The Discourse and Practice of Child Protagonism: Complexities of Intervention in Support of Working Children's Rights in Senegal

Daniel Lavan

Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the PhD degree in Education

Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa

© Daniel Lavan, Ottawa, Canada, 2012

Abstract

Contesting international strategies for combatting child labour that derive from modern, Western conceptions of childhood, several developing country organizations have embraced the principle of *child protagonism* by declaring that working children can become the leading agents in struggles to advance their interests when they are mentored in forming their own independent organizations. This thesis first explores how an African NGO, informed by its urban animation experiences, developed its own specific discourse of child protagonism and employed it as the basis for establishing an African working children's organization designed to provide compensatory literacy and skills training and to empower members to improve their own and other children's working conditions. The thesis considers this foundational child protagonism discourse in light of data collected in Senegal by means of participant observation and interviews in grassroots groups and associations of working children, as well as in the offices of both the local NGO and its international NGO donor. Fieldwork revealed limitations of the specific child protagonism practice pursued over the past two decades. Specifically, redirecting resources from direct pedagogical accompaniment of grassroots working child groups towards bureaucratic capacity building for the "autonomization" of higher hierarchical levels of the organization, as well as towards international meetings, has resulted in the organization's diminished impact for vulnerable groups in Dakar, particularly migrant girl domestic workers. Deepening implication with international donors has forced shifts in the priorities of the local NGO and the working children's organization it facilitates, yet the two have been largely successful in buffering donor probes precisely into the ground level effectiveness of their child protagonism strategy. No previous independent research has sought to confront the discourse of child protagonism with a comprehensive examination of a working children's organization's practice, from its most local processes to its international dimensions and donor relations.

Résumé

En réponse aux stratégies internationales de lutte contre le travail des enfants basées sur des conceptions occidentales de l'enfance, plusieurs organisations des pays en développement ont adopté le principe du *protagonisme des enfants*, selon lequel les enfants travailleurs,

lorsqu'encouragés à s'organiser au sein de leur propre association, deviennent en mesure d'être les acteurs principaux de la lutte au travail de l'enfant et de la promotion de leurs intérêts. Cette thèse explore tout d'abord comment une ONG africaine, en se basant sur ses expériences en animation urbaine, a développé son propre discours du *protagonisme des enfants* et s'en est servi pour mettre sur pied une association africaine d'enfants travailleurs qui, au départ, visait à offrir des cours d'alphabétisation et des formations de base aux enfants et jeunes travailleurs et à leur donner les outils pour améliorer leurs conditions de travail et celles d'autres enfants. La thèse examine ce discours particulier du *protagonisme des enfants* à la lumière de données récoltées au Sénégal lors d''observation participante et d'entretiens de groupes de base et d'associations d'enfants et de jeunes travailleurs, ainsi que dans les bureaux de l'ONG locale et de son bailleur. Ce travail de terrain a mis à jour les limites des pratiques de *protagonisme des enfants* qu'accomplit cette ONG depuis deux décennies. Tout particulièrement le changement dans l'attribution des ressources de l'accompagnement pédagogique à la base vers le renforcement des compétences bureaucratiques des dirigeants de l'organisation afin d'atteindre leur « autonomisation » a diminué l'impact de l'organisation sur les groupes vulnérables de Dakar, en particulier celui des filles domestiques. L'intensification des relations avec les bailleurs a également changé certaines des priorités de l'ONG locale et de son organisation d'enfants et de jeunes travailleurs, qui ont malgré tout réussi à éviter des enquêtes approfondies des bailleurs sur l'efficacité à la base de leur stratégie de *protagonisme des enfants*. Aucune autre étude indépendante n'avait jusqu'à ce jour confronté le discours du *protagonisme des enfants* à une enquête détaillée et pluridimensionnelle sur les pratiques d'une organisation d'enfants travailleurs.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Richard Maclure for facilitating the contacts that made this doctoral research possible, and above all for his patient supervision of the thesis. All aspects of its organization and presentation strongly reflect his input. I would also like to thank the additional members of the thesis committee, Prof. Joel Westheimer, Prof. Lorna MacLean, and Prof. Victor DeRosa for their careful reading of the thesis and helpful suggestions for its improvement.

The fieldwork for this thesis was made possible by a Doctoral Research Award from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC). In addition to their indispensible financial grant, I received helpful practical suggestions from IDRC's review committee.

The participants in Senegal to whom I owe thanks for their cooperation in the research are too numerous to mention all by name. These prominently include the staff of Enda Jeunesse Action. There are, however, four individuals whose essential assistance I feel must be singled out. These are Ouseman Seye, Fatoumata Diallo, Souleymane Sarr, and Thioro Ndaye.

I would like to thank my wife, Deborah, for her support and encouragement. Finally, I thank Deborah, as well as my children Anna and Isaac, and my mother in law, Susan, for travelling to visit me during fieldwork.

Table of Contents

Abstract ..... *ii*

Acknowledgements ..... *iv*

Table of Contents ..... *v*

List of Acronyms ..... *xi*

List of figures, maps, and tables ..... *xii*

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

1.1 Children's work and children's agency *1*

1.2 Organizations central to the study *7*

1.3 Research Questions *8*

1.4 Structure of the thesis *9*

Chapter 2: Literature Review 12

2.1 Introduction *12*

2.2 Constructions of Childhood *14*

2.3 Children and work: International human rights and labour protocols *18*

2.4 Targeting harm in children's work, rather than work itself *21*

2.5 The impetus of children's work in post-colonial contexts *25*

2.5.1 Traditional gender and age-based hierarchies: "socialization" or work? 25

2.5.2 Economic forces intensifying child work 30

2.6 The informal economy: the context of children's urban work *32*

2.7 Formal schooling, education and child work: evidence and arguments *36*

2.8 Child protagonism as a strategy for working children's organizations *44*

2.9 Donor-Recipient NGO relations in the international aid regime *46*

2.10 Conclusion *57*

Chapter 3: The Context of Child Work in Senegal 62

3.1 Introduction *62*

3.2 Historical and economic overview of Senegal *63*

3.3 Schooling and literacy *65*

3.4 Alternative (or non-formal) education *67*

3.5 The Informal Economy, Skills Training, and Youth Employment Creation *68*

3.6 Child Work in Senegal: origins and conditions of girls' informal domestic employment *72*

3.7 The Role of the State in Senegal vis à vis Child Work *78*

3.8 Local NGOs in Senegal *82*

3.9 Central Organizational Actors in the study *87*

Enda Jeunesse Action *87*

Structure of the MAEJT *90*

Plan International *92*

3.10 Conclusion and research questions *93*

Chapter 4: Methodology 95

4.1 Epistemological Assumptions *95*

4.2 Entry, Access, and Rapport *97*

4.3 Methods *100*

4.3.1Document collection and analysis 100

4.3.2 Observations 101

4.3.3 *Groupe de Base* visits 102

4.3.4 Interviews 102

4.3.5 Group Dialogical Sessions with MAEJT Children and Youth 103

4.3.6 Field notes 104

4.3.7 Debriefing and member checks 104

Data Collection Sites and Methods 106

4.3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation 108

4.3.9 Ethical approval 110

4.4 Limitations 111

Chapter 5: Conceptual and Historical Origins of the MAEJT: Child Protagonism in Africa 114

5.1 Introduction 114

5.2 Challenging the paradigm of interventions for "street children" 115

5.3 Questioning the conventional forms of children's education 119

5.4 EJA & Child Protagonism: the catalyzing role of adult animation 124

5.5 EJA support for Domestic Workers in the 1980s and 90s: Processes, outcomes, and impact 130

5.6 Establishment of the MAEJT 137

5.7 Ambiguities of EJA's child protagonism practice in 1990s Dakar 141

5.8 Support for Domestic Workers post-2000: Recent reversals 144

5.9 Conclusion 147

Chapter 6: MAEJT education and child worker support in Senegal: Gaps between Conceptual Approach and Implementation 153

6.1 Introduction: Limitations of Child Protagonism as Praxis 153

6.2 Mission drift from support to child domestic workers *154*

6.3 Domestic Workers in the Dakar AEJT 2008 – 09 ..... *159*

6.3.1 Two *groupes de bases* of domestic workers in the Dakar AEJT 160

6.3.2 Current status of *filles domestiques* in the Dakar AEJT 170

6.4 Education for EJTs: contradictions of discourse & practice *174*

6.4.1 Alternative education: a pillar of EJA's child protagonism discourse and practice 175

6.4.2 Decline of basic education for EJTs in Dakar: teacher perspectives 179

6.4.3 Literacy training for GBs 185

6.4.4 (Literacy) education in the MAEJT as a whole 192

6.4.5 Manual skills training 194

6.5 Reflections and Critiques of Child Protagonism: Diverse practitioner perspectives *198*

6.6 Limitations of local community support for child protagonism *215*

6.7 Conclusion *217*

Chapter 7: Capacity building of working children's associations: limitations and contradictions 222

7.1 Introduction *222*

7.2. Capacity building: The limitations of a deficit approach *222*

7.3 Contradictions of capacity building as a child protagonism strategy *229*

7.4 The context of capacity building of working children: demise of professional animation *237*

7.5 Conclusion *239*

Chapter 8: International Aid and Child Protagonism: Influences and Constraints..... 242

8.1 Introduction..... 242

8.2 An international stage for child protagonism: MAEJT in child labour conferences 243

8.3 EJA and Plan International: constructing child protagonism for donor approval 245

8.4 Reporting on child protagonism to donors: symbolism and selectivity..... 253

8.6 Evaluation of child protagonism as symbolic capital for the donor..... 261

8.7 Buffering against deeper donor probes into child protagonism impact..... 263

8.8 External publicity for child protagonism..... 265

8.9 Wider cooperation with INGOs and IGOs: compromises of child protagonism.. 267

8.10 The international profile of child protagonism: recognition of the MAEJT..... 270

8.11 Conclusion 273

Chapter 9: Discussion and Conclusions..... 276

9.1 Introduction..... 276

9.2 Ideals of Child Protagonism: a response to the local conditions for working children 278

9.3 Contradictions, flaws and limits of child protagonism in practice..... 281

9.3.1 Limits of working child agency and dynamics of dependency..... 282

9.3.2 Isolating children and "participation" from their context 284

9.3.3 Contradictions of efforts to "autonomize" working child associations 286

9.3.4 International donor influences on the discourse and practice of child protagonism..... 288

9.4 Final Remarks: education, skills, and economic structures *292*

References *297*

Appendix 1: UNCRC "Participation" Articles *318*

Appendix 2: Countries with MAEJT membership *320*

Appendix 3: Additional Groupes de Base observations in Dakar, St. Louis, and Louga *321*

Appendix 4: Ben Tali Filles' dramas and anecdotes *329*

Appendix 5 : MAEJT Senegal membership statistics 2008 ..... *332*

Appendix 6: Problems posted after group work at Restitution des missions croisées, Thiès, Nov. 9, 2008. ..... *335*

Appendix 7: MAEJT International Strengthening Programme Budget *338*

Appendix 8. Consent and Ethics Approval Forms *343*

List of Acronyms

AEJT	Association des enfants et jeunes travailleurs (du MAEJT)
CDW	Child Domestic Worker
CN	Coordination National (du MAEJT)
EJA	Enda Jeunesse Action
EJT	Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs
ET	Enfant travailleur
ESD	Enfants en situation difficile
GB	Groupe de Base
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour
LFA	Logical Framework Analysis
MAEJT	Mouvement africain des enfants et jeunes travailleurs
OCB	Organisation communautaire de base
PAF	Programme Africain de Formation
RAP	Recherche Action Participative
RFI	Radio France Internationale
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
WARO	West Africa Regional Office

List of figures, maps, and tables

Fig. 1 MAEJT-NGO relationships as discussed in thesis xiii

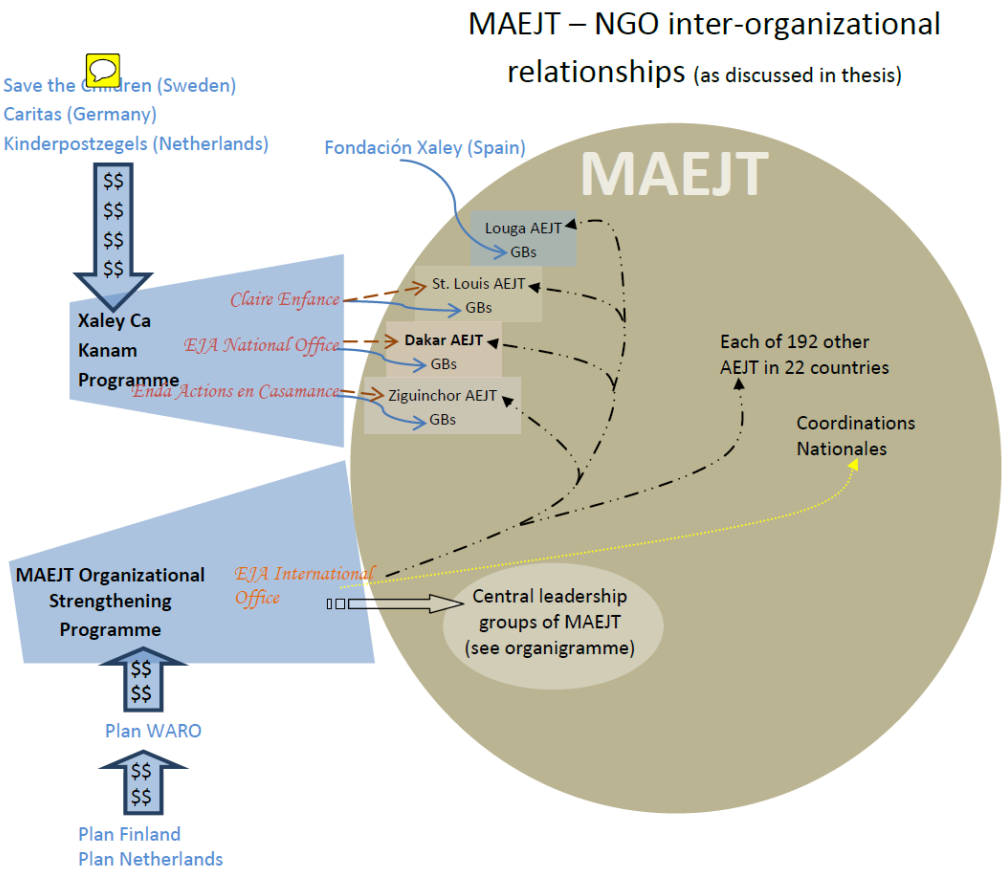
Map of MAEJT locations in Senegal xiv

Organigramme of MAEJT 90

Map of key data collection sites in Dakar 105

Table 1: Data Collection Sites and Methods 106

Fig. 2. EJA conception of categories of children "*en situation difficile*" 117



Key

MAEJT	Mouvement Africain des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs
AEJT	Association des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs (city level)
GBs	Groupes de Bases
WARO	West Africa Regional Office

International NGO donor

Local NGO

Annual grant, amount depends on number of AEJT in country

Facilitation, funding of meetings (including travel), collaboration on publicity

60,000 CFA annually; periodic technical support missions

Facilitation, "mentoring", admin

Subsidize literacy and skills training

Dakar (AEJT, GBs, and offices of EJA and Plan as central fieldwork sites)

Other AEJTs visited in fieldwork (St. Louis, Louga, Diourbel)

Thiès (site of two national level meetings observed in fieldwork; AEJT Thiès itself not visited)

Remaining AEJTs of Senegal (not visited in fieldwork): Fatick, Kaolack, Kolda, Nioro du Rip, Tambacounda, Ziguinchor

Map Source: http://www.infoplease.com/atlas/country/senegal.html.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Children's work and children's agency

Over the past three decades "child labour" in the developing world has been decried both as a violation of basic human rights (in particular, the Rights of the Child) and as a restraint on the human capital formation necessary for countries' economic development. Yet despite intensive international advocacy and myriad interventions designed to remove children from work, even today a significant percentage of children in least developed countries abandon schooling before completing the primary cycle in order to perform agricultural or household work, or to engage in forms of economic activity to contribute to household earnings. Major global initiatives such as the Global March against Child Labour and Education for All (EFA) thus redouble efforts both to legislatively restrict children's work and to universalize formal primary schooling.

Yet such programmatic strategies for eliminating children's work and for sending all children to formal school have not gone uncontested, as critics have called into question the universalized construction of childhood upon which these initiatives have been based. In the broadest sense, detractors of the absolutist ambitions of child work abolition and universal primary education (UPE) have argued that they ultimately rest upon the fundamental (if often implicit) assumption holding sway in Western society since the mid-20th century that childhood should be structured purely as a period of development, socialization, and learning, thus serving as a preparation for, but temporarily sheltered from the necessities that characterize adult life. By thus reserving for adulthood the realms of production, reproduction, serious decision-making, and social and political responsibility, this idealized Western model in effect denied to children any possible status as economic, social, or political actors.

Through critical interrogation and contestation of this Western construction of childhood, and of its corollary conceptions of "work" and "education", two interrelated areas of debate have arisen over potential approaches for addressing child work issues. The first of these areas of debate concerns the forms, conditions, and contexts of work that may be acceptable for children of various ages, while the second departs from the fact that many children *are* in fact working and is concerned with what children's own role should be in any strategies to improve both their present situation and future prospects. Within debates over when and how work might be suitable to children, critics have pointed out that the manner in which the ideal model of childhood is realized in developed Western countries, namely through full time schooling until the age of at least sixteen, is demonstrably untenable for the many children and families in developing countries who face career opportunity structures and a decision calculus of daily survival that diverge so greatly from those facing Western middle class families. Since the formal schooling available in many developing country contexts has been of little utility to a majority of children, many forms of child work have been defended as both strategically and developmentally appropriate alternatives to it, particularly in light of the evolving capacities of adolescents and how they are locally perceived.

Debate over working children's potential roles and capacities for promoting their own interests has been informed by academic sociology of childhood, which became increasingly alert towards the close of the 20th century to the forms of social agency that children have always exercised, even where Western adults have implicitly bracketed them from any authentic social presence. Within the same period the inclusion of "participation" rights in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) of 1989 codified an international consensus on the broad principle that children's views should be given at least some measure of consideration in matters affecting them. These developments gradually induced even mainstream international development actors to affirm that

children (as well as adults) must be treated as subjects rather than mere objects of development intervention, and as a result "child participation" was embedded into programming by many major NGOs. It has been widely observed, however, that rhetorical acknowledgment of children's subjecthood and of the necessity of "child participation" has camouflaged continued disensus over their meaning and thus over the appropriate scope to grant them in development programming for and with children. Within the range of practices that have been implemented in the name of children's participation some measures have been critiqued as merely tokenistic, while others have been commended for at least consulting children thoughtfully and incorporating their views into action planning.

Yet from the perspective of a particular subset of civil society actors who have intervened specifically with working children in developing countries, "child participation" on the whole has lacked a thorough commitment to the belief that children can and do exercise significant agency in the present. According to this critical viewpoint, if "child participation" has advanced beyond earlier child *protection* models that treated children merely as passive objects or victims, most "child participation" practice has nonetheless remained within an overly paternalistic framework that at best offers developmental experiences oriented towards children's futures as adult agents. In establishing an alternative paradigm for child participation, these actors have explicitly affirmed that young workers can in fact acquire the capacity to autonomously pursue and defend their own best interests, both individually and collectively, well before they reach the age of majority (set at 18 in the UNCRC). In Latin America, where a practice rooted in such belief was already being pioneered at the end of 1970s, the term "child protagonism" *(protagonismo infantil)* was coined for it. Characterized as the most autonomous, agentic level of "child participation", child *protagonism* could be realized, according to its champions, where appropriate conscientization, training, and facilitation from adults

permitted children's own "autonomous" organizations to take a *leading* role in conceiving and carrying out actions to improve their present circumstances and future prospects, centrally including alternative education and training interventions and the development of enhanced income generation schemes. It is important to note as well how the term *protagonismo infantil* derived from the broader notion of *protagonismo del pueblo* (people's protagonism) associated with the tradition of pro-democracy and labour movements in Latin America. Accordingly, the working children's organizations that adult groups created and have continued to facilitate in various ways have generally been labeled working children's "movements" as a means of signaling an ambition to contribute to forms of social change through such methods as sensitizing local populations and advocating on an international level for working children's rights. Such a professed political and structural orientation has thus been held out as an additional point of contrast between a child protagonism approach and most other forms of child participation.

In response to claims about the potential of child protagonism and its practice, however, more skeptical critics have encouraged deeper exploration of the limits of children's agency, and particularly that of working and unschooled children within persistently constraining structural circumstances produced from intertwining economic, political, and socio-cultural forces. They have thus advocated scrutiny of just how "autonomous" any children's organization has actually managed to become and have advised critical appraisal of child protagonism as a sound strategic basis for reducing the extent and severity of the most exploitative child labour, for advancing the prospects of significant numbers of individual under-schooled working children, or for otherwise promoting positive socio-economic change. Despite these cautions, however, mainstream international development NGOs have in some cases entered into funding partnerships with working children's organizations, finding sufficient common cause within the broad, imprecise, and flexible discourse of child participation. It may thus

occur that such financial partnerships are undertaken without clear and explicit inter-organizational agreement on the scope of children's agency or shared analyzes of the structural causes of child work that could serve as theoretical frameworks for strategic action.

This thesis explores the above outlined areas of debate and uncertainty over child protagonism as the basis of advancing children's rights, as well as questions about the effects of donor-beneficiary dynamics on an originally grassroots child empowerment approach with aspirations of being a "movement". The thesis investigates these issues by examining an African working children's organization and the Senegal-based NGO team that created it. In particular, it analyzes the discourse justifying the establishment of this working children's organization, traces its available history, and interprets its observed practice within the context of a renewable multi-year funding agreement with a major child-centered international development NGO. No previous independent research has sought to confront the discourse of child protagonism with a comprehensive examination of a working children's organization's practice, from its most local processes to its international dimensions and donor relations.

This characterization of "confronting" child protagonism discourse with an examination of practice (which is in fact suggested in the thesis's title) may appear either to suggest an overly narrow focus on gaps between rhetoric and action, or else to be incompatible with how the term "discourse", as closely associated with Foucault, has become a shorthand for the notion of historical knowledge regimes that exert power through creating assemblages of both discursive and non-discursive practices. On this definition, "discourse" delineates sheres of study and intervention, defines problems and the range of acceptable solutions, and constructs human subjects both as experts and as those in need of expert treatment. In turn, the practices and behaviours of these subjects continually re-establish the

"truth" of the written and spoken discourse. One thus cannot easily separate discourse (as language) from practice or contrast the two.

Without contesting the general importance and utility of this conceptualization of discourse, there are two important ways in which it can not be straightforwardly applied to the phenomena analyzed in this thesis. First, this Foucauldian sense of discourse has been presented as an explanation of the historical establishment and reinforcement of *dominant* scientific, professional, and policy paradigms that have served to delegitimize and exclude alternative conceptual approaches to social issues. As indicated above, the *dominant* approaches applied to children in the sphere of international development have been those advocating "child labour" abolition and universal primary education (UPE), agendas rooted in the naturalized Western notion of childhood and supported by strains of medical and social-scientific discourse on normal child and adolescent development. Child protagonism, by contrast, has been asserted precisely as an *alternative* local discourse that *contests* the dominant international paradigm.

Moreover, the distinction just made between the *local* and the *international* points to how the Foucauldian concept of "discourse" is partly undermined when applied within the domain of international development. When discursive practices at a global level codify development objectives and the approved processes and pathways to achieve them (e.g., within the EFA Declaration and Framework for Action), they may indeed serve to discipline international development professionals, but they often have little effect in bringing into being at the local level the sorts of actual practices and human subjects that they intend. They thus hardly constitute regimes of knowledge that can overpower existing local influences.

The thesis examines how similar constraints may apply to alternative and contestational discourses, such as that of child protagonism in Senegal, which has in fact aspired to engender new

forms of child subjects and new modes of collaborative adult-child practice. The implied opposition of child protagonism *discourse* and *practice* thus mainly concerns comparison of earlier published descriptions and justifications of interventions to promote child protagonism with direct observation of the *effectiveness* of the specific strategies in place for producing its ideal child subjects and modes of collaboration.[1]

It is this potential discrepancy between discourse and practice that will be reflected in the research questions. However, before explicit presentation of these questions, the three organizational actors at the centre of the research will be briefly introduced in the following section.

1.2 Organizations central to the study

In 1985, in response to the growing numbers of vulnerable, out of school Senegalese children drifting into potentially exploitative informal work in urban streets and households, **Enda Jeunesse Action** (EJA) was established as a new team within the Dakar-based NGO Enda-Tiers-Monde with a mandate of focusing the organization's grassroots development approach on marginalized urban children and youth. Starkly confronted with children's economic and social presence in the urban environment, EJA followed the lead of Latin American organizations in affirming the legitimacy of children's economic roles, and thus contesting universalized constructions of the child, of the family, of education and of child rights (all propagated through international legal instruments and mainstream development practices) that were perceived locally as of limited normative and practical relevance. EJA likewise adopted from the Latin American model the principle of child protagonism and sought to

[1] In addition, some attention is given to the accuracy of promotional claims about organizational results as well as to the evolution of organizational priorities.

galvanize working children and youths' agency and to strengthen their organization. Animating and facilitating grassroots groups of urban working children and youth, they eventually brought these groups together into city-wide *Associations des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs* (AEJT). Then, in 1994, through a network of like-minded organizations working with marginalized urban children in other francophone West African countries, these associations came to be federated internationally into the ***Mouvement Africain des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs*** (MAEJT). EJA and the MAEJT presently claim that the movement encompasses over 1700 *groupes de base* in 196 cities in 22 countries of Western, Central, and Southern Africa (see MAEJT map, appendix 2). In 2004 EJA secured a first three year grant from the international development NGO Plan International for an MAEJT organizational strengthening programme. With offices in 17 OECD (donor) countries and 48 developing countries Plan describes itself as a "child-centered community development organization" and grounds its program approach in the UNCRC. The West African Regional Office (WARO) of Plan has been the point of contact for EJA and the MAEJT to negotiate its grant agreements with European offices of Plan, in particular Plan Netherlands and Plan Finland.

1.3 Research Questions

The research investigated the above outlined issues concerning children's work and agency through the observed phenomena of the evolving discourse and activities of EJA and the MAEJT, and their interactions with Plan. Specifically, the research was oriented by the following questions:

1. As one locally grounded response to global child rights concerns, how has the discourse of child protagonism served as a basis of efforts for improving children's working conditions and for offering educational opportunities to working children in Senegal?

Responding to this question has entailed considering three sub-questions:

a. How has children's *education* been conceived in the Senegalese context, both in terms of its historical systems and proposed alternatives?
b. What have been considered appropriate or acceptable forms of work and working conditions for children in Senegalese and similar contexts?
c. How has it been envisioned that child protagonism can achieve improvements for working and out of school children in the above two domains?

2. In the realms of practice (local, national, and international) what are the contradictions, flaws, or limits within the ideal of child protagonism?
3. How does external donor financing affect the discourse of child protagonism and its effectiveness as a strategy for supporting the rights of working children?

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Following this introductory chapter, a literature review will serve to explicate in greater depth the key concepts underlying these questions about child protagonism, and will sketch an applicable framework for understanding donor-recipient relations between NGOs in the global aid regime. Centrally included in this literature review (chapter 2) are arguments about how both childhood and work have historically been constructed at local and global levels and about the overall structural conditions and schooling dynamics that engender and shape the work of children in developing countries. Chapter 3 focuses in on the context of child work and of child-centered intervention specifically in Senegal. This chapter considers the country's demography, the state of formal and non-formal education systems, the country's legal framework regarding children's work, and tendencies of the burgeoning NGO sector. It also provides background on the specific phenomenon of girl child

domestic workers, who proved to be a central category of child worker observed in the present study. The research methodology is then presented in chapter 4.

Research findings are presented in chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8. The first sections of chapter five rely mainly on early EJA publications to trace the evolution of their discourse on interventions with working children from the beginnings of EJA itself through to its launch of the MAEJT. It thus describes how a specific ideal of child protagonism came into ascendency from among a broader set of principles and methods. Chapter five then looks specifically at the situation of child domestic workers (CDW) in Dakar in the early 1990s and at how EJA's facilitation of their organization and activities culminated in the establishment of the MAEJT. The final sections of this chapter begin to put EJA discourse to the test by reviewing available evidence on the working children's organization in the 1990s, and by comparing the progress claimed by EJA on working conditions and educational opportunities of CDWs in that decade to more recent reports on this category of child worker.

For further comparison with EJA's discourse on child protagonism, chapter six reports direct observations from Dakar and other Senegalese cities on the local level actions of the MAEJT for improving child members' working conditions and providing educational and training opportunities. A specific focus is on two *groupes de base* (GBs) of domestic workers within the Dakar association. Evidence is presented on the extent to which the conduct of any beneficial GB activities may be consistent with, or reasonably attributable to, child protagonism under any interpretation, and thus the extent to which these activities are sustainable within a serious agenda to more fully "*autonomize"* associations of working children and youth. Understandings of the observed situation in such GBs are then presented from the partly conflicting perspectives of the staff of two separate EJA programme offices and that of child and youth worker association representatives.

