	0	1	0	8
8	5	1	8	0	14
9	17	1	12	2	32
10	19	2	10	4	35
11	33	2	15	5	55
12	26	2	10	1	39
13	25	4	11	1	41
14	30	2	12	0	44
15	42	2	11	1	56
16	24	0	10	1	35
17	29	4	7	0	40
Total	**257**	**20**	**107**	**15**	**399**

56.1% of children working in agriculture are aged 13 or less.

Table 13 CWA attending school and average working hours by age (Q1, Q16, Q56)

Age	Attending school	Total CWA	% attending school	Average weekly working hours (all CWA)
7	8	8	100.00%	8.75
8	14	14	100.00%	18.93
9	29	29	100.00%	13.10
10	33	35	94.29%	11.46
11	47	51	92.16%	17.82
12	37	39	94.87%	16.28
13	36	38	94.74%	17.63
14	37	42	88.10%	20.62
15	42	54	77.78%	22.57
16	21	34	61.76%	27.12
17	25	38	65.79%	28.24
Total	**329**	**382**	**86.13%**	**19.40**

Table 14 Demographics of children working in agriculture aged 7–17

Botswana Labour Force Survey 2005/06. N = 382 (5.2%)

Characteristics *(Question number)*		No.	%
Age and sex	Boys 7–13	139	36.4
(Q1, Q2)	Girls 7–13	75	19.6
	Boys 14–17	128	33.5
	Girls 14–17	40	10.5
Location	Urban	6	1.6
(GI, Q3)	Urban villages	90	23.6
	Rural	286	74.9
Relation to family head	Head	7	1.8
(P03–2)	Son/Daughter	156	40.8
	Grandchild	113	29.6
	Other	106	27.7
Education	Boys attending school	222	83.1
(Q16)	Girls attending school	107	93.0
	Not attending	53	13.9

Unless otherwise noted, all percentages are relative to total number of child respondents aged 7–17 who worked in the agricultural sector within the past week. For example, Boys 7–13 is: 139/382 = 36.4%

Table 15 identifies some motivation and time considerations concerning the specifics of CWA:

- Approximately 95% of these children identified an obligation to the family as the main reason for working (58.5% of PES working children identified the same reason).
- CWA are significantly more likely to be working for their family than children working in the PES (95.7% to 56.6%).

More important is the relative number of hours CWA are working (see Table 14).

- On average, they work a little less than twenty hours per week (approximately 60% of the average work time of children working in the PES).
- Approximately one-third of all respondents in this category worked 20 or more hours.
- The highest averages of work belong to boys, more specifically boys 14–17 years old.
- Older boys are six times more likely to perform twenty hours of work than their female counterparts. This evidence suggests that boys are more likely to work and perform more agricultural work than girls.

In terms of work temperament:

- 2.6% desired additional labour time
- Only 13.6% desired to change jobs.

Thus in terms of work motivation and time spent, the responses for CWA are lower than for children working in the

21. Again, some children may report more than one type of activity, leading to a slightly greater total than the total number of children involved in agriculture (382)

Table 15 **Children working in agriculture; type, term, hours, motivation and temperament**

Botswana Labour Force Survey 2005/06. N = 382 (5.2%)

Characteristics *(Question number)*		No.	%
Work as *(Q32)*	Paid employee	5	1.3
	Self employed	9	2.4
	Unpaid family helper	14	3.7
	Helper on family cattle post or farm	352	92.1
Location of work *(Q33)*	Permanent building or fixed location	3	0.8
	Street, market or transient location	17	4.5
	Someone's home	8	2.1
Term of employment *(Q9)*	Permanent	45	11.8
	Temporary or casual	97	25.4
	Seasonal or fixed period	98	25.7
Main reason for working *(Q11)*	Obligation to family	362	94.8
	To obtain money	8	2.1
	Other	12	3.1
Work done in the past week *(Q56)*	Average hours worked in a week	19.4	923
	5 or fewer hours	55	14.4
	6–19 hours	190	49.7
	20+ hours	137	35.9
20+ hours worked in the past week *(Q56)*	Boys 7–13	39	10.2
	Girls 7–13	17	4.5
	Boys 14–17	69	18.1
	Girls 14–17	12	3.1
Would you like additional hours? *(Q59)*	Answer 'Yes'	10	2.6
Would you like to change jobs? *(Q64)*	Answer 'Yes'	52	13.6

All percentages are relative to total number of child respondents aged 7–17 who worked in the agricultural sector within the past week. For example, 'Paid employee' is: 5/382 = 1.3%

PES. While there are many possible explanations for these somewhat more positive feeling towards work, the absolute numbers of hours worked would most likely be a major explanatory factor; CWA do work considerably less than those in the PES. In addition, the strong obligation to family could be another contributing explanation. Those children working in the PES are more motivated by earning money:

- Only 2.1% of children in agriculture were working to obtain money
- Over 30% of PES children expressed money as a primary concern.

Working longer for more monetary gains could explain the higher levels of dissatisfaction with work for the PES working children.

22. Question 84 includes an itemized list of several chores done in the last 7 days. Respondents answered with how many hours in the last week they had spent on: 1: Fetching water, 2: Collecting firewood, 3: Cleaning, 4: Cooking, 5: Caring for kids, 6: Caring for others, and 7: Other household duties/chores. Those children whose total hours added up to 20 or more hours for the past week were included in the sub-group: Children with onerous chores.

4.3.1 Working conditions and environment

Table 16 outlines potentially problematic work environments for CWA:

- While injuries were more frequent in agriculture workers than PES, children were less likely to receive medical assistance. The extent of these injuries is not known but this could demonstrate less willingness by parents to seek medical attention for their own children.
- Agricultural working children scored consistently higher on all major questions concerning work environment.
- Compared to PES children, working conditions were more tiring, hot and dangerous for agricultural working children.
- 27.7% of children feared that a person may hurt them at work, even though most are working for their own families.

These are serious issues that demand further study.

4.4 Children with onerous household chores

Children with onerous chores (CWOC) are defined in this study as children who spend 20 or more hours a week on chores (see Table 18)[22]. Prior to this survey chores have never been formally studied by the Botswana Government. The survey recorded work time commitments on a variety of specific chores; thus the total time spent on these activities and identification of who is performing them could be determined. Table 17 shows the number of children by age and gender performing any chores and onerous chores in the last 7days. 80% of children carried out chores of any kind in the last 7 days.

2.73% of children aged less than 14 years carry out onerous chores (of whom 90% also attend school); among those aged 14 or over the figure is 7.47% (of whom 76.2% attend school).

Botswana has dedicated itself to eradicate the worst forms of child labour, including excessive chores done by children. However "excessive" has never been defined by a numeric limit either at the international or national level. While the UN standard[iii] 'allows' 28 hours of chores for children aged 5 and older, it is not clear whether these chores are carried out in addition to school attendance or not. We have defined twenty hours a week spent on chores as 'onerous' (rather than 'excessive'). This is considered here to be significant and deserving of attention. Twenty hours or more spent on chores in a week is also consistent with workloads faced by working children, allowing for more useful comparisons within this review. Similar to concerns about working children,

Table 16 Work environment of children working in agriculture aged 7–17

Botswana Labour Force Survey 2005/06. N = 382 (5.2%)

Characteristics *(Question number)*		No.	%
Injured at work this year *(Q94)*		24	6.3
Received medical assistance from employer for the injury *(Q95)* ‡		11	48.5
Poor conditions experienced while at work: *(Q99–1), (Q99–2), (Q99–3), (Q99–12), (Q99–9), (Q99–11)*	Work is very tiring	164	42.9
	Working long hours	128	33.5
	Work environment is too hot	170	44.5
	No drinking water is available	87	22.8
	Working with dangerous machines	61	16.0
	Fearful that a person may hurt you	106	27.7

Unless otherwise noted, all percentages are relative to total number of child respondents aged 7–17 who worked in the agricultural sector within the past week. For example, 'Injured at work this year' is: 24/382 = 6.3%. ‡ = % of all child respondents aged 12–17 who worked in the agricultural sector in the past week and were injured at work this year.

20 hours or more per week is considered to be a significant responsibility, especially given the high level of school attendance. It can be argued that children who shoulder this chore load begin to lose their rights to enjoy leisure time as outlined in the CRC and other conventions to protect children. In addition, the pressures to perform these chores may reduce school attendance — work that interferes with school is considered to be child labour by the ILO.

- CWOC are about three times less likely to be attending school than the overall child average (18% as opposed to 6.7% of 'average children') – cause and effect are difficult to determine. However, 90% of such children aged less than 14 are attending school.
- Older girls (14–17) performing onerous levels of chores are only 70.2% likely to be enrolled in school and older boys (14–17) are enrolled at a relatively higher 86.8%. Thus like other targeted risk groups, these children are shouldering a substantial burden of responsibility. Policy should look to support these children who may run the risk of being overwhelmed by their dual heavy workload of chores and schoolwork.
- Older girl children (14–17) represent the largest sub-category in CWOC. They are nearly twice as likely to be working twenty hours or more as compared to boys and other ages.

When considered within the broader concept of work (work and chores), these numbers of girls may account for the smaller numbers of older girl children who identify as working children. In other words, older girls who identify as working children tend to work at home or someone else's home unpaid; such girls may identify this work more closely with chores than a more formal work environment.

- Children with onerous chores (CWOC) are disproportionately more likely to be rural dwellers, yet only slightly less so than working children.
- CWOC are over three times more likely to be heading households than either the overall child average or children working in agriculture. Overall, 5.6% of this group identified themselves as head of household.

Table 17 Children with chores and onerous chores (Q1, Q2, Q84)

Age	Any chores			Onerous chores (more than 20 hours per week)			School	
	Male	Female	Total any chores	Male	Female	Total onerous chores	CWOC attending school	% attending school
7	121	149	270	1	0	1	1	100.00%
8	202	199	401	2	5	7	5	71.43%
9	234	256	490	6	4	10	10	100.00%
10	276	300	576	5	12	17	16	94.12%
11	285	304	589	12	12	24	22	91.67%
12	285	321	606	15	21	36	32	88.89%
13	306	309	615	20	15	35	31	88.57%
14	268	307	575	10	22	32	29	90.63%
15	314	324	638	22	27	49	45	91.84%
16	280	302	582	19	29	48	36	75.00%
17	224	257	481	17	43	60	34	56.67%
Total	**2795**	**3028**	**5823**	**129**	**190**	**319**	**261**	**81.82%**

Table 18 Demographics of children with onerous chores aged 7–17

Botswana Labour Force Survey 2005/06. N = 319 (4.4%)

Characteristics *(Question number)*		No.	%
Age and sex	Boys 7–13	61	19.1
(Q1, Q2)	Girls 7–13	69	21.6
	Boys 14–17	68	21.3
	Girls 14–17	121	37.9
Location	Urban	41	12.9
(GI, Q3)	Urban villages	122	38.2
	Rural	156	48.9
Relation to family head	Head	18	5.6
(P03–2)	Son/Daughter	144	45.1
	Grandchild	82	25.7
	Other	75	23.5
Education	Attending school (boys)	114	88.4
(Q16)	Attending school (girls)	147	77.4
	Not attending	58	18.2

Unless otherwise noted, all percentages are relative to total number of child respondents aged 7– 17 who performed onerous chores (20+ hours of chores in a week) within the past week. For example, 'Boys 7– 13' is: 61 / 319 = 19.1%

4.5

Children heading households

According to the 2005/06 LFS 118 families were identified as being a child-headed household (CHH)[23]. For our purposes, a child-headed household is any household that identifies a child under the age of eighteen as designated head. Of all the sub-groups identified in this study CHH are most clearly aligned with the definition of OVC [24]. Several indicators for this group, including the growing numbers work/chore commitments and increasing numbers of household members, suggest these children are realizing heavy burdens of responsibility.

The average age of a head of a CHH is 15.7 years. The overall gender differences are slight between boys and girls. About 52.5% are headed by boys, while 47.5% are headed by girls. However there are some significant differences between boy- and girl-headed households:

- Girls are more likely to head households in urban areas (39.3%).
- Only 14.2 % of boy-headed households are urban.
- CHHs are twice as likely to be urban as to the other three subgroups: working children, children working in agriculture and children with onerous chores.

Table 19 Demographics of children heading households aged 7–17

Botswana Labour Force Survey 2005/06. N =118 (1.6%)

Characteristics *(Question number)*		No.	%
Age and sex	Boys 7–13	3	2.5
(Q1, Q2)	Girls 7–13	4	3.4
	Boys 14–17	59	50.0
	Girls 14–17	52	44.1
Location	Urban	31	26.3
(GI, Q3)	Urban Villages	32	27.1
	Rural	55	46.6
Education	Boys attending school	51	82.3
(Q16)	Girls attending school	38	67.9
	Not attending	29	24.6
Work	Working in last 12 months	52	44.1
(Q4, Q10)	Working in the last 7 days	26	22.0

Unless otherwise noted, all percentages are relative to total number of child respondents aged 7–17 who are heading households. For example, 'Boys 7–13' is: 3 / 118 = 2.5 %

23. Question P03-2 was used to define child-headed households. After a close review of these families, inconsistencies were resolved leaving 118 households with a clear child head – comprising 1.6% of the sampled households. In terms of inconsistencies, some households had identified children less than 7 years old as head and were removed from the sample due to their apparent unlikelihood. Seven possible child-headed households in the survey identified more than one head with the other household head over 18 years old; these households were subsequently dropped as well.

24. Orphaned and Vulnerable Children (OVC) are operationally defined by UNICEF as 'children who are either orphans, or living in households where there has been a recent death.' Under the UNAIDS definition an OVC may, in addition to UNICEF definition, be defined as a child who 1: 'lives in a household where at least one adult was seriously ill for 3 months in the last 12 months, 2: lives in a child-headed household, 3: lives in a household with only elderly adults, 4: lives outside family care in an institution or on the street.'

5

A time trend analysis: comparison of child work demographics from 1995/06 LFS to 2005/06 LFS.

Interestingly, children heading households reported that:

- 86.4% of their fathers are alive and 70.3% have still living mothers.
- The mother is also in the house (28.8% of CHHs), and 20.3% report a father present.
- Boy household heads had disproportionately fewer surviving fathers than the overall average for Botswana children (approximately 60%).

It is clear that many children are taking over the responsibility of a heading a household from their living parents, however the survey does not provide sufficient information to establish why this might be happening. This could be a topic of further research.

- The average size of CHH in 2005/06 is 3.12 with boys having an average household size of 2.76 and girls 3.52.
- Approximately 96% of all people living in CHHs are under the age of eighteen and 30% are under the age of seven.

Both of these averages are far higher than the single child headed household found in the 1995/96 survey. None of the CHHs were married and only 1 responded that they were living together with a partner, suggesting that these children carry the responsibility of heading a household largely on their own.

While household economic indicators are not readily available in the survey, the status of these households is most likely precarious, as incomes from this age level cannot be expected to be as high as their adult counterparts.

Comparisons can provide a clearer picture of how CHHs are growing up faster than the average Botswana child. Because the average age of CHHs is 15.7, we have compared these children to their 15–17 year old counterparts in the general child population.

- Children heading households are twice as likely as the average 15–17 year-old to have worked every week of the last year.
- 15.3% of CHHs worked for payment in the last 7 days compared to only 2.5% of average 15–17 year-olds — CHHs are 6 times more likely to work for payment.
- The same tends to hold true for agricultural work with 31.4% of CHHs reporting this, as opposed to 18.0% of the rest of the 15–17 year-old children in the sample.
- Of CHHs 8.5% reported a permanent job compared to only 1.7% of 15–17 year-olds.

Clearly CHHs are much more likely to be working and working more hours than the average child in their age cohort.

This section compares the 1995/96 and 2005/06 Labour Force Surveys (LFS) and draws out changes in child work over the last decade. For purposes of accurate comparison, children between the ages of 7–11 were omitted from the 2005/06 survey as this age group was not originally included in the 1995/96 LFS. The contrasts between the two surveys thus consist only of children between the ages of 12–17.

While there were almost twice as many respondents in the earlier survey the distribution between boys and girls and geographic locations are proportionally equal (see Table 20). This makes comparisons between the two surveys appropriate for statistical purposes. Even more advantageous for comparisons is the fact that all the basic demographics (age, sex, geographic location and citizenship) are similar for both surveys. For example, in the category of boys aged 14–17, while the absolute numbers differ significantly there are about 31% of boys in both surveys. This is critical for making relative comparisons possible.

Family dynamics over the ten years seem to have shifted, probably due to the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

- The proportion of children living as biological sons or daughters in a household has fallen from approximately 55% to 50%.
- The percentage of children raised by grandparents has risen from 17.8 to 21.3%.
- The increase in the past decade (from the previous LFS) in the number of CHHs, from 2%–3%, and the increase in the number of children in each child-headed household, suggests that the overall number of children living in such households has increased by 450%, with increasing numbers of children living with under the supervision of other children.

Botswana has made significant progress in school attendance.

- School enrolment rates have increased from 80% to 90% between 95/96 and 05/06. While encouraging for potential future employment and overall quality of life, this fact should be remembered in the context of child work and overall time commitment by children.

Of particular note is the rise in the number of working children who are also attending school.

- While a mere 12.5% of working in PES children in 1995/96 were attending school this figure has risen to approximately two-thirds (64.7%) of working children in 2005/06.
- Educational participation rates for CWA, while showing a less significant increase, are also rising and increased from 52.1% to 80.8%.

Table 20 Comparison of demographics and work of child respondents aged 12–17

Botswana Labour Force Survey 1995/96 & 2005/06		Total child respondents: 1995/96 N = 6899		2005/06 N = 3911	
Characteristics *(Question number)*		No.	%	No.	%
Age and sex	Boys 12–13	1148	(16.6)	697	(17.8)
95/96 – *(Q1, Q2a)*	Girls 12–13	1248	(18.1)	688	(17.6)
05/06– *(Q1, Q2)*	Boys 14–17	2143	(31.1)	1237	(31.6)
	Girls 14–17	2360	(34.2)	1288	(32.9)
Location	Urban	1561	(22.6)	833	(21.3)
95/96 – *(GI, Q2b)*	Rural	5338	(77.4)	3078	(78.7)
05/06 – *(GI, Q3)*					
Relation to family head	Head	148	(2.1)	125	(3.2)
95/96 – *(c04)*	Son/Daughter	3823	(55.4)	1954	(50.0)
05/06 – *(P03–2)*	Grandchild	1230	(17.8)	832	(21.3)
	Other	1698	(24.6)	1000	(25.6)
Education	Boys attending school	2653	(80.6)	1741	(90.0)
95/96 – *(c08)*	Girls attending school	2913	(80.7)	1773	(89.7)
05/06 – *(Q16)*	Working children (PES) attending school	30	(12.5)	132	(64.7)
	Children working in agriculture attending school	110	(52.1)	198	(80.8)
Work	Worked in the last 12 months	1065	(15.4)	1187	(30.4)
95/96 – *(Q3, Q8)*	Worked in the last week	446	(6.5)	436	(11.1)
05/06 – *(Q4, Q10)*	Working children (PES)	240	(3.4)	204	(5.2)
	Children working in agriculture	211	(3.1)	245	(6.3)
20+ hours of work done	Worked 20+ hours in the last week	371	(85.1)	223	(51.2)
in the past week	Working children (PES)	222	(92.5)	130	(63.7)
95/96 – *(Q45)*	Children working in agriculture	149	(70.6)	102	(41.6)
05/06 – *(Q56)*					

Unless otherwise noted, all percentages are relative to total number of child respondents aged 12–17 in their respective surveys. For example, '1995/96 Boys 12–13' is: 1148/6899 = 16.6%

As the country develops it is understandable that school enrolment rates rise and this is frequently cited as a part of Botswana's success story. However, what is not mentioned are children's work patterns and the overall time demands with work and school.

All basic categories of work and work related issues show a marked increase in participation from 1995/96–2005/06.

- While only 15.4% of children ten years prior identified as working in the last twelve months, the figure has nearly doubled to 30.4% of children in 2005/06.
- Other categories such as working in the past week, working in the PES and agriculture sector have almost doubled in participation rates over the past decade.
- While overall participation rates are higher in the past decade, the amount of time spent at work has declined.
- Though children may be working fewer hours, they are spending more time in school than they did a decade ago. However it is difficult to determine all aspects of time commitment and participation trends; the 95/96 LFS did not include a module on chores and so could not be contrasted with the current survey.

6
The National Action Programme Towards the Elimination of Child Labour (APEC)

While it is clear that though most children in Botswana enjoy low levels of work and high levels of school enrolment, there are significant groups of vulnerable children bearing formidable responsibilities due to their work, school and chore loads. Children represent the future of Botswana and their health, education and welfare should be of utmost concern. The four small but vulnerable groups of children that have been identified in this review of the 2005/06 Labour Force Survey (children working in PES, children working in agriculture, children with onerous chores, and child-headed households) deserve careful and pointed attention.

Currently Botswana is in the process of drafting the National Action Programme Towards the Elimination of Child Labour (APEC)[xviii i]. This multi-sectoral approach has outlined seven cross-cutting issues that have been outlined as essential to taking action against detrimental forms of child work[i]. These seven issues serve as an outline for the remainder of this LFS review, which works to connect research, policy and LFS results to provide evidence for future policy and programme actions and further research.

The next sections correspond to the seven cross-cutting points, grouped under two headings. These are as follows:

Poverty alleviation, education and labour

1. *Poverty alleviation:* Poverty is considered to be both a symptom and cause of child labour. Eliminating child labour will require a close look at the welfare of a child's entire household.
2. *Education:* Child work and labour are negatively correlated with school enrolment rates. This section, also covering aspects of poverty alleviation, outlines some of the concerns that a country faces when enrolment rates drop, both in respect to child welfare and the national economy.

Eliminating child labour in Botswana (the next steps)

3. *Policy development:* Capacity building at the government level goes hand in hand with policy development. Eliminating child labour will require that all subsequent Botswana policies, laws and programmes are written to address child labour and work issues specifically.
4. *Awareness raising:* There are many misconceptions in Botswana as to what constitutes child labour. Awareness raising campaigns are an important part of the APEC and should address the definition of child labour and providing examples relevant to Botswana.
5. *Capacity building:* In addition to raising awareness, improved capacity is the required next step for dealing with child work and labour in both government and NGOs. This section outlines relevant departments, organizations and tactics required to effectively raise capacity for identifying and mitigating child work and child labour.
6. *Further research:* Though this review of the LFS touches on many forms of child labour identified by APEC, it does not address all of them fully. This section will systematically address each form – describing how the LFS addressed each of them and how the survey's limitations require further research.
7. *Actions on LFS results:* This section will provide an overview of the actions that should be taken in response to the results of this LFS study. This section will outline policy, law and programmes that urgently need to be implemented to eliminate child labour. It will further provide a set of action items describing the most urgent first steps to be taken to better incorporate issues of child work and child labour into Botswana policies, laws and programmes.

6.1
Poverty alleviation, education and labour

6.1.1
Point 1: Poverty alleviation – the cycle of poverty

- Child work can trap both individuals and entire economies in a cycle of poverty and slowed economic growth:
  - It can lock a child into a low-skill, low-pay position[xix], and child labour can compete with adult work. At the household level this may leave unemployed adults seriously dependent on child labour, and more willing to compromise their schooling.
  - If working affects a child's education considerably, they may have to leave school, relegating them to a cycle of low-skill, low-pay positions in adulthood[xix]. This can lock them, and perhaps their children, into a cycle of poverty.
  - If this cycle continues on a significant scale, the national economy will suffer a slowed growth due to shouldering a large, unskilled and unhealthy labour force[xix]. This cycle is of concern to the Government of Botswana, given the recent reduction in economic growth, rising income inequality and increased health problems and expenditures as a result of HIV/AIDS.
- Despite four decades of economic growth, Botswana's economic growth is slowing, and income inequality and rates of poverty remain relatively high, or may even have increased[25]. Malnutrition rates have increased slightly between 2000 and 2007[ix] .
- According to the ILO, 'Poverty is a significant cause of child labour; ...extreme poverty means children are prepared to engage in more harmful and detrimental forms of work, and their families may encourage and condone such work'[xviii].

25. The latest poverty data stem from the 2002/03 Household Income and Expenditure Survey.

- Simply outlawing child labour and regulating child work will not ensure that exploitative employment practices end. In fact without addressing issues of poverty, new laws could actually increase the exploitation of children[xx].
- Globally primary school enrolment rates are negatively correlated with an economically active child labour population. In Botswana, too, all the vulnerable groups identified had below average school enrolment rates.
- Positive correlations have been found between schooling and health–the positive effects are regularly observed both at the micro and macroeconomic levels[vii].
- Individually, educated persons have the ability to obtain health and other information on their own and can more easily dispense information to others[vii]. Education also has an effect on fertility, since more educated women tend to have fewer children[vii]. All these factors have the potential to improve child welfare and their welfare as they move into adulthood.
- At the macro level, a healthier population in Botswana will cause less strain on the economy in the long term, as health care costs and costs due to lost labour will be reduced. A better educated generation of Botswana youth will be able to make better health decisions, which will have a positive impact on the health of the economy.

The best way to combat these issues in the short term is through strategic social protection schemes, implemented at the individual and household level. In the long term these should be incorporated into a comprehensive social development framework, which integrates the actions, policies and programmes of all government ministries towards broad based poverty alleviation.

6.1.2
Point 2: Education – the link between cash transfers, household income and school achievement rates

Economic development is necessary but not sufficient for improving all citizens' welfare. In Botswana many individuals do not participate in economic growth –often those who need inclusion the most. The economic success of Botswana has not translated into broad participation of Batswana and the Government's current reliance on hand-outs or safety nets does not generate participatory economic empowerment.

The Government realizes this and has begun to think in terms of a broader social development framework. This section addresses the concept of social protection, possible strategies for alleviating poverty in the household and thus improving the likelihood of children attending, and excelling in, school. These strategies include cash transfers, conditional cash transfers and micro credit financial support. While the effects are complex, the goal is to improve the economic situation of households to make them less likely to rely on child work and child labour.

At the household level there is usually a series of negotiations that contribute to familial decisions on whether to employ their children and/or enrol them in school[vi]. Some of these will relate to cultural upbringing while others will relate to basic financial realities.

- According to research in the Okavango Delta, parents will "...manipulate a child's time allocation to different activities in an attempt to maximize the return on investment across children" [vi]. For some families, this might mean pulling their child from school (providing a long-term outcome) in order to provide needed income for the family (an immediate need).

In Botswana it is estimated that approximately 92% of school age children in Botswana are enrolled, and so the remaining 8% are the focus of government policy[i]: "The approach adopted by the Government for achieving universal primary education is to identify those children who are not in school, find out why they are not attending, and develop specific strategies for bringing them into school".

Thus it will be helpful to discern how child labour affects educational achievement for groups such as working children enrolled in school in Botswana. Academic records as well as enrolment rates[viii] and drop-out rates could be used to assess the impact on child labour on education. In the case of academic records allowances should be made for the differences in catchment compositions of different schools.

One of the most common approaches used to improve child welfare and enrolment rates is by increasing household income in the form of a cash transfer (CT)[xii]. Even when cash transfers are paid to the household, these usually benefit children, too[xii]. There are a variety of options for CTs:

- Direct cash allowances to poor families, food baskets or coupons for a specific range of goods to be bought by the family.
- Conditional cash transfers (CCT) where a condition must be met by the family before the money is distributed — usually a child must be enrolled in school, a nutrition or immunization programme, and/or to participate in regular medical checks for the family to qualify[xii]. This requires also the provision of services (by government or others) to ensure that families are able to comply with the conditions.
- The Old Age Pension (OAP) which in Botswana pays a monthly allowance for those 65 and older[xi]. Given the number of children living with their grandparents, children, too, are beneficiaries of this programme.

Cash transfers have been shown to immediately raise a household's income and reduce inequality[xii]:

- Evidence in Malawi suggests that parents receiving CTs will be more likely to enrol their children in school[xii].
- In Zambia cash transfers often resulted in the household investing in assets to increase income, rather than selling former assets to obtain food[xii].
- In both Zambia and Malawi it was found that parents were more like to improve their child's dietary diversity when receiving a cash transfer[xii].
- In South Africa, old age pensions (OAP) were found to reduce child labour and boost school attendance.
- In Botswana, results from a 1999 survey suggest significant changes in school attendance when a male elder transitions from nearly eligible to eligible for the social pension[xiii]. In rural areas, the attendance of children aged 13–17 rises with male eligibility to nearly 100%[xiii]. What is additionally important is that CTs tend to be significantly more cost effective than food basket or coupon schemes[xii].

While microcredits could be seen as another way to focus on household welfare, current research is mixed on how this affects child work rates. It is clear that microcredits have been found to improve income at the household level. But it may in fact increase child work in household enterprises [x]:

- In rural Malawi, a study revealed that household access to microcredit raises children's propensity to work during the season of peak labour demand [x]. The data also suggests that mostly the adults are involved in microcredit-stimulated household enterprises; children usually take over the responsibility of domestic chores [x].

Any microcredit schemes should be therefore introduced in a thoughtful and holistic manner; conditions may be appropriate.

6.2
Eliminating child labour in Botswana (the next steps)

6.2.1
Point 3: Social development and social protection

A 2006 UNICEF conference defined social protection as a 'set of transfers and services that help individuals and households confront risk and adversity (including emergencies), ensure a minimum standard of dignity and well-being throughout the lifecyle[xi]'.

A social development policy is a comprehensive national policy that integrates all of a country's social protection programmes into a cohesive strategy for empowering people to improve their own lives by breaking out of the shackles of poverty. This requires working with the poor rather than planning for the poor, to establish a dialogue for significant and sustainable poverty reduction. In turn this will lead to government institutions becoming more accountable and transparent to respond to public interests.

- The social development policy and programme of implementation coupled with effective social protection programmes should have a transformative effect on the population.
- Social protection programmes should be well integrated to encompass the many facets of poverty which go well beyond the economic.
- In the specific case of child labour, these programmes should improve both the school enrolment rates and assist in improving income levels of the most marginalized. This involves working with households to better understand their financial assets, financial needs and decision-making processes.

When social protection strategies are incorporated into an integrated national policy, they have the potential to both mitigate the short-term effects of poverty and move towards the longer term goal of eliminating poverty at the household level. This, in turn, will reduce national poverty, reduce the need for child labour and subsequently increase school enrolment rates. When improvements such as these are accomplished on a large scale, they have the potential to improve the national economy.

6.2.2
Point 4: Awareness raising

To build an effective social development programme in Botswana will require increasing knowledge at all levels of the government and public so that policy makers can create more responsive policy and programmes. Raising awareness, building capacity and developing policy are essential parts of all government campaigns; this section will relate each of these specifically to the issue of child work in Botswana.

- Stakeholder interviews during the drafting of the APEC revealed that many members of the public admitted that this was the first time they had learned of child labour issues[i].
- There are varying opinions in government on the state and definition of child work and child labour, suggesting a need for a raised awareness within the government as well. This review of the 05/06 LFS aims to provide a common starting point for what will be an ongoing discussion.

Before improved law, policy or programme implementation can occur, decision makers must learn about the current state of child work and labour in Botswana. After this it will be essential for them to come to an agreement on the

definitions of various terms used in legal and policy such as 'work,' 'light work,' 'hazardous' and 'excessive.' This should be done in addition to determining legally quantified limitations on hours of chores and agricultural undertakings. Then these can be used to inform the public and subsequently raise their awareness.

- The public should be informed of the issues and laws surrounding child work and child labour through a large-scale and sustained media campaign.
- Children should be informed through a short but well integrated module, that informs both them and their parents of current issues, eg during school hours, since most children are enrolled in school.
- A short campaign aimed at families and children located in remote areas should be incorporated.
- Employers should additionally be informed in a campaign targeted specifically for them.
- The lower levels of government and non-state actors in charge of enforcing, interpreting and acting on the policy and laws on the ground should be provided with targeted information, as part of a wider capacity building campaign.

6.2.3

Point 5: Capacity building

At the level of service delivery, government employees and non-state actors will often be the public's point of entry to any new child work or labour policy and law. It is essential that these actors are adequately informed and provided with the skills to enforce, interpret and act on the ground with sensitivity and competence; currently the awareness level is low[i]. A significant knowledge gap will result in a severe service gap.

Policy changes cannot be introduced without raising awareness and building capacity. One major obstacle to capacity development at all levels is the lack of sufficient information management, monitoring and evaluation. Basic information management policies could:

- Become an additional source of information on labour issues, rather than relying on a decennial Labour Force Survey.
- Improved statistics, garnered by improved capacity at the lower-levels of government, would enhance the capacity of the upper levels of government by providing more reliable, current and relevant information and feedback relating to policy, programme and law development, not only relating to child labour, but also, for example, to social protection programme coverage[xi]. Ineffectively targeted programmes waste resources that could be further directed at poor households with children.
- A unified database, collecting information on all social protection recipients, could simplify administration of these programmes, reduce fraud and considerably improve the quality of service provided. This could also provide more up-to-date information on poverty, rather than relying on the HIES alone.
- In addition we would encourage extensive interviews with the vulnerable children identified in this survey, their families, as well as current government and NGO service providers and relevant policymakers, to develop 'bottom up' policies. This approach would allow for meaningful child participation in formulating programmes and legislation to eliminate child labour. The ILO is currently intending to implement this approach in its planned 'Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs and Practices of Batswana towards Child Labour' (KABP) survey.
- Staff capacities must also be expanded. Currently there is a shortage of social workers, greatly inhibiting successful implementation of many social protection programmes[xi]. In addition, many social workers are burdened with additional work that is outside their formal scope of work. A shortage or misuse of social work professionals will inhibit the successful implementation of poverty reduction and psychosocial support programmes, including programmes necessary for the elimination of child labour.

6.2.4

Point 6: Eight problematic forms of child work: scope of survey, its limitations and areas of further research

The Botswana Government in its National Programme of Action for Children has outlined eight specific forms of child work that are of special concern to the country (See Box 2)[i]. These forms were identified through stakeholder interviews and focus groups during the consultation and drafting process of APEC[i]. The 2005/06 Botswana LFS was able to address the majority, but not all of these forms of child work. This section seeks to address the last two action items outlined by the APEC: 1) further research on specific forms of child labour and 2) action on the findings of the 05/06 LFS. A summary of the most important action items will be included immediately after this section.

Box 2 Eight forms of child labour

1	Children involved in excessive domestic household chores	(covered in this report)
2	Children working in agriculture	(covered in this report)
3	Children used by adults to commit crimes	(not covered in this report)
4	Children victims of commercial sexual exploitation	(covered in this report)
5	Children working in the liquor, retail and informal sectors	(not all covered in this report)
6	Children working on the street	(covered in this report)
7	Orphaned and vulnerable children	(limited coverage in this report)
8	Children engaged in physical labour at schools	(covered in this report)

The most recent LFS had a number of limitations relating to each one of these forms of work:

- It only approached respondents living in fixed housing structures. Many children who are at risk are likely to be transient and without a fixed address. This means that both the relative numbers of working children and the numbers of vulnerable child categories in Botswana are likely to be underestimated, particularly perhaps those children involved in some of the most hazardous types of work activities (crime, sexual exploitation, working on the street).
- While it is commendable that the LFS chose to directly interview children (guardians may purposefully underestimate the activities of their children[xvii]), simply talking to children may not always elicit accurate responses. Care must go into child-friendly survey design.
- The design and implementation of surveys is especially critical when interviewing children. The questions in the 2005/06 LFS were often detailed in a way that might be difficult for children to respond to. Including additional probing questions in the survey and training interviewers in skills appropriate for the handling of children may improve accuracy.
- For example, in surveys conducted by the ILO in Costa Rica and Kerala, India (1983/1984), the use of additional probing questions resulted in a 4.2% increase in the reported number of persons engaged in economic activity in Costa Rica and a 5.4% increase in Kerala, India[xvii]. More recent ILO surveys include additional probing questions for children and reflect an increased awareness of child sensitive questionnaire design. As a result higher child work-population ratios have been discovered[xvii]. There is reason to suspect that similar underreporting may be occurring in Botswana.
- The next LFS must also be better structured in order to provide policy makers with a stronger connection between child work, poverty and education rates. The LFS's current questions relating to income are not reliable because of significant rates of non-responses. Only about 30% of employed adults, and 50% of children, gave an answer for their annual income. Children working informally or seasonally may have difficulties recalling or estimating their income over an entire year. It may be preferred to develop a set of wealth indicators for children who work (though in this case it may be difficult to establish how much of the wealth belongs to the child). Additionally, it would be useful to be able to calculate the income or wealth for a household as a whole, so that if there are correlations between child labour and household income, they can be analyzed. This would require developing questions that improve adult responses as well.
- Seasonality of work also represented a significant component of the questionnaire, though much of the information does not initially appear to be statistically significant. Less than 1% of total children answered the question or registered it as pertinent. It is likely that children found it difficult to recall the details of their seasonal labour. However as a construct, seasonality is important and the survey methodology should continue to work at better capturing the seasonal labour of children, to avoid this topic becoming hidden from the eyes of policy makers.

6.2.4.1 Children involved in excessive domestic household chores

The Government of Botswana, in its adherence the ILO's programme ('Towards the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour'), has promised to eliminate child labour including excessive chores. This focuses on children, often girls from rural areas, who are transported to urban areas to work excessively, often for members of their extended family.

We have addressed this form of child labour in our classification 'Children with Onerous Chores' — those children with more than 20 hours of chores per week. Botswana law does not dictate a limit on chores as it does with paid employment. However we consider 20 hours as a significant amount of chores when coupled with school attendance; this indicator might highlight a group of children at risk of falling behind in school and slipping through the cracks.

The 2005/06 LFS survey was unable to capture how many children are being transported from rural areas to work excessively in the homes of urban families. Special effort should be made to incorporate clearer and more overt questions into the next LFS. In the meantime, a rapid assessment could be a more targeted way to approach the issue and also provide insight and pre-testing for relevant questions to be integrated into the next LFS.

6.2.4.2 Children working in agriculture

The ILO acknowledges that children working in agriculture are at a significant risk of being exploited economically or forced to work in dangerous and harmful environments[xviii]. Because agriculture is one of the main areas for child employment in Botswana, this group is of special concern to the government as well[xviii]. Children are most often working on remote cattle posts and family farming plots[xviii] where they are isolated from the law and without access to formal education.

Due to the wording of the Botswana Employment Act, children who work in agriculture for their parents or other family members are not offered the same protection as those children officially employed by a person outside a child's

family, but parents may not always have the best interests of the child in mind. In the LFS, children working in agriculture, usually for their parents, described more severe and unhealthy work environments than PES children, in addition to more than a quarter reporting a fear of physical punishment.

There may be issues with the wording used in the LFS:

- A higher rate of children working in agriculture might be discovered, depending on how a child identifies and describes their own work. For example girl children in rural areas may not describe their work as work but as chores–a definitional concern that could lower responses in the child work category.

- In respect to ILO and SNA definitions, carrying water and firewood are categorized as economic activity. However the 05/06 LFS survey schedule only addresses these activities in the section on household chores. These activities of course are likely to be carried out in urban areas as well, suggesting that these activities might warrant being incorporated into the schedule's section on child work. This is not, however, seen as a significant limitation.

- Recent research may describe an oversight in the LFS questionnaire. Research has found that families in the Okavango Delta who rely on agriculture tend to keep girls out of school, while those that depend on cattle herding, tend to remove boys from school[vi]. Because the LFS questionnaire combines both agricultural families with cattle post families, it is impossible to tell whether this is an important indicator for specific gender enrolment fluctuations.

6.2.4.3
Children used by adults to commit crimes

There is anecdotal evidence suggesting that adults in Botswana have employed children in criminal activities because children face less severe punishment if caught[xviii]. These activities have been described as organized stock theft, burglaries, car theft and organized street crime[xviii]. Evidence of these juvenile offences has been supported by informal interviews with law enforcement and judicial officers[xviii].

The 2005/06 LFS does not incorporate any questions related to criminal activity as a means of income generation and so our review is unable to address this sub-group of working children. Currently there is not a system in place at either law enforcement or judicial levels for tracking young offenders[xviii]. According to anecdotal evidence gathered from informal interviews with government administrators, whenever a criminal is processed, both the crime and sentence are rarely recorded in an organized manner.

The framework for the juvenile justice system is defined in the Children's Act which has now been approved[xviii]. It would be beneficial to ensure that the new Act includes a mandate requiring a record to be kept on all offenders, including the young, to provide relevant statistics for dealing with this vulnerable group. The development of relevant and clear forms is essential for accurate statistics.

6.2.4.4
Child victims of commercial sexual exploitation

According to the ILO 'commercial sexual exploitation of children includes prostitution, exploiting children for the purposes of child pornography and various forms of transactional sex'[xviii]. This sub-group of child workers is not addressed overtly by the 2005/06 Labour Force Survey. Considered one of the worst forms of child labour, this sub-group should be adequately assessed by the government in some respect. However it is likely that the LFS is not an ideal way to approach children who are sexually exploited for commercial means.

A rapid assessment was conducted by the Urban Youth Project to gather information on those children most at risk of HIV/AIDS[xviii]. Fifty-one commercial sex workers were interviewed — over half were aged 15–24, and a quarter were between the ages of 12–14[xviii]. Most of these children had been recruited into prostitution by an immediate family member[xviii]. This is an important reminder that parents do not always act in the best interest of their children. Most formal exchanges of sex for money occur at truck stops, transit points and bars in large towns and villages[xviii]. There is also anecdotal evidence describing the plight of young girl emigrating to urban centres from rural areas[xviii]. There are instances where these young girls perform sexual acts in exchange for room and board[xviii]. Additionally, there is also a general understanding that some young girls will perform sex acts in exchange for luxury consumer goods such as cell phones and clothing[xviii].

6.2.4.5
Children working in the liquor, retail and informal sectors

There are significant numbers of children who operate in the informal and formal retail sectors of Botswana's economy.

The ILO underlines that, 'in addition to children who might be overworked in this sector, removed from school or exposed to harmful work environments as a result, they are concerned about children who work in retail establishments that sell alcohol'[xviii]. There is a fear that these children are at a higher risk for prostitution, commercial sexual exploitation and sexual abuse[xviii].

The category of working children within this review includes all children who interact with the retail sector of the economy, whether through formal or informal employment, but it included no specific question relating to the sale of alcohol. In addition very few children actually supplied the name of their employer in the survey, thus it was impossible to discern from the data how many children are actually working in shebeens and bars.

6.2.4.6
Children working on the street

Children who work on the street are at risk of being exposed to a wide variety of harmful situations and are of special interest to both the ILO and the Government of Botswana. Children working on the street are defined by the ILO as 'children, mainly from poor households, who have dropped out of school and now work on the street'[xviii]. These children may return to a household or communal living arrangement every evening to sleep.

The 2005/06 LFS survey did not approach respondents who are not living in fixed housing structures, ie those living on the street, in tents or in hostels. Likewise, some ILO definitions of begging encompass activities that some may report as self-employment[xviii]. It is likely that the numbers of working children and children working on the street are inaccurate as a consequence. However children that did participate in the survey were asked the location of their work establishment. Roughly 1% of all children or 21.1% of PES working children surveyed are working on the street, at the market or in a non-fixed location.

Children who beg are also of special concern to the ILO. Though begging is not considered an economic activity by the ILO or the SNA, the 05/06 LFS survey schedule did include a question to determine how many children begged in public in the last 12 months[27]. According to the LFS, 2.6% of all children have begged in public during the past year. According to available data in Botswana, it is street children who are most likely to beg[xviii]. This may take the form of guarding cars, approaching individuals for sponsorship, carrying shopping in exchange for cash, as well as more obvious forms of begging[xviii]. Again, because street children are the most likely to beg and live in impermanent structures, the current LFS may have underestimated the extent of this problem.

6.2.4.7
Orphans and vulnerable children

Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) are differently defined by UNICEF and by the Government of Botswana.

- UNICEF defines these as 'children who are either orphans, or living in households where there has been a recent death'[v]. Under the UNAIDS definition an OVC may, in addition to UNICEF definition, be defined as a child who 1: 'lives in a household where at least one adult was seriously ill for 3 months in the last 12 months, 2: lives in a child-headed household, 3: lives in a household with only elderly adults, 4: lives outside family care in an institution or on the street'[v].
- In the Botswana social protection system an orphan is defined as a child who has lost both parents (if living with both), or one parent (if living with a single parent). Due to significant changes in family structure for many OVC, there is a concern that these children might have an increased risk of being exploited by their guardians. This is likely to be due to increased financial strains on the family, but other factors could also be at work.

In this review the only OVC category we have been able to adequately address is CHH. According to the LFS studies, these households have increased significantly over the last 10 years. Rising from 2% to 3% (a 50% or greater increase, given the population growth rate), children between the ages of 12–17 are increasingly becoming household heads. In addition the number of children living under a child household head has risen from virtually zero in 1995/96 to approximately two additional children per household. This effectively more than quadruples the number of vulnerable children in this category. It seems quite obvious that children living in child headed households are as vulnerable as the children actually running the household.

Current data on OVC, gathered in surveys such as the Population and Housing Census in Botswana (2001) are considered unreliable[v], and considerably out of date. The accuracy of the LFS results is also likely to be limited at times. Due to the survey design, it is difficult to isolate groups of OVC other than child-headed households in a straightforward manner. It is clear that more succinct and clear OVC modules should be added to the Census and perhaps the LFS as well. In addition, those OVC who may be living in hostels or institutions as a result of the death of a guardian, would not have been counted in the survey. A rapid assessment of children living in hostels or with foster families could better define this vulnerable group.

The additional UNICEF category of children, Most Vulnerable Children (MVC), emphasizes another set of vulnerabilities. UNICEF defines MVC as 'children affected by armed conflict, working or living on the streets, or in the worst or most hazardous forms of child labour, those who are victims of violence and abuse and children with disabilities'[xii]. This MVC group is only referenced in this review of child labour by the inclusion of children working or living on the street.

27. Both Questions 82 and 83 address begging in public. Q82 asks "Did you do the following activities in the last 12 months?" Included activities are a: Fetch water, collect/cut firewood/cow dung for the household where you stay/stayed, b: Help with household duties in the household where you stayed, c: Begged for money or food in public, d: Did any household duties outside your household without payment in cash or kind? Q83 includes the same list of activities, but addresses which of them had been done in the last 7 days.

6.2.4.8

Children engaged in physical labour at schools

According to the ILO, there are reports of children in Botswana who, as a part of school sanctioned activities, have been involved in inappropriate labour such as the cleaning of school toilets and teachers houses[xviii].

This specific work has affected many children; 62% of children in the 2005/06 LFS were involved in the cleaning of their school in the last week. These tasks include cleaning the school toilets. In contrast, only 3.3% of children were asked to help the teacher at their house. Of all children who cleaned their school in the last week, 63.2% said that it was as a part of school sanctioned activities. Though the high numbers are perhaps cause for concern, it should also be kept in mind that the average Botswana child only spends 1.5 hours per week on cleaning at school according to the LFS.

6.2.5

Point 7. Conclusion and recommendations – Policy development & actions to be taken on the LFS report: the most important initial steps to improving Botswana's response to child work and child labour

As CSO has suggested, policy development should be evidence-based. As we have suggested, evidence should be gathered and analyzed in a format conducive to policy development. The following action items promote the implementation of a social development policy framework.

Though this is an extensive process, the major first steps are outlined here. The bullet points then relate these steps specifically to the issues of child labour.

In addition to the work being carried out in relation to the social development policy framework, there is a list of specific improvements for the LFS.

These include:

A Take the first steps towards building a cohesive, integrated and child-aware social development policy framework.

1 Further integrate international charters, conventions and programmes into Botswana law:

- Define and operationalize important terms such as child, work, labour, excessive chores, light work, and hazardous work, taking also into account gender issues relating to 'work' and 'chores'.
- Improve coordination between existing social protection policies and design, and implement a comprehensive social protection policy, including assessing the role of cash transfers with or without conditionalities, the role of old age pensions, the benefits and disadvantages of microcredits and other factors, eg the cost of service delivery, coverage of existing social safety nets[xi], administrative arrangements etc.

2 Create a social development policy framework:

- Integrate efforts to improve the population's health, education and income into a cohesive policy framework.

3 Build capacity and raise awareness:

- Inform the general public (eg by a media campaign) on the rights of children, the Employment Act and other relevant matters, such as 'excessive' or 'onerous' chores, including also the topic of violence against child employees. Using evidence-based research and expert analysis, this campaign should dispel myths and anecdotal evidence, while still promoting a healthy work culture among households.
- Inform school children of their rights in a small module that can be integrated easily into the class curriculum.
- Inform employers of the Employment Act with regards to the employment of children and consequences of breaking the law.
- Inform rural households of their children's rights and various education options and opportunities for their children.
- Inform government workers and NGOs of the international charters, conventions and programmes that are being operationalized in Botswana. Ensure that they are aware of the new laws and the introduction of a social policy programme when applicable. Build capacity to enable government workers to monitor the effectiveness of the Employment Act.

4 Improve knowledge and the information management culture within the government

- Build capacity to monitor and evaluate the success of the social development policy and its impacts on poverty, education, health and child labour.
- Collect data (including poverty information) on juvenile offenders/trafficked children/commercial sex workers.
- Track the achievement records of children in school and additional demographic information to gain better insight into the effects of work and household wealth on school achievement.

B Improve the LFS questionnaire:

1 Following on from item A1 (definition of relevant terms), include these in the next LFS.

2 Improve the methodology for ascertaining more accurate answers from children (using child-sensitive questioning) as well as adults.

3 Improve the survey methodology to better capture seasonal work and links between poverty and education.

4 Review the definitions used in the LFS, eg 'chores' and

'economic activities' (eg carrying firewood, fetching water), differentiating between cattle posts and agricultural work, differentiating between retail sales involving alcohol and those who do not sell alcohol.

5 Create clearer modules on OVC, household income, asset ownership and work activity.

6 Consider interviewing children and people who work on the street.

7 Consider interviewing children and people who live on the street, in hostels and other non-fixed structures.

8 Conduct rapid assessments on children who have been victims of commercial sexual exploitation, children working on the street, children who have committed crimes, and children working in the retail and liquor sectors.

C Additional research needs

1 Additional qualitative research should be carried out into knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and practices of Batswana towards child labour, covering also questions relating to school enrolment etc.

2 Further research may also be desirable to assess the link between family breakup (and its causes) and poverty/school enrolment/child labour – to inform social policy development.

Annex A — Definitions and cultural aspects around child labour

Defining child labour is more complex than it might at first appear. The semantics of work are surprisingly complicated and the process of defining child labour has consistently been problematic. But in order to measure child labour it needs to be defined. Normally two terms are used to differentiate between non-hazardous work and hazardous work activities done by children: *child work* and *child labour* respectively[28].

International organizations and charters generally agree on the hazardous and non-hazardous nature of *child labour* and *child work* respectively. However, the exact distinction where work becomes hazardous may vary, or is not clearly defined. Extra effort must be put into clarifying and communicating operational definitions, especially within an international context. Even though the concepts of child labour and work are difficult to explicitly determine within Botswana's unique social and cultural setting, this does not mean that the task should not be undertaken. In fact, it is strongly suggested that this discussion needs to take place; this document should help to facilitate the debate. As CSO[v] suggests, defining, measuring and quantifying any issue is fundamental for good analysis and policy.

Specifically this review operates in respect to the definition of *child labour* used by the International Labour Organisation and the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), both adopted by Botswana. However these definitions vary slightly and deserve review. The CRC defines *child labour* as 'work that is harmful to the child because it is economically exploitative, hazardous, interferes with the child's education, or is harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development[i].' The ILO definition, while broadly similar, expands on issues relating to education by stating that *child labour* is work that '...interferes with their schooling by: 1) depriving them of the opportunity to attend school; 2) obliging them to leave school prematurely; or 3) requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.' Thus both the ILO and the CRC suggest that *'child work,'* which significantly burdens a child enrolled in school and affects either their progress or attendance, becomes hazardous and can be termed *'child labour.'* Due to Botswana's high rates of school enrolment and Botswana's interest in universal primary education, we have included summaries of a child's weekly school responsibilities, in addition their work and chore loads. For our purposes, in the context of this study, we have considered a general target of 50 hours a week, in school and/or work/chores activities, often combining these, to be an indication of possible child labour activity. However, a national debate on this definition seems warranted. This study suggests that the most prevalent form of child labour in Botswana will be, in addition to young children working, comprised of students who are both attending school and working twenty or more hours per week.

This review also operates in respect to the ILO's definition of child work, which is defined by the ILO as 'non-hazardous work done by children[i]' or 'the activities done by an economically active child.' The ILO accepts that some child work can in fact be beneficial to a child, as does the APEC[29]. An *economically active child* is normally considered to be a child who has spent 1 hour or more in the past week on these economic activities[xv], whereas *economic activities* refer to all types of market production and some non-market, including the production of goods for personal use[xv]. These terms are informed by the System of National Accounts (SNA), a conceptual framework for statistical standards used to measure a country's market's economy – which are published and overseen by the United Nations (UN). Within the SNA's framework *non-economic activity* refers to any other activity that falls outside *economic activity*, including household work and chores[xv]. In this review *working children* are defined as those children who stated that they had worked at least one hour in the last week, excluding chores. The term 'working children' is further divided between those that did work in the profitable enterprise sector (PES) and those that worked in the agriculture sector (CWA). It is important to stress that both groups may include children working unpaid for a family owned business. This definition respects the ILO definition of *economically active children* as well as the SNA's definition of *economic activity*; again, it does not necessarily suggest that this work is harmful or illegal.

Additional terms in this review operate in respect to the SNA's definition of *non-economic activity*. This is be done in order to better address child activities, which are significant, but still excluded from our definition of PES working children. The exclusion of chores and some unpaid work from economic activity, and thus many definitions of working children, will unintentionally ignore the labour of many children, especially girl children[xvii 30]. It should be continually stressed that child activity surveys are implemented not only to determine how many children contribute to the labour force and more formal economy, but also to determine the intensity, nature and safety of all work no matter how it is defined. Defining child work based solely on the SNA definition of economic activity devalues much of the work done by children and also women. Chores must be considered an intrinsic part of the measurement of child work so that management and intervention can occur even when abuse is committed outside of the formal economy, in rural areas, or in the privacy of family households. Because of this we have included the additional category of children, *Children With*

28. In many languages the English word 'labour' does not always translate differently from the English term 'work', making effective communication on these issues more difficult. In an international context, where translation and work done within second languages are a reality, clear operational definitions are difficult, but nevertheless necessary.

29. The APEC states that 'the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child explicitly acknowledges that children have a responsibility to assist their families and communities in case of need, and to learn skills in the process. Therefore throughout the APEC it is acknowledged that work by children, such as reasonable household chores and fetching water and wood can be beneficial to children'.

30. While the UN child labour definition appears to allow up to 28 hours of chores ('domestic work') for children from age 5 upwards (and 43 hours of economic work *or* domestic for children aged over 14 years), it is not clear whether this also covers children attending school. http://www.childinfo.org/labour.html

Onerous Chores (CWOC), in order to acknowledge the importance of other work not always included in '*economic activity,*' but still of primary concern to the ILO, UN, and the Government of Botswana.

Operational definitions may also have to change in order to remain relevant to changing social trends. 'Economic activities' as a term has evolved over the years in order to retain its relevance to child work. A group of labour experts, convened by the UN, revised the SNA to include finding and carrying water in the definition of economic activitie[xviii]. Both finding and carrying water are often associated with rural areas, girl children and chores. This recent inclusion places value on work that was previously undervalued. Due the structure of the LFS questionnaire, we were unable to incorporate these revisions to the SNA into our definition of working children. However this is not considered a major weakness of the LFS, but rather it just further underlines the complexity of defining and quantifying child labour.

Additionally, it should also be noted that the SNA does not consider begging an economic activity[xi]. However, for many children begging provides a clear cash income, unlike other forms of economic activity [xviii] included in SNA standards. In Botswana it is likely that many of these children who beg are living and working on the street. Work done on the street by children is considered a Worst Form of Child Labour, a form that Botswana has dedicated itself to eliminating. Yet the current LFS does not evenly address these issues. For example, begging may be widely interpreted at times to include carrying groceries and guarding cars for tips[xviii], activities that could also easily be interpreted as self-employment. However begging is neither clearly defined, nor included in questions relating to self-employment. Additionally children living in 'temporary dwellings', where children who beg are more likely to be located, are not even included as respondents. Both these factors may cause these numbers to be underreported.

Even when it is possible to create an up-to-date operational definition, accurate measurement is still often a real challenge when the questionnaire gets out into the field. Some quantifiable terms used in surveys can still inhibit respondents –making accuracy difficult. Yearly income may appear to be a straightforward indicator. However, it is difficult to estimate in the case of irregular income or non-cash income, people may be reluctant to admit to their full annual income, and children may not be able to calculate it.

Accurately measuring child work can be especially difficult when the respondents are children. According to our definition, a working child[iii] is one who did at least 1 hour of work activity within the past week, excluding chores. However, previous research has shown that child work activities occur intermittently throughout the year often on a seasonal or temporary basis[x]. Additionally it is generally understood that children appear often to be unable to recall activities over a year or even over a week[xi]. As a result questions regarding hours of work, duration of work and type of work can be fraught with measurement error. The number of children who have worked may often only be captured in a survey questionnaire through the measurement of 'ever worked[xi].' or 'worked within the past year.' However, in addition to providing little insight into the actual duration, the rates of reoccurrence, extent and intensity of child work, these demarcations begin to feel slightly arbitrary. Even when it is possible to define child work and measure it accurately, it does not ensure that the measurement can be meaningful. In addition to the complexity of accurately defining and quantifying child labour, regulating it via policy and law is also a difficult task. Many of the international charters and labour standards have been written so as to allow member states flexibility in their legislation. Additionally the ILO has specifically mentioned that developing countries be allowed leeway. This is essential and ensures that countries can accommodate international legislation while still operating within their own unique cultural context. A consequence is that data and information child labour in one country are not often directly comparable to those from another country, and statistics should always be approached with a critical eye. Lowering the age of legal employment will typically lower the amount of illegal child work.

Botswana has chosen to ratify the two major ILO child labour charters and the CRC. The Botswana Employment Act is the first stage of operationalizing these conventions (see section 2.2). However, its definition of 'light work' is never completely defined by the law[xix], which makes it uniquely hard to regulate. In addition, hourly limits for children working in the formal economy are more developed and emphasize schooling; children working in the informal economy, agriculture, or the home have less protection and support from the law.

Child labour and cultural issues

The complex and controversial nature of regulating child work usually takes two forms: 1) concern for cultural issues and household autonomy and 2) the possible repercussions of outlawing child labour. For many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, national boundaries often contain several different and diverse ethnic groups. It is difficult to create universal legislation –both at the global level and also at the national level– that does not inadvertently overlook the more specific needs of different populations. In Botswana there are cultural communities who do not place importance on formal

Box 3 Operational definitions — chores

The challenge of operational definitions: the case of excessive chores

The term *excessive chores* is an example of a definition, used to describe a sub-category of child labour, that has not been made quantifiably operational. This has compromised its effectiveness for empirical analysis. The ILO's Programme Towards the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (TECL) has been endorsed by Botswana (the term 'excessive chores' is also used in the APEC[i]). This programme describes excessive domestic chores as one of the worst forms of child labour, a statement that most stakeholders would probably agree with. However, when stakeholders themselves are asked to state how many hours of chores a week constitute '*excessive*,' there tends to be real disagreement. Without a firm numeric threshold, it is difficult to say how many children are actually involved in excessive chores. Likewise it is also a real challenge to come to consensus on the operational definition for this term if decision makers are not convinced significant numbers of children are actually affected by excessive chores. The effects of excessive chores on child welfare may remain obscured in a definitional catch–22 where comprehensive reform is made increasingly difficult because of a lack of evidence, therefore it is worth establishing quantitative guidelines.

In Botswana, anecdotal evidence is most likely to be used against attempts to operationalize the elimination of excessive chores. It is also true there may be cases where the agreed upon definition of excessive is not necessarily accurate for a specific context or child. However, what is of paramount importance is that a definition is determined to protect the majority of children. Careful research, using expert opinion, local child welfare specialists and accurate data and analysis, must be incorporated into policy formulation and provide a meaningful counterbalance to the occasional contradictory anecdotes. Exceptions to rules are just that and go a long way to undermining legislation that seeks to protect vulnerable children from parents who do not necessarily have a child's best interest at heart.

education. For such groups, even though small in number, non-formal education programmes are currently the organized way that the Botswana government seeks to provide opportunity to these children, but also still respect them and their parents' rights[i]. The 05/06 LFS, for valid reasons of its own, does not take into account these specific cultural concerns.

Just as all cultural groups should be allowed a right to self-determination, it is also obvious that culture or familial interests should never be allowed as an excuse for child abuse. Constant and creative negotiation between local needs and universal ideals is the reality of labour regulation and policy creation. It is often difficult to find a balance between regional respect and national/international standards. Not all parents have the best interests of their children in mind. For this reason it is important to work within quantifiable and exact definitions of child labour (what is too much in terms of hours, too dangerous in terms of environment, minimum age and work type etc) and then also include reasonable and clear exceptions. Clear definitions will allow for clearer recognition of potential abuse.

In addition to cultural concerns, there can also be negative and unintended consequences to regulating child labour if it is not done holistically. Severe poverty is most often the cause of child labour[xviii]. For this reason it does not usually help to simply outlaw child labour: '...extreme poverty means children are prepared to engage in more harmful and detrimental forms of work, and their families may encourage and condone such work'[xviii]. In this respect, without addressing the root causes of poverty, penalizing individuals and companies that employ children, could simply push those children into desperate and more dangerous work such as prostitution, and other more criminal activities. Governments are beginning to realize that a broader social policy that provides comprehensive social protection to all their citizens is critical for longer-term sustainable human development. It is not enough to outlaw a practice that is undertaken as part of an individual household's poverty survival strategy, if no other alternatives are available. A broader approach of working with disadvantaged individuals and households to understand the causes of child labour is needed to create effective solutions, which can then be addressed by social protection and social development policies (see section 6.2). There is no doubt that a variety of reasons exist for forcing children into child labour. These reasons may range from simple greed by caretakers to a perceived need for fundamental economic survival. However, universal evidence demonstrates that poverty is most often the root cause of the majority of child labour.

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Notes