

My shop is my school: Children's perspectives on work and school in a multi-ethnic town in southern Ethiopia

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In Ethiopia, children constitute the majority of the population and are at the centre of societal interactions and economic functioning. As this study of children's perspectives on work and school in Dilla town in the Southern Regional State demonstrates, children and childhood in the Ethiopian context constitute work, education, and play. Necessary life skills, knowledge and attitudes are imparted to the young generation not only through formal schooling but more importantly through participation in economic and social life and through the examples of seniors.

Introduction

In dominant Western views, childhood has been categorized as a special and precarious phase of life when one needs protection and care if complete and responsible adulthood is to be achieved (for those who fall under the age of 18). This view lays great importance to formal education and institutional care and conceptualized child work as detrimental to children's education and unhealthy for their physical, cognitive and emotional development (Ennew, Myers & Plateau, 2005; Cunningham, 2003; Boyden, 1999). No significance for the creative development of human life is attributed to child work. This notion is widespread in the world today, and is also the unspoken basis of many declarations and the policy of international organizations (Liebel, 2004). It has, however, by no means universal validity. In many non-Western societies quite different notions and forms of life in childhood remain widespread. In these societies participation in economic and social life is an important part of child development and socialization.

Since the 1980s a small but growing body of social research in diverse geographical and socio-cultural contexts has begun to increasingly challenge the notion that work and the condition of being a child are mutually exclusive, or can only be combined to the detriment of children (Boyden, 1999; Bourdiloun, 2000; Myers, 1989). In the process children have become visible as strategic actors (as workers, carers, consumers and clients of a whole variety of services) in different social contexts taking responsibility for their own well-being and that of others (Kjorholt, 2004).

In Ethiopia, child work is an age-old way of life. Ethiopian culture, similar to its African neighbors, dictates strong work ethics from an early age. Despite all the difficulties they face, children and young people make valuable contributions to social and economic (re)production. However, although the importance of the work of children is widely recognized, most reports documented children's work too exclusively from a narrow 'child labor' orientation thus eliminating some forms of work and

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completely missing many of the most important child growth and development questions.

In this article it is my interest to question normative statements about child development processes and supposed certainties and judgments about schooling and child work. This concern is not an effort to overlook the various forms of exploitation and abuse of children that are still widespread in many parts of rural and urban Ethiopia, but is primarily an effort to show the variety of forms and meanings that work has and can have for children. This aspect has been neglected hitherto, despite the frequent invocation of children's rights.

The fieldwork for the study included interviews, observation and narrative stories collected during the second semester (February -May) of 2004 and May- July of 2006. After a brief review of the literature, the article shortly presents major findings of the study and a concluding remark.

Schooling childhood

Since the 18th century, childhood in Western societies have been progressively structured as an extended period of dependency, protected innocence and preparation for adult life regulated by natural and universal processes and enhanced through compulsory schooling (Woodhead, 1999; Cunningham, 2003; Boyden, 1997). Because children are portrayed as dependent "becomings"(Qvortrup, 1994), incapable of assuming responsibility and properly confined to the protection of home and school (Connolly & Ennew, 1996), children who work and fail to conform to such life circumstances are categorically condemned as deviants and are believed to be unsuccessful in adulthood (Boyden, 1997). Also parents and communities who do not follow such normative child-rearing practices are immediately seen as irresponsible and "backward" (Liebel, 2004; Boyden, 1997). The major problem in such dominant views is that schooling is conflated with education.

Whilst education might be thought of in terms of participation in more formal school situations, the historical and socio-cultural contexts to childhood inform us that education goes way beyond a modern Western conception of schooling. Quite simply, children from developing countries are likely to accumulate knowledge, acquire skills and form attitudes outside of formal institutions (Illich, 1971; Boyden & Deborah, 2000; Boyden, 1999; Liebel, 2004). In the majority of these societies' generational skills and knowledge are imparted to the young generation outside formal institutions through observing, experimenting, and supplemental instruction from seniors.

School and work: Compatibility and tensions

Although the literature is replete with discussions on how work inhibits school attendance and academic performance, working and schooling may not necessarily be mutually exclusive. What ever promotes schooling may not necessarily inhibit children from working and the mere fact of being in school per se may not guarantee freedom from the exploitation of work. Moreover, some work activities could be more compatible with school attendance than others (Assefa, 2000). Combining work with school attendance also might be expected if the school system operates in shifts. Empirical evidence from other countries also indicates that many children combine school attendance with work (Jafarey & Lahiri, 2000; Myers, 1989; Woodhead, 1999). Yet strenuous and long hours of work could definitely be incompatible with schooling.

The national survey report on 'child labor' and education shows that 34% of working children both in rural and urban areas of Ethiopia were able to integrate their education with work. On the other hand, another 34% were not attending school, (CSA, 2002, quoted in Alebachew, 2007). On the other hand, Abiy's (2002) analysis of the educational attainment of child domestics in Addis Ababa, who are assumed to be the most vulnerable and out of school children among working children, shows that 65 % of were attending school during the study time. A recent study in Dilla found that the overwhelming majority (92%) of the working children interviewed were combining their work with school attendance without major difficulty and 40% of the children were migrants who moved seasonally to secure the necessary resource to pursue their education (Alebachew, 2007). Thus, as Kielland & Tovo have correctly argued

It is an oversimplification to assume that school children don't work and that working children don't go to school. Most African children both work and go to school. Conversely, quite a few African children neither go to school nor work, not because they are spoiled or lazy, but because neither work nor school is realistically accessible for them. (Kielland & Tovo, 2006:15).

The suggestions and policy implications which derive out of the literature on the subject ranges from viewing compulsory primary education as a panacea for the 'child labor' problem to assertions that with the introduction of such compulsory education and 'child labor' laws children will no longer be seen in the workplace (Weiner, 1991; Burra, 1995). Opponents of this view warn that stigmatizing work and working children and excluding children from the production of value may reinforce their vulnerability to exploitation (Nieuwenhuys, 1996; Jafarey & Lahiri, 2002). In this view, what is needed is flexible school programmes, improved working conditions and rewarding curriculum (see, for instance, Boyden, 1997; Myers, 1989; Bourdillon, 2000).

The findings

Narrating the children's stories

Below I present the stories of four working children. Although limited in scope, the narratives provide some glimpses into the lives and lived experiences of individual working children who often are subsumed as aggregated data under the umbrella of child laborers or under the guises of the household concept.

1. Feleku: The child bride who fled home

Sixteen- year-old Feleku's small fist grips the metal pestle tight, bringing it down with a firm thud. Inside the mortar are the coffee beans that her fostering relative has just finished roasting. Feleku pounds the beans into a smooth powder, which she then scoops into a clay coffee pot and places over the charcoal fire. Feleku's relative has guests, and she is helping to serve them. While her relative prepares *kollo* (roasted grain) for the guests, Feleku brings the coffee to a boil. She takes the pot off the fire and sets it onto a holder made of woven grass. After waiting for the grounds to settle, she pours the coffee into small cups placed in neat rows on the tray before her. Feleku responds with discipline and concentration to all that her relative asks, performing each task accordingly. When the third pot of coffee has been drunk and the cups collected, washed and put away, Feleku's relative told her that she is free to go to school. She rushed to the back of the hut to change into her uniform, grabbed her small bundle of

exercise books and headed out to school. *"I want to become a nurse,"* she says, and to this end she attends class at Kale Hiwot primary school.²

Feleku was born in a small remote village in east Gondar zone in northwestern Ethiopia. She is the last born in a family of five children. The husband of her distant relative brought her to Dilla. While in her home village, Feleku did not have the opportunity to attend school. She rather labored hard at home and in the field fetching water, firewood and fodder for livestock. When Feleku saw some village girls who stayed in big towns for some time and returned to the village "well-fed," "dressed", and "educated" and she heard those returnees ("shinning girls") talking good things about town life, she began to dream about education and urban way of life. When her relative visited the village and paid a visit to her parents with some gifts she thought that the time had come for her to realize her dreams. She secretly paid a visit to the mother of her relative whom she knew well and asked if she could go with the relative. She was promised but when her parents knew this, Feleku was beaten and warned not to think about such things in the future.

In the meantime, the frustrated parents decided to do something to force Feleku stay in the village. Thus marriage was arranged without her consent. When Feleku discovered that she was going to marry someone whom she did not know, some bad experiences of other girls in her village came to her mind. Although she begged her parents and other kin to cancel the marriage arrangement nobody listened. So Feleku decided to escape and move to the town where she thought she could attend school and life would be better. Fortunately, she heard that the husband of her relative has come to attend a funeral ceremony in the village. She met the man, told him everything and her decision. The man hesitated but Feleku firmly expressed to him that she will escape herself if not allowed to go with him.

Four years have passed since Feleku fled from home. She attends evening class at Kale Hiwot primary school and has reached 3rd grade. Although Feleku realized that she was not working as hard as she should at school, she said she was not worried because she was a bright pupil and knew she would pass. She wanted to become a doctor and said this was possible because she was good in mathematics. She said she wanted this so that she could serve her villagers and also make enough money to help her family.

According to Feleku, her work is more than a survival strategy. She is pleased for the job as it provided the opportunity to escape from the experience of being beaten, oppressed, and harassed by unwanted and violent rural husbands. She also welcomed her chance of attending school which she could not have imagined at home. Her employers provide her stationery materials and cosmetics freely. The relative saves 50 Birr each month as her salary and buy her clothes. In consultation with her, a portion is sent back home for holidays and purchase of livestock. She felt proud when telling me that she bought a horse for her father and further bought two sheep to be raised in her name. She admitted, however, that she encountered some problems at work. Chief among them was the health-related risks she faced. Because she sometimes cooked and washed whole day, she often had back and leg pains.

² I, together with another friend, was the guest who participated in Feleku's coffee service. Feleku's relative who invited us for the coffee ceremony was a nurse at Wonago health station (a town 12 km away from Dilla). She works with my wife and the two were close friends. It was through this relationship that I happen to observe Feleku serving the coffee and later on approached her for my interview.

2. *Migration for education: Iyasu's journey to Dilla*

The story of Iyasu hints on how those children who lacked the resources to cover their educational expenses attempts to sponsor their own education by venturing far and working hard during their school recess times in the summer.

Iyasu, 16, was hawking lottery tickets when I first met him. He shared rooms with three friends in a small service quarter which they rented 30 Birr. Iyasu has changed jobs and tried to combine different jobs so that he can earn and save more for his school expenses. He is the fourth-born in a family of seven children in a remote village in Wolayita, the high-density district of the Southern Regional State. From there, he has been coming to Dilla on a temporary basis since 2003. He described how he thought of coming to Dilla: *"When I was promoted to grade 5 my parents find it hard to send me to the nearest school to attend school. I realized that if I am to continue my education beyond grade 5 I must help myself.... Fortunately,"* he continued, *"I met Dessalegn who used to go and work in Dilla for a similar reason who told me everything about Dilla."*

Iyasu has tried different jobs. He first worked as a street vendor. Low income and unreliable market forced him to opt for hawking lottery tickets which he found easy to combine with other activities (driving a horse-cart). Asked about his working strategies Iyasu said *"Every morning I wake up early, take my breakfast and start driving my horse cart until midday. During lunch time I target lunch-hour clients... for my lottery tickets... On better days, I earn up to 25 Birr a day. During weekdays I earn up to 15 Birr..."*. To minimize his expenses in Dilla Iyasu *"... help out in restaurants and butchery houses cleaning compounds and running errands. In exchange they provide me left over food which I like most as it contains meat and a lot of stuffs. We don't have such food at home"*. In this way, Iyasu saves between 8 and 15 Birr a day (depending on the day's income) and 10 Birr a week (in a saving association). Back home, he uses most of his income for his school expenses including stationeries, rent, food, and for buying articles. Iyasu also contributed to his sister's educational expenses. His dream is to join Dilla University and train as a university teacher.

3. *The Story of Jacob the barber*

Barbershops in Dilla are both sites of business as well places of social interactions. While anyone with scissors and a stool can make a rickshaw and establish themselves as a barber in the town's market or its outskirts (and not a few attempt to do so), maintaining a relatively successful barbershop requires some sources of investment, as well as competence in the popular forms of barbering. Rents must be paid, infrastructural maintenance is required to assure an adequate supply of electricity, proper electric razors, and aprons for clients, hair care products and sounds and scenes that make a barbershop attractive (newspapers, special magazines, games, radio and cassettes, even satellite TV that clients can partake of) must be provided.

Jacob was an outspoken 17-year-old boy from Wolayita who works in his own barbershop. He came to Dilla at the age of 13 to join his older brother who had migrated to Dilla earlier. Jacob himself narrates his own experience;

I worked as an assistant in three minibuses for about 2 years. My two employers were 'bad'.... They demanded me to work day and night butt were unwilling to pay me more than 10 Birr a day. While working under such conditions, a friend of mine (himself a minibus assistant) found me another minibus to work with. This time the driver whom I worked with was a kind young man who paid me tips everyday I worked hard, in addition to my daily salary of 15 Birr. He provided me

shelter and paid extra for bed and food every time we passed the night outside Dilla.

After Jacob worked for a year the kind driver (who was also the owner of the car) left the driving job and the owner employed another “bad” driver. Increasingly, Jacob was unable to agree with his new boss: *“Everyday business is not ok; he used to shout at me. He became aggressive and we used to fight a lot. He cuts my salary for every reason.”* This encouraged him and his older brother to think about and look for another job.

One day Jacob’s brother came with an idea. The idea was for Jacob to gain training in hair cutting styles and to open their own barbershop. *“It took me only a weeks time to learn every hair cut style that most young people in Dilla would like to have”*, he assured me proudly. He got on-job training with someone whom they knew and they bought the necessary materials from second hand shops. They brought their sister from Wolayita to help them in cleaning and other necessary support at home and in the barbershop.

I visited the barber shop repeatedly and even used the room to spend time chatting with him, visitors and customers and for interviewing other children. As he told me, Jacob earns between 20 and well over 50 Birr a day. Especially during holidays, he works tirelessly and he is planning to add more seats and hire other family members.

As regards education, Jacob has attended up to grade 3. He was unable to attend school when he was a minibus assistant, as he could not get time. But during the time of data collection he was reluctantly attending night school at the nearest Dawit primary school but has planned to quit this. Rather he plans to expand his business. His is optimistic about his future. According to him education is not a priority if one could earn a living the same way other big merchants did through trading and with little formal schooling.

I asked Jacob why he planned to drop out of school and his response was not a surprise to me:

I know some basic mathematics and few English words. Now my job is teaching me a lot. I am gaining knowledge and developing my skills. Everyday I meet so many people who share me their work and life experiences and about good and bad things including business. I have customers of all sorts-students, teachers, business people, farmers and all these share their experience in my shop... I consider this small shop as my school...

Many of the barbers whom I met and talked to indicated that they regard their work not merely as a source of their livelihoods but also as a place of learning and developing a set of ‘professional’ skills which can be further utilized to get ahead and fulfill their own aspiration of a better life for themselves and their dependents. Moreover, these skills and the work of barbering were embraced as signs of competence, and mastery over the forms and demands of urban living. In fact, it was very easy for me to crosscheck what Jacob has told to me. I personally witnessed many of Jacob’s customers’ and visitors’ profile and their lively discussions and debates on a wide range of issues from local business to issues of globalization, agriculture to quarrying, from religion, music, urbanization, global media to politics. The displays, openness and accessibility or permeability of the barbershops allows clients of varying personal profiles and interests to meet and share experiences and opinions. It is commonplace to

see clients getting haircuts and shaves joking with the barber, idle barbers chatting among themselves, with customers, with neighboring shoppers or any passersby.³

As such, it is clear that the barbershop as a site is more than a place of work and of societal interaction. Comparatively speaking, it is a place, which affords a degree of opportunity, and a sense of entitlement and relative freedom, and a place where one can be independent from exploitative employees or rough "bosses". All these are comparative advantages and attractive features of the workplace when compared with the school setting where most students feel more restricted by the curriculum and the school regulations, as well as more controlled and vulnerable at the mercy of more powerful staffs.

4. *The story of Muna*

Muna is a 14-year-old kollo (roasted grains) hawking girl from a family of three children. She is a thin but long and good-looking girl. I first saw her when she was awarded a certificate for her 'excellent' academic achievement (she stood second in her class of 79 students in grade 6). Although Muna began to work due to economic compulsion, an improvement in the living condition of her family could not stop her from working. As she proudly narrates;

When we first arrived in Dilla from Arbaminch we relied on the income of my father which was too low to cover living expenses for the family (of 6 members). When I was in grade 4, I met Zeritu (kollo hawker). Zeritu became my close friend and she used to tell me everything about her work. With her advice and the encouragement of my mother I started to work... After sometime, when my mother got a job as a cooker at Dilla University, she told me to stop working and rather work hard in school. But I resisted the pressure from her. As long as I am able to work hard in school, why I stop working? I know how my work has given me the chance to know many things in life. I met a lot of people...gain some knowledge...supports my grand parents....

In this way Muna perceived herself as 'mature' and responsible daughter. She works for about 4 hours after school from Monday to Saturday as Sundays are reserved for church services and family interactions. Her work schedule (usually between 3 pm and 7 pm) allowed her to concentrate on her study and as she claims she never missed school and actively participated in sports with encouragement from her parents. Muna's homeroom teacher praised her not only for her academic achievement, but also for her exemplary behavior. In addition to hawking kollo, Muna occasionally (during religious and national holidays) work as a manicurist looking for the nails of customers. Muna said she enjoyed working because of being together with her sister (who occasionally accompany her) and her friends and the opportunity her work provided to meet and play with them, some of whom are very intimate and close allies to her, and also the fact that she did not have to work hard at home since her siblings have to take the chores.

Muna complained about some less-than well-behaved customers who tried to touch her when she served them. She said this was particularly the case when she served kollo at some local drinking houses to a group of males, some of whom might, in touching

³ In this case it is also important to consider other work places such as shoe shine stands, vending streets and markets all provide not only a service but also a venue of conversation, a place to wait, to watch, to talk, to debate, study and do some other 'businesses.'

her, joking say, you are beautiful, or you will be my wife. But, as she reported, this happens to her even if she is not at work.

As to her future plan, Muna said “*I want to prove that girls are as good and responsible as boys are. I want to be a doctor when I grow up.*” To realize her dream she has her mother on her side. When I asked Muna’s mother about what she wished for Muna, the mother stated that she would go any length to help her Muna her dream come true.

Discussions on findings from the children’s stories

1. The motives and decisions for working

The extracts show that the reasons for working ranged from material deprivations within households to individual initiatives by children to meet a multiplicity of needs. Children worked not only because they were told to do so by parents or siblings, but also on their own because they felt responsible to meet their own ends. The children were well aware of their own circumstances and of their family conditions. Thus they felt not only increasing individual responsibility, but also an increasing sense of responsibility for other household members.

The children are serious in their work and knew some business strategies. The way they advertise their merchandises or services, negotiate with suppliers and woo buyers demonstrate some of the great traits that most child workers share-competitiveness, flexibility and enthusiasm. Although I cannot say that the children were fully competent in every respect, I would argue that they exercised agency and some degree of responsibility. The retreat from village life in order to escape unwanted and premature marriage or the restrictions of traditional family norms and expectations is a good indicator of the competency of the girl child in assessing her present circumstances and future life. This way, the children acted in what seemed a logical and justifiable manner.

2. Work and school

All of the four children were attending school while working. Two of them were among the best students in their respective classes, as their school certificates and homeroom teachers testified. Others were average students. Three of them (except Jacob) highlighted the importance of schooling for their future (adult) life and valued both work and schooling. Although work appeared to dominate the lives of the children, it did not do so to the extent of making school attendance a great problem. The shift system in the schools provided them the opportunity to work while attending school in either of the school timetables (morning or afternoon). Like Feleku, some children attend night schools. Given the complex realities of child work as demonstrated by the stories of the children, it is not clear as to why some analysts have advocated compulsory education as a replacement activity (see, for example Weiner, 1991).

3. Challenges and dreams in life

Studies indicate that when parents or relatives apportion and oversee work given to the child with affection and sensitivity to their children’s needs, it can build a sense of efficacy and self-esteem (Bequele & Myers, 1995; Boyden & Deborah, 2000). Challenging and varying practical skills and experiences might enhance cognitive development (especially problem-solving skills and creativity), giving children a sense of pride and satisfaction. On the other hand, there are aspects of child work that appear detrimental to the children’s development, such as strenuous and long hours of work. With time an activity may become routinely repetitive and lacking stimulation and

creativity. This is true of domestic work where the child is at risk from fatigue and from domestic accidents such as burns, strained muscles or abuses.

All the children have plans for improving their life but their plans and ambitions varied. For instance, while Feleku aspired to obtain university education, Jacob intends to continue working and hope to benefit from expansion of personal businesses.

Outcomes of the interviews on school experience

Children are at the centre of the school system, so it is surprising how rarely they are asked about their experience and understanding of school life. In my effort to gain a comprehension of the children's insights on the school system, their teachers and the subjects they were thought, I have made conversations and interviewed some of the working children whom I met in the schools and classes I visited. From my impressionistic observation and the conversations and interviews I made I was able to understand how the children felt vulnerable in school. They all were aware of the power of teachers, of the personal assessment to which they were subject, of the control which is exercised over them and of the curriculum in terms of which they were expected to progress.

With few exceptions, most classrooms are generally muddy, dilapidated, crowded and children were sitting in old fashioned and broken chairs, but with extreme seriousness and concentration. In one class of seventy-six eleven to fourteen years olds, there were fruit vendors, kollo (roasted grain) and lottery hawkers, petty (gult) traders, manicurist girls and shoe shine and "taxi" boys. Some of these children told me about their expectations and expressed frustrations in relation to teacher's behaviors and ways of class management and disciplining. Teachers are also criticized for failures to conform to local standards of morality. For instance, a 14 old manicurist girl said

School is nice because you can study hard and get jobs...But they (teachers) scold you and some are not serious. You see them chewing chat and over drunk". A 10 year "taxi" boy added "Mr...and Ms...are good. They teach us English and drawing. But I don't like Mr...He tells you 'Fold your arms' and when you are folding your arms, he gives you a slap or kicks you with a big stick". According to Kanishe (16, shoe shine boy) "When you put up your hands to ask something-if you get stuck on something-he scolds you and ends up blowing you up and say 'You are stupid. You don't listen". And for Tirsit (15, petty trader) "Mr...is good. He is very helpful. But Mr... is not good. If a student is making a mistake, then he starts blaming all of us. Sometimes he threw chalks or a duster

Apart from teachers' motivations, there is the issue of quality and relevance of curricula materials to the lives of the poor. For instance, there is the important factor of school perception by children and adults that the education given is such that it will not win them employment at the end. This perception seems true when one sees that much formal education derives from European middle class values and is often ill adapted to the local environment. Consequently, it focuses on obtaining certificates rather than on understanding the environment in which children live. That is why we find Iyasu working in his own barbershop and claiming that, unlike school, his work is teaching him to make an adequate living.

The cases presented above provide evidence that school is not the only place where serious learning happens and sometimes it is not the best or the most effective place. More broadly, vendors and small-scale service providers are not merely earning incomes, they are also learning all the social and economic skills involved in

successfully plying their trade or service. What can be said about those work activities which provide opportunities for creativity or allow the chance to acquire some specific skills in accounting, administrative practices or specific techniques in agriculture, hunting or fishing? The work places (the streets, shops, and fields), not schools, seem the most likely place to learn them.

On the other hand, a child's own assessment of education as a means of securing his or her future wellbeing might encourage him/her to drop out or, alternatively, to go to extraordinary lengths to pursue education (Camacho, 1999; Alebachew, 2001, 2002). My field diaries and interview notes are full of references to young people drifting to Dilla because they had dropped out of school as there are no schools or been unable to acquire the resource to continue schooling. However, my field diaries and interview notes are also littered with examples of young people who, rather than dropping out, had migrated to acquire the funds to continue their studies or further their education. Not few young people migrate seeking apprenticeship opportunities in Dilla. I argue that the advantages of work discussed above are genuine and important, but I cannot claim for generality. It is clear that not all work is of the kind that gives obvious dignity or purpose to life, or makes it easy for the workers to exercise freedom, skills, and responsibility. Some work is tedious and exhausting, socially degrading, harmful or exploitative. But those reservations can apply to adults and children alike.

Concluding remark

Children are as much part of the economy as adults as they are affected by economic and social change, and indeed contribute to it as they struggle to make lives for themselves and their dependents. And in Ethiopia where economic and cultural realities make work discipline invaluable for everyday survival, work constitutes an integral part of growing up and that for many young people there is no sharp transition from child worker to employed adult, rather a continuity of experience.

In this article I presented some evidence to suggest that work has to be analyzed and understood in terms of local particularities which relate to child rearing and socialization practices, in terms of economic needs, and particularly in the context of problems at school (de-contextualized learning) and with access to professional occupations. When work presents essential advantages over schooling, it is difficult to define the relationship between work and education in terms of Western conceptualizations and to shift attention towards limiting children's options and participation through labour legislations.

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