Chapter seven presents observational findings and informant commentary on the municipal and national level capacity building activities that have aimed to advance the "autonomization" agenda and thus permit the municipal associations, independently of direct EJA support, to sustain educational and training opportunities for working children in the *groupes de base* and to improve their earnings and working conditions. Direct observation and interview data are presented on the challenges to such capacity building efforts - challenges which have implications for the overall scope of working children's protagonism. Chapter eight focuses on the various effects of EJA's and the MAEJT's implication in international development frameworks, including key aspects of its relation with its donor, Plan International. An important focus of these findings is on the strategies the organizations use to validate and consolidate their funding partnership, including the forms of reporting, monitoring, and evaluation that can project an impression of effective support to working children and persistent progress towards the child protagonism ideal.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The literature review presented in this chapter first explores the universe of concepts necessary for understanding the emergence of child protagonism as a reaction against earlier international approaches to children's work and schooling in the developing world. In addition, by outlining debates over the economic and socio-cultural determinants of children's work, and by tracing the arguments of child protagonism's critics, the literature review facilitates critical analysis of child protagonism interventions and organizational structures that are intended to advance working children's interests. A third function of the literature review is to provide a framework for considering the effects of international donor funding on local civil society organizations and their participatory initiatives.

The review first directs attention to how historical constructions of childhood consolidated a set of assumptions in the developed Western world about children's education and work, and how international development actors have incorporated these assumptions into programming. This is followed by consideration of debate over the support that international human rights instruments, including the UNCRC, might offer for children's "right to work". Section 2.4 discusses the emerging consensus over prioritizing the elimination of the worst forms of child labour and outlines frameworks for evaluating the harm and benefits inherent in particular forms of child work, and thus for judging which of its forms might be tolerated, or even encouraged in light of the alternatives facing children and their families.

The chapter then continues by exploring the cultural and economic factors that favour children's time expenditure in various forms of work. While a portion of the literature reviewed in this

section has not specifically considered the gendered dimensions of children's work, the subsection on cultural influences highlights how certain scholars have called attention to girls' particularly heavy burden in the domestic and agricultural domains and have argued that such female work, although not fitting the definition of "economic activity", should by no means remain invisible within discussion and measurement of child work. Additionally, since the majority of children that have been recruited into working children's protagonism organizations are engaged in informal urban work, a section is specifically devoted to explaining the dynamics of the informal sector that affect all workers within it, including children. All of this exploration of the structural forces producing and shaping children's work facilitates analysis of what room to maneuver may exist for any efforts to support working children, either by means of child protagonism or by more traditional approaches that seek to remove children from work and/or enroll them in formal schools. Since formal schooling has typically been advanced as the preferred alternative to all child work, the chapter also considers the historical role of formal schooling in post-colonial countries, the relation of schooling to child work, and the potential for adapting education to the circumstances of working children.

The final sections of the literature review provide conceptual and empirically based arguments on the effects of international donor funding on grassroots empowerment initiatives of local NGOs, of which one example would be initiatives aiming to stimulate child protagonism. This final section includes a framework for appreciating how the imperatives within funding partnerships between donors and local beneficiary NGOs discourage authentic evaluation and scrutiny of programme impact and inhibit productive reflection and communication on the conceptual bases for action. Since the "capacity building" of young people is necessarily central to catalyzing child protagonism within children's organizations, a final subsection also reviews literature on the role of "capacity building"

within donor-beneficiary partnerships that are intended to foster participation and the autonomization of developing country CSOs.

2.2 Constructions of Childhood

Discussions of the awakening of Western social science to the historically and culturally contingent, rather than *natural*, character of childhood have invariably acknowledged the founding contribution of Aries (1963), who argued that in the Europe of the Middle Ages there was no distinct concept of childhood as a developmental period between infancy and adulthood. While socio-economic developments began to bring the idea of childhood to life through the domestic practices of the highest classes in the 16th and 17th centuries, Aries contended, it in fact only came to hold sway effectively over lower and lower-middle classes during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Yet by the mid-20th century this history was effectively forgotten, and the notion of childhood as a distinct life period with a limited range of activities appropriate to it was largely unquestioned and naturalized in Western consciousness. While Aries has had many critics concerning the details of his historical analysis, his main idea has been widely embraced for the interrelated purposes of: 1) questioning any presumed universal standards for contemporary cross-cultural judgments on the activities and conditions of children in diverse socio-cultural and economic contexts; and 2) interrogating assumptions about the social roles of minors of various ages, and about the real and potential effects of their agency and action, including in contemporary Western society.

A "new paradigm for the sociology of childhood" (Prout & James 1997. p.7), emerging in the 1990s, has enriched the analyses of Aries (1963). Its scholars have drawn attention to the immediate foundations of our inherited concepts of normal childhood, youth, and family within 19th century processes that solidified the conceptual binaries of public/private and work/play (Alber, 2005), and,

most centrally, in the processes through which industrialization and concomitant urbanization (which initially intensified child labor) over the long term both permitted and seemed to necessitate the downward socio-economic expansion of *schooling* as an institution for controlling children and for forming labourers and citizens (Boyden, 1997, Popkewitz, 1998). Normal childhood thus came to be understood as the period in which immature individuals are the responsibility of their biological parents and during which they are shielded from necessity (production) while being socialized in an institution designed specifically for them (Prout & James, 1997, Bloch et al., 2003).

Rose has argued that in the West "childhood is the most intensively governed sector of personal existence … linked in thought and practice to the destiny of the nation." (cited in Cannella & Viruru, 2004, p.121). Consistent with this suggestion, the newer sociology of childhood has extensively employed Foucault's concept of *governmentality* in considering the role of modern administrative childhood and family practices in consolidating the Western concept of childhood. Institutionalizing dominant, authoritative scientific "knowledge" about children and youth, such practices are examples of the techniques relied upon by modern states to fashion *self-governing* individuals who internalize norms. Such institutionalized knowledge includes applications of the biological and health sciences in establishing population norms (Lima, 2006), and, most centrally, the power-imbued discourses of the social sciences, including developmental psychology, that emerged as legitimate in the early twentieth century, bearing positivistic faith in "universally applicable 'truths' about child development, about 'proper' parenting, and about 'scientifically-based' teaching methodologies." (Bloch et al., 2006, p.8). Informed by this scientific knowledge, institutional administration techniques have codified standards, categorizations, and testing procedures for separating the normal from the abnormal in the spheres of development, learning, and childrearing (Dahlberg et al. 2007).

Applied internationally, or even locally across cultures or socio-economic status levels, such universal norms have historically lent themselves to the application of labels such as "backward", "primitive", or "delayed", not only to individual children, but to families, communities, and entire societies (Cannella & Viruru, 2004). Accordingly, the colonial project of forming "civilized" workers and political subjects necessitated exporting modern notions of the family and of the individual and thus imposing modern constructions of childhood and of education among the colonized (Stephens, 1995). The new childhood sociology perspective has even critiqued how the dominant Western construction of childhood has shaped child rights definitions, which have been imposed as standards into diverse non-Western settings through mainstream international development discourse and practice (Boyden, 1997; James and James 2001; Burr 2002). Far from being the natural, objective principles projected by many development actors, the "rights of the child" must rather be understood as one contested discursive strategy for fulfilling the best interests of children. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) was itself of course drafted at a specific historical moment by a limited range of bureaucratic and diplomatic actors seeking consensus among interest groups (Jones 2005).

Where global campaigns and child rights movements have been based unreflectively in a universalized Western conception of childhood, they have at times veered into simplistically depicting all children's work as a rights violation - and all rights violations as rooted primarily in local culture (Chowdhry, 2006). Conceptually isolating children as targeted project beneficiaries, INGO child rights interventions have thus often fixated on intergenerational antagonism, attacking "traditional" family decision patterns and community practices that deviate from Western child rearing and socialization norms (Prout & James, 1997; White, 2002). In so doing, such programming has ignored how colonial and post-colonial histories, including economic globalization processes, have impacted

local practices and have entrenched the structural causes of family and community marginalization at the root of children's vulnerability (Fernando 2001, Balagopalan 2002).

An early contribution by Schildkrout (1981) underscored how general miscomprehension of children's work in diverse cultures derived from how the established Western "folk view" (supported by social science discourses) conceived of childhood strictly as "a kind of rehearsal for adult life", denying any true social agency or presence to children. She succinctly encapsulated the issue as follows:

> If childhood is defined primarily as a period of 'becoming' and if all experiences are regarded as being educational, then children's work activities are either not recognized as such, in which case their social significance may be ignored, or they are morally judged as being outside the 'proper' use of children's time (p.93).

Expanding on this insight, the "new paradigm for the sociology of childhood" came to fundamentally critique earlier social science, and interventions based in it, for taking an interest in children almost exclusively as objects of socialization processes that produce the social actors of the future (Thomas, 2000). If young people's *agency* had been acknowledged at all in most earlier research, it was exclusively through the notions of delinquency, deviance, and disorder and thus in terms of refusals to submit to idealized socialization and to conform to innocence and passivity (Boyden, 1997; Kelly, 2003; de Boeck & Honwana, 2005). By contrast, the newer child sociology paradigm has sought to reveal multiple expressions of the existing agency of children and youth in various cultural settings by bringing into view their meaningful social interactions in the present, both amongst children themselves and within the broader social field[2]. As Grier (2004) has pointed out,

[2] Examples of texts declaring such a "new paradigm" include: Stephens (1995); James & Prout (1997); Brown, Reed, & Saraswathi (2002); Cannella & Viruru (2004); deBoek & Honwana (2005); Maria & Soep (2005); Soto & Swadener

children's agency is in fact exercised within the ongoing contestational *re*-construction of the prevailing conception of childhood in any social, economic, and cultural system (p.14).

2.3 Children and work: International human rights and labour protocols

> The idea of a child as a human being in need of protection is ambiguous: on the one hand it is desirable that children, in common with all human beings but especially by virtue of their physical limitations, should benefit from laws forbidding their exploitation; however, to reduce the problem of child work to one of "protection" is to exclude children from any decisions about themselves and to create inferior beings. In our view, the only acceptable "protection"… lies in giving children the right to be heard and to organize; up to now, this right has been immediately and violently repressed when children have claimed it (Morice, 1981, p.157).

New paradigm scholars have drawn attention to how the international human rights instruments of the twentieth century, seemingly under the influence of emerging Western constructs and assumptions, displayed an ambiguous evolution in their conception of children, particularly in relation to questions of work. Beginning with the strongly implied *inclusion* of children in universal rights entitlements, the general, but less than decisive trend across the decades was towards attributing to children an *exceptional* status requiring special protection. As a result, both champions and detractors

---

(2005). It is important to note that elements of this "new paradigm" were certainly present, if not always expressed in the same vocabulary, in much earlier periods of the twentieth century, particularly within critiques of traditional schooling and proposals for progressive alternatives. In *Education and Experience*, for example, Dewey (1938/1998) undermined the tacit foundations of the traditional model of education, in which "transmitting the past to a new generation", who is expected to absorb it *passively*, is believed to "prepare the young for future responsibilities and success in life" (pp.2-3). For Dewey, facilitating young people's learning and development needed to begin by acknowledging and building upon their own very real *experience* as individuals and their capacity for both intellectual freedom and the freedom of self-discipline (key elements captured by the current sociological concept of individual"agency"). Much earlier, in *The School and Society,* Dewey (1907) had already noted that "the school has been so set apart, so isolated from the ordinary conditions and motives of life' that the place where children are sent for discipline is the one place in the world where it is most difficult to get experience -- the mother of all discipline worth the name." He went on to contrast the "narrow and fixed image of traditional school discipline" with "that deeper and infinitely wider discipline that comes from having a part to do in constructive work," and advocated that forms of authentic active occupation be integrated into the school in order that it become a place where the child "learns through directed living; instead of being only a place to learn lessons having an abstract and remote reference to some possible living to be done in the future." (pp.31-32)

of working children's movements and child protagonism have drawn from these international legal instruments in support of their positions.

The first international declaration on the rights of the child, referred to as the "Geneva Declaration" and adopted by the League of Nations in 1924, affirmed in its fourth stipulation: "The child must be put in a position to earn a livelihood, and must be protected against every form of exploitation"[3]. Likewise, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948 stated that *all* people, without distinction, were entitled to its enumerated rights, which included the rights to work, to fair and equitable pay, and to form and join unions. The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1959, however, shifted the emphasis towards protection; its article 9 stated: "The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development." In 1966, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) continued in the direction of defining childhood as a status requiring special protection, with different rights from adults, by recommending national age limits for work[4]. Child rights scholars such as Ennew, Myers, & Plateau (2005) and Bourdillon (2009) have argued,

[3] This position of the Geneva Declaration is essentially echoed by the present day working children's movements.

[4] See, for example, Article 10, paragraph 3 of the ICESCR: "Special measures of protection and assistance should be taken on behalf of all children and young persons without any discrimination for reasons of parentage or other conditions. Children and young persons should be protected from economic and social exploitation. Their employment in work harmful to their morals or health or dangerous to life or likely to hamper their normal development should be punishable by law. States should also set age limits below which the paid employment of child labour should be prohibited and punishable by law." (http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cescr.htm)

however, that the general intention of the two covenants to convey a special right of protection against harm should not be interpreted as undermining the fundamental right to work extended by the UDHR.

This right to work was clearly denied to children under fifteen, however, in the next important international convention concerning them, which quite explicitly declared universal minimum age standards[5]. This convention was not specifically a human rights instrument, but rather International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 138 of 1973. In fact, child *rights* discourse was never fundamental to the ILO's approach to questions of children's work. Instead, the organization's quest to abolish all forms of work that it defines as "child labour" has been mainly concerned with protecting adult labour markets, and has thus relied upon an idealized life cycle model to make the case that childhood everywhere must be a time for full time schooling (Ennew et al. 2005; UCW 2010) [6]. Critics have therefore argued that ILO 138 is not supported by the preceding human rights instruments, since it extends the concept of *protection* in an ethnocentric and arbitrary fashion, omitting to establish any criteria of harm or exploitation from which *protection* is necessary (Myers, 2001b; Ennew et al., 2005; Liebel, 2007; Bourdillon, White, & Myers, 2009)[7].

---

[5] From ILO Convention 138, Article 2: "2. (3) The minimum age specified in pursuance of paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and, in any case, shall not be less than 15 years. 2. (4) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 3 of this Article, a Member whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed may, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, where such exist, initially specify a minimum age of 14 years."

[6] The complementary concept of *human capital formation*, stressing full time schooling as the preparation of children for adult economic productivity, has been at the center of the World Bank's discourse on replacing children's work with education in developing countries. It is important, however, to clarify that not all those endorsing a rights-based approach to children's work have aligned themselves *against* the imposition of minimum ages. Weston and Teerink (2005) are among child rights scholars claiming ILO 138 as a "key instrument" in the struggle against child labour.

[7] (Ennew, 1982) had earlier made a similar point about the national legal framework in Jamaica: "What is most noticeable is the inappropriateness and inflexibility of much of this legislation, which utilizes external models with the best intention, but fails to build on the strengths or tackle the weaknesses of the indigenous situation." (p. 562).

The UNCRC (1989) appears, in part, to emphasize protecting children only from harm, and not from work itself, by beginning its article 32 with: "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." Yet this same article immediately proceeds to give support to ILO 138 by also stipulating that states must set legal age limits[8]. Some critics have therefore viewed the UNCRC as continuing an excessive drift from the inclusion of children as world citizens to their portrayal as vulnerable and passive victims dependent on adults. The convention can reasonably been viewed on the whole, however, as attempting to combine or balance, however awkwardly, paternalistic protection, on the one hand, with at least a partial affirmation of child agency, on the other. In particular, the UNCRC's *participation* articles (12 – 15) have intended to remedy children's historically invisible and silenced status by entitling them to mechanisms of inclusion (White, 2002; Cunningham & Stromquist, 2005).

2.4 Targeting harm in children's work, rather than work itself

While the advent of the UNCRC did not provoke the ILO to adopt rights-based discourse, in the mid-1990s the organization began revising principles and strategies in a manner that permitted its rapprochement with more rights-based and child-centered actors (White 2005). In an ILO publication, Bequele and Myers (1995) argued for prioritizing action on the forms of child work and the specific working situations that were demonstrably "detrimental" to children. This constituted a step in the

[8] In 1993 (four years after the UNCRC's ratification), the UN Committee for the Rights of the Child also explicitly approved the ILO 138.

direction of the views of existing working children's organizations/movements and their allies who aimed to reduce the *harm* associated with children's work by improving work conditions and devising adapted education programmes, rather than simply attempting to remove children from work. A three year drafting process culminated in ILO Convention 182, the "Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention" of 1999. White (2005) has argued that the convention's definitional details of "harmful work" are less important than

> the formal recognition it provides for the principle that it is both necessary and possible to distinguish between more and less intolerable and harmful forms and relations of juvenile work, and therefore to focus intervention on the most serious forms of abuse. (p.334).

In the past decade it has become common in the Anglophone literature to use the term *child labour* to denote work that is harmful (also referred to as "abusive", "hazardous", "detrimental", etc.) and the term *child work* to denote forms and relations of productive and reproductive activity that are at least benign and possibly even beneficial[9].

Well in advance of ILO 182, and even of the UNCRC, Morice (1981), an early critic of strictly codified age limits (ILO 138) and of a vague, overreaching conception of "child labour", underscored the need to develop a holistic methodology for evaluating "the adaptation of the observed [work] activity to the biological or social situation of the child." (p.136). More recently, to supersede simple classification schemes[10] that brand child occupations as harmful or benign largely in isolation from their context, Hobbs and McKechnie (2007) have proposed evaluating children's work according to a *balance model*. This approach requires weighing not only the full costs and benefits of the specific

[9] It is also often noted that the distinction between work and labour is very awkward to express in French and other languages lacking such a dual vocabulary.
[10] Work classifications derive from ILO 182 and its accompanying recommendation 190.

situations and contexts in which children are working, but also the full costs and benefits of the probable alternatives to this work for the children in question. Building upon research reported in (Woodhead, 1999) and employing analysis similar to Myers (2001b), Woodhead (2007) has advanced three major dimensions for judging the costs and benefits of juvenile working situations, particularly regarding work's psychosocial impacts on children. These are: 1) development, which refers to the place of the work within a long-term perspective on the individual's life phases; 2) context, or the immediate material and relational circumstances surrounding the particular work situation; and 3) mediation, which refers to how local cultural norms around child work mediate children's perspectives on, experiences of, and attitudes towards their work and thus its impact on their lives (Woodhead, 2007, p.38)[11]. In relation to the third of these, Myers (2001a) has noted that many working children object more to being stigmatized and disrespected for working than they object to their actual work. He has thus cautioned against interventions that suggest to working children that their activity is disapproved by society (p.13).

Although ILO 138 (with its minimum age standards) has been viewed as increasingly irrelevant, the convention is nonetheless still in force and the ILO continues to lobby the 51 countries who have yet to ratify it. In response, researchers have continued to present findings supporting their argument that blanket prohibitions of work are unnecessary and even counterproductive since many forms of child work are demonstrably not harmful in their context. Such studies have stressed how children working in street trades, domestic service, and other urban occupations in developing countries have

understood their work's value to their families, thus making it an important element of their own self-esteem (Bourdillon, 2006). Moreover, many of these children have recognized their work as an opportunity to learn time and money management, decision making, and risk assessment, and thus to gain responsibility and independence (Taracena & Taverna 2000). Such children have also often been perceived to be learning group organization and solidarity in the context of the informal peer relationships that characterized their work. While conveying an understanding of the potential dangers of work, most groups of working children still insisted that they would defy any imposed prohibitions in order to continue working (Karunan, 2005). Manghardt (2006) has likewise reported from a *rural* (Ghanaian) context how children positively appraised their work in the fishing industry in terms of its centrality to their identity and their construction of a future. Their complaints were not about working in the fishing industry per se, but rather focused on 1) the overtaxing nature of the particular work (it was adult work, not adapted to their strength), and 2) the unfulfilled promises of schooling from the bosses to whom their parents had confided them. The need to conceptually distinguish harm from work has also been underscored in an important way by Invernizzi (2003). Citing the findings of Panter-Brik and Baker (1996) and Richter and Van der Walt (1996) to corroborate her own research in urban Peru, she has asserted that working (and in some cases even living) in city streets does not have significant negative psychological or physical effects upon children beyond those already suffered through poverty and living in urban slums (p.465).

Much of the foregoing may appear to support working children's organizations' affirmation that work is a rational and potentially beneficial option for many children *within their structural circumstances*. The following section explores these structural circumstances, and in particular the sociocultural and economic forces that produce, perpetuate, and intensify child work. An understanding of these factors must inform any evaluation of child protagonism as a strategy for

tipping the balance within child work situations from harm to benefit by improving work conditions and providing meaningful complementary education and training.

2.5 The impetus of children's work in post-colonial contexts

> In our view, child labour is, in general, characterized by the convergence of inherited social relations and an exploitation, of which the ultimate gains – whatever the intermediate process – serve the dominant capitalist mode of production. (Morice 1981).

Much analysis of children's work has sought to sort out how cultural, economic, and demographic factors interact to favour the emergence or entrenchment of forms of child work that are either exploitative in a Marxist sense, or that might be judged "harmful" to children, whether directly or by compromising their future through depriving them of education. On the one hand, forms of children's work that clash with modern, Western concepts of childhood are certainly traceable to childrearing practices in traditional agrarian and pastoral societies. On the other hand, the integration of subsistence agriculture and petty commodity production into capitalist economies has often so intensified the need and/or incentive to make use of children's work as to change the work's character - even where it still takes place within a household or kinship context. Moreover, where the relation of available schooling to employment prospects creates opportunity structures that contrast significantly from those prevailing in developed Western nations, family decisions in favour of early child work often require no appeal at all to "traditional culture", and have thus been readily assimilated into Western economists' conceptions of modern rationality.

2.5.1 Traditional gender and age-based hierarchies: "socialization" or work?

Regarding first the influence of traditional norms and practices, it is essential to note that there has been contestation over how to interpret and judge the ways in which pastoral and agricultural

societies in Africa and Asia have granted responsibility over economic goods and productive activities to young children (Massart, 2007). For many decades the ILO and other international child labour advocates, by focusing solely on "economic activity", constructed and delimited the "child labour" targeted for elimination in a manner that tacitly accepted traditional household and agricultural work as positive "socialization" and future-oriented training, an interpretation reinforced by many earlier anthropologists (Nieuwenhuys, 1996, 2000; Levinson, 2000)[12]. Not surprisingly, under such definitions of "work" as economic activity, "child labour" was found to be a phenomenon affecting higher percentages of boys. More recent research, however, much of it from a feminist perspective, has "discovered" household and agricultural activities as *work* that is essential to socio-economic functioning - much in parallel to the earlier discovery of the unremunerated, but real and essential work of adult women in the domestic sphere (Invernizzi, 2003, p.464).

Since rigid age hierarchies have excluded children in general from any input into family and community decision-making in traditional societies (Massart, 2007), scholars such as Morice (1981), Nieuwenhuys (1996) and Invernizzi (2003) have interpreted *paternalistic* power structures to be as historically oppressive to all children as *patriarchal* systems have been to women, leaving girl children doubly disempowered[13]. Unreflective gender ideology has tended to blind both international research/programming and local cultural groups above all to the value of *girls'* work that substitutes

[12] Nieuwenhuys has emphasized how the very concept of child labour was invented in industrializing Europe specifically in reference to factory work that fell narrowly into a wage labour framework.

[13] It is important to note, however, that cultural age-based hierarchy does not actually concern itself with strict chronological age itself (and certainly not with the eighteen year boundary inscribed in the UNCRC). Just as adult roles within work and marriage are adopted prematurely from a modern, Western perspective (commonly fourteen in much of West Africa (Massart 2007) and as early as age twelve for Hausa girls (Schildkrout, 1981)), the social status of childhood, including the undervaluation or non-valuation of a young person's labour, may be prolonged well into his twenties, as it has been for boys in Senegal through lengthy, ineffective apprenticeships (Morice, 1981).

for, or is conceived as preparation for the work of women (Schildkraut, 1980; Nieuwenhuys, 1993). A study in rural Zimbabwe, for example, demonstrated that adults, both male and female, exluded infant and child care from their definition of work (while the children themselves included it), and that girls below the age of ten were observed to spend 56 percent of their time engaged in this category of activity (Reynolds, 1993). In commenting upon this study, Levison (2000) has argued that such time expenditure certainly constituted a valuable service to adults in the reproductive sphere, even if it remained invisible to them as "work".

In these same communities, Reynolds (1993) found girls working (in domestic chores and in agricultural) more than twice as much as boys during the peak farming season (63% versus 30% of their time) and more than *four* times as much during the off-season (67% to 16%) (p. 68). Nieuwenhuys (1993) contrastingly found little difference between girls and boys in rural Kerala, India in terms of the total volume of work (7.5 to 7 hours per day respectively), but emphasized that the boys nonetheless had more opportunity to work to earn money, while the girls spent most of their working time caring for others (p. 71). Further underscoring the gender differentiated cultural determinants of children's work, evidence from several countries has indicated that increases in rural household welfare did not reduce, and in some cases even *increased* the domestic labour of girls (Ray, 2000; Bhalotra & Heady, 2003). From a feminist perspective, girls' intensive household work indeed constitutes "socialization" and training oriented towards a future, but it is precisely a future in which childhood typically ends early in marriage and the continuation of such (invisible) work (Levison, 2000).

Advancing a similar argument concerning child work in general, Rodgers & Standing (1981) asserted that the essential socialization function it performed in traditional societies should not be interpreted as straightforwardly benign:

> The behavior norms which the child internalizes over the years of integration into work reinforce social patterns of obligation, generating positive attitudes towards particular patterns of exploitation, social organization, and labour utilization. (p.37).

Such internalization of social patterns of obligation were clearly visible in the situation researched by Manghardt (2006), where Ghanaian children exclusively used the term "helping" to describe their domestic and agricultural duties, in contrast to the "work" that they performed for the fishing bosses to whom they were later confided. Also interpreting much of children's work as paternalistic exploitation was Lange (2000), whose research in rural Togo led her to characterize appeals to the socializing aspect of family or community-based work as a "smoke-screen", and to advance the term "extorted" to distinguish children's work in such contexts from directly market-linked wage labour exploitation. The "extortion" she observed was to the benefit not only of immediate and extended family members, but also prominent community members and functionaries, most notably school teachers[14]. Similarly, the research of Jacqumine (2006) in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire specifically on girls' domestic work outside of their parents' households demonstrated that appeals to traditions of girl fostering within family networks have also

> [served] to cloak, with the language of kinship, situations in which uneducated live-in hands are on call for 11 or more hours a day to perform menial and repetitive tasks from which they acquire no skills at all (p.392).

[14] Since childhood as a particular subjugated status comes to an end for each individual, the parallel of *paternalistic* to *patriarchal* oppression is imperfect. Specifically, it has been proposed that children's unpaid work could be interpreted as an investment or advance payment (Bekombo, 1981; Cabanes, 2000) within an intergenerational contract (Morice, 1982), since at least some of the children will later own the land they have worked as children (Lange, 2000) and they are promised their own children's labour in the next generation. However, to conceive of the situation in terms of the child's potential long term individual interests risks obscuring the fundamental collective orientation of non-modern societies into which children, according to (Rodgers & Standing, 1981) and others, are indeed socialized.

Jacqumine (2006) thus argues that the past decade's great expansion of ILO and international NGO attention to *paid* forms of girls domestic labour, though welcome, has often overlooked how domestic placements can be either harmful or exploitative without entering the realm of economic activity.

It is important at this point to revisit Woodhead's (2007) third dimension for evaluating the costs and benefits of children's work situations, which was how local cultural norms around child work mediate children's perspectives on, experiences of, and attitudes towards their work and thus its impact on their lives. From the perspective of those who see children as being socialized into patterns of paternalistic extortion, and girls into patterns of patriarchal subjugation, any positive sentiments that children may express about forms and volumes of work will likely be dismissed as the result of their having internalized the normalcy of an oppressive system[15]. Yet scholars supportive of working children's organizations have cautioned that seeing such systems in an entirely negative light is to overlook potentially positive aspects conceptually foreign to the Western folk view of childhood. Without denying the force of rigid age and gender hierarchies in traditional agricultural and pastoral societies, Liebel (2004) has argued that regardless of how the fruits of work are distributed, being granted productive responsibilities has afforded children in these societies meaningful social presence, and even "rights", in forms that are generally unavailable to modern Western children.

[15] Morice (1981, 1982) has also referred to traditional apprenticeship in urban contexts as paternalistic exploitation, specifically arguing that children are *not* socially recognized as producers within such systems.

2.5.2 Economic forces intensifying child work

While the foregoing discussion conveys how socio-cultural norms have been viewed as having a powerful influence in determining child activity patterns, scholars such as Rodgers and Standing (1981) have nonetheless asserted the relative priority, in the long term, of economic over cultural variables, particularly in influencing the intensity of both the exploitation and the harm inherent in certain forms and circumstances of work[16]. While acknowledging that cultural factors, including family structure and gender roles, can affect, inhibit, or accelerate economic change, Rodgers and Standing (1981) nonetheless emphasized that "there is much evidence that family structure changes in response to economic needs, however slowly." (p.25). Such a view is consistent with a range of subsequent contributions affirming that the "super-exploitation" of children in unpaid work (whether agricultural, domestic, or other subsistence work), while indeed rooted in traditional age and gender hierarchies and kinship power relations, has been intensified under globalized economic conditions that spawn local crises (White 1994). Many researchers and analysts have thus described how exploitative paternalistic systems have often continued to be "functional" (in the sense of at least reproducing production systems in subsequent generations), but are now sustainable only with ever intensifying exploitation of work, especially the work of children. Writing of children's work in artisanal fishery and yarn production in Kerala, India, (Nieuwenhuys, 1994) described how the unpaid

[16] It is important to specify that while such early commentators such as Rodgers (1981), Rodgers and Standing (1981), and Morice (1981) employed "exploitation" in its strict Marxist sense to mean *the appropriation of surplus value*, in much of the more recent literature on child labour, particularly that produced by NGOs and IGOs, "exploitation", on the contrary, has been used vaguely as a quasi-synonym for "harm" (M. Bourdillon, 2009). This trend has tended to cloud the relevant issues. As Bourdillon (2009) has pointed out, within the collective orientation that generates "positive attitudes towards particular patterns of exploitation", the "exploitation" *strictu-sensu* may occur without causing what could reasonably be classified as "harm" to the child relative to her baseline conditions and feasible alternatives.

work of the adult workers' children is demanded by the way in which artisanal activities are embedded in the broader distributive system:

> The livelihood of the rural poor… is realized within an economic set-up that requires large numbers of either unpaid or marginally remunerated workers… The past thirty years' expansion of foreign markets… has increased, rather than reduced the demand for children's work…Even though this work appears worthless in economic terms, it is the way it is articulated to the market and transformed into value that makes it exploitative. In a Third World economy such as Kerala's, the work of children in the context of the family is the ubiquitous way children are exploited today and a cardinal ingredient of the economy's capacity for reproducing itself over time. (pp.206-07)[17].

In the same vein, the volume entitled *The Exploited Child* (originally published in French in 1994) presented diverse local studies asserting the corrosive powers of capitalist logic and systems over local social norms governing children. As Cabanes (2000) has expressed it, "The market economy undermines the very foundations of original social formations by initiating a direct relationship between households and the goods and labour markets." (pp.263-264). The studies presented in *The Exploited Child* consistently implicate structural adjustment policies (SAPs) (of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund)[18] in destabilizing household economies and promoting the exploitation of workers of all categories, including, increasingly, children. Verlet (2000), for example, has argued that structural adjustment exacerbated the household level effects of economic crisis in urban Ghana, resulting in a "de-gradation" from children's employment in domestic work within the family to exploitative wage labour that is brokered through kinship relations. Ravololomanga and Schlemmer (2000) have similarly described a drift in Madagascar from a conception of children as *wealth* towards children as *burden*, motivating their placement in employment outside the family. In contrast to some

[17] Building upon Nieuwenhuys's assertion of exploitation linked to capitalism even in non-remunerative work, Bourdillon has usefully pointed out that pure economic exploitation is even possible *external* to capitalism.

[18] The original publication in 1994 came in an era of intensifying criticism of SAPs, initiated as conditionalities on loans, criticism that would lead to their transformation into the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) process begun in 2002.

other locations, these authors suggested that in their context, in 1994, child labour was already "a vital necessity… [but] not yet a specific system of exploitation," the latter still being "held at bay" by the inherent solidarity among families placing and employing children (p.309). However, Bhukuth (2009) has much more recently suggested that what he refers to as "strong" exploitation, in which children's work is once or even twice removed from families' potential supervision, is increasingly common in Madagascar. The work of Lange (2000) has presented a further transparent example of the subjection of local livelihoods to global capitalist logic through the impact of fluctuations in international commodity market prices on children's school or work patterns in Togo. In cotton growing regions, children's unpaid labour was needed to make the production sustainable, whereas in coffee and cocoa producing regions most children were being sent to school (p.275). [19]

2.6 The informal economy: the context of children's urban work

The child protagonism approach of working children's organizations has mainly been implemented in urban settings, where particular forms of child work in the *informal* economy have absorbed the massive urban influx of unskilled young workers, the flow of which, like urbanization in general, has been rooted in persistently high birth rates and the rural pauperization resulting in large part from the disruption of subsistence economies by export-oriented plantation agriculture (Morice, 1981), and the limits of formal school systems. It is therefore useful to briefly consider what have

[19] A number of the sources cited here have written of the stresses on rural subsistence families and communities from the direct or indirect subjection of their livelihoods to international capitalist mechanisms. An interesting field of research far beyond the scope of this thesis is detailed analysis of the transitions in African contexts from "traditional" subsistence agriculture to petty commodity production to capitalist production. Some scholars writing on other world regions have suggested that both historical and contemporary internationalisation and "globalization" processes complicate or even disqualify the sort of straightforward Marxist analysis explicitly or tacitly being applied by some of the authors reviewed here.

been identified as essential features of informal economies, including the conditions they tend to create for *all* workers, along with certain implications for children in specific cultural contexts.

The concept of the *informal economy* was earlier often equated precisely with the kinds of independent street trading, very small scale production, and still more marginal forms of *débrouillardise* in which rural to urban migrants, prominently including boys, have engaged. In a useful critical synthesis of conceptions of informal economies, however, Chen et al. (2004) have noted that a constructive turn in thinking about informal economic activity has been "to extend the focus from *enterprises* that are not legally regulated to *employment relationships* that are not legally regulated or protected."(p.21). This broader conception brings more clearly into view two important categories of informal child employment, which are particularly prevalent in urban West Africa: domestic service (almost entirely the domain of girls) and apprenticeship in traditionally organized workshops (until recently an option almost exclusively for boys). These authors have stressed that while an earlier "dualist" school of thought had posited separate "traditional" (informal) and "modern" economies, and had predicted that the former would fade out in the face of modern industrial growth, informal economic activity has, on the contrary, been expanding[20]. Accordingly, Chen et al. have

[20] Even a mainstream development agency study (by the Swedish International Development Agency and the World Bank) explicitly affirms the permanence of the informal sector: "It seems that if economic growth is not accompanied by improvements in employment levels and income distribution, the informal economy does not shrink. The situation is therefore that the informal economy is continuously increasing in most developing countries, even in rural areas." (Becker, 2004), p.45). Fuller exploration of the hypothesized factors influencing the growth, stasis, or diminution of the informal sector is beyond the scope of this literature review. Becker (2004) and Chen et al. (2004) are useful resources. Interestingly, however, like most literature on the informal sector and on approaches for skills training to serve it, they make only the most minimal links to child labour or child rights debates.

largely validated the "structuralist" model advanced in the late 1970s and the 1980s[21], according to which

> the informal sector should be seen as subordinated economic units (micro firms) and workers that serve to reduce input and labour costs and, thereby, increase the competitiveness of large capitalist firms. In the structuralist model, in marked contrast to the dualist model, different modes and forms of production are seen not only to co-exist but also to be inextricably connected and interdependent (Moser, 1978; Castells and Portes, 1989). According to this school, the nature of capitalist development (rather than a lack of growth) accounts for the persistence and growth of informal production relationships (p.17).

It is furthermore universally recognized that the informal sector is the foremost provider of employment, goods, and services to the vast majority (i.e. the lower income groups) in developing countries. As a result of the informal economy's massive scope and of its fundamental interconnections with formal modes of production and consumption, practically all deliberate economic policies have repercussions on all forms of informal employment, including those survival activities that may appear most marginal and isolated from the formal sector (p.20).

Morice (1981) was among those scholars advancing such a "structuralist model", which he used to frame his much earlier empirical study of traditional apprentices. He referred to the informal sector as a "superexploited" sub-segment within economies that he characterized, already in that era, as effectively subordinated to the influence of multinational enterprises, both in direct ways, such as subcontracting or piecework for larger formal enterprises, and in far more indirect ways. This sub-segment is distinguished by intense competition and therefore by constant downward pressure on prices, necessitating labour that is extremely low-paid, and in many cases, including the

[21] Chen, Vanek, and Carr (2004) have also granted some relevance to the "legalist" school of thought, which has viewed overly-cumbersome government procedures and the high costs of formalizing an enterprise as the cause of persistent informality, especially in some Latin American countries. It is acknowledged that micro-entrepreneurs everywhere make calculated choices to avoid taxes and regulations (p.19).

apprenticeships he investigated, completely unpaid. Marguerat (2000) focused on apprenticeship in Togo, similarly stating:

> Informal sector economics operate on the basis of small sums of money rapidly changing hands between large numbers of people of very modest means within a regime of limitless competition. As a rule, the customers are more interested in rock-bottom prices than top quality when purchasing goods or having them repaired; apart from actively encouraging mediocrity, this forces craftsmen to work virtually at cost price in order to keep their customers. (p.241).

Morice described children's labour in neo-Marxist terms as *exploitation* precisely because it constitutes an instance of the extraction of surplus value from this segment of the economy. He added that wage and salary levels in *all* sectors are depressed both through 1) the ready availability also to modern and public sector wage earners of such low-price goods and services and 2) the informal sector's *de facto* function of mass employment creation (pp.138-39).

Rodgers and Standing, 1981 characterized urban "marginal activities" as often being on the border of the legitimate and the illegitimate, and noted that in many cases these activities led to more illicit ones. However, this characterization, along with these authors' application of the term "lumpenproletariat" to the practitioners of these seeming activities of last resort, stands rather in contrast to Morice's (1981) emphasis not only on the dominance and stability of the informal economy, but also on its internal structure, which, he argued, is easily overlooked. It has indeed continued to be underappreciated how the apparent independence of child workers in street trades usually camouflages organized informal sector groups and networks ranging from supply chains to protection racquets[22]. As Morice (1981) stated, "It is very important to know whether children are

[22] Despite envisioning working children's organizations at an early date, Morice (1981) did not direct attention to the basic small scale forms of *self*-organization (i.e. affinity groups by occupation and/or region of origin, with a seniority structure) that some working children's organizations would take as the basis of their approach.

included in the networks which span the two sectors [formal and informal] and to identify their employers." (p.137).

A cornerstone of informal production is traditional apprenticeship. In providing free unskilled labour and infusing capital (in the form of fees) to workshops, apprenticeship is crucial to the suppression of prices and thus the maintenance and development of the small scale (pre-capitalist) production sector. Banning such apprenticeship would kill most enterprises, which themselves are essential to the day to day survival of urban populations. (Morice, 1981; Marguerat, 2000). In its aspect as informal education and training (an alternative to the closed-off prospects of formal schooling), traditional apprenticeship operates without any regulatory framework, thereby allowing the small entrepreneur unchallenged discretion over what he does and does not teach and over the apprenticeship's duration. Since competition is eventually exacerbated when youth graduate, tutelage is prolonged and trades are not properly taught, the latter serving as a further pretext for not paying apprentices. Eventual promotion may be credited to hard work and skillfulness, but rather owes more to the master's good will (Morice, 1981)[23].

2.7 Formal schooling, education and child work: evidence and arguments

In conjunction with their assertion of children's right to work, working children's organizations have contested the agenda of *compulsory* schooling, particularly in the context of the low quality and poorly adapted formal schooling that is typically available in those areas where child work is prevalent. A key tenet of the child protagonism strategy is that working children's own preferences

[23] Viti (2005) has relatively recently corroborated the tenor of such findings in Côte d'Ivoire, where he found that 38.9% of the boys had entered apprenticeship before the age of 15.

and objectives should determine the design of education and training interventions. In fact, arguments against the efficacy of Universal Primary Education (UPE) campaigns in reducing levels of child work have recently been buttressed by forms of quantitative analysis in an economics framework. Emerson and Knabb (2006), for example, have produced a model to demonstrate that levels of perceived opportunity most powerfully influence household decisions on children's work, since families grasp that rates of return on education are influenced greatly by its quality and by the conditions of the local adult labor market. Where educated unemployment is high, parents may be expected to send children, at most, to the early years of schooling, and then transfer them to work in the informal sectors that dominate most developing economies (Mukherjee & Sinha, 2006).

Such recent economics modeling endorses arguments about schooling and work that have long been clearly articulated, even as they seem to have had little influence on policy and the international UPE campaigns that have retained a narrow focus on initial enrollment in formal schools. Rodgers and Standing (1981), themselves labour economists, had emphasized how the overall labour market and unemployment structure must be understood to fully make sense of children's school and work patterns. They too had specifically asserted that "poverty, opportunities for child employment, and a lack of perceived value in schooling… combine to ensure early drop-out even if there is an initial period of regular school attendance." (p.10). With educated unemployment rampant and an urban bourgeoisie monopolizing the limited supply and demand of qualified workers, school completion becomes indeed a necessary, but not nearly a sufficient condition for entry into formal employment or higher levels of an intensely stratified labour market. As the poor and working class recognize that "work experience may be more valuable than schooling as qualifications for the jobs they can hope to obtain," stratification is reproduced. "In such circumstances", Rodgers and Standing (1981) concluded,

"it is almost useless trying to impose a system of compulsory school enrolment and attendance; the problem is structural." (p. 20).

Of equal importance in their critique of UPE strategies is these authors' caution against the *implicit curriculum* of formal schooling, which is of particular relevance in post-colonial contexts:

> It is often claimed that the type of schooling provided for the poor and working-class population is primarily concerned not with developing and refining the creative faculties of children, but with providing malleable committed workers or docile citizens who acquiesce in diverse forms of exploitation ... there is some suggestion that formal schooling may be dysfunctional in that it weakens rather than strengthens the child's ability to survive in an environment of poverty, high unemployment and malnutrition. It is often argued that schooling leads youth to refuse many forms of employment, and thereby leads them to become "voluntary" unemployed and subsequently almost unemployable for many jobs. This type of reasoning…to our mind… should be used to demonstrate the need to alter the structure not only of the education system, but more fundamentally, of the labour market to make work and education more compatible. (p.33)

Nieuwenhuys (1994) also explained, from an Indian context, how the expansion of basic education, while very much pushing schooling into the popular imagination of a normal childhood (and becoming both a profitable industry for many and an efficient means of control), did nothing to restructure the economy in a manner that would reduce the demand and necessity for children's work. (p.208)

> As schools carry the banner of social justice and progress, the ability of working children to partake in their culture and identify with children in full time education has come to embody their emancipation. By demanding time and means to spend on schooling, children have started challenging their subordination to the authority of seniors…For the children of the rural poor expanding schooling has none the less generally resulted in an increase of drudgery. The Kerala case should indeed sober those who believe participation in schooling in itself to be effectively ending the exploitation of children. (p.209)

Lange (2000), from research in Togo, is among those who have made the complementary point that school attendance in no way withdraws children from the extortion of their labour, since teachers press them into working their own fields, especially if cash crops (such as cotton) have become favorable opportunities for extra earnings. She has also echoed the views presented above on the

function of formal schooling: "School, in fact, is actually where children are treated to a foretaste of the techniques of economic exploitation and political submissiveness… School, like training within the family in the name of socialization, can only reproduce the prevailing societal patterns…" (p.273)[24].

The ambiguity of a standard UPE approach to child work has also been implicitly demonstrated by Manghardt (2006) in her study of a programme in Ghana that removed children from strenuous work in the fishing industry, returned them to their parents, and reintegrated them into formal school. By covering all the costs related to schooling, plus setting up the parents in an income generating activity to eliminate dependence on their children's work, the project sought to decisively alter the families' calculus of options for the long term. Manghardt (2006) reported the project to have been successful in its early stages. However, her own exploration of various local actors' understandings of and attitudes towards formal schooling in Ghana raised serious questions about the extent to which the programme's simple substitution strategy (of school for work) is in the long term interest of the children or the communities[25]. Specifically, the research corroborated fundamental critiques, related to those outlined above, of the *extractive* nature of formal schooling in Africa and the associated implicit curriculum of individual failure for the overwhelming majority of children. As Serpell (1999) has described this two-fold systemic effect of mass formal schooling on local populations:

> …small numbers of individuals with great potential to contribute to the life of their local communities of origin are systematically extracted into a separate and largely alien culture of

[24] Goddard & White 1982 also viewed the Western schooling model itself as deeply paternalistic, and suggested that only "*if flexible alternative education facilities compatible with work can be established*," (p.471, emphasis added) could education play an effective role in raising children's awareness of their rights and thus improving their working conditions.
[25] Other questions about the programme would concern the long term viability of the introduced income generating activity and to what extent such an intervention could be meaningfully "scaled up" to affect families whose children were in diverse employment arrangements, other than this form of contracted work.

> bureaucratic power, while the majority of those enrolled in school leave it with a sense of frustration and personal inadequacy (pp. 132-33).

Such a system has thus perpetuated colonialism's conceptual severing of education from the development of most of the population.[26]

The above forms of evidence and critique have led many scholars, including Rogers and Standing (1981) to caution firmly against the tendency to confuse schooling with education. Notwithstanding the characterizations of "traditional" child work as paternalistic exploitation, discussed above, these authors emphasized both that useful work has always been one of the key modes of education within household production systems, and that many forms of paid work can also be included among the wide range of activities that can contribute to education, broadly conceived (p.10). They thus drew attention to the inadequacy of empirically investigating only the *schooling versus employment* dichotomy, and recommended that subsequent research would

> have to be extended into more complex substitution possibilities, considering in particular various cross elasticities between a broader set of activities… a minimal requirement would seem to be that the model should explain the allocation of child time between schooling, domestic work, labour in household enterprise, wage labour, recreation, and idleness (p.30).

However, the conceptually confining premise of a rigid dichotomy between children's work and children's education has largely persisted at the core of much of the quantitative economics-based literature on child labor (e.g., Bell & Gersbach, 2001; Woldehanna et al., 2005), as well as in much international advocacy on the issue (most starkly in Global March Against Child Labour (2004))[27].

[26] Controlling such selective and extractive effects, and retaining a focus on inclusive, broad based local development can also become a challenge for non-formal education and "participatory" youth initiatives.

[27] (Meillassoux, 2000), from a broadly neo-Marxist perspective has also embraced idealistic global rhetoric of Education for All and the realization of child rights – ironically by also ignoring the social stratification function of formal schooling.

While it has been widely recognized that many children engage in both work and schooling on a daily or weekly basis, the two have generally been considered, both at the conceptual level and within quantitative models, to be in essence mutually subtractive, as in a constant sum game - a tendency that appears linked to a persistent failure to conceive of education beyond the limits of the formal primary schooling on offer in developing states, whose low quality and irrelevance has typically not been confronted in such literature (Schlemmer, 2002). Many organizational publications on the child labor problem have thus continued to present a caricature implying that all work is harmful to children - *at least* in as much as it deprives them of "education" - while remaining silent on the possibility of skill development and the opening of future opportunities *through* work (Satz, 2003). In this vein, ILO (2006), a global assessment optimistically entitled *The end of child labour: Within reach,* has been critiqued by Liebel (2007):

> No thought is wasted [in the report] on how schools could be reconciled with the living conditions of working children. Concrete and often successful approaches of 'non-formal education' with working children whose experiences are taken seriously are discredited as 'second-class education', or even branded as 'a parallel system competing against the formal education system' (p. 266). The report leaves the impression that the ILO has never heard of educational concepts and progressive schools that aim at linking learning with work experience and which could pose a promising alternative, especially for working children (pp. 282-283)[28].

Berlan (2009) has offered an illustration of what she has considered the ILO's and its allied NGOs' misrepresentations, or at least highly incomplete representations, of a specific form of child work and of their overly-simplistic calls for its replacement by "schooling", messages that have been uncritically propagated by newspaper, internet, and television reporting. She has argued that children's work in family cocoa production in Ghana is not only safer, but appears to contribute more

[28] This seems especially surprising since the ILO's own International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) has been characterized, by someone who worked within it, as essentially a non-formal education programme (Fyfe, 2001).

to their psychosocial well-being and preparation for productive adulthood than the form of schooling available to them (which itself prominently includes hard agricultural labour). [29]

The assumption that work gives no relevant learning or qualification that children immediately bring into their young adulthoods also appears to undergird the ILO's charge that child work is to blame for youth unemployment. Liebel (2007) has viewed such a claim as illogical since the distinction between the two categories, child and youth, is artificial, existing only in ILO Convention 138. Indeed, Rodgers and Standings (1981) had earlier suggested that it was rather child *unemployment* that actually contributed significantly to youth unemployment, since idleness bears its own considerable risks. Referring particularly to urban adolescents, they contended:

> Out of school at an early age, they have no real income-earning opportunities, though the unemployment they experience is likely to be interspersed with marginal irregular activities that provide a modicum of income. But the essence of unemployment is the induced sense of passivity, anomie and, if prolonged, surely something like unemployability for many forms of regular employment (p.10).

They consequently argued that while it would certainly be very difficult to measure child unemployment, it should not be neglected altogether in statistics and should be measured not in terms of job-seeking, but rather in terms of aspirations and needs, taking into account the availability of alternative options (pp.10-11). There is no indication, however, that such a concept has ever been operationalized in national or international surveys. Similarly, despite the recommendations of Rogers and Standing (1981) and Morice (1981), almost no systematic longitudinal research, especially of a

[29] Berlan does not, however, consider whether she might be over-idealising family production systems, as Nieuwenhuys and others have argued to often be the case.

qualitative design, has followed the life paths of those entering various forms of work at various ages or those relatively idle and out of school in adolescence.[30]

Quantitative studies have in any event offered little conclusive evidence for the relationships among child work, schooling, and future opportunity in African contexts. Andvig (2001), in a discussion paper on Family-Controlled Child Labor in Sub-Saharan Africa[31], espoused an avowedly "paternalist" and "modernization" perspective, embracing the long term ideal of full time (formal) schooling replacing children's work. Yet given present conditions in most African countries and the state of the research reviewed, the report's conclusions included:

> 2) In the empirical studies the criteria for a child participating in the labor market are so weakly set that they have not shown whether or how much labor interferes with schooling…
> 3) The macroeconomic development in many African countries is so uncertain that it is not yet clear whether any interference with schooling will prove harmful to the child (p.4)

Deutschen NRO-Forums Kinderarbeit (2009) have noted that according to data from Understanding Children's Work (an inter-agency research cooperation initiative of the ILO, UNICEF,

[30] An exception of sorts is the contribution of Emerson and Souza (2007), who used retrospective data about childhood from adult workers in Brazil. They found that negative impacts on adult earnings from child work at the youngest ages surpass what can be accounted for by the loss of formal education. However, under comparable conditions to those prevailing in many African countries at present, negative impacts tended to reverse (becoming positive) somewhere between ages 12 and 14. This result tends to support the hypothesis that in adolescence some forms of work are preferable to idleness for those out of school.

[31] "Family-controlled" labour was the report's focus, as it has been accepted that the majority of children's work can be subsumed into this general category. The author admits, however, that this broad categorization has not permitted analysis to highlight many of the more problematic forms of work - that is, those actually qualifying as "labour" in the sense of harming the child's development. Iversen (2002) has noted that a limitation of most economic analyses of child labor decisions is precisely the assumption of non-agency on the part of adolescent child laborers, as though parental choices were necessarily still determinant for them.

and the World Bank), rates of school attendance and child work correlate very weakly[32], particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA):

> In SSA children also work when they go to school and this holds for girls more strongly than for boys. This allows the hypothesis that in many cases child work is what first made school attendance possible and that an improvement in school attendance rates would not in itself lead to reductions in the rates of child work (p. 14, my translation).

2.8 Child protagonism as a strategy for working children's organizations

An important function of working children's organizations has been as an instrument for amplifying the voices of children and youth themselves in advancing the sorts of arguments outlined thus far against compulsory formal schooling and in favour of early economic activity[33]. The UNCRC's article 12 provides a normative grounding for this function, stipulating children's right to express their views in meaningful fora, and to have those views afforded due weight. The advocates of children's right to work have argued that taking article 12 seriously entails appreciating the compelling reasons that children themselves offer for valuing the work that they perform and for wishing to continue working (Driskell et al. 2001; Invernizzi & Milne, 2002, Liebel, 2003). A separate question, however, concerns whether there is an empirical grounding for a belief in independent child protagonism as an effective strategy for improving working children's situations. Several years in advance of the UNCRC, early critics of the abolitionist viewpoint (who argued that children would be best served by having a right to work affirmed and having employment made legal and regulated) had indeed suggested empirical examples of the potential for the independent social action of minors.

[32] It is important to note that the data sets both for education (enrolment, attendance, etc.) and for child work have been critiqued on multiple counts.

[33] These organizations have also conveyed children's understanding that some work can be excessive, or otherwise not appropriate for children.

Morice (1981) asserted that "[t]here have in fact been instances of social struggle during which a [child] leadership structure was created that was quite capable of initiating its own programmes: the Soweto students are an example." (p.135). Similarly, Goddard and White (1982) used the example of Ghanaian children's participation in agricultural labour protests as "evidence of a high capacity of children in the Third World for social and economic independence" and thus as the basis of a belief in children's "potential for… autonomous action" (pp.472).

In constructing their broad and ambitious conception of childhood agency, the facilitators of working children's organizations and their sympathetic scholars have prioritized the concept of the *evolving capacities* of the child found in the UNCRC over the convention's definition of childhood as under 18 years (Ennew et al., 2005; Lansdown, n.d.). By adolescence, child protagonism advocates have maintained, often well before 18 years, the competencies and knowledge base of many working children, both via their own formative experiences and through structured educational activities, may be developed to the point where withdrawing the scaffold of adult guidance and direction is not only possible, but ethically imperative, allowing truly child-led organizational action (Bourdillon, 2009). These advocates have thus concluded that child protagonism is the most 'child-centered' strategy for advancing working children's interests, occupying the moral high ground by rejecting the paternalism inherent in other approaches (Liebel, 2003).

Conversely, however, scholars and institutions who have placed greater emphasis on the *protective* impulse of child rights discourse have suggested limitations and inherent contradictions within the right-to-work and child protagonism approach. While the latter perspectives have offered critiques of the social structures that place children into difficult situations, their typically micro-level, participatory programs geared at activating the agency of children and youth have been viewed as ill-suited to address these deep structural constraints on child-centered development (Myers 2001; Lieten

2005). Such critics suggest that in contexts where even adults' right to participate is scarcely realized it is improbable that the poorest and most marginalized of working children, and especially those involved in the truly harmful forms of "child labour", are meaningfully participating in, or even being reached by, working children's organizations (Nimbona and Lieten 2007; van den Berge 2006). Lieten (2005) has argued that most often in highly constraining structural and cultural contexts children's immature "agency, in effect, is a 'second class' kind of agency, directed towards short term solutions, often with undesirable outcomes in the long run" (p.8). Development NGOs should therefore prioritize the UNCRC principle of the *best interests of the child,* such critics have argued, and pursue child rights work in a more conventionally directive mode. Such an approach may certainly value dialogue with children to give adult facilitators a deeper understanding of their situation, but without seeking to activate idealistic notions of children's agency (Boyden, 1997).

While the above critiques specifically incorporate *age* as a limiting factor to effective agency, they also largely echo the critical appraisals of adult participatory development initiatives that have explored how constraining socio-cultural and economic contexts have affected efforts to catalyze individuals' and groups' agency for community development and social justice goals (see e.g. Cooke and Kathari, 2001; Hickey and Mohan 2004). A further important dimension to such examinations is the effect of external donor funding on such grassroots, participatory initiatives in developing countries. It is to this subject that the following section will turn.

2.9 Donor-Recipient NGO relations in the international aid regime

The work of all child-centered and child rights-based development organizations takes place within the framework of the global aid regime and is thus inevitably conditioned by certain constraints within both its enduring structures and most recent trends. In the context of what has been labeled the

NGOization of broad-based social movement advocacy[34], strong concerns have been voiced about the ways in which funding agencies and their mechanisms can act to stifle the very forms of historical and social theorizing of underdevelopment viewed as crucial to understanding and addressing children's work and systematic violations of children's rights (Shivji 2007; Balagopalan 2002).

In many countries, the rise of development and advocacy NGOs was enabled by transitions to (nominal) democracy, which greatly multiplied the opportunities for official, state-sanctioned institutionalization of organizations, while simultaneously diffusing, fragmenting, and altering grassroots demands (Jelin, 1998). Structural adjustment programmes in developing countries, as an enactment of the prevailing neoliberal economic paradigm of the latter decades of the twentieth century, have also been consistently implicated in the rise of the NGO: within the vacuum left by the weakening state, the "third sector" swelled to deliver needed services, and was then increasingly called upon to cultivate the "civil society" required to demand "good governance", i.e., re-strengthen the state (Alvarez, 1998; Jelin, 1998; Roy, 2004). Even the harshest critics of NGOization are careful to point out that there are in fact NGOs that have done and continue to do work of political significance. Alvarez (1998), for example, has acknowledged that in Latin America, NGOs have made important contributions to advances in gender policy. Writing specifically of child rights NGOs in India, Sanghera (2008) has likewise claimed that these organizations have been vocal in unmasking the oppressive effects of neo-liberal globalization, and that their activism has sought to strategically link a

[34] NGOisation was first a phenomenon of primary concern to commentators on feminist movements, such as Alverez (1998).

range of identity based, interest and environmental movements to create participatory spaces "to challenge structures and relations of power." (p.221)

However, strong criticism has focused on how, in developing countries, an explosion of NGOs with specialized professional staff has displaced and sapped the momentum of social movements, thus depoliticizing resistance (Alvarez, 1998; Armstrong, 2004; Roy, 2004; Sticker, 2004)[35]. Roy (2004) has noted that NGOs' need for government sanction means that they "have to present their work in a shallow framework more or less shorn of… an inconvenient historical or political context" (n.p.). Moreover, he has emphasized how external funding comes to dictate the agenda, while also precisely *extracting* into salaried employment educated people "who might otherwise be activists in resistance movements, but now can feel they are doing some immediate, creative good (and earning a living while they're at it)." (n.p.)

Armstrong (2004) is among the many scholars who have analyzed the issue of donor agenda-setting in terms of the dynamics of accountability and representation:

> The demands for "donor accountability" of funds distributed hamper transformative grassroots politics (Schilds 1998; Kamat 2001), [and] *create elite leadership bodies distanced from groups' membership bases* (Alvarez 1998; Green 2000; Markowitz and Tice 2002 (p. 39)… The politics of NGOs' funding displaces the very people at the grassroots that provided their ethical stature. …money, and the demands of funding sap the oppositional and representative potential of NGOs and, more generally, social movement organizations (p.40, emphasis added).

Bebbington (2005) has observed that under these conditions NGOs lose touch with important local realities. No longer attuned to the evolving constraints that structure livelihood options and the newly emerging opportunities for organized response, NGOs may permit the neediest groups to recede

[35] See also (Jelin, 1998) who has argued that "collective participatory action on the part of societal movements cannot be totally institutionalized, be it through state-oriented channels or through "concerned" NGOs." (p.412).

entirely from their reach. While there is ubiquitous rhetoric of "partnership" between donors (including large international NGOs) and local African NGOs, it is the inherently asymmetrical power relations and the absence of any countervailing mechanism of *downward* accountability that prevent the latter from defining their own agendas or priorities (Jelin, 1998; Lister, 2000; Michael, 2005). Ogunseye (1997) has expressed this reality most starkly, specifically in reference to African NGOs:

> The consequences of a "beggar-provider" relationship provide an intractable problem … Because African NGOs trail their fund-providers like heat seeking missiles desperately trailing heat-emitting jets, they are generally unable to commit themselves to significant action to challenge the agenda-setting status quo, even when glaring shortcomings are evident in local application (p.16)

Ogunseye (1997) has further noted that even when donors (including international NGOs and IGOs) establish local NGO networks to foster horizontal collaboration and mutual learning, such networks tend to become vertically oriented toward the donor and remain donor dependent for their functioning (pp. 19-20). This effect is related to the way in which such local organizations find themselves in strongly competitive (rather than collaborative) relations with each other with respect to fund seeking in the same domain of activity, as has been described by Niane (2003) specifically in Senegal.

Important mechanisms by which upward accountability pressures are applied are the Logical Framework Analyses (LFAs) and Results Based Management (RBM) systems demanded by most donors and major international NGOs for project design and monitoring. According to Wallace et al. (2007), who have summoned substantial evidence indicating that widespread practical problems with these techniques have not diminished their status as rigid orthodoxies, these upward "accountability systems squeeze out the problems and complexities in order to ensure demonstration of success against the plans", forcing NGOs to spend extensive time and effort reporting only what donors want to hear (Wallace et al., 2007, p.111).

On the whole, procedural simplicity, standardization, and the generation of donor approved "best practice" discourse have become institutional imperatives for both large-scale international development NGOs (Wood, 2005) and their local partners, a tendency reinforced by the way in which global development campaigns, such as the Millennium Development Goals, have narrowly defined development problems and set quantifiable targets in terms of which all fund seeking organizations must justify their work. This overall environment has favoured the design of marketable modular or "magic bullet" technical development solutions (Demars, 2005), and has served to restrict the acceptable methods and objects of development-related research (Woods, 2005). In this vein Nuijten (2004) has usefully supplemented Ferguson's (1994) seminal concept of development as an "anti-politics machine", with her concept of development as a 'hope-generating machine'[36] within which such favoured solutions and methods are constantly traded in for new ones. This occurs through

> …a bureaucratic system in which all the time the limitations and failure of past programmes are admitted, together with projects that indicate the 'new way forward'. The 'hope generating machine' suggests that the 'missing factor' has finally been found, that the right knowledge is being produced and that things will be different from now on… We see a continuous re-placement of buzzwords and related discourses that are changed with increasing speed. Gradually the new term 'colonises' the entire institutional field in such a way that no research funding or project can ignore the term and accompanying trend (pp.52-53).

One key aid buzzword that has attracted considerable critical attention is the term "partnership" as it has been used to rationalize and even idealize the external relationships governing development aid. Mosse (2005b) has presented an overview of analyses of "partnership" as "a complex and clever signifier" that calls to mind solidarity and even equality, all the while being readily assimilable to a

[36] Nuijten (2004) has quoted Ferguson (1994) to clarify what is meant by a "machine". The intention "(following Foucault (1979,1980) and Deleuze (1988)) [is] to capture something of the way that conceptual and discursive systems link up with social institutions and processes without even approximately determining the form or defining the logic of the outcome." (p.275). Nuijten (2004) has added: "In Deleuze and Guattari's views the machine is made up of thousands of uncoordinated actions and does not have a centre of control." (p. 52).

contractual agreement stressing responsibility and accountability. Insistence on "partnership" and the related notion of "local ownership" can at times be interpreted as "*instrumental* (improving aid efficiency), as *political* (shoring up flagging support/legitimacy for aid), or as *governmental* (a Trojan horse, enabling deeper international penetration into national development choices (Crawford 2003: 142)." (p.10). In cases where any or all of these functions are operating, appeal to "partnership" serves precisely to mystify the manner in which local actors are subtly deprived of their own grounds for and modes of action.

Just as the term "partnership" is vague and malleable, so is it the case that many of the key ideas around which partnerships form are conveniently elastic, permitting their calculated or opportunistic embrace (Siméant, 2005). As Nuijten (2004) has asserted, "powerful symbols and concepts … like 'sustainable development' or 'good governance' have equifinal meaning: they mean different things to different people, but they align people to take action." (p.54). Suggesting the strategic, but potentially unstable nature of some forms of collaboration, Mosse (2005b) has described them as "conspiracies of vagueness, enabling fictions and alliances that are forever fragile and subject to disruption as the ambiguous concepts that bring the players together are subject to divergent interpretations." (p.19). Such an image helps to bring into view how an NGO's upward-looking relation to its funder finds expression on only one of the organization's several faces; it has others that it must present to the full range of stakeholders within the other "partnerships", strategic alliances, and fluctuating networks that enable its work (Jelin, 1998; Hillhorst, 2003). Even where an NGO's mission and programmes are systematically depoliticized, its underlying relations with communities will remain politically charged, as will its relations with assorted indigenous CSOs, various levels of government, and private sector actors – and certainly with the full range of its own employees. An NGO thus needs to nurture *all* of these relations, which even in the best of cases tends to fragment and diffuse its focus (Hillhorst, 2003;

Demars, 2005). Continuity of identity in this environment, and even survival, require that an NGO contain and manage the overall penetration of the funding relationship and its influence on organizational energies and processes.

According to Ebrahim (2003) there are indeed several processes through which financially dependent NGOs have managed to contain funder scrutiny of their activities. Drawing upon Bourdieu's concept of *symbolic capital*, Ebrahim (2003) has conceptualized donor-NGO interactions and power relations not merely in terms of financial dependency, but rather in terms of *interdependence* within an exchange of economic for symbolic capital. Specifically, the donor has reputational needs, which are served by constructing and projecting *success* and *legitimacy*.

> The success of a grantee enables its funder to take credit for that success, and to build a reputation for finding and supporting projects that are good investments. Thus, a key resource which funders need for their continued operation is a good reputation, or more specifically, the status or prestige associated with that reputation. The information [reported by NGOs] is valued for the reputation which it confers, but is not necessarily important in itself (p. 73).

Funds are thus provided in exchange for the NGO's promise to conduct the requisite monitoring activity to be perceived as legitimate, and, above all, in exchange for the *information* that is thereby collected and packaged to display success (p.96). Since such information is an indispensable input for funders, it must, according to Ebrahim, be "structured in a way so as to reduce uncertainty in its usefulness to them."(p.73). This function is in large part performed by requisite planning and monitoring instruments such as LFAs, which, as noted above, structure information for donors by

excluding unwanted complexity[37]. This overall information modeling process has been long documented, and has often been observed to go one step further, as Ebrahim (2003) has noted:

> Tendler (1975) has shown in her study of the United States Agency for International Development… [that] donor agencies are capable not only of structuring information but also of "manufacturing" the project applications themselves. In doing so, the donor agency "lessens the high degree of uncertainty of the environment from which it must get its inputs, assuring a more reliable source of supply" (Tendler 1975: 103) (p 73).

Within this interdependent dynamic, NGOs are nonetheless able at times to perform what Ebrahim has referred to as *buffering*, by means of which they partly insulate their activities from the control, influence, or scrutiny of the donor. The three means that he has outlined are *symbolism, selectivity,* and *professionalization*. Symbolism refers to collecting information that will not actually be used in decision-making, but which rather serves, simply by being collected, to fulfill expected procedure and thus to project institutional legitimacy. Ebrahim (2003) points out that this finding is consistent with earlier organizational theory:

> in order to attain legitimacy without having to compromise on core technologies, organizations have been known to decouple formal structures and practices from key activities (Meyer and Rowan 1977: 357) or to decouple information from decisions (Feldman and March 1988: 417–19)…decoupling can be seen as a buffering strategy that enables organizations to protect key activities or decision processes from external influence (pp. 96-97).

It is important to note that such decoupling may in some cases be largely unintentional, as the organization may simply lack the time or capacity to make use of the information that it has gathered to satisfy donor demands.

[37] Another common scheme through which donors ensure the useful structuring of information is the use of rigid templates for quarterly or annual reporting, in which no deviations from, or additions to, the standarised line items are permitted.

Selectivity is intertwined with symbolism. (Ebrahim, 2003b) observed in case studies that some NGOs were capable of being self-critical internally. However, information (for the symbolic purposes just described) was gathered selectively, and above all *presented* selectively in order to downplay negative findings. In fact, donors themselves actually promote selectivity by prioritizing relatively simple *product* data (quantifiable outputs, e.g., expenditures, numbers of meetings or workshops held, participants attending, classrooms built, loans disbursed, etc.,) over more complex *process* data (qualitative, narrative accounts concerning if and how change is occurring, if not why not, what is unexpected, evidence of sustainability, etc.). Already feeling overcharged with data requests, NGOs also have an added interest in limiting themselves largely to product data that can demonstrate success within short project cycles without going into details explaining the process, and, especially, without considering "the ambiguous nature of the success." (p.99). While Ebrahim observed some increase in qualitative studies over time, in an atmosphere of apprehension about any negative reports inviting "unwanted funder interference," these studies were still "overwhelmingly positive and supportive" (p.99), and were therefore used in the "justification of past decisions and strategies to funders, and not as an input to decision making." (p.97).

Ebrahim's final theorized means of buffering is *professionalization*, which involves the hiring of experts (typically credentialed with post-graduate degrees) in the relevant specialized domains, (e.g., managers and research experts), as well as the introduction of professional level ICT systems. He has viewed the tendency to professionalize less as a means of yielding to pressure from funders to increase capacity, and rather more as a form of *resistance* to funders: armed with their own expertise and

fluency in the requisite discourse[38], the NGO becomes harder to criticize, preventing probes into their activities and processes.

On the whole, according to Ebrahim, while the funder-NGO relation is framed by their shared goals and ideals, at its heart is this exchange of economic capital for social capital that becomes self-reinforcing in a manner that escapes the intentions of the implicated actors. Frustration is expressed on both sides about the reliance on pure *product* information, but the prevailing exigency is still to meet quantifiable targets within project cycles.

> While…organizations have made strides in collection and analyses of process data (partly through the employment of social scientists), they are far from making social and anthropological analyses a part of routine monitoring activity. While funders verbally encourage more attention to process data, little support is provided in terms of funds, expertise, or the relaxation of other data demands in order to make this possible (p 80).

In this way, Ebrahim has argued, "existing patterns of information flow are reinforced" and process data continues to be neglected. Funder demands and NGO buffering thus perpetuate (or continually *reproduce*) the "product-process" and "insider-outsider" tensions between the two classes of organization, while nothing challenges the preeminence of the capital exchange at the core of their relationship. Ebrahim's plea is that both sides awaken to and seek to address this diversion of energy from common goals and ideals[39].

---

[38] (Ebrahim, 2003b) has explicitly connected his use of the concept of professionalisation to Foucault's ideas on expert discourses.

[39] It should be explained here that in different contexts, and often as represented by different branches or departments, certain organizations can appear both in the role of funder and in the role of recipient NGO. In Ebrahim's study, an arm of the Aga Khan foundation (http://www.akfc.ca/) acted as a principle funder for local Indian NGOs. The same foundation solicits donations from bilateral development agencies, corporations, and private individuals, and holds special fund raising events such as their annual World Partnership Walk.

One strategy for pursuing common goals among INGOs, local NGO, and community groups which also has a strong influence on the relations among them comes under the broad rubric of "capacity building". Efforts to improve local institutional capacity have remained a perennial component of aid strategies, even while the specific organizations targeted have oscillated with shifting development trends. A recent focus on strengthening civil society groups has sought both to amplify citizen demand for "good governance" from state institutions and, in an atmosphere of decentralization, to compensate for the retreat of state institutions by promoting more formal schemes of community self-development, including forms of entrepreneurial activity and local economic cooperation. Gould (2005) has argued that 'capacity building', however ambiguous in its actual organizational results, generally operates as a form of subtle *governmentality*.

> While instilling internalized disciplines of good self-governance is, in fact, an explicit aim of donors and their subcontracting agents, neither the purveyors nor the objects of these interventions see the broader pattern of 'governmental' engagement or its wider effects[40]. The core point about capacity-building is that it is embedded in interventions with specific goals that are almost always about conforming to formal demands or expectations of aid related actors and processes (p.70).[41]

Such conformance does not necessarily mean adopting the form of a professional NGO, however. Some capacity building strives, if at times implicitly, to push in the opposite direction of professionalization, at least on the visionary level, by attempting to reinforce, or in some cases reinvigorate, what might be called the *ante-NGOization* (or even *anti-NGO*) ideal of a durably vibrant *voluntarist* civil society. Keengwe et al. (1998) have pointed to a contradiction, however, inherent in

[40] This perhaps carelessly *absolute* statement by Gould clearly goes against the grain of admonitions to resist casting research subjects as fully *unknowing* conduits of global regimes of knowledge/power.
[41] By this account the professionalization that Ebrahim interpreted as a buffering strategy is indeed also a form of self-directed capacity building that strongly reinforces such a "broader pattern of 'governmental' engagement".

such efforts to enable local NGOs and community based organizations to develop effective and sustainable forms of collaboration on a voluntarist model. First of all, such a model is directly contradicted by the *modus operendi* of INGOs and established local NGOs themselves, which not only relies on salaried professionals, but is typically based on "mobility, discrete projects and exit strategies". (p.14). Furthermore, the relationships that INGOs establish with communities through such capacity building interventions tend to take on a *parental* character that is difficult to alter, thus undermining the goal of fostering autonomous local organizations.

2.10 Conclusion

As the research questions in chapter one have clarified, this thesis investigates the emergence of the discourse of child protagonism and its application in a particular region of the developing world as a strategy for defending children's right to work, for improving their working conditions and earnings, and for securing them educational and training opportunities. The thesis furthermore explores inherent tensions within child protagonism discourse and its limits as revealed in practice, with particular attention to how international donor funding has influenced its effectiveness as a strategy for advancing working children's rights. To contextualize child protagonism discourse, the present chapter began by discussing how sociologists have interrogated the historical construction of childhood that had largely been naturalized in the developed Western consciousness by the mid-20th century. In particular, the chapter's second section explained how scholars have unsettled the notion that childhood is a period of mere passive preparation for adulthood. Accordingly, they have discouraged applying universal norms concerning child work and schooling to diverse cultural contexts and local modes of production, and have urged more explicit recognition of children's social agency. The chapter then analyzed assumptions about childhood, and in particular attitudes towards

children's work, as they were codified in international human rights instruments and labour conventions of the 20th century. The focus here was on the continuing tension between two poles in child rights discourse, the first being the *inclusion* of children as world citizens who share rights with adults, and the second being children's special status as vulnerable and in need of *protection*.

This following section explained how even child labour abolitionists, who have historically viewed all child work through a *protection* lens, have increasingly recognized that child protection efforts should prioritize eliminating the demonstrably *harmful* forms of child work over attempts at blanket eradication. I noted however, that many global actors, most notably the ILO, have nonetheless continued to seek the implementation of minimum age limits within a discourse that still predominantly imposes the childhood ideal of full time formal schooling. This section of the chapter also outlined frameworks proposed by scholars for evaluating the contextualized harm and benefits of child work situations, and presented arguments, rooted in empirical research, for viewing some forms of urban child work as beneficial, rather than harmful, given the children's immediate situation of poverty.

The chapter then examined how a confluence of socio-cultural and economic factors has been implicated in the emergence and persistence of child work in many settings. This section highlighted arguments for interpreting unpaid agricultural and domestic work, as well as traditional apprenticeship, as key elements in systems of both *patriarchal* and *paternalistic* exploitation, rather than as entirely benign forms of socialization and learning for productive adult life. The focus then shifted onto the ways in which all such subsistence, petty commodity, and artisanal activities have become increasingly integrated into capitalist systems, often intensifying the demand for children's low or unpaid work, and undermining traditional forms of social protection within kinship systems. A separate section presented the related argument that global capitalist development tends to ensure the persistence and

even expansion of the informal urban economic sector, which absorbs a continuous influx of young, unskilled workers into unregulated forms of employment and small-scale trading.

The following section presented arguments undermining simple explanatory models that posit children's work as an impediment to their formal schooling. The generally poor quality of schooling in developing countries and its failure to advance employment prospects were cited as rational reasons for parents to withdraw children from school and put them to work, where they might receive more practical forms of education and training, while also contributing to household economies. Work in adolescence, it was in fact argued, is often *more* likely to result in gainful employment in young adulthood than either traditional schooling or remaining completely idle. For these reasons, and because it has been found that school attendance in many contexts scarcely decreases children's workloads, it was further argued that compulsory UPE programs are an unfitting response to concerns about rates of child work[42].

In focusing in on the child protagonism approach as an *alternative* response to such concerns, the ensuing section considered its insistence on the inclusion of children as citizens, and thus the affirmation of their effective agency, views which the UNCRC's participation articles and its guiding principle of evolving capacities can be read as tending to support. Debate over child protagonism has largely echoed debate over other forms of local participatory development in that it has centered

[42] It is important to emphasize that the literature reviewed on this topic presents a counterpoint to, but by no means negates the broad international development education literature on the ways in which *gender hierarchies and divisions of labour* (discussed in section 5.2.1) have historically caused relatively lower enrollments and school life expectancy for girls in many contexts. Formal schooling has been correlated with certain empowerment effects on girls, such as later marriage, lower fertility, improved child health and nutrition, and children's increased educational attainment. Millenium Development Goal 3 to "promote gender equality and empower women" has thus set as its target to "eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education." The several sections of this literature review on the economic determinants of child work and on the misfit of formal schooling to the local labour markets suggest that traditional attitudes towards gender are far from the sole obstacles to higher academic attainment of girls, and that in many contexts formal schooling may not be the best vehicle for delivering desired female empowerment outcomes.

precisely on the question of whether the agency of marginalized groups, in this case disempowered child workers, can significantly improve their own circumstances, through mainly local actions, in the face of the *structural* forces that have marginalized them in the first place.

The final section of the literature review explored relations between international donors and local development NGOs. It first detailed the argument that financial infusions from international donors have fueled an NGOization of grassroots movements, promoting upward accountability and conformance to global development frameworks and problem definitions, rather than attention to the challenges and aspirations of local populations. Scholars have viewed this trend as depoliticizing development. The section then focused in on particular mechanisms and relational dynamics that inhibit deep qualitative analysis or evaluation of the effectiveness of donor funded NGO programming.

This chapter's presentation of alternative perspectives on child work and schooling, its explorations of the cultural and economic forces that condition children's work (particularly in the informal urban sector), and its discussion of how the notions of inclusion, protection, and agency have been used to defend and critique child protagonism all provide important conceptual background for the findings presented in chapters five through eight. The concepts presented near the end of the present chapter to describe the limits and inherent contradictions of organizational capacity building within development aid relationships will be used in interpreting the observational findings in chapter seven on capacity building at municipal and national levels, which are a central component of the specific donor funded child protagonism approach. Finally, the conceptualizations of donor-NGO relations and the concepts related to donor-beneficiary interdependence outlined in this chapter inform findings in chapter six on the specific influences of donor programme criteria and preferences for support to marginalized children, as well as the findings presented in chapter eight on the specific

dynamics of the interdependency between an international donor NGO and the local NGO that has sought to realize child protagonism.

Chapter 3: The Context of Child Work in Senegal

3.1 Introduction

This chapter first presents a brief history of Senegal and describes some features of the economic landscape in which family coping strategies have increasingly incorporated the migration of children and adolescents into informal urban work. The chapter then focuses in more closely on those aspects of the national context in which to most usefully situate the fieldwork findings in order to address the research questions. First, national indicators are presented for formal basic educational attainment and for literacy. These figures give some indication of the high proportion of children and adolescents not in school and help to demonstrate the demand for complementary or alternative interventions in basic education and literacy. The next section offers an overview of the field of such complementary educational interventions in Senegal within which Enda Jeunesse Action (EJA) and the Mouvement Africain des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs (MAEJT) (the local NGO and working children's organization investigated in this thesis) historically sought to establish themselves as leading and innovative actors. An additional section expands upon this context by describing the predominance of the informal economy and by considering the quantity and relevance of vocational education and skills training opportunities available in Senegal along with other efforts to stimulate young adult employment. Provision of skills training and other means to augment earnings has also been a central mandate of the working children's organization.

The chapter continues by discussing the Government of Senegal's discourse on and implication in issues of child work, which appear to be largely influenced by global governance pressures spearheaded by the ILO, which, despite some limited forms of collaboration with working children's organizations, continues both to contest their basic perspective and to suggest limits to their

effectiveness in reducing harmful forms of child work. The succeeding section begins by reiterating, this time specifically for the case of Senegal, factors determining family and individual adolescent decisions in favour of informal urban work. This same section then specifically examines the phenomenon of the rural to urban migration of girl domestic servants in Senegal, a category of child worker that became a central focus of field research. An additional section synthesizes recent analyses of the emergence of NGOs as development actors in Senegal. The chapter does not systematically survey the field of NGOs intervening in the realms of child rights and child protection. Instead, the selective focus here is on dynamics and challenges of NGO-led participatory, empowerment-oriented community development and capacity building that had revealed themselves in fieldwork to be relevant to the working children's organization, its local facilitating NGO, and its international donor. An additional section is dedicated to describing these three organizations in detail before the final section of this chapter reiterates the research questions.

3.2 Historical and economic overview of Senegal

In 1959 the French colony of Senegal merged with French Sudan to form the Mali Federation, which was granted independence in 1960. Later the same year the union between the two was resolved, leaving Senegal itself as an independent state. The Socialist Party ruled for 40 years until the current president, Abdoulaye Wade, was elected in 2000. Senegal is typically characterized as one of Africa's most stable democracies, although President Wade, re-elected in February 2007, has repeatedly amended the constitution to consolidate executive power and undermine opposition parties, and has thus been increasingly criticized for his autocratic mode of governance (CIA, 2010).

With a population of 12.2 million, Senegal is largely rural and enjoys fewer natural resources than many other African countries. Foreign exchange derives principally from fish, phosphates,

groundnuts, tourism, and services. The percentages of GDP composition by sector are: agriculture - 13.8%; industry - 23.3%; services: 62.9% (2009 est.). Labor force percentages by occupation, however, show rather the inverse: agriculture - 77.5%; industry and services - 22.5% (2007 est.). Vicissitudes of both rainfall patterns and world commodity prices have caused shocks to agriculture and driven rural to urban migration. Once the capital of colonial French West Africa, Dakar (population 2.3 million) houses the headquarters of banks and other institutions serving all of Francophone West Africa, and serves as a regional shipping and transport hub. Tourism is also well developed relative to most African countries (CIA, 2010).

An economic reform program with the support of the international donor community was launched in January 1994 with a 50% devaluation of Senegal's currency, the CFA franc, which was linked at a fixed rate to the French franc (and is now to the euro). State subsidies and price controls were progressively eliminated. The fact that GDP growth averaged over 5% annually during 1995-2008 (CIA, 2010) has been put forth as evidence of the reforms' success. However critics have also linked forms of economic and social decline to the devaluation and accompanying measures:

> The combined effects of structural adjustment and devaluation have had harsh societal and economic repercussions. According to the last national survey of households, the number of poor families practically doubled in two years. The rate shot up from 33 percent in the mid-1990s to 58 percent by the end of the decade (Sakho, 2001).

The 2003 estimate (most recent) for population below the poverty line was 57%. As is typically the case, this high incidence of poverty is accompanied by high inequality: The lowest 10% of the population has a household income or consumption share of 2.5%, while the share of the highest 10% is 30.1% (2005). For 2007, Senegal ranked 166th out of 182 in the UN's Human Development Index. The unemployment rate estimate for 2008 was 48%, exceeded by only nine countries (CIA, 2010;

WolframAlpha, 2010). High unemployment is widely perceived to be driving illegal and risky emigration towards Europe via North Africa (Quist-Arcton, 2006).

The country continues to be highly dependent on foreign aid, which accounted for 23% of government spending (U.S. $361.0 million) in 2007 (including both expenditures and capital investments). The current Policy Support Initiative program under the IMF was begun in 2007. In 2009, Senegal signed a compact with the U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation for $540 million in infrastructure development, including road construction near the northern and southern borders and adjoining irrigation and agriculture projects. Under the IMF's Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt relief program, Senegal has benefited from eradication of two-thirds of its bilateral, multilateral, and private-sector debt (CIA, 2010).

3.3 Schooling and literacy

Typical of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the population of Senegal is heavily skewed towards youth; fully 50% of the country's population are under 18 years of age (UNICEF a), with 43.3% being 14 or under (CIA 2010). This age structure compounds the challenges to adequate social investment in quality education that is relevant to the economy, while also increasing the need for those under 18 to engage in productive activity. In conformance with global Education for All norms, Senegal's legislation officially makes schooling compulsory for ages 6-16 and guarantees that it is "free"[43]. However, as, the indicators below demonstrate, this law has not guaranteed the full attendance of children in this age range and does nothing to ensure the value of the schooling they do attend.

[43] As in most African countries, public schools generally still charge fees, citing recurrent costs at the school level, and school supplies are not provided, creating a havy cost burden to cash poor families.

National education data from developing countries are notoriously unreliable (for a number of technical and political reasons). Accordingly, some of the following indicators for Senegal from the UNESCO 2010 Education for All Global Monitoring Report appear implausible and/or mutually contradictory[44]. Nonetheless they provide general background on the school attainment levels and literacy rates in Senegal.

Primary School gross intake rate (2007): 100% (1.05 f/m ratio)
School life expectancy: 7.5 years for boys, 6.8 girls (average 7.2)
Primary Net Enrolment Ratio (NER): 72%
Children out of school: 506,000[45]
Dropout from grade 1 (2005): 17.4%
Primary cohort completion rate: 31% (boys: 24.3; girls: 36.9).
Transition to secondary of those completing primary (2006): 60%
NER for lower secondary (2006): 35%
NER for upper secondary (2006):14%
Youth (15-24) literacy rate (2000-2007): 51%
Adult literacy (2000-2007): 42% (UNESCO, 2010)

While the national budget allocation to education has been as high as 40% in recent years, less than half of one percent has gone towards literacy programmes outside of the formal school system

[44] Some of the data come from national surveys and others are estimates from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS). In particular, the "School life expectancy" and NER for lower secondary seem improbably high relative to the "primary cohort completion rate" and the rate of "transition to secondary of those completing primary", even given a 24% repetition rate among grade six pupils and a 10% repetition rate overall. The youth literacy rate also seems implausibly high in light of the primary completion rate, especially as primary completion is far from guaranteeing literacy.

[45] (Rose, 2010) has explained that "children out of school" have been systematically underreported worldwide according to new reports from the UIS. First, if lower secondary grades were included, which could be logical since many countries now consider them an essential part of "basic education", the totals for "children out of school" would nearly *double*. Second, enrolment data from administrative sources have been found to consistently over-report attendance. While using household survey data can also tend to exaggerate school attendance rates, the UIS found that best estimates based on household data would attribute to Ethiopia and to Tanzania (the latter often considered "on-track" to achieve UPE) *each* an additional 1.8 million children out of school, while the global total would increase by 30%.

(AEO, 2010). National policy expects non-state actors to lead in this sub-sector with "non-formal" programmes.

3.4 Alternative (or non-formal) education

In the 1990s Senegal's *faire-faire* framework for complementary basic education and literacy devolved responsibility for non-formal education to non-state actors. While the term *faire-faire* is no longer officially applied under current education policy, civil society actors are still expected to fill in the gaps in the formal system and in overall state capacity by designing and implementing complementary educational models for a range of learner profiles, including illiterate working children and youth. While in theory the state has reserved the functions of orientation, coordination, stimulus, mobilisation of resources, regulation, monitoring, and evaluation for such alternative education and literacy initiatives, both state and non-state actors (including those consulted in the present research) have agreed that the state has not lived up to these responsibilities.

Écoles communitaires de base (ECBs) are widespread in Senegal. Formally recognized in 1996 as a fundamental element within the government's *Projet d'appui au plan d'action* for experimental alternative models, ECBs have been set up by community based organizations, often with support of international NGOs (e.g., Plan, Aide et Action) (ADEA, 2004). They have served poor children, often from migrant families, who have been excluded from formal school for lack of a birth certificate or for being overage. The extent to which ECBs are "alternative", however, appears to be mostly limited to their administration, funding, recruitment of semi-volunteer teachers, and makeshift use of buildings. In general, ECBs strive to implement formal school curricula and to cultivate relations with the local school inspectorate in order to receive formal recognition for children's grade attainment and even to channel the younger children into formal schools.

Formations de coin de rue (FCR) are a form of ECB that have existed in Dakar and its *banlieues* since 1990, offering cost-free pre-school, primary, and secondary school programmes parallel to the formal system and enjoying the support of Enda *Ecopole,* a team of the Dakar-based NGO Enda Tiers Monde. According to a research report on the decentralization and diversification of education in Senegal, in 2004 15% of FCR doubled in the evening hours as *Centres d'alphabétisation fonctionelle* (CAF) for young workers such as domestic servants, apprentices, street sellers, shoe shiners, etc. (ADEA, 2004). This report highlighted the relevance of CAF programmes and their adaptation to the learners' context as key strengths, and explicitly praised how a broader sense of community was fostered through the mixing of different generations of learners in such centres (ADEA, 2004). These possible dimensions of learning programmes will be considered in chapter five within the presentation of findings on the MAEJT's past history of functional literacy interventions, as well as in chapter six within the presentation of fieldwork observations of literacy courses for domestic workers.

3.5 The Informal Economy, Skills Training, and Youth Employment Creation

I have noted in the literature review how many observers, including working children's organizations themselves, have remarked upon formal schooling's essential irrelevance to the employment opportunities in developing countries, which are primarily in the informal sector. While recent data on the scope and detailed characteristics of the informal sector (IS) in Senegal are scant, it is nonetheless evident that it provides the significant majority of urban employment (Haan & Serriere, 2002). According to 1988 survey data, which is the most recent available, small–scale trading accounts for 42% of urban IS employment, the largest share. Other employment categories include: *artisanat*, which refers to manufacturing in traditional trades such as blacksmithing, weaving and wood-carving, as well more modern forms of metal and wood working (36% of employment); services

such as repair and catering (17%); transport (4%); and construction (less than 1%) (pp.50-51). Consistent with recent claims about the earlier invisibility of domestic workers, domestic work is in fact conspicuously absent as a category from this 1988 survey. Without domestic workers being counted, this survey indicated that only 13% of the IS workforce could be considered wage workers, with 19% being classified as employers. Fully 68% of the total IS work force were "traditional apprentices" (family or non-family), meaning that they were effectively unpaid workers, mostly under the age of 18 (Haan & Serriere, 2002, p.58).

Based on seminal case studies conducted in Kaolack, Senegal, Morice (1981, 1982) argued that a key element of entrenched paternalistic systems is precisely that children are not socially recognized as producers within the systems that exploit their work – that is, in which they work without being commensurately compensated. He viewed traditional apprenticeship work in Africa as framed by a general contract between age groups that precludes any individual contracts that would place the apprentice in the status of wage labour[46].

It is noteworthy how little focus can be found within literature on the informal sector and on Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) specifically on the age characteristics of the informal sector workforce. Haan and Serriere (2002) have noted, however, that the low age of many apprentices "stands out starkly in Senegal", a phenomenon that they naturally linked to the high drop-

[46] According to Morice (1981, 1982), there is no free labour market in this context. Instead, labour circulates according to the demands of kinship and marriage relations. In return, any surplus from an enterprise is largely distributed, or re-circulated, within these relations to ensure continued availability of free labour. In fact, since apprentices' very subsistence was assured neither by a wage nor by support from their families directly, a generalized redistributive circulation system, in which midday meal preparation by female relatives formed one link, was in fact the clearest mechanism that Morice (1982) was able to discern for ensuring the reproduction of labour in terms not only of the training, but indeed the survival, of the next generation of workers.

out rate from primary school and low enrolment in secondary school. They reported observing apprentices as young as eight years old. These authors have added:

> As a result of the early age of the intake of the apprentice, the period of training can be very long, and has been reported to last even up to 10-15 years, while in countries where [Traditional Apprenticeship Training] is more structured (e.g. Benin and Togo) it is said to take only some 2 years (Sylvestre 2002, p.59)

Concerning TVET overall in Senegal, Haan and Serriere (2002) have reported that its "basic framework dates from the 1960s. Capacity is very low (some 7,300) and its distribution biased in favour of higher levels of technical education and urban areas." (p.54). Reviewing its various uncoordinated components, they have highlighted the absence of a coherent, systematic approach to TVET that would be built upon the centrality of the informal sector to employment.

As with literacy and basic education, non-state actors have recognized the need to complement state programmes, and they have thus designed and implemented skills training interventions that have sought to attune themselves both to specific learner profiles and to existing earning opportunities. In some cases these have been relatively short term programmes. In 2004, for example, 10% of the FCR mentioned above were also offering simple three-month *formations pratiques* in a range of informal sector trades, aiming for "insertion rapide" into employment (ADEA, 2004). However, there are also a number of local NGOs with over a decade of experience in implementing longer term forms of *atelier-école*, also referred to as *alternance* arrangements, or (especially when targeting young adults) *éducation qualifiante*, which integrate more formalized versions of traditional trades apprenticeship with literacy training within programmes that also seek to culminate in immediate employment insertion. By the end of 2009 the *Ministère de l'enseignement technique et de la formation professionnelle* was scheduled to begin piloting its own programmes aimed at supporting and

structuring informal apprenticeship in tailoring, construction, and automobile repair within programmes that would culminate in a standard qualification or credential.

A representative of the ministry stated that while NGOs were known to be active in this domain, it was necessary that they begin functioning in an integrated and systematic fashion, implying a reinforced coordinating role for the ministry. For their part, representatives of the NGOs involved in such programmes, as well as those organizational actors offering various low cost private training models (e.g., dressmaking and hairdressing schools incorporating functional literacy) also generally decried the absence of coordination in the sector, some commenting that they had no knowledge of the ministry's pilot programmes just mentioned, even though they have been in the pipeline since 2005. Non-state actors have sought means to make their models sustainable precisely by embedding them in traditional apprenticeship systems and existing community organizations, but they have generally remained dependent on international donor funding, which has led to an underlying dynamic of competition in attracting such funding. There have, however, been some cases of exemplary collaboration among NGOs who already share a common donor.

Related to concerns about the inadequacy of TVET, *un*employment among youth (above 18) has been a major preoccupation in Senegal with frequent discussion in the press. President Wade has launched "numerous initiatives in favour of employment" since taking office. *L'Agence nationale pour l'emploi des jeunes* and the accompanying *Fonds national pour l'emploi des jeunes* were established in 2001, but have yet to yield the outcomes anticipated. Pikine, a populous suburb of Dakar with a very high rate of youth unemployment, was struck by severe flooding in September 2008, fueling a long simmering protest movement. President Wade held a *Forum banlieue avenir* in Pikine where he announced a programme of *Très grands projets* (TGP) which would create 100 000 jobs per year. In

December 2008 the *Office pour l'emploi des jeunes dans la banlieue* was established under TGP and connected directly to the President's office (AEO, 2010).

L'Agence nationale pour l'emploi des jeunes, housed within the *Ministère de la jeunesse et de l'emploi des jeunes* has organised a *Coalition pour l'emploi des jeunes*. Asserting that "Les jeunes chercheurs d'un emploi ont un déficit d'information", and attempting to foster job *self-creation*, in 2004 they published an informational guide for young employment seekers and creators. This guide does not, however, take into account the majority of children and youth –i.e., those who have not finished a full cycle of schooling and therefore may have started work or apprenticeship at an early age. Official Government of Senegal policy statements warmly welcome the contributions of various youth groups and NGOs in terms of education, training, and youth employment creation (République du Sénégal 2004; Ministère de la Jeunesse 2006), thereby shifting responsibility for these economic and social aims onto such civil society actors and their international donors.

3.6 Child Work in Senegal: origins and conditions of girls' informal domestic employment

According to a recent national survey, an estimated half of all children aged 5 – 14 years old in Senegal are involved in "productive activity", the term denoting all paid and unpaid work. While up to 85 percent of this activity is non-remunerated household work, mainly in agriculture, it was estimated that there are more than 450,000 "economically active"[47] children between the ages of 5 and 14 years (15% of that age group) in Senegal, with half of those being under the age of 12 years (UCW, 2010).

Consistent with discussion in the previous chapter, (Mbaye & Fall, 2000) have argued that the intensification of children's economic activity in Senegal has been linked to the disintegration of

[47] "Economic Activity" refers to work conceived to generate earnings through exchange relations outside of the home.

traditional, community based socialization under the stress of economic decline and the lure of the city. Child-centered research in Dakar, as well as elsewhere in Senegal and West Africa has accordingly underscored how the everyday experiences and the choices of young people are conditioned not only by their exclusion from formal institutions and economies, but also, increasingly, by diminishing care for them within the local networks that govern informal economies and that maintain ties to villages of family origin (Simone, 2004, p.33). As children have perceived formal schooling to be a disagreeable process (resulting from poor instructional quality and social inaptness), and their families have recognized that it leads nowhere[48], they have turned to coping strategies, typically involving informal economic activities that have gained increasing, if begrudging social acceptance in the urban landscape (William et al., 2007; Y. Diallo, 2008). Hawking, or street vending, especially for boys, and informal domestic service for girls have become more significant domains of child work over the last three decades (Charles and Charles, 2004; Y. Diallo, 2008; ILO, 2010).

Among Senegalese girls who are involved in any form of productive activity, 10.1% are estimated to be working as remunerated domestic workers outside the home (UCW, 2010), a category of work that has been characterized as often qualifying under ILO convention 182 as one of the worst forms of child labor (e.g., by Black (2005)). As background to understanding the origins of the phenomenon of informally employed girl domestic servants, who were an important category of child

[48] Even a Rapport National d'analyses from the Ministere de l'Economie et des Finances has stated concerning formal schooling "Si en milieu rural la non fréquentation est surtout liée à un refus des parents, en milieu urbain par contre, elle est davantage plus liée à une déception, à un désintéressement des suites des résultats escomptés aussi bien par les élèves que par les parents." (ANSD/BIT-IPEC, 2007, p.124). This statement is based on a categorisation of survey answers from children (7-17) offering the reason for non-attendance of school. There is no exploration of the extent to which the notion of "refus" is grounded in earlier, more culturally determined forms of family disinterest and perceived lack of value in schooling. Combining the three categories in the data table referring to these interrelated motivations accounts for 66% of urban responses and 55.1% or rural responses. Additional response categories include the need to help at home or contribute to family incomes.

worker organized within the MAEJT - and groups of whom were key participants in this study - it is useful to first offer an overview of gender relations in rural Senegal within which this particular form of child and youth migration and work has developed. In rural Senegalese culture the gendered division of labour remains rigid within patriarchal family structures, dictating a predominantly domestic role for females. As a result, among rural children 5 to 17 years old, roughly twice as many boys are economically active as girls, but much higher percentages of girls are involved in significant productive activities in the home (i.e. from 56% of seven year-olds up to 90% of 13 year-olds) (UCW, 2010). Moreover, while civil and political liberties for women in the country are viewed as relatively advanced for the region, cultural attitudes towards women's status continue to place them on a severely unequal footing and thus foster systematic violations of the internationally recognized rights of girls and women. Excision (female genital mutilation), though formally illegal and now decreasing, is still widely practiced. A 2004 study found that 29% of girls aged 15 to 19 years were already married, divorced or widowed. Furthermore, roughly half of all marriages are polygamous, inheritance and property rights for women are negligible, and domestic violence is described as still frequent and widely accepted (SIGI, n.d.).

As suggested by the discussion of Jacquemin's (2006) research in the previous chapter, girls' migration for domestic work outside of their parents' household has long existed, and conventionally been construed as a *functional* practice among extended families in many regions of Africa. One or two girls would be lent to other household units in need of assistance with housekeeping tasks. In this *intra-family* context the experience was generally characterized as an educational and socialization process - helping prepare the girl for her future role of homemaker – in which girls enjoyed some right of recourse in cases of conflict, thus (theoretically) attenuating any exploitative tendencies (Diaw et al. 2006, p.5). As rural-urban migration intensified, this form of intra-familial exchange tended to give

way to a seasonal model conceived as economic opportunity for girls from impoverished rural regions, during periods of relative inactivity in agriculture, to meet their own and their families' needs. Solidarity networks of individuals from the same village or region formed within the cities. As additional ethnic groups (beyond those of the Casamance and Sine-Saloum regions) lost their disdain for such urban domestic labour, it also gradually became less seasonal and more of a stable and permanent profession (p.5-6). CONAFE-Sénégal (2006) has summarized the factors fueling these developments:

> La paupérisation croissante du monde rural, conséquences des politiques d'ajustement structurel renforcées, des calamités naturelles, de l'absence d'une politique agricole cohérente et concertée avec les acteurs ont incité les populations rurales à développer des stratégies de survive dont la mise au travail des fillettes et des jeunes filles comme employées de maison (p. 20).

Diaw et al. (1996) also underscored how from their own and their families' perspectives, it has been quite rational for rural girls with no opportunities for education and training to seek domestic employment in cities in order to contribute to family revenue, prepare for their own future (marriage) and in some cases withdraw for some time from the harsher aspects of rural existence. The draw of urban goods and fashions (*les merveilles de Dakar* described by those returning) and unrealistic expectations of an easier lifestyle also intermingled with pragmatic motives. Already by the early 1990s[49] these authors were able to state: "Un foyer dakarois doit être de condition très modeste, et encore, pour ne pas avoir au minimum une «mbindaan»[50]; parmi les classes plus aisées, il n'est pas rare d'avoir deux ou trois bonnes qui se partagent les tâches." (p.4). ILO-IPEC (2004) cited 1993

[49] The study reported was undertaken in 1992-93.

[50] A Wolof term applied to domestic servants.

survey data indicating that there were 53, 370 domestic servants under 18 years in Senegal, with 12,000 between the ages of 6 and 14.

Some characteristics of these girls and young women and descriptions of their living and working conditions, as reported in detail by Ndiaye-Kane (1985) and Diaw et. al. (1996), are here presented for context and comparison with findings to be presented in chapters five and six of the thesis. The two studies discussed here (the first produced by Enda TM, the second by EJA itself) did not draw upon international discourses of women in development (1980s) or of gender (1990s) and did not explicitly critique the patriarchal norms that largely confined rural girls and young women into this particular form of economic activity. However, merely by focusing on this gender specific problematique of frequently exploitative and harmful labour these two studies nonetheless arguably represent early gender-lensed contributions to the analysis of child labour in Senegal. The study of Diaw et al. (1996), conducted in 1992-93, surveyed 112 domestic workers under 15 years old in Dakar and found that slightly over half had themselves chosen to take on such work to help meet their own needs and those of their family back in the village (p.15). Of this same sample, nearly 70% had never attended school (primarily those of the Sérère ethnic group), with 25% having at least attended part of a primary cycle. Among the fifteen to eighteen year-olds surveyed, close to 40% had attended primary school. The earlier image of the completely unschooled *fille domestique,* the authors noted, no longer captured the entire reality at the time, since for a significant number it was a lack of means to pursue further education or training (and failure to be promoted to middle school) that pushed them towards urban domestic work (pp.16-17). However, at the same time, the overall trend was for greater numbers of younger, unschooled girls.

The domestic workers reported the gradual disappearance of forms of kinship support that had earlier attenuated the shock of their arrival in the city and their ongoing hardships. Specifically, their

food and lodging were no longer being paid in whole or in part by older relatives who were already settled in their densely populated urban neighbourhoods. The three quarters of the young domestic servants that did not live with their employers were increasingly living in groups of eight to fifteen, sharing the rental costs of habitations that lacked the basic amenities of drinking water and sanitation (pp.20-22). While the minority of domestics who lived in the homes of their employers enjoyed better food and lodging conditions and avoided a regular commute, they suffered relative isolation from relatives and social life, and their work hours could more easily be extended.

Diaw et al. (1996) stated that the legal texts of Senegal in force at the time formally covered all aspects that could have contributed to better working conditions of domestics[51]. However, even where expatriate employers wished to apply these laws, many domestics preferred not to in order to avoid pay check deductions. Many employers noted that the texts were not realistic since even their own revenues were below the minimum wage set down in the law:

> Pour eux, les textes sont calqués sur le traitement européen et c'est pourquoi seuls les expatriés peuvent les respecter. On se trouve confronté au dilemme habituel: à quoi sert une loi inapplicable? Une loi «hors la population» peut-elle être défendue sous prétexte qu'elle garantit des droits jamais appliqués? Ne présente-t-elle pas le danger de jouer le rôle d'un paravent apte à masquer un vide où le minimum lui-même n'est pas garanti? (p.42).

[51] Note that it is stated below that the *new* Labour Code makes no mention of domestic work. The legal framework predating the newer Code consisted of :

- Arrêté ministériel no 3006 MFPTEDTESS du 20 mars 1972 modifiant et complétant l'arrêté no 974 MFPTDTSS du 23 janvier 1968 déterminant les conditions générales d'emploi des domestiques et gens de maison
- Arrêté ministériel no 974 M.F.P.TDTSS du 23 janvier 1968 déterminant les conditions générales d'emploi des domestiques et gens de maison (abrogé par les dispositions plus favorables du code du travail de 1997 et la Convention collective de 1982)
- Arrêté ministériel no 10117 MFPTEDTSS- CAB 4 du 12 septembre 1975, abrogeant et remplaçant l'article 8 de l'arrêté ministériel no 974 du 12 septembre 1975 MFPTE-DTSS du 23 janvier 1968 déterminant les conditions générales d'emploi des domestiques et gens de maison
- Arrêté ministériel n° 13548 M.F.P.T.E – D.T.S.S. du 28 novembre 1974 fixant les salaires minimaux mensuels des domestiques et gens de maison. (FES).

Domestic workers were well aware of the financial situations of their employers and therefore did not demand that legal statutes be applied, stressing rather their desire for improvements on a human level and in terms of opportunities for both personal and community progress. Diaw et al. (1996) emphasised the girls' aspirations to move into other professions, and above all into forms of work that would permit them to remain in their village and assist in developing it (p.44-5).

3.7 The Role of the State in Senegal vis à vis Child Work

This section serves to illustrate how the government of Senegal's official approach to child work issues is minimally evident in enforcement or implementation on the ground. While this leaves ample room for the intervention of non-state actors, since both local and international NGOs require state sanction to operate, it is important for both to frame their work in a manner that does not overtly conflict with the government position or circumvent national legislation. Requisite deference to national legislation that is not enforced has thus created additional tensions and challenges for the implementation of the child protagonism strategy in Senegal, as will be presented in chapters six and seven.

The government of Senegal's official positions on child work and education conform largely, though not entirely, to global institutional norms inscribed in the frameworks of the ILO, the United Nations Commission on the Rights of the Child, and Education for All, even as the capacity, resources, and political will have been insufficient to take significant measures towards realizing stated ideals. Senegal's most

recent legal framework applying to the work of minors is the Code du Travail (Loi n°97-17 du 1er décembre 1997)[52]. The code's Article 145 essentially domesticates ILO Convention 138[53], but with qualification:

> Art.L.145.- Les enfants ne peuvent être employés dans aucune entreprise, même comme apprentis, avant l'âge de quinze ans, sauf dérogation édictée par arrêté du Ministre chargé du Travail, compte tenu des circonstances locales et des tâches qui peuvent leur être demandées.
> Un arrêté du Ministre chargé du Travail fixe la nature des travaux et les catégories d'entreprises interdites aux jeunes gens et l'âge limite auquel s'applique l'interdiction. (Gouvernement du Sénégal, 1997)[54].

Exhibiting its overall abolitionist approach through a persistently rigid stance on minimum age standards, the ILO's Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations has repeatedly expressed concern over the wording of these articles, specifically for allowing exceptions to the minimum age of fifteen by taking into account local circumstances and the nature of tasks to be performed:

> The Committee had reminded the Government that it had specified a minimum age of 15 years upon ratifying the Convention and that the waiver allowed by section L.145 of the Labour Code was inconsistent with this provision of the Convention (ILO, 2010).

Additional statutes for applying the Code came into force on 6 June, 2003. These include *Arrêté n° 003748 relatif au travail des enfants*, whose first article states that a child is anyone under eighteen years and reiterates that the admissible age for work is fifteen. It goes on clarify that twelve years is a sufficient age for light work in a family context that does not negatively

[52] Still essentially based on the 1952 French labor code governing its overseas territories, the present code only explicitly applies to workers in the formal sector, external to agricultural. As a result, the work of most of Senegal's population does not, under strict legal interpretation, fall within its provisions (Equal Rights Trust, 2010).
[53] Senegal did not actually sign ILO 138 until 1999, followed by ILO Convention 182 (on the worst forms) in 2000.

[54] Two other articles of the code also refer to children: Article 141 states that women and children must have eleven consecutive hours of rest, while article 146 states that *l'Inspecteur du Travail et de la Sécurité sociale* can enforce the right of a woman or child to be examined to determine if their workload exceeds their capacities. Work determined to be beyond their capacities must be substituted by more suitable work, or the worker must receive payment in lieu of notice (Gouvernement du Sénégal, 1997).

affect the child's health, morality, or normal schooling progress, whereas eighteen is the minimum age for "dangerous" work, except, once again, by special authorization of the *Ministre chargé du Travail*. The second article specifies that these limits apply to all establishments (agricultural, commercial, industrial, public or private, secular or religious), including both family enterprises and establishments with an educational dimension.[55]

Senegal has further signaled commitment to international legal norms pertaining to children by incorporating the UNCRC into the constitution of 2001, as well as by ratifying two of its optional protocols, by passing a national law against human trafficking, and by amending a law to make education free and compulsory for children aged 6-16[56].

However, in a report to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (submitted seven years behind schedule), the Government of Senegal did not include itself among the institutional actors who are monitoring the exercise of "rights" implied within Labour Code provisions pertaining to children, naming instead only labor unions and NGOs as performing this function (UNCRC, 2006b, p.25). In a report to the ILO, the only modest quantifiable achievements the government cites in combatting the worst forms of child labour are actually attributable to the ILO's own non-formal educational

[55] The other three of the newest statutes focus on defining and prohibiting the worst forms of child labour and defining the nature of dangerous, overtaxing, and harmful work to be restricted according to age.

[56]The protocols ratified by Senegal are the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflicts (2004) and the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography (2003). The law against human trafficking and for the protection of victims (Law No. 2005-02) was adopted in 2005. Law No. 91-92 on free and compulsory education was amended in 2004. The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child commended the Government of Senegal for all of these actions (UNCRC, 2006a).

interventions, which are claimed to have *prevented* child work, although no clear case was made that they prevented any of its *worst forms* (ILO, 2010)[57].

The ILO's Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations has conveyed to the Government of Senegal its concern over the limits of their measures to reduce child work overall and therefore over the enduring scope of the problem:

> …the Government had sent a number of statistics published in the 2007 analysis report on the national survey of child labour in Senegal carried out in 2005. It noted that of an estimated 3,759,074 children aged from 5 to 17 years, 1,378,724 (36.7 per cent) were involved in some activity or work in Senegal and that in 2005 more than two out of ten (21.4 per cent) children aged from 5 to 9 years had already worked… *While noting the measures taken by the Government to abolish child labour, the Committee once again expresses concern at the number and percentage of children still working in various sectors and requests the Government to redouble its efforts to combat child labour* (ILO, 2010).

The Committee has also specifically conveyed its concern over the scope of independent, informal forms of children's work, such as shoe cleaners and street hawkers, work which it characterizes as "illegal". Recognizing that poverty has favoured the growth of such activities, it has argued (with the Confédération nationale des travailleurs du Sénégal (CNTS)) that "even if children working on their own account can be regarded as traders, the minimum age is not well-observed in the informal sector." (ILO, 2010, p. 358). The ILO Committee has furthermore strongly suggested the inadequacy of the government's measures to protect children in the informal sector, most of whom,

[57] In 2004 the ILO asserted that"Senegal recognize[s] child domestic labour as unacceptable" and has targeted it in a national programme for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour (ILO-IPEC, 2004). However, there is nothing in any Senegalese legislation that specifically defines domestic work as among the worst, or the dangerous, or the otherwise harmful forms of child labour. In fact, the new Labour Code in fact makes no specific reference to children in domestic service (or to domestic service at all). Moreover, to this day the government has cited no measures of its own in combatting children's domestic work.

they contend, "have had no basic education and are in no kind of training." (ILO, 2010, p. 358)[58]. This description of the scope and character of independent child work in the informal economy is directly relevant to the child protagonism strategy and to the historical progress of the MAEJT in Senegal, since such workers were initially a primary target of organizational efforts, as will be detailed in chapter five.

3.8 Local NGOs in Senegal

Overall, civil society, including both professional NGOs and more traditional organizational forms (e.g., *organisations communautaires de base*), has been relatively well developed in Senegal, where there has been increasing collaboration of NGO coalitions in government initiatives. However, civil society groups still function primarily as community organizers and project implementers, and their development as an effective voice as policy analysts and expenditure monitors has been limited.

---

[58] The ILO's mid-term Evaluation Summary of its own project of support for the implementation of Senegal's Time Bound Programme for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour indicated the difficulty of building consensus rapidly around feasible priority measures. One critique of the project contained in the evaluation summary was that the programme was too centralized and did not involve local authorities or grassroots groups. It furthermore noted, in somewhat understated fashion, that "economic development" should have been an objective in the programme: "Poverty being one of the principal causes of [child labour], economic development constitutes a key element for solving the problem." (ILO, 2005). The mid-term evaluation summary also noted:

> "At the time of the national workshop, three sectors were identified as priority sectors: begging, domestic labour and agriculture, including herding and fishing. Apart from domestic labour, the sectors targeted through the project of support are new sectors in the experience of IPEC in Senegal; this might have contributed to the delay in the formulation of [action plans]. The comparative advantage of the ILO in the sector of vocational training could not be used to the full extent.
>
> "A total of 9,000 children are to be targeted for withdrawal and prevention from exploitative and/or hazardous work through the provision of educational and non-educational services, following direct action from the project. Of this total, 3,000 will be withdrawn from work and 6,000 will be prevented from being engaged in child labour. In addition, 1,000 families are to be targeted in the communities to improve their income. These figures appear to be very high, especially regarding the children to be withdrawn from work; the short duration of the [action plans] will probably make it impossible to reach this result." (ILO, 2005).

Guèye (2009) reported that no final evaluation of this support project had been carried out. I also could find none.

For example, consistent with critiques of Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) processes in many developing countries, (Phillips, 2005) has argued that civil society's role in Senegal's PRSP has done little or nothing to counter the leverage of the international financial institutions (IFIs) over the government in determining the PRSP's formulation. Thus, participation by civil society proved to be an exercise to be completed by the government in fulfillment of its PRSP requirements, rather than an occasion for drawing upon the knowledge and perspective of these groups for formulating a poverty reduction strategy. (p.9)

Niane (2003) has presented a broader description of the recent historical development of NGOs in Senegal. Employing the phrase "l'ongisation de l'espace socio-économique" (p.105), his analysis resonates with many of the themes presented in the previous chapter's section on donor-NGO-community dynamics, and is thus instructive as a backdrop for the Senegal based findings on the relations among the MAEJT, its local facilitating NGO, and its donor. According to Niane (2003), beyond the considerable infrastructure contributions of local development NGOs in Senegal, they have generally placed great emphasis on community level training and sensitization, seeking to contribute to new "Connaissance – Attitudes –Pratiques" for improved social well-being and individual realization in a context of severe socio-economic constraints. Unlike the state, NGOs are actually on the ground, implementing participatory methods, including forms of Rapid Rural Appraisal and action research. As a result (and to some embarrassment of the state), populations of villages and of urban quartier mobilize to directly canvass NGOs to intervene, resulting in their definite embedding in the socio-cultural fabric. (p.96). More classical forms of community association transform themselves into NGOs, and even the state has felt compelled to emulate the NGO form (p.98). Niane (2003) attributed

this social anchorage of NGOs to the failure of most to consider in advance the necessary conditions for weaning local populations from their forms of support[59]. The Conseil des ONG d'Appui au Développement (CONGAD) Senegal has defended the technical support of NGOs as entirely appropriate in light of what it referred to as the weak management capacity of local communities, but it cautioned that "Elles doivent s'assurer de ne pas agir à la place des vrais protagonistes, à savoir les populations" (CONGAD Symposium sur l'idéntité des ONG, les cahiers du CONGAD, 1 janvier, 1999, cited in Niane (2003), p.97).

Niane (2003) himself countered, however, that since NGOs remain dependent on a 'commerce du don', they are not in a position to promote autonomy. At most they can be necessary implementation agents in processes they do not control, and as such "Leur pouvoir demeure relativement factice." (p.106).

The contribution of Ndione (1994) is especially instructive in suggesting the limits and pitfalls of NGO interventions that seek to introduce new institutional forms and practices into existing community systems. He analyzed the evolving efforts of CHODAK, a separate team of the NGO Enda Tiers-Monde, in implementing projects to assist the most deprived categories of residents of the Grand Yoff quartier in Dakar in the 1980s. The team initially established artificial social groupings (of women and youth, abstracted from existing networks) and sought to introduce the practice of "savings", to be run in these groups according to democratic, egalitarian ideals. Programmes faltered as a result of having ignored the normative power of existing hierarchical social networks and in particular strong obligations of constant resource circulation (as described in the above discussion of

[59] He also implicated a "logique de l'immédiat" that he viewed as characteristic of Senegalese populations, rooted in a cyclical conception of time that mitigates against long term planning.

apprentices in artisanal workshops). Attempting to isolate such groups (and in particular, their allotted credit) from their environment of strategic exchange relations could not serve to develop the imposed ideal of financial autonomy, but rather only tended to choke off the groups' very existence. Eventually recognising this fact, CHODAK did not characterise their project participant's behaviour as a growing "dependence" of beneficiaries, but rather acknowledged that their organisation and its programmes were merely being incorporated into prevailing exchange relations as one of various "cash drawers" to whom forms of allegiance and reciprocity had to be practiced (including "participating" in CHODAK project structures as requested):

> Aux yeux de nos partenaires [à la base, dans les quartiers], nous avons tous les attributs de chef de lignage. Nous sommes riches, au sens social et financier du terme ; nous sommes insérés dans un puissant réseau de relations. Nous disposons d'ailleurs de tiroirs stratégiques, de fonds de relations avec différents bailleurs, ONG, que nous sollicitons. Nous avons des complicités dans l'administration et les milieux d'affaires. Pour la population, nous pouvons demander et obtenir tout l'argent que nous voulons…nous sommes perçus comme des chefs de lignage c'est-à-dire comme des redistributeurs de biens et de faveurs… Si nous refusons d'entrer dans la logique du lignage, nous suscitons la méfiance d'une bonne partie de nos partenaires (pp.19-20).

CHODAK thus shifted its approach to adapt to the local social terrain, implementing what they referred to as a "pédagogie des déviations" (p.23).

Niane (2003) has also highlighted how commercial news media in Senegal have been drawn into interdependencies with NGOs parallel to those described by Ebrahim (2003) between NGOs and their donors. In these cases, including that reported upon in this research, journalists are enticed into serving NGOs' reputational imperatives through the propagation of superficial, product data success stories that provide ready-made, "good news" content for print or broadcast, especially on annual "global day of " celebrations that are tailor-made for such NGO-media symbiosis:

> Cette démarche salutaire pour ces structures qui "visibilisent" ainsi à travers le champ médiatique leur action, ne rime pas souvent avec les préoccupations originelles des professionnels de l'information, tenus de vérifier la véracité des affirmations ou encore des données livrées par les ONG… Cette démarche confine ainsi le journaliste au rôle strict de "relayeur simple de données ou encore de propos" destinés plus à conforter l'action menée sur le

> terrain par ces organisations ainsi que la nécessité de pérenniser de telles entreprises (Wal Fadjri, 2001) (Niane, 2003, p.95).

It is consistent with Ebrahim's analysis to note how donors appreciate the reputational boost when their names are mentioned in such media stories, as they typically are. As a result, donors may be at least equally impressed and attracted by an NGO's ability to generate such media coverage as by the purported successes credulously and enthusiastically reported therein.

Another salient dimension of professional NGO activity in Senegal has been remarked upon in an essay that was reproduced on numerous African news media websites (suggesting that it resonated widely). Observations during fieldwork corroborated the tendency noted here:

> La réflexion et la conception ne sont certes pas des exercices qui font défaut au Sénégal où se multiplient à un rythme ahurissant les ateliers de conception, de restitution, de capitalisation ou de validation, les séminaires, conférences, assises, fora, symposiums, journées de réflexion, semaines ou quinzaines de promotion, retraites, rencontres, sommets, etc. Les résultats d'envergure que le foisonnement de ces rencontres met en droit d'attendre ne se font pas sentir concrètement. (Alissoutin, 2007)

While the reflection, "capitalisation", and conception undertaken at such meetings is not always merely redundant or insincere, and in some cases contributes to gradual advances in understanding and practice, such gatherings can also be dominated by their highly symbolic dimension, serving the reputational interests of government, NGOs, and other international partners such as dominant IGOs. The recent launch of the latest Understanding Children's Work (UCW) report on Senegal, upon which a regional approach to child labour and youth employment would ostensibly be based, may be taken as a case in point, judging by its description in several online news reports. The minister of Youth, Sports, and Leisure attended the launch:

> …le ministre a fait remarquer que l'étude « n'est pas une étude de plus » mais que celle-ci vient compléter un guide référentiel qui va alimenter les réflexions précédentes et futures dans la croisade de notre pays contre les pires formes de travail des enfants (A. Diallo, 2010).

> Pour [le ministre] le fait que : « trois agences unissent leurs forces pour régler ces deux fléaux qui gangrènent nos sociétés est la preuve de l'engagement de l'Etat du Sénégal et de ses partenaires pour la recherche de solutions, la question des enfants et des jeunes a toujours été une préoccupation des autorités Sénégalaises » (Diaby, 2010).

3.9 Central Organizational Actors in the study

Enda Jeunesse Action

From its founding in 1972, the Dakar based NGO Environment and Development Action (ENDA) Tiers-Monde has defined itself as an alternative development organisation. Building upon a post-colonial critique of how Western norms for development have continued to be imposed upon underdeveloped states, the organisation has historically avoided imported intervention models, and has rather supported the grassroots organizing of marginalized people for initiatives based on their own local experiences and objectives. The general approach is described on their current website:

> Enda works to enhance the visibility and value, in practice as well as theory, of the knowledge and tools that exist in local development efforts. This consists of identifying and supporting community development initiatives - especially in terms of local organizations (Enda Tiers Monde)[60].

In 1985, in reaction to the perception of a growing presence of marginalized children on the streets of Dakar and its suburbs, Enda Jeunesse Action (EJA) was established as a new team within Enda-Tiers-Monde with a mandate of focusing the organisation's alternative development approach on this segment of the urban population. Working in local contexts where the social presence and

[60] The following excerpt from the web page of the Enda team Ecopole offers a further taste of the discourse surrounding the Enda approach: "[Nous sommes] fermement convaincues que ce sont les jeunes et les pauvres eux-mêmes, ceux qui n'ont jamais droit à la parole, qui doivent concevoir et mettre en œuvre leurs propres stratégies de développement. Car leur art de la débrouille, leur aptitude à survivre dans la rue ont beaucoup à nous apprendre….Pourquoi les exclus ne pourraient-ils donner leur avis sur les politiques éducatives? Pourquoi les leçons d'imagination et de débrouille de l'économie populaire, dite "informelle" ne pourraient-elles stimuler le développement ? Pourquoi appliquer des modèles extérieurs alors que les réponses sont là?" (Ecopole, n.d.).

economic role of children and youth were impossible to overlook, the organization would theoretically affirm, in its publications, the genuine social and economic significance of young people and overtly reject globally propagated constructions of the child, the family, education, and rights that were not calibrated to local realities. Their pedagogical interventions with natural affinity groupings of child and youth workers would quickly evolve to aim at galvanizing young people's agency and organization to enable their leadership in struggles to improve their own circumstances. As will be detailed in chapter five, EJA's support to groups of urban working children and youth (*groupes de base)* led to the establishment of city-level associations (*Associations des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs* or AEJT) to unify such groups. Through a network of collaborating organizations working with marginalized urban children in West Africa, these associations would come to be federated into the MAEJT in 1994.

The EJA team has two offices in Dakar, both of which interact with the MAEJT, but in quite different ways and at different levels of the movement's organization. EJA's national office is located in the *banlieue* of Guédiawaye, approximately an hour by taxi from Dakar's downtown[61]. This office was implementing a child protection programme, *Xaley Ca Kanam* ("children move forward"), of three year duration, which had been negotiated with European funding partners. This programme actually targeted three categories of "children in difficult situations", of which working children were one. Within the framework of this programme, the EJA national office interacted with the MAEJT by offering various forms of support to the Dakar *groupes de base* and Dakar AEJT, while also coordinating meetings at the national level among the 11 AEJT in the country (see map, p. xi).

[61] A second branch of EJA's national office is located in the city of Kaolack.

The second EJA office is the "international" office, which is located in the Plateau or downtown area of Dakar and which deals with the MAEJT exclusively as an international "movement" or network. In the context of the current Plan-funded *international* MAEJT programme, referred to as an "organizational strengthening programme", the EJA international office administers shares of the programme budget annually to all of the qualifying city-level AEJT and the Coordinations nationales (CNs) in the over 20 countries in which the MAEJT is present. For 2008, these shares (including roughly equal values of cash and ICT equipment) accounted for 19% of the total programme budget of 477,471,350 CFA. Reflecting the overall "organizational strengthening" objective, 23% was earmarked to "Technical support missions + internships" and "national workshops", 24% to "regional workshops" (these target the highest level leadership groups of the MAEJT), external communication strategies. The international office also collects and tabulates membership and results data from these associations and from the country coordinations, and works with the upper level governing structures of the movement (see organigramme below). In characterizing the nature of this collaboration, EJA has alternately described itself as being "supervised" by the MAEJT's higher coordination structures and as "playing a technical accompanying role" to these structures for the movement's international activities. Accordingly, the international office's domains of activity are largely co-extensive with those that it attributes to these MAEJT coordination structures.

EJA clearly acknowledges, at minimum, its enduring role in facilitating the movement's relations with donor organizations (most notably Plan International) and in guaranteeing the responsible administration of secured funds. Also noteworthy has been EJA's key role in securing participation for MAEJT child representatives in global child rights and child labour fora such as those of the UN and ILO. (EJA-MAEJT, 2006; Touré, 2007). A portion of the present international office staff has been drawn from former MAEJT members.

Structure of the MAEJT

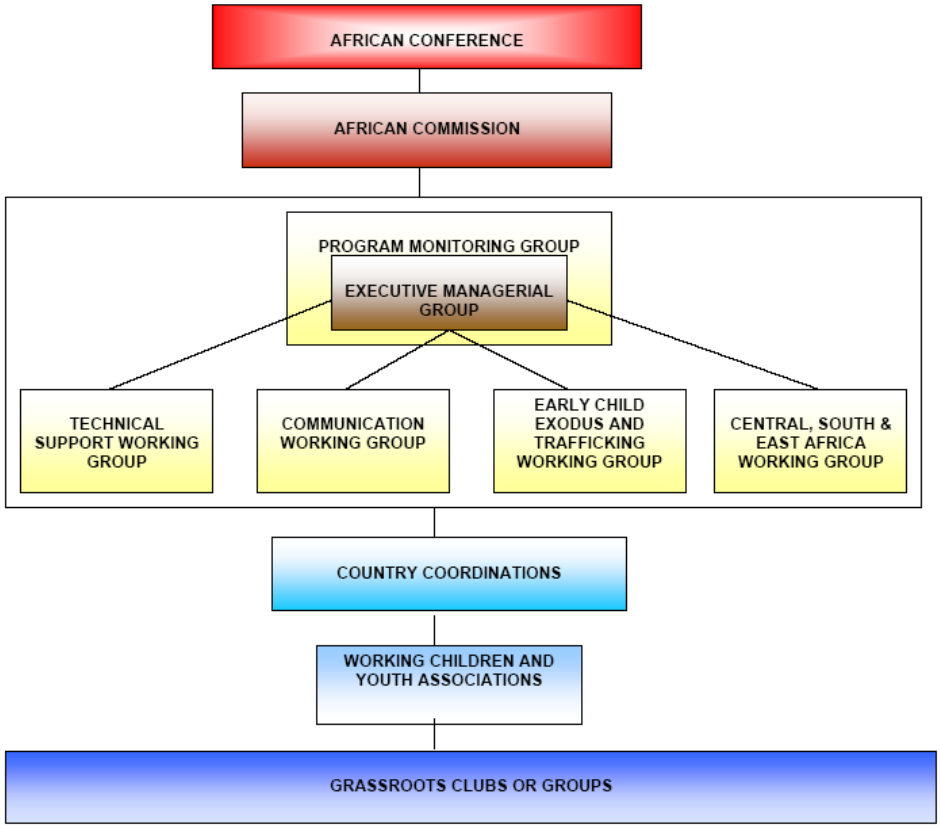


Figure 2. Organigramme of MAEJT (excerpted from EJA-MAEJT (2006))

EJA and the MAEJT claim that the movement presently encompasses over 1700 *groupes de base* in 196 cities in 22 countries of Western, Central, and Southern Africa (see MAEJT map, annex 2). In each city the *groupes de bases* (GBs) are represented by delegates to the municipal association (AEJT) of that city. AEJTs and their GBs generally have the support of a local *structure d'appui* that assists with facilitation of meetings and activities and accounting of funds. In the case of the Dakar AEJT, this *structure d'appui* is precisely the EJA national office. In other cities local NGOs, religious organizations, or institutions of state or local government may serve as *structure d'appui*.

Both the above organigramme and the following paraphrased descriptions of the MAEJT coordination structures and their functions originate from the EJA-MAEJT proposal submitted to Plan for funding of the 2007-2011 international programme[62]. Fieldwork for this thesis (especially in terms of direct observations) focused largely on the two bottom levels of this diagram in Dakar (i.e., that of the municipal association and of the *groupes de base*). A central aim of the thesis, however, has been to contextualize these ground level findings within an understanding of the MAEJT's overall structure, and of the priorities and resource allocations of its current international programme.

The *African Conference*, shown at the very top of the organigramme, is the MAEJT's general assembly, which takes place every three years with participation from delegations from all affiliated countries. *The African Commission* of the MAEJT is a group of country delegates (appointed by the city level associations or the country coordination in each country). It meets yearly in the first quarter to review reports submitted by each member association and country coordination on their activities and finances in order to assess progress. It also reviews requests from new associations for membership in the movement. The African Commission operates through the following sub-committees.

The *Program Monitoring Group* is described as responsible for designing and monitoring the international programme itself (currently being funded by Plan). The still smaller "executive group" is appointed from within its ranks for "close program monitoring", and for making urgent decisions in conjunction with the EJA international office. This executive group meets every year during the last quarter.

[62] Note that the organigram does not clearly depict the relations between the various structures as outlined in the descriptions.

The *Technical Support Group* organizes and conducts training workshops and support missions for associations in all the MAEJT countries, based on their requests for capacity building and problem resolution. The *Communication Group* publishes the MEAJT newsletter "Défi des EJT" and manages all other external communication and publicity activities. The Group *Éxode précoce et trafic des enfants* (early child exodus and trafficking) works on the regional project of the same name (see Chapter 7). The *Central, South and East Africa Group* works to promote the movement's further development in this region (EJA-MAEJT, 2006).

Plan International

Plan International (Plan) is a major international development NGO with offices in 17 OECD countries and 48 developing countries. Plan refers to itself a "child-centered community development organization", and the four themes of its strategic framework are intended to reflect the four main categories of the UNCRC: Survival, Development, Protection, and Participation of children. EJA/MAEJT has secured grant agreements with European national offices of Plan, in particular Plan Netherlands and Plan Finland through negotiations with Plan's West African Regional Office (WARO). The MAEJT enjoyed a joint grant of $1,290,000 for the international programme over the three year period ending in December 2006 (Plan WARO, 2007). The current international programme is of five years duration and was originally budgeted at €4,091,094, although some adjustments to this sum have likely since occurred. Plan has also viewed itself as playing an "advising and accompanying role" in relation to the MAEJT (Touré, 2007, p.25). This has highlighted consultation on aspects such as communication strategies and the negotiation of monitoring and evaluation methods, but has also included the separate financing by Plan WARO of a series of regional and national training sessions focusing on administrative and financial management for the MAEJT.

3.10 Conclusion and research questions

This chapter has presented relevant aspects of the context of the research, highlighting both the country's overall incidence of poverty and the persistently low levels of pupil attainment in the basic education system, which confirm that large percentages of children, after some experience within the formal school system, are pushed out via failure or, with or without their families' accord, pass judgment on the school as a less than optimal use of their time. Such disillusionment with schooling joins with mounting economic pressures on rural families to promote children's migration into informal urban work. Detailed background information was presented to orient readers to the specific problematique of migrating *filles domestiques*, which will allow comparison to the findings of the present research on the nature of the "protagonism" of *filles domestiques* within the working children's organization, and any improvements in their living and working conditions or education and training opportunities.

A theme more or less explicitly underlying most of the chapter was the multi-dimensional incapacity of the state in domains pertaining to children and youth. In an environment where the state's formal education system fails to serve most children and its systems of skills training are inaccessible and irrelevant; where the state is powerless to create employment for youth and cannot effectively regulate children's work, especially in the informal economy, NGOs in general have attempted to plug some of these gaps. In particular, EJA sought to increase the capacity that children already demonstrated daily *to rely on themselves* within such a vacuum of supportive formal structure and, by stimulating their own protagonism, to build better strategies for realizing their rights and building their futures.

As noted at the end of the introduction, the evolving discourse and activities of EJA and the MAEJT, and their interactions with Plan were the specific observed phenomena through which the research addressed the following questions:

1. As one locally grounded response to global child rights concerns, how has the discourse of child protagonism served as a basis of efforts for improving children's working conditions and for offering educational opportunities to working children in Senegal?

Addressing this question has entailed considering three sub-questions:

a. How has children's *education* been conceived in the Senegalese context, both in terms of its historical systems and proposed alternatives?

b. What, if any, are appropriate forms of work and working conditions for children in Senegalese and similar contexts?

c. How has it been envisioned that child protagonism can achieve improvements for working and out of school children in the above two domains?

2. How have any contradictions, flaws, or limits within the ideal of child protagonism revealed themselves in the realms of practice (local, national, and international)?
3. How does external donor financing affect the discourse of child protagonism and its effectiveness as a strategy for supporting the rights of working children?

The study's methodology, which is described in the next chapter, necessarily followed from how these questions imply a comparison of organizational *discourse* and *practice,* and seek historical evolution and influence on both at multiple levels of the working children's organization.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Epistemological Assumptions

Given my status as cultural outsider in the country of the fieldwork this doctoral project would conventionally be labeled "outsider" research. In undertaking this doctoral study I explicitly affirmed not only the viability of "outsider" research in the human sciences but the positive added value of outsider research when it is undertaken in the spirit of dialogue. As Ginev (1998) has argued, all research in the human sciences –not only that which is conspicuously cross-cultural- must in fact be fundamentally conceived as dialogue with Others, in which the researcher avows his or her own "situatedness in a particular cultural-historical context of finite prejudices", and compensates by committing to "the infinite process of a trans-subjective 'fusion of horizons'". (Ginev, 1998, p.263). Consistent with this overall conception, the ethnographic data collection and analysis have followed methodological and epistemological principles of reflexive and critical ethnography. *Reflexivity* denotes attention to the researcher himself as author of any interpretive account, thus rejecting ethnographic realism's post-positivist faith in objectivity, verisimilitude, immediacy, and transparency (Clifford, 1986). Consideration is given to the nature of the researcher's relations with research participants; to the effects of his choices of data collection activities and tools; to the influence of his multiple subjectivities, including his theoretical commitments and professional imperatives; and to the conditions of the production and consumption of ethnographic texts. A *critical* ethnographic perspective underscores how the accelerating compression of time and space on a global scale has undermined any straightforward sense of the "local" as usefully isolatable for study (Marcus, 1994). Not only do meso and macro level structures shape, and their discourses penetrate micro-level phenomenon, but by now particular identities and forms of social agency thoroughly transcend any

distinct geographic locations of origin (Gould, 2004). Gould (2004) has thus argued that "aid is fair game for ethnographic analysis… especially if aid is recognized as an exemplar of the mobile, translocal, transborder and transscalar sociality of our times." (p.10).

Based on its subject and methods, the present study has much in common with recent "aidnography", defined as a category of research into projects or programmes implemented within the framework of international development aid (Gould 2004). Deriving from their typically greater trans-cultural, trans-institutional dimension, development initiatives set within aid relationships arguably compound and intensify a researcher's challenge in negotiating the kinds of contradictory narratives and observations that one also encounters in purely Northern contexts. Development programmes play out at the intersection of the influences and interests of a wide array of actors and institutions whose various perspectives produce not only competing normative and evaluative judgments about programme success, but also divergent perceptions and interpretations of what a programme actually *is* and *does* (Gould 2004)[63]. In such situations many of the implicated actors could be loosely characterized as "outsiders" to each other's experiential and discursive worlds, leaving the researcher the task of elucidating the dialectic inherent in their conflicting perspectives, or constructing the *dialogue* that has not explicitly taken place among them. Accomplishing this overall interpretive task *reflexively* demands transparency as to how and why one is committing to a reading that gives more credence to certain participants' version of events than to others, or to a final interpretation in which the researcher's own objectivist vision in surveying the entire field trumps all participant perspectives.

[63] Compounding the complexity, individuals' perceptions, interpretations and judgements can remain implicit, and indeed are often fraught with internal ambiguity and contradiction.

4.2 Entry, Access, and Rapport

The ideal of dialogue was described above in terms of the possibility of bridging what have conventionally been termed "insider" and "outsider" conceptual worlds. Approaching this ideal of dialogue requires, in practice, establishing and maintaining rapport and trust with participants. The process of doing so has conventionally been described in terms of a more purely *practical* "insider/outsider" distinction concerning the researcher's degree of "entry" in the field, including access to research sites and relevant activities, and the level of key "insider" participants' openness and sincerity in formal interviews and informal conversations (Feldman et al. 2003). Such entry and acceptance among "insiders" may be immediately granted or only painstakingly (and indeed never fully) established.

Efforts at entry, and indeed the selection of the general research topic itself, were initiated through email communication with a member of Plan WARO's research unit who was already a colleague of the thesis supervisor. In order to apply for a doctoral research grant from the International Development Research Centre, it was necessary to secure the promise of support from a locally based organization (ideally in the form of available computers, telephones, etc., as well as the facilitation of contacts with research participants). I also asked Plan WARO to suggest research areas that could be useful to their organization learning. It was thus negotiated that with the use of Plan office space I would investigate the donor organization's relationship with the MAEJT and its facilitating organization, EJA. A member of the Plan WARO research team then connected me via email to staff of the EJA international office, and I communicated my intentions to study the organization, explaining that it was fully independent academic research, thus implying a contrast to an earlier brief study of the MAEJT in Dakar that had been conducted by an ILO affiliated researcher.

Despite my prior assurances via email that I did not have any organizational agenda, it appeared at the beginning of fieldwork that their negative experience with the earlier ILO-linked report had had the effect of making EJA (both offices) rather guarded and initially distrustful of any researchers' motives. As a result, there was an awkward period during the first weeks of fieldwork of not knowing where I stood with a number of EJA staff. It helped considerably that I arrived at national level meetings in mid-November with the director of the international office who, serving as a sort of "gatekeeper" (Feldman et al. 2003), gave his endorsement to my research. He did so, I believe, largely as a result of rapport established in our conversations during the two hour car trip to these meetings.

However, maintaining rapport continued to require a methodological as well as ethical balancing act in finding the modes of collegial interaction with certain key participants (prominently including the director of the international office himself) and particularly in judging the timing and scope of disclosure of emerging conclusions on potentially sensitive organizational and programmatic issues. On the one hand, I felt it important to follow the suggestion of Mosse (2005), who has implicitly cautioned against an overly-diplomatic approach with research participants. He has affirmed the value of moderately, but frankly criticizing and confronting informants who, as aid professionals, are typically committed to "singular authorized accounts, to convergence, unity and consensus, and to a managerial outlook and a positivist epistemology". By provoking the objections of aid officials, Mosse (2005) has argued, a researcher may succeed in eliciting more analytic contributions from them as co-researchers (p.19). However, as Springwood and King (2001) have cautioned, for researchers using ethnographic and quasi-ethnographic methods there is an inherent challenge in maintaining rapport with informants with whom one strongly disagrees about programmatic strategies and practices and to whom one even attributes a lack of awareness of the structures of power that influence their choices and actions. As these authors have queried: "How does one cultivate and nurture relationships

with people about whom he or she will make critical claims?" (p.406). Even for those holding an ideal of research as dialogical and mutually educational, there remains uncertainty, as Springwood & King (2001) have described, as to "how to appropriately share the contours of [one's] own theoretical and practical visions" and the conclusions they entail for participant's initiatives. In the interest of maintaining rapport and the free flow of information *from* participants it may seem prudent to entirely avoid such sharing of dissenting perspectives. However, such concealment can also be judged to be disingenuous (pp.409-410).

Above all, when researchers eventually deploy the words and actions of participants "against" them in ways that participants could not have anticipated, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that some deception has occurred and that the trust which granted "insider" access to information has been betrayed. It furthermore remains debatable as to whether researchers can justify such apparent deception by appealing to a utilitarian rationale of the "greater good" produced by the revelations of the research (Eisner, 1998; Bridges 2001). As noted below in section 4.3.7, a report submitted several months after fieldwork, which was intended to provoke further dialogue with EJA, may have been judged precisely a betrayal of this sort, as the critique it contained appeared to rupture any longer term rapport.

It should be noted, however, that at ground level my entry into *groupes de base* of domestic workers and establishment of rapport with them, as described in sections 4.3.3, 4.3.5, and 6.3.1, went relatively smoothly, once these groups were located. Useful dialogue by email has also continued with a research assistant who continued working with one of these *groupes de bases* for a year after the conclusion of fieldwork.

4.3 Methods

Towards the ultimate goal of piecing together answers to the research questions, the study combined discourse analysis of historical EJA documents, funding proposals, reports, and evaluations (mostly obtained through fieldwork), with multiple modes of ethnographic data collection designed to provide insight into current (2008-09) MAEJT processes and results at various levels of the organization. The data collection methods allowed for flexibility and improvisation based on emerging findings and opportunities, and the validity[64] of findings was promoted through comparing data from the various sources and modes of collection, and regularly cross-checking emerging findings and apparent contradictions with participants.

4.3.1Document collection and analysis

Through established contacts at Plan WARO in Senegal, as well as via Internet searching, it was possible before fieldwork to begin collecting relevant documents, the analysis of which informed the development of interview protocols and guided other aspects of the ethnographic fieldwork. Document collection continued within the research setting, focusing on the full range of publications and internal documents from the implicated NGOs, including program evaluations and strategy papers. An important category of document is comprised of EJA publications from 1985 to roughly 2000 that recorded their evolving understanding of the problematique of informal urban child work and the conceptual frameworks for addressing it, centrally including child protagonism. These publications

[64] Following from the above conception of critical ethnography, the overall concept of "validity" is comprised of a balance of three validity dimensions 1) *dialogical-hermeneutic* validity, or fidelity to the understandings of situated actors; 2) *contextual* validity, which privileges the objectivist-theoretical viewpoint; and 3) *reflexive* validity, which is sought through attention to the effect of the research itself on the phenomena and its interpretation (Saukko, 2005).

also anecdotally document some of EJA's experimental practices and interventions in the period, including the establishment of the MAEJT. However, because there are no independent accounts of these events and their results, such descriptions of *practice* in documents of this period are treated primarily as an extension of EJA discourse. While tensions and historical shifts within all such EJA discourse (and right up to the present) are noted, my own direct observations permitted exploration of continuities and divergences between such EJA/MAEJT practices and the EJA discourse encoded in documents (as well as that recorded in interviews, etc.).

4.3.2 Observations

Throughout the four months of research fieldwork, naturalistic observations were conducted in the following sites: a) programmed activities of the MAEJT, such as literacy and skills training classes of its *groups de bases*, organizational capacity building workshops, and meetings of the Dakar AEJT; b) the two offices of EJA and the offices of Plan WARO and Plan Senegal. Note taking captured thick description of the processes in these sites, particularly as they related to the research questions outlined above. Audio recording was also often used to more accurately capture the dialogue. At the EJA national programme office the researcher engaged in forms of participant observation, in which he became involved in the activities being observed[65]. At their annual action plan meeting, for example, they expected me to work alongside them as a member of the team in filling in the details of the action plan. Less systematic observation was conducted in commercial neighborhoods in which children who

[65] As the result of ongoing dialogue in advance of the field research, the researcher was also invited to be integrated into the Plan WARO office for the duration of the fieldwork and to contribute to their organizational learning. This relationship was conducive to participant observation of meetings between Plan and EJA/MAEJT.

are not MAEJT members can be found working (as apprentices, car washers, *marchands ambulents,* etc.).

4.3.3 *Groupe de Base* visits

While involving some naturalistic observation, many visits to *groupes de bases* of the Dakar AEJT (as well as to two *groupes de bases* in Saint Louis) mainly consisted of dialogue sessions among the researcher, an assistant, the manual skills teachers, and the groups' members. An assistant whose collaboration was informally negotiated[66] help me to locate many of the groups in Dakar and its suburbs and to communicate more effectively with them, since even the manual skills trainers present often had only limited French.

4.3.4 Interviews

Observations were complemented by interviews, both informal and semi-structured. Whenever respondents' permission was given, interviews were audio taped. Within naturalistic settings, informal interviews were essentially a spontaneous conversational means to cross-check, illuminate, and refine observational descriptions on an ongoing basis. Respondents included implicated actors encountered in observational settings. The protocols of semi-structured interviews were informed by reflection on data gathered in an initial period of observation and informal interviewing. Respondents for semi-structured interviews were weighted towards present and former program staff from EJA (12) and

[66] This was the head of a small NGO that offered computer access and training in Guédiawaye (a densely populated suburb north of Dakar) in facilities shared with one of the *groupes de base* to which I had had an arranged visit in the first week. He had an interest in finding the other *groupes de base* in the suburbs of Guédiwaye and Pikine to offer them ICT training.

PLAN (9)[67], but also included MAEJT ainés (former child members who are now adults), present and former literacy teachers of *groupes de base* (4), and MAEJT facilitators from other cities in Senegal (7), as well as two officials of government ministries, officials of other domestic and international development NGO and IGOs involved in child and youth related programs (8) and directors of commercial youth skills training centres (2). After returning to Ottawa March 2, 2009 dialogue with several key informants participants continued by e-mail and Skype.

4.3.5 Group Dialogical Sessions with MAEJT Children and Youth

An *ainée*[68] of the Dakar AEJT facilitated my entry into MAEJT *groupes de base* of female domestic servants where I collaborated with local assistants in dialogical research methods with the group members. These methods included dramas, *causeries* (structured thematic conversations), drawing, and mapping. The research assistants were in fact the current and former literacy facilitators of these groups, one currently in teacher training for the formal school system, the other with twelve years' experience in formal schools and currently doing an MA. The remuneration they received from me was marginally greater than that which they normally received for what was primarily the same work and time commitment. Besides allowing members to express themselves freely in their mother tongue, these assistants provided additional, more conventionally "insider" perspectives on the data gathered through the chosen processes. While each had some limitations, both maintained

[67] In one instance at Plan WARO, two staff were interviewed together specifically on the topic of a shared experience with the MAEJT. At the national EJA office a group interview/discussion was also once held, not to be confused with the final feedback session.

[68] The MAEJT uses the term *ainé* for former child members of the movement who take on volunteer leadership roles at the *groupe de base* and association level.

considerable critical distance from EJA, who had initially trained them for work with such groups and set the terms of their contracts.

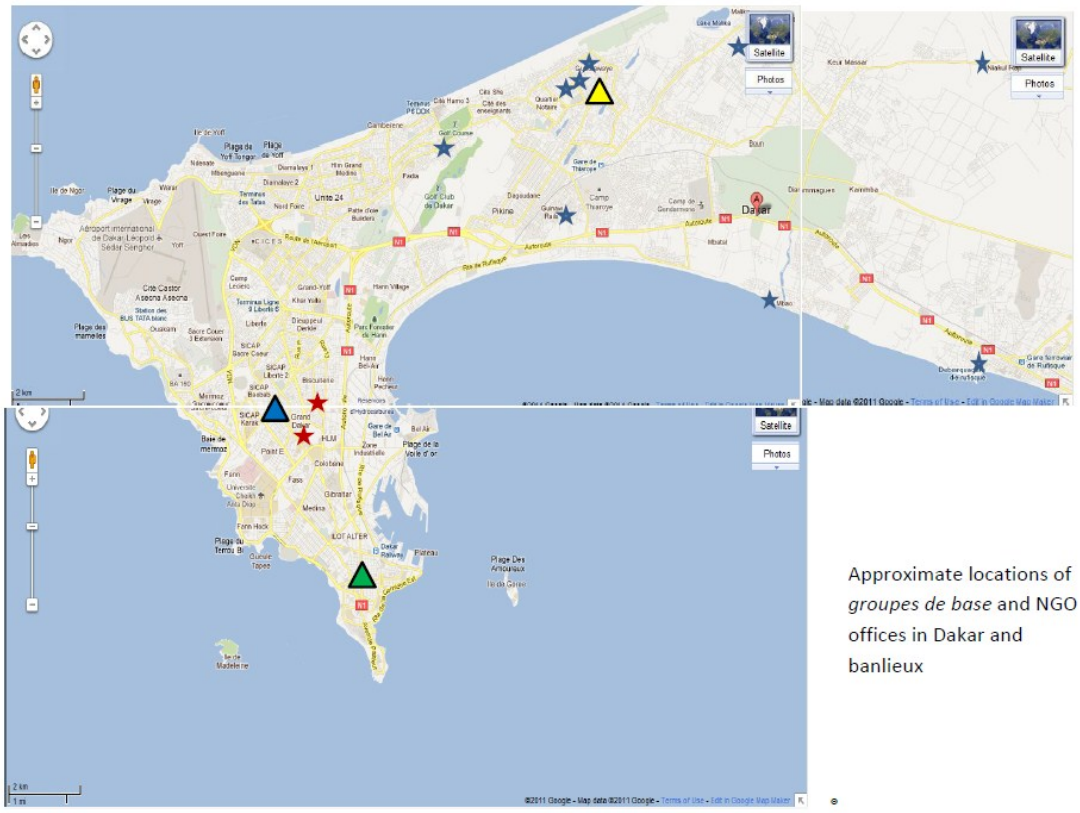
4.3.6 Field notes

Field notes regularly recorded immediate impressions and reflections upon data and the conditions under which they were collected. The purpose of these notes was to facilitate continual data analysis and inform the continued flexible planning of data collection activities.

4.3.7 Debriefing and member checks

It was hoped that debriefings with the relevant Plan and EJA officials would occur bi-weekly both as a means of ongoing verification of emerging findings and to surface and address any issues of rapport and ethics relating to research relationships. In practice, the relevant actors at Plan WARO and the entire EJA international office consistently gave the impression of being too swamped in ongoing duties to be able to maintain regular formal exchanges. As a result, a major feedback session was held at the end of the fieldwork with representatives of Plan WARO, both EJA offices, and the Dakar AEJT, and it was hoped that further dialogue could continue through email communications.

Upon request of Plan WARO, I submitted a report to inform the 2009 evaluation of the international MAEJT programme. While this report was well received by Plan, its challenges, supported by critical comments of insiders, to the assumptions and priorities of the international MAEJT programme appeared to alienate EJA officials, who possibly viewed it as a betrayal of trust of the sort discussed above in section 4.2. While they had always responded to emails previously, they responded neither directly to the report, as I requested, nor to a supplemental list of specific questions based on both the report and further data analysis carried out after departing the field.



Approximate locations of *groupes de base* and NGO offices in Dakar and banlieux

★ Existing *groupes de base* of *filles domestiques* during fieldwork (regular observations of literacy and skills lessons, plus dialogical data collection.

★ Other groupes de base of the Dakar AEJT visited during fieldwork (membership primarily non-working girls).

△ EJA national programme office

▲ Plan WARO office

▲ EJA international programme office

Data Collection Sites and Methods

Site(s)	Location	Forms of Data / Modes of Collection	Comments
Groupes de base			
Ben Tali, Grand Dakar	near central **Dakar**; met in public school classrooms	15-18 visits: observation of literacy lessons; group dialogical methods	Two remaining GBs primarily of *filles domestiques*
Cheikh Wade, Grand Mbao	banlieues of **Dakar**: both groups had spaces exclusively for them	Visit prearranged and accompanied by EJA national programme staff. Dialogue	Non-working girls; "showcase" GBs with superior facilities
Daro Aw, DarouKhane, Golf Sud, Guinaw Rails, Nicoeul Rab	banlieues of **Dakar**: public school classrooms and shared community buidings	One (spontaneous) visit each: dialogue with members and skills training *monitrices*	Mostly *filles désœuvrées*
Rufisque	Banlieues of **Dakar**: rear space of "Aida Couture" business	Visit on weekend: dialogue with *monitrice*	Detailed weekly schedule of learning activities was posted. Entirely *filles désœuvrées*
Bango 2, Medina Marmiyal	outskirts of **St. Louis:** building used by women's group, building rented by Claire Enfance and used as daycare	One visit, accompanied by *ainée* of the St. Louis AEJT: dialogue with members and skills *monitrices*	Both were groups of girls. Mix of *filles domestiques*, *vendeuses*, agricultural workers, and *filles désœuvrées*
(Unnamed) GB in Louga	**Louga**; courtyard of private home	Observation of literacy lesson	Young *filles domestiques* and *filles désœuvrées*
AEJTs			
Dakar AEJT	Office of EJA national programme, Guédiawaye (banlieue of Dakar)	Observations of four Dakar AEJT meetings; informal interviews	
St. Louis AEJT	Office of NGO Claire Enfance, St. Louis	Interviews of AEJT bureau members; obtained documents on microfinance project	
Louga AEJT	Office of Louga AEJT, Louga	Interviews of AEJT bureau	

		members	
Diourbel AEJT	Office of NGO Ndèye Jirim, Diourbel	Group meeting with AEJT delegates	
National level MAEJT meetings			
Restitution des missions croisées	Thiès (rented conference space)	Observation of meetings, informal interviews with child and youth delegates and NGO facilitators	
Year-end reporting on AEJT activities	Thiès (rented conference space)	Observation of meetings, informal interviews	
Enda Jeunesse Action (EJA)			
EJA national programme office	Guédiawaye (banlieue of Dakar)	Electronic documents; informal interviews; group feedback session; participant observation in action planning meeting for Xaley programme	
EJA international programme office	Central Dakar (Plateau)	Printed (historical) documents; electronic documents; informal interviews, formal group interview, final feedback session	
Plan WARO			
Plan WARO office	Near central Dakar	Interviews of Plan staff, observation of Plan WARO/Plan Senegal/Plan Finland/EJA/MAEJT meetings on evaluation; electronic documents related to Plan grant to MAEJT	
Other child-centered development NGOs and IGOs	Offices near central Dakar	Interviews	
Websites and email		e-documents and direct communication	

4.3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation

In a broad sense, data analysis was influenced by Carspecken's (1996) model of critical ethnographic research, which encourages careful exploration of connections among the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels. Indeed, the search for such multi-level causal connections is explicitly expressed in research questions 2 and 3, and the emergence of themes related to such links was anticipated by the inclusion of certain streams of empirical and theoretical literature already within the thesis proposal. Additionally, as in much qualitative research, ongoing data collection was influenced by preliminary, informal and implicit forms of analysis of the data already collected (Glesne, 1998). The research questions thus also reflect how document review *in advance* of fieldwork already suggested an overarching analytical framework structured by comparison and contrast of internal organizational discourse and reporting, on the one hand, to direct observation of ground level practices along with experienced observer commentary on practices and outcomes, on the other. The early stages of fieldwork, during which additional, more historical organizational documents became available, further reinforced the impression that analysis and ongoing data collection would be most fruitfully focused on defining disjunctions between observed processes and the organization's published ideals (derived from their early practical experiences), and should aim to investigate their historical and institutional causes. Since the earliest significant semi-structured interview was conducted nearly two months into fieldwork, and most others rather nearer the end of the four month fieldwork period, these interviews were able to serve in large part to test and enrich preliminary analysis and interpretations (Seidman 1998). Of course in some cases these interviews also yielded revelations that introduced additional themes.

Partly under the influence of Glesne's (1998) characterization of data analysis as "finding your story", during fieldwork I periodically synthesized field notes into longer reflections upon what "story" seemed to be materializing, and how well it continued to conform to the preliminary overarching framework. Epistemologically sympathetic with Patton's (2002) insistence on how no single formula or recipe exists for transforming data into findings, after the fieldwork (and the study of additional documents brought home from it), I did not attempt to apply any one, specific intentionally designed or systematic analytic process. This was also partly because I was, by this time, reasonably confident in the outline of the "story" and some of its details, which I sketched out in the report submitted to Plan and EJA several months after fieldwork. As often occurs, however, it was in the process of writing findings chapters in the thesis that it became clear that more systematic thematic coding, particularly of historical document content and of some critical insider's interview data, would facilitate the organization and presentation of the findings. Methodical re-readings of these documents and interview transcripts allowed pattern recognition from which themes crystallized (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). In this way, an aspect of a grounded theory approach to analysis, on the model of Glaser (1998), was also present, as some distinctive patterns that emerged from the data could not be straightforwardly assimilated into conceptual frameworks that I had reviewed prior to data collection. It was thus necessary to return to the literature (particularly on organizational dynamics within aid relationships) to seek frameworks that could constructively be applied, with some qualifications and adaptations, to these data.

From interview data a certain "saturation" of critique revealed itself around several interrelated themes, as many participant comments tended to strongly corroborate field observations and emerging interpretations. My instinct was thus to present as much of this raw interview data as possible in terms of the number and length of quotations, as well as in terms of information on the contexts in which

they were elicited. Through this approach, the reader confronts data interpretation that is strongly linked to participants' words (Patton, 2002), and thus is better positioned to judge for herself the interpretation's validity. While considerations of overall length and other criteria of presentation led to some inevitable compromises of this ideal, findings chapters still include some relatively lengthy interview excerpts.

4.3.9 Ethical approval

Ethical clearance for the study was granted by the University of Ottawa's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Committee. One of their recommendations was to also obtain ethical approval from the relevant research council in Senegal. I determined, however, that the sole domestic research ethics committee or process in the country is defined in the « Règlement intérieur du Conseil National de la Recherche en Santé », which clearly specifies that this body's oversight is limited to research in the domain of medicine and health.

The most prominent ethical concerns for the research related to obtaining consent from minors for their participation. As it was anticipated that it would be impossible to follow the dominant model in Western countries by obtaining *parental* consent, the Ethics Committee accepted my arguments for allowing a representative of EJA to sign the official form granting consent in principle for the participation of those under 18 years old. In my response to the Ethics Committee on this issue I noted that there was in fact no parental consent process for minors to join the MAEJT groups in the first place, and that in the Senegalese context what adolescents do with their time, the responsibilities they undertake, and the degree of autonomy they exercise would qualify many of them to be defined under the North American legal rubric of "emancipated minor". I also emphasized that the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child includes a child empowerment emphasis which has

increasingly been interpreted – indeed forcefully so by those behind MAEJT's child protagonism strategy- as creating an ethical obligation to respect the autonomy of competent adolescents by honoring their own choices and expressions of assent. However, to obtain the consent of MAEJT members, rather than asking largely illiterate adolescents and youth to sign even a simplified version of a consent form, I considered it more locally appropriate and meaningful to gradually enter the groups and build rapport before negotiating with them the terms of any research activities that deviated at all from their regular routines.

Standard organizational consent forms were signed by Plan WARO and the two offices of EJA. Adult individuals who engaged in formal semi-structured interviews were offered a consent form to read and sign. In practice, most preferred to give verbal consent and were satisfied with verbal assurances of anonymity and of the right to end an interview at any time.

4.4 Limitations

Two important limitations of the research, methodologically speaking, were the relatively limited time available for field work, and language barriers. In order to maximize the efficiency of field data gathering in the time available, as much groundwork as possible was laid in advance, not only through document analysis, but also through e-mail communications with Plan, Enda, and the MAEJT. While the overall time in the field was also extended to the maximum possible, processes of "entry" once in the field, such as establishing contacts and establishing rapport and trust with key informants, were in some cases slower than anticipated.

An unexpected field reality affecting data gathering was the amount of communication in MAEJT meetings that was conducted in Wolof. Earlier written reports and personal communications had indicated that most AEJT members could get by in French, but only a small percentage can

(domestic servants in the *groupes de base* have minimal French). This necessitated much whispered translation during meetings, as well as review of audio recordings by Wolof- speaking research assistants. The need to use whispered translation was something of a blessing in disguise, however, as it not only provided the opportunity to ask for ongoing interpretation, explanation and commentary on what was happening, but also created a sort of intimacy and reversal of power relations that very positively affected rapport with certain individuals.

My inability to communicate very freely and directly with most delegates at Dakar AEJT meetings meant that there was limited opportunity to explore in much depth their own conceptions of the association and of the movement. However, the members in the two *groups de base* that became key research sites communicated openly through my local research assistants, the scope of whose work was exclusively in these *groupes de base*. To mitigate other challenges related to language, a full month for habituation to local French in the research setting was allowed before the commencement of semi-structured interviews.

It is also essential to stress the limited geographic focus of the research activities. The local observations reported cannot simply be generalized, and assumed to be representative of the MAEJT in other locations. On the other hand, organizational issues and challenges reported in this research from Dakar and elsewhere in Senegal coincide with some that have been candidly highlighted in various earlier EJA publications, and in more recent evaluations. Moreover, a significant portion of the findings and analysis focus on the structure and priorities of the international MAEJT programme itself.

Considering the notion of *generalizability* more broadly as an ideal for academic research, the project was conceived within the logic of *case study* research as contributing to the accumulation of intimate knowledge of concrete cases, which is held to be indispensable both to individual learning at

expert levels and to the efficacy of the social sciences as a whole (Yin, 1994; Flyvbjerg, 2006). In sum, despite the various limitations outlined here, the research methods selected permitted detailed investigation of the EJA's and the MAEJT's child protagonism strategy, both in terms of its history and its processes on local, national, and international levels at the time of the research, and thus yielded ample data for addressing the research questions.

Chapter 5: Conceptual and Historical Origins of the MAEJT: Child Protagonism in Africa

5.1 Introduction

This first chapter of research findings begins by returning to the early years of EJA to examine its evolving discourse on urban working children. Sections two through five present citations, paraphrase, and synthesis of short EJA publications, the earliest of which dates back to 1985, the year of EJA's inception. These documents, which were made available at EJA's offices in Dakar, mainly present reflections upon experiences in the 1980s and early 1990s of support to urban "street children" and youth, as well as to traditional apprentices. These experiences included both EJA's own "urban animation" interventions and those of other African organizations with whom they networked. Within these documents, problem definitions, analysis of causes, and synthesis of lessons learned predominate over detailed descriptions and accounts of the urban animation interventions themselves. These publications have thus mainly recorded the development of EJA's guiding concepts and principles, and its espoused approaches, centrally including, but not limited to child protagonism. Since it is precisely this discourse of child protagonism (as the basis of support to working children) that is the interest of the thesis, no additional effort has been made to reconstruct a narrative history of EJA (of a kind which the publications in no way facilitate), based on dates and events. By the same token, it has not appeared useful to set up a comparison or contrast of the discourse in these early publications with EJA's actual practice in the same period. While an example of a more detailed account of experimental animation and pedagogical practices from the period is presented in the chapter, this is essentially a personal and anecdotal account, recounted purely in terms of EJA's conceptual framework and serving to reinforce it. Most importantly, nothing about EJA practice in the period can be verified by independent sources. Accordingly, descriptions of practice in documents of this period are

equally treated as examples of early EJA discourse, which will be juxtaposed in the thesis with *later* accounts of practice and with the researcher's own observations and interview data.

Following this presentation of foundational EJA discourse, the chapter zeros in on EJA's interventions with *filles domestiques* beginning in the early 1990s. In this case, a more systematic research report, already cited as background in chapter three, has provided details on the situation of these young female workers, along with quantification of their participation in education and training interventions, and a narrative account on how EJA animation facilitated their organization, culminating in the establishment of the MAEJT. A brief section then describes the EJA-facilitated participation of MAEJT representatives in international child labour conferences in the 1990s as a hard fought battle to confront conventional global attitudes to child labor with the core principles of child protagonism discourse. The following section returns to Dakar to present available evidence of progress, results, and limitations of the child protagonism strategy in that city up to the early 2000s, particularly with domestic workers. The chapter then finishes with a review of more recent assessments of the situation of CDW in Dakar and Senegal that tend to contest earlier claims of the effectiveness of the child protagonism strategy with this category of child worker.

5.2 Challenging the paradigm of interventions for "street children"

Beginning in 1985, EJA publications outlined the organization's emerging consensus with other African organizations on three interrelated points of contestation to conventional frameworks for addressing issues of marginalized urban children and youth in Africa. These three tenets formed the basis of the "Grand Bassam approach", named for the 1985 forum held in Grand Bassam, Côte d'Ivoire out of which the consensus grew. The first principle declared the need to overcome what had been the indistinct and generally pejorative use of the term "street children". Whereas local public authorities, in particular, had conventionally characterized children present on urban streets

indiscriminately as delinquents and treated them with repression, the new approach recognized that various, often overlapping forms of marginalization forced various categories of children to be active or visible in urban streets. Second, the Grand Bassam approach asserted the limitations of charitable and "re-insertion" interventions rooted in such earlier, misleading conceptions of "street children" and derived from Northern social work models that posited familial and individual norms poorly anchored in African reality. Third, and as an alternative to such interventions, the new approach, as articulated by EJA, advocated increasingly strong versions of the child protagonism ideal, declaring the necessity not only of children's participation in all interventions concerning them, but of their playing a *leading role* within any projects or actions to advance their best interests.

Considering the first of these three main points, EJA publications considerably enriched understanding of the "street children" phenomenon through recognition that the number of children *of* the street, i.e. living on the street with no family connections, was relatively small compared to the much greater number of children *in* the street, i.e. working on the streets but still linked to and often living within the context of extended kinship structures or networks (Terenzio, 1987). Figure 1 shows how EJA and their network partners conceived of the various sub-categories of "*enfants en situation difficile*", the label they applied to the larger set comprised of all children not in school. Such recognition of *who* children on the street were, and *why* they were there, was the basis for critiquing dominant intervention paradigms. EJA viewed the "charitable" (*caritative*) and social work/ re-insertion approaches first of all as involving an intensity of resources that would prohibit them from being generalized to deal with the full mass of *enfants en situation difficile*. Moreover, they critiqued notions of re-insertion into "normal" environments as largely rooted in Northern ideals of the institutions essential to childhood (e.g. the nuclear family and formal school). An overarching alternative approach, referred to as the "perspective of development and transformation" needed to be

based on holistic understanding of the African urban context (Terenzio, 1990). Part of understanding this context was to acknowledge the active part that children and youth played in the popular economy and in evolving urban cultures and thus to recognize them as capable and productive partners in the construction of new urban societies (Djakaridja, 1995).

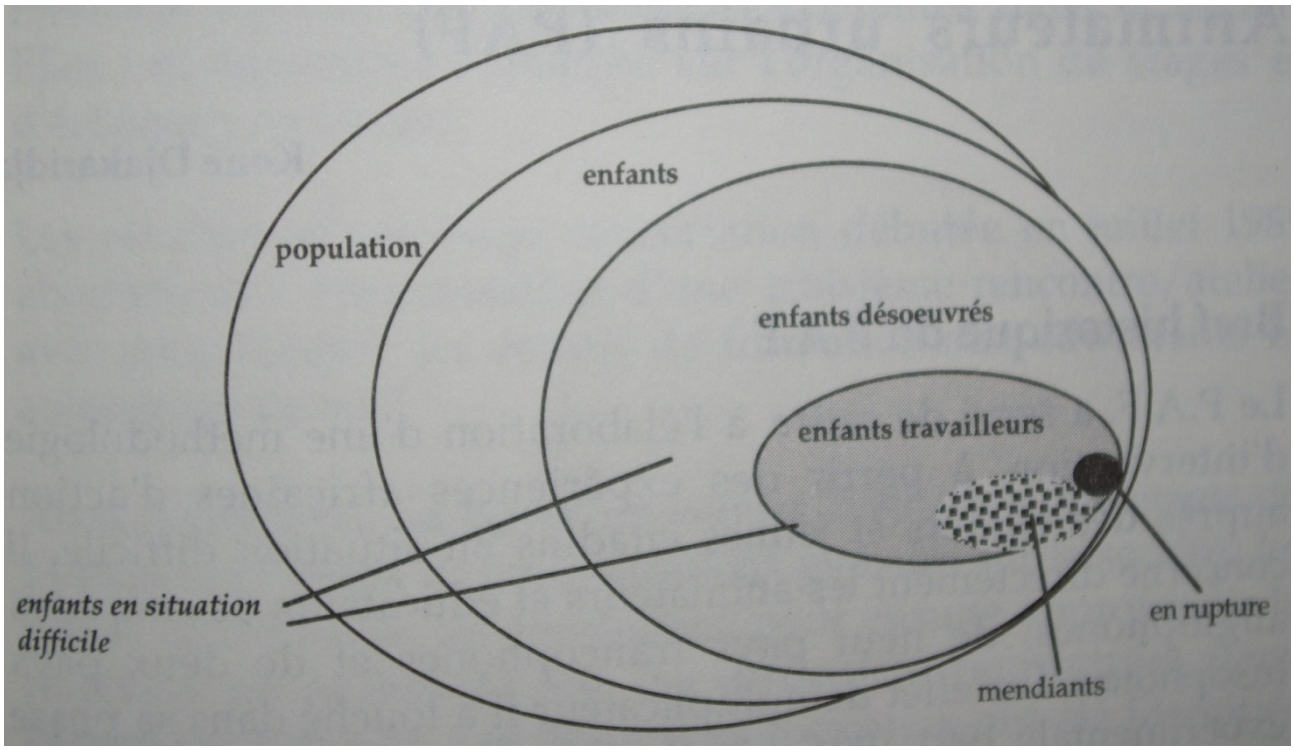


Figure 2. EJA conception of categories of children "*en situation difficile.*" Source: Terenzio (1995)

This conception of children's capacity and authentic social presence supported EJA's insistence that children's own agency must be at the center of the alternative approach:

> The street child must be the subject and not the object of any programme or project. He must play the leading role in the entire process, from start to finish. He must be neither manipulated nor regarded as a tool (EJA, 1985).

This orientation to children, combined with explicit understanding of the primacy of the informal sector in African society, entailed accepting and supporting the choices and survival strategies of children

who worked informally on the street and in domestic service. EJA's role thus involved convincing others to accept these choices and, in the long run, helping secure the right and the opportunity for working children to articulate their own arguments and have them taken seriously.

> Nous pouvons être leurs interprètes si nous savons les écouter, et parler en leur nom, sans trop modifier leur pensée, jusqu'au jour où eux-mêmes auront droit à cette parole (Terenzio, 1987, p.2).

Within the child protagonism strategy, the central purpose of "urban animation" itself was to promote the autonomous capacity of groups of working children to build upon their chosen earning strategies by consolidating the positive aspects of work (increasing productivity and income), minimising the abusive and overtaxing aspects, and securing organized complementary educational and leisure opportunities.

> Ils sont respectés dans leurs initiatives, et appuyés pour progresser. Certains estiment, que les projets ne deviendront valables que le jour où ils seront conçus et exécutés par les enfants et jeunes eux-mêmes (Terenzio, 1990, p. 15).

The experiences of EJA and their network partners brought them to recognize that many of the children and youth they targeted worked at the limits of daily survival, and therefore could not consistently devote time to searching for improvements or alternatives. Frankly describing the acute challenges to devising actions for such young workers, Terenzio (1992) concluded by reaffirming the necessity of the child protagonism approach:

> Les solutions toutes faites, voire même celles *qui ont marché*, sont rarement reproduisibles … *Ce qui apparaît maintenant évident, c'est que ce sont les enfants et jeunes travailleurs eux-mêmes qui doivent faire l'essentiel de la démarche, à leur rythme et selon leur priorisation. Les animateurs ne peuvent que les soutenir dans ces efforts, et les guider méthodologiquement* (p.21, final emphasis added).

Yet despite these distinct declarations of the child protagonism ideal in EJA's discourse, its early publications on the phenomenon of children's informal urban work also gave considerable attention to aspects of comprehensive, overarching policy, including **prevention** strategies, a **multi-sectoral**

approach, and the stimulation of **community participation** in actions to assist children working in urban streets (EJA, 1985). The implicit assumption was that there could be synergies by addressing the structural and institutional levels while at the same time galvanizing working child agency. However, these publications made no systematic attempt to sort out EJA's own priorities for action towards one or the other, given limited resources, or to delimit the sphere of projects within which the concerned children should be conceived as the lead actors for improving their own situation. The following subsections provide exposition of these other aspects of EJA's published discourse, followed by the organization's conceptualization of the animation and research work required to bring child protagonism to life.

5.3 Questioning the conventional forms of children's education

In addition to the affirmation of child protagonism, a second important theme in EJA's early publications was an acute and unrelenting critique of formal schooling. This critique gave rise to recommendations, aimed at the national policy level, for establishing more relevant and practical and thus less exclusionary forms of education in order to reduce the numbers of children who abandon education in favour of work, and to provide second chance, remedial education and training opportunities adapted to the needs and interests of children already working. A summary of EJA's early education analysis is presented here as a means to address research sub-question 1a[69]. This early published discourse on education will later be shown to contrast in important ways with their most recent educational discourse and practice.

[69] Subquestion 1a: "How has children's education been conceived in the Senegalese context, both in terms of its historical systems and proposed alternatives?"

Beginning with the earliest publication on the Grand Bassam approach, EJA's critique and recommendations focused on the question of schooling's adaptation to the situations of marginalized children:

> The problem of education and in particular of the school system is … a real one. There is no doubt that in most cases the school is not remotely adapted to the cultural system in African countries… schooling should be re-examined with a view to greater flexibility, in order, among other things, to limit the failure rate… To sum up, a long term policy should include:
>
> - a critique of official education which does not adjust to the needs of street children and street youth, which is selective and therefore discriminative, and whose programmes are irrelevant to their situation;
> - support for, study of and research into innovative experiences within the framework of formal education, particularly those which contribute to job training;
> - government recognition of experiments in non-traditional and vocational training which have already proven their worth (EJA, 1985).

Terenzio (1990) continued to insist on drastic educational policy reform at the national level by appealing both to local experience and to the values and goals inscribed in the nascent global EFA framework.

> *Sur un plan national*, l'on devrait pouvoir reconceptualiser la structure et le contenu de l'éducation, en fonction du capital de réflexion critique accumulé localement, et des conclusions de la conférence [de Jomtien sur l'Éducation pour Tous]. Cela devrait déboucher sur des réformes profondes allant dans le sens d'une adaptation du système scolaire aux réalités, et donc sur une inversion des tendances qui actuellement sont à l'exclusion de la majorité des enfants et jeunes (p.16).

In next addressing the level of the *quartier*, Terenzio (1990) specifically called for the creation of new "light and flexible" structures for basic education and training to adapt to the needs of children already excluded:

> L'école Coranique «sous un arbre», devrait être pour nous, sinon un modèle, du moins une référence. Ces efforts devraient se baser sur les initiatives déjà entreprises par les associations de base (p.16).

This EJA publication specifically asserted the pressing need for reform of vocational education:

> L'apprentissage professionnel doit faire l'objet d'une révision importante qui tende à combler le fossé entre «formation technique» (destinée à une élite) et «apprentissage sur le tas» (destiné à la masse, sans contrôle ni appui) (p.16).

This great gap between the two tiers of skills training could be overcome, according to Terenzio (1990) precisely by forms of support and regulation that could modernize traditional apprenticeship.

> Une évolution du statut des apprentis est nécessaire, pour diminuer les blocages actuels occasionnés par une difficulté d'évolution du système traditionnel dans le contexte urbain contemporain. Cette évolution doit concilier les intérêts des artisans et de leurs apprentis, et déboucher sur un appui qualitatif des intervenants, aux uns et aux autres : passage de l'apprentissage par observation à l'apprentissage théorique, systématisation des techniques de production et de gestion (p.16).

Addressing next the level of "the street", Terenzio (1990) elaborated on the necessary adaptation and relevance of compensatory basic educational interventions particularly for children working (quasi-) independently in street trades.

> Les services d'éducation de base qu'il est urgent de mettre en place doivent être conçus comme des activités complémentaires à leur activité de survie et se dérouler dans des environnements, des langues, et selon des horaires qui correspondent à leurs préoccupations.
>
> Les rares expériences qui semblent avoir fonctionné dans ce domaine jusqu'à maintenant impliquaient un lien étroit entre le contenu du programme et l'activité des enfants, une amélioration rapide de leurs activités par le biais de l'éducation, et un accompagnement hygiénique et sanitaire (p.16).

While this second paragraph implies the child protagonism principle that projects must be *conceived* by the working children themselves, it could attract the criticism that such educational interventions, based on the immediate demands of child workers, remain primarily palliative, in that they do nothing to launch children onto a path of training that could lead beyond their momentary

petty earning strategies. However, other (and in fact earlier) EJA statements clearly conveyed greater ambitions for the training of children already engaged in informal work:

> Il ne s'agit pas de confier éternellement les jeunes de la rue dans les métiers de cireurs, de laveurs de voiture, métiers qui ne leur garantissent aucun avenir. L'objectif est de les mettre en confiance, de les protéger des racketteurs, de leur éviter les rafles, la prison, de leur faire prendre conscience qu'ils se trouvent dans une période transitoire, et de faire en sorte que ce qu'ils font dans l'immédiat soit sans embuches et bénéfiques *tout en les aidant à avoir une formation qui permette leur insertion dans des circuits permanents de l'économie* (EJA, 1986, p.10, emphasis added).

In discussing this longer term objective, Terenzio (1992) emphasized once again the steep challenge of reconciling the need for daily survival with young workers' aspirations for professional training. He specifically noted that the few actions that had been effective were those that were identified by the children and youth themselves and were an extension of their informal activities (e.g., lighter refillers to gas appliance repair, shoe shining to shoe repair). A later volume that reviewed and synthesized the experiences of EJA and its "Grand Bassam" network partners once again affirmed that the overall objective of interventions with working children was to allow them to

> dépasser la lutte pour la survie à travers des activités précaires, pour transformer leurs aspirations, expressions de leurs intérêts économiques, politiques et culturels, en projets fiables à long terme, à partir des opportunités offertes par le milieu (Djakaridja, 1995).

In summary, EJA viewed the inherently exclusionary nature of formal schooling as a major contributing factor to the rates of school dropout and drift into informal street trading. They advocated developing more flexible educational programmes compatible with children's ongoing survival strategies, and, consistent with the child protagonism ideal, designed around their own preferences and priorities. EJA believed, however, that such programmes should be intended not merely to make children's marginal street occupations more profitable and secure, but to provide bridges into more permanent forms of employment. Simultaneously, EJA argued that traditional informal

apprenticeship, which also absorbed massive numbers of formal school dropouts, should in essence be formalized and modernized through forms of theoretical and financial support and regulation.

EJA furthermore emphasized that comprehensive education reform, as well as other efforts to improve the situations of working children, would require a breadth and depth of institutional cooperation that they did not see occurring at the time. One of their earliest publications decried thefact that "no true collaborative action exists, either between ministries, between non-governmental organisations, or between the former and the latter." (EJA, 1985, p.9). Stressing that the *problematique* of working children (and other *enfants en situation difficile*) fell within the purview of many ministries, EJA specifically proposed that an inter-ministerial committee be formed to address the issues holistically. In particular, they asserted that a multi-sectoral, collaborative approach would be necessary to develop structures to formalize traditional training opportunities involving co-operatives, craftsmen's guilds, and professional associations, as well as to achieve legal recognition of work in the informal sector Terenzio (1987)[70]. EJA described the role of NGOs such as itself in such processes as providing impetus to state and other institutional partners by bringing them together, facilitating the exchange of promising ideas, and leading by the example of their own grassroots interventions:

> Notre rôle est d'amener ces partenaires sur le terrain, où se trouvent déjà les gosses et la population, de concrétiser ce qui parfois reste trop vague ou trop formel [sic]. Souvent les idées sont là, et les méthodes remises en question, mais, de par la nature même des institutions, une forte impulsion est nécessaire…
>
> L'éducation de rue, si elle est à l'ordre du jour en Afrique comme ailleurs, n'est pas encore contenue dans des manuels scolaires, c'est donc à nous de "faire école" (Terenzio, 1987, p.7).

[70] This clearly prefigured the strategies that have been favoured independently by several other NGOs, but only now are being timidly piloted in Senegal by the *Ministère de l'enseignement technique et de la formation professionnelle*.

EJA affirmed that such micro-level educational interventions with children and youth should also seek to realize the principle of collaboration by linking with existing community structures, and, ideally, finding synergies that could contribute to the development not only of the targeted group of working children, but of the broader collectivity (Terenzio, 1987). As successful examples of such collaboration or integration, EJA cited the use of the house of the *chef de quartier* of Colobane, Dakar by the local "Jeunesse Amicale" (a community youth organization) and the integration of an *artisanat* training programme targeting children and youth into an ongoing *quartier*-level *artisanat* programme for adults (Terenzio, 1987).

Beyond such cases of linkage in the urban quartier where children lived or worked, however, was EJA's fundamental affirmation that existing socio-cultural and economic systems must be taken into account in order for actions in support of working children to be sustainable and reproducible (F. Terenzio, 1990) – the same point that Ndione (1994) had demonstrated for women's collectives based on Enda CHODAK's work in Grand Yoff (see section 3.8). EJA here specifically stressed the need to understand the community origins (often rural) of groups of working children, the forms of connection they maintained to these communities, and their overall strategic logics and plans:

> L'expérience a prouvé que lorsqu'on n'a pas tenu compte de ces éléments de base (origine et projet), les expériences ont vite tourné court. Le fait de mieux connaître et d'associer leurs réseaux de solidarité à l'animation apparaît également comme une nécessité (Terenzio, 1992, p. 6).

5.4 EJA & Child Protagonism: the catalyzing role of adult animation

> La composante animation a toujours joué un grand rôle dans l'établissement de relations avec ces groupes: la pratique du sport, les causeries, les yendu (journée passée ensemble autour d'un repas et du thé) ont permis d'établir progressivement des relations de confiance, car elles correspondaient effectivement à des besoins. Ces enfants et jeunes travaillent et ont peu d'occasions de loisirs, leur en proposer est en soit une amélioration de leur condition (Terenzio, 1992, p.21).

As outlined in section 5.2 above, the new approach for effectively supporting urban working children centered on cultivating their own agency through alternative methods of "urban animation". EJA's published discourse prominently featured discussion of these methods, characterizing them as energetic, creative, patient, and reflexive pedagogy. Indeed, by 1990 EJA quite explicitly conceived urban animation as the domain of well-trained professionals engaged jointly in a scientific programme to constantly improve understanding and refine method. This section traces some of this early discourse on urban animation and presents an anecdotal account from the period that further illustrates how EJA implicitly viewed the assiduous pedagogical work of adults as consistent with the long term objectives of child protagonism.

The initial introduction of the "Grand Bassam approach" described its emerging animation method as one of permanent dialogue based on mutual trust and respect. Because the method could not be fully circumscribed by the inherited concept of "education", EJA deemed the conventional term "street educator" inadequate, and characterized the overall dialogical-pedagogical approach instead as comprehensive *accompaniment* by community "group leaders". In contrast to the traditional "static" socio-educative institutions that expected young people to come to them for assistance, they encouraged "the movement of group leaders to those places where young people are to be found." (EJA, 1985, p.17). While they recognized that such static institutions had employed a range of variously qualified personnel, the earliest publications displayed little clarity as to the qualifications and skills that a new ideal "group leader" would need and what forms of motivation would be necessary and appropriate to assure the engagement of such expertise. On the one hand, in connection with the hope that group leaders could emerge organically, EJA implied that professional training was often unnecessary:

> In certain cases, it is necessary to train professional group leaders who cater for young people's needs. But individual initiatives should be encouraged so that members of the community, who

> have the benefit of personal knowledge and experience, can become group leaders in their own community (EJA, 1985, p.17).

In the next breath however, they emphasised that the complexity of the problem demanded ongoing exchange among devoted specialists in the field throughout Africa. By 1990, an EJA publication would affirm that animation and pedagogy for effective intervention with working children required an expertise that was not readily attainable: "Il n'existe actuellement aucune école en mesure de former des animateurs urbains à leur activité telle que décrite sous le point «perspective de développement et de transformation»." (Terenzio 1990, p.17). Furthermore, the same publication spelled out how working authentically from such a perspective demanded a creative, flexible, and scientific approach conducted through cycles of: global situational analysis, targeted participatory research, experimentation, and the rigorous and holistic evaluation of the impact of interventions.

> La règle du jeu consiste à accepter l'évolution rapide des concepts de départ de ceux qui interviennent, et implique une *grande souplesse* dans l'orientation et à la ré-orientation des actions. Cela nécessite, un investissement d'énergie considérable, ainsi que de *créativité liée à la recherche* des solutions, et ne pourra se faire que dans un climat de *rigueur dans la gestion et l'évaluation*. Les erreurs sont permises, mais elles doivent aboutir à *une capitalisation de l'expérience et à son progrès* (Terenzio, 1990, p. 15, emphasis added).

While the long term goal for child protagonism was for such systematic Participatory Action Research tools to be transferred to grassroots groups of working children and youth themselves, EJA recognized at the time that their network of adult animator organizations needed to continue to hone the tools through a structured, iterative learning process. To this end, the *Programme africain de Formation* was officially launched in 1991 as a collaboration among urban animation organizations in Francophone Africa, a smaller number from Anglophone Africa, and UNICEF. The objectives of this programme were described as follows:

à court terme:

Constituer une équipe régionale d'éducateurs formateurs, qui interviendront dans leur sous-région d'origine pour:

• soutenir les projets existants dans leur réflexion et leur méthodologie, et les aider à améliorer la qualité de leurs interventions,

• augmenter le nombre d'enfants et jeunes concernés par ces projets,

• répondre aux demandes de formation et d'évaluation,

à moyen terme:

Renforcer les potentialités existantes dans la région pour :

• formuler de nouveaux projets concernant un nombre toujours plus grand d'enfants et jeunes en situation difficile, et les assister dans leur exécution,

• instaurer un système permanent de formation, réflexion et approfondissement, à la lumière de l'évolution rapide des phénomènes liés à l'urbanisation,

à long terme:

• Poursuivre l'expérience de formation en l'adaptant ultérieurement à partir des constats de terrain, et l'approfondir (Terenzio, 1990, p. 14)

By offering a detailed personal account of animation and pedagogical activity with EJA in Dakar in the early 1990s, Coly (1999) underscored the intensive, reflective methods of urban animation that he credited with allowing certain accomplishments in overcoming the fundamental challenges to organizing various categories of children and youth. His accounts focused first upon interventions with a particularly challenging category of street youth, most of whom were severed from their families and who sniffed glue all day long, which, as he noted, greatly limited their ability to consider their future. These youth included car washers and car guardians, market porters, and those who recuperated objects from trash bins.

> La question qui se posait était : comment envisager l'avenir par eux et avec nous?... Nous voulions agir sur leur agressivité et sur la valorisation de leurs talents cachés…
>
> C'est par le biais d'activités récréatives (jeux, sport, sorties, projections de films) que la confiance s'est renforcée et que le nombre de jeunes est passé de 15 à 60... (p.160).

After some modest success with this challenging category of youth, Coly and his colleagues perceived the need to widen their reach to engage more of the numerous children working in the street in areas of intense commercial activity, on the model of what an *animatrice* had been doing with young

female domestic workers elsewhere in Dakar since 1984. He chose to begin with boys who were self-employed as porters at the Marché Kermel:

> Loin de leurs pays d'origine et de leurs parents, ils devaient se débrouiller pour manger, pour se soigner, pour s'habiller, pour se loger et préparer leur avenir. Ils ne pouvaient donc se mettre à l'apprentissage d'un métier, car ils ne pouvaient espérer être payés et s'en sortir. Ils choisissaient alors d'être leurs propres patrons en travaillant comme porteurs (pp.161-62).

Coly (1999) described a long term process of gaining their confidence, of increasing their trust in each other, and of carrying out *Recherche-Action Participative* in support of their own solutions to the problems they encountered in their work. An example of a pedagogical activity in this process was a picnic outing where in pairs one partner led the other blindfolded and they afterwards discussed each partner's experience. While putting together a plan of action designed to build recognition and respect for their work activities, particularly by the police, socio-cultural and leisure activities were used to further reinforce bonds of friendship and solidarity. These activities included soccer, films followed by discussions, outings, and literacy classes in French. Consistent with the earlier EJA discourse presented above, Coly stated that once they had made progress in better structuring their work and having it accepted by authorities, they turned to longer term objectives:

> Comme l'activité de porteur était temporaire, nous avons aussi entamé une réflexion sur leur avenir. Ainsi certains ont désiré suivre une formation professionnelle en broderie, le passage du permis de conduire et une alphabétisation en français et en anglais (p.164).

Coly also described his forms of collaboration with other animators in Dakar that permitted links among groups of working children:

> L'équipe à laquelle j'appartenais, était composée de 7 animateurs. En début de chaque semaine, nous échangions, sur le processus enclenché avec les différents groupes dans les différents secteurs de Dakar : réussites, échecs. Par le biais de tournois sportifs, les porteurs de Kermel ont rencontré les cireurs de Pikine et Thiaroye, les chargeurs de briquets jetables de Thiaroye, les porteurs du marché Sandaga,…Cette animation a développé une confiance en eux-mêmes et entre eux (p.166).

The extent to which building bonds among child workers required tireless and patient pedagogical effort was best underscored in the concluding section of Coly's account:

> Comment réussir à amener les garçons et les filles à considérer leur situation selon un dénominateur commun?
>
> Il faut renforcer la dynamique interne à chaque groupe, puis développer une inter-activité entre groupes. Dans la première dimension, les difficultés apparaissent quand on les aide à dépasser les intérêts personnels. Ces derniers priment à juste titre sur les intérêts de groupe. Comment les amener à avoir un projet de groupe tout en travaillant chacun pour soi et trouver son compte dans le projet global?
>
> Exemple, au Marché Kermel, le projet de chacun est de gagner de l'argent pour se nourrir, se loger, se vêtir, se soigner,… Et ça, il le faut obligatoirement chaque jour. Pour le faire, il faut se battre. Le projet de groupe est entre autre, se discipliner, stopper les rafles pour travailler tranquillement,... Il est très difficile de passer de l'un vers l'autre si on ne fait pas un travail pour une cohésion de groupe
>
> Ce travail demande beaucoup de sacrifices et beaucoup de temps d'animation.
>
> [elipsis added] [71]…
>
> Dans la seconde dimension, les groupes de cireurs, par exemple, ne voient pas le lien qu'ils ont avec les employées de maison, les porteurs, les chargeurs de briquets et vice-versa. À cela s'ajoutent les problèmes de disponibilité, c'est-à-dire que si les travailleurs indépendants sont disponibles dans la journée, les employées de maison, quant à elles, ne le sont que très tard dans l'après-midi.
>
> Bref, autant de problèmes qu'il faut aborder avec une approche toute particulière. Pour cette approche, Enda et ses partenaires dans toute la région ont bâti une méthodologie qui part de la recherche-action participative, des compétences des enfants et du partenariat enfants-adultes.
>
> [elipsis added]…
>
> Cette vision nous a permis, à mes collègues et moi, d'accompagner des groupes d'enfants et jeunes défavorisés des quartiers de Dakar.
>
> Je suis fier d'en rencontrer quelques-uns dans les fast-food, les chawarmas ou les restaurants parce que l'apprentissage des langues leur a été utile. D'autres sont devenus des commerçants au marché où ils étaient porteurs, certains sont dans le secteur du transport comme chauffeurs de taxi ou comme gestionnaires de parcs de taxi, un certain nombre d'entre eux sont tailleurs dans les ateliers de confection de la capitale. D'autres sont toujours dans des activités de débrouillardise. Il est intéressant de constater que la pédagogie acquise les a aidés à mieux concevoir des solutions à leurs problèmes (pp.168-169).

One notes how in the final sentence the animator's pedagogical work is characterized as a support to a process in which children and youth ultimately conceive and enact their own solutions.

---

[71] Coly's (1999) text includes frequent use of ellipsis, which has required me to specify where I have inserted my own (and actually skipped ahead in his text).

5.5 EJA support for Domestic Workers in the 1980s and 90s: Processes, outcomes, and impact

Domestic workers have been an important category of child and youth worker supported by EJA since its beginnings in 1985, and in fact other Enda TM teams had initiated interventions with domestic workers in Dakar even earlier (see section 3.6 for background on the phenomenon of child domestic work in Senegal). Qualitative and quantitative data on the conditions and preoccupations of domestic workers in the 1980s and 1990s were published in two reports, the first an Enda TM publication from 1985 and the second an EJA publication from 1996. Historical details from the latter report on EJA's animation and educational intervention with domestic workers are presented here in order to consider their coherence with EJA's other published discourse, including the child protagonism ideal. In addition, data from these two periods on the conditions, concerns, and aspirations of domestic workers, and on the activities planned with them, are presented to allow comparison with more recent sources of information on these topics, a comparison which could facilitate assessments of any progress that may have resulted from EJA's support over the years to domestic workers' organization and protagonism. These more recent sources include the discourse on *filles domestiques* still prevalent in news media and among NGOs, and IGOs, as well as field work observations of EJA-supported *groupes de base* of *filles domestiques* in Dakar.

According to Diaw et al. (1996), beginning in 1984 (before the creation of the EJA team) Enda TM had been in partnership with the Ministry of Women, Children and the Family in interventions aimed at contributing to the improvement of the conditions of domestic workers, to the respect of their dignity and valorisation of their work, to the realization of their rights to education, training, and health services, and to facilitating permanent return to their villages of origin for those who desired it. Predating EJA's specific child and youth mandate, these earlier interventions conceived domestic workers of all ages as

marginalized, vulnerable workers, with little attention to the age breakdown among them. Consistent with overall Enda TM philosophy, however, accompaniment of these groups through methods of dialogical counselling, literacy and skills training, and action research was intended to enact a strategy of "*auto-organisation des concernées*" in which the women and girls would decide upon objectives that they could realize themselves with continuing training and support.

The single greatest preoccupation among the group of domestic workers studied in the 1980s was difficulty in securing employment (which was reportedly mitigated to some degree by the solidarity of the group in providing for the unemployed, and by recourse to care from local catholic nuns). Other prevalent issues raised related to work were:

- risk of sexual exploitation and unwanted pregnancy;
- frequent accusations of theft by employers (and accusations of seducing husbands);
- late or non-payment of salary;
- no day of rest in the work week;
- no reasonable time off for illness;
- absence of established standards for salaries as a function of seniority;
- overtaxing nature of the tasks performed;
- a general lack of respect (Ndiaye-Kane, 1985).

In presenting an overview of actions initiated and planned with the domestic workers of the HLM Montagne neighbourhood of Dakar, Ndiaye-Kane (1985) emphasized the importance of the support of the *chef de quartier*, as well as noting the collaboration of three other prominent private individuals in the neighbourhood with the means to provide medicine and supplemental food to the girls and young women when in need. Short term actions that were in the planning stages at the time of the report's publication included establishing literacy courses and creating a training centre in which professional *monitrices* from

other existing institutions (Enda CHODAK, and the Centre Bopp[72]) would participate for dressmaking, knitting[73], domestic science, health topics, and workers' rights education (p.12). Longer term plans looked towards the creation of earning opportunities in home villages:

> Certaines parmi ces jeunes femmes et jeunes filles veulent retourner au village. Il faut donc penser aux moyens d'atteindre cet objectif en initiant des activités artisanales au niveau du village. Elles voudraient entre autres transformer et conserver les aliments. De telles activités pourraient les retenir au terroir et aider un bon nombre d'entre elles qui sont prêtes à se marier au village (p.13).

Subsequent sections of this chapter will discuss what can be confirmed to have been accomplished towards the realization of this long term objective in the intervening 25 years, particularly along the lines of establishing in villages the sorts of concrete livelihood opportunities or improved educational opportunities envisioned here.

In 1992-93, as part of a research series carried out through the cooperation of EJA with the Government of Senegal, the ILO, and UNICEF, Diaw et al (1996) compiled qualitative studies on the problematique specifically of *child* domestic servants in Dakar, including information on their employers and on the structures intervening on their behalf[74]. While this published study began by posing the very pertinent question of what conception of the age boundary of childhood was prevalent in the rural milieu

---

[72] Now officially le Centre Ahmadou Malik Gaye, this is an integrated centre for *animation et promotion sociales*. Beginning in the 1970s its *maison de femmes* trained roughly 200 young women annually in dressmaking, embroidery, fabric dyeing, and home economics, and an affiliated NGO facilitated employment placement and organized graduates into *Groupements d'Intérêt Économique*.

[73] Course in knitting, crocheting, and sewing were reported to be already available at the time "chez les soeurs réligieuses."

[74] Data from this report have been cited in Chapter 3 to help provide background on the phenomenon of girls' domestic work in Dakar. Because the report became available only via the field research, and because the circumstances of its production, as well as its findings and analysis, constitute important *actions* in the evolution of EJA with which fieldwork observations can usefully be compared, I present some of the report's findings and analysis here in the present chapter.

from which most of the *filles domestiques* originated, it satisfied itself with employing the age definitions used in ILO conventions and the UNCRC.

The Diaw et al (1996) study included individual questionnaires and focus group discussions with domestic workers from fourteen areas of Dakar and its suburbs, as well as questionnaires and interviews with employers. 112 of the 242 domestic workers surveyed were under 15 years old, with the remainder being divided almost equally between those 15-18 and those over 18 (pp.9-11). The study's findings highlighted young workers ignorance of the rights and obligations connected with domestic employment that were then codified in national legislation, as well as employers' demonstrated ignorance and/or indifference to such texts. Hiring arrangements were found to be characterised by the absence of any written contract, and a major complaint was that the conditions negotiated in verbal contracts were not respected. Instead, tasks were added, prolonging the workday, and excuses were given to reduce salaries. Girls who protested were threatened with dismissal, and, if dismissed, their salary arrears were typically forfeited (p.26). Employment was insecure in general. Employers named theft, incompetence, and repeated absences as the most common causes of firings, while domestic workers themselves stated that the foremost means of losing a job was to simply be replaced while visiting one's home village. Common reasons the girls and young women gave for quitting employment were an insufficient and/or inconsistently paid salary, an excessive workload, and frequent disputes. However, only 0.9% stated that they left a position as a result of physical abuse (beatings) from employers.

While girls under fifteen primarily performed childcare, errands, and occasional small selling activities, they progressively took on full housecleaning, laundry, and cooking duties. 85% of fifteen to eighteen year olds worked at least eight hours daily, with 17% working more than 12 hours daily.

Moreover, a quarter of this age group also performed additional revenue generating activities outside their domestic employment (e.g., sewing, hairdressing, embroidery, millet grinding, or small commerce).

In addition to their lodging, food, and savings to remit to villages, domestic workers' expenses included contributions to *caisses de solidarité* put in place in the city by wider groups originating from the same rural regional. Since an average prescription cost more than the monthly salary of junior domestic workers, and only 5% reported having any health issues taken care of by their employers (p.32), they relied on their own solidarity networks for any medical treatments. In addition to clothing and jewellery, they wished to spend any available income on evening courses in manual craft skills and in French language and literacy, which could gain them access to employment with slightly higher paying Libano-Syrien employers or even European expats, who were most likely to follow national minimum wage legislation (p.36-37).

This 1996 report also emphasized the domestic workers' disappointment at the impact of their cash assistance to their home villages. Since the departure of their labour generally entailed a decline in agricultural revenue, their hope was that the portion of their urban wages remitted, as well as their jointly established *caisses d'aide* for their villages, would finance self-development initiatives, including infrastructure and improvements to agriculture. They were aware, however, that their remittances were typically used for immediate family needs, such as food, and that allocations from *caisses d'aide* were mostly dedicated to village emergencies (deaths, illnesses and other problems) (p.39) [75].

As in the 1985 research, girls in the 1992-93 Diaw et al (1996) Dakar study expressed their wishes for the creation of employment in their villages of origin. One was quoted as follows:

[75] However, the accomplishments of two *groupes de base* for their home villages were mentioned: building a dispensary; tree planting to counter desertification; and an anti-malaria campaign.

> Un travail qui nous permettrait par exemple de pouvoir rester chez nous au village. Si nous avions le travail d'usine, de monitrice dans un centre, d'infirmière. Avec ça, nous pourrions laisser tomber le métier d'employée de maison. Mais actuellement, nous ne pouvons pas l'avoir. On ne peut rien avoir. Donc actuellement, nous nous accrochons à notre métier de filles domestique en attendant de trouver mieux (p. 45).

The report's authors affirmed in summary:

> On voit donc que, si leur vision de leur activité oscille entre le provisoire et le moins provisoire, elles espèrent toutes pouvoir s'épanouir, par l'acquisition d'une formation, que la plupart souhaitent exercer au village (p.47).

These EJA authors thus perceived the following implications for education and training interventions for *filles domestiques*:

> La formation, complémentaire à leur activité professionnelle, devrait être aussi gratuite et obligatoire que possible, elle pourrait intégrer des éléments leur permettant d'améliorer leurs prestations et d'autres leur permettant d'accéder aux autres activités qu'elles souhaitent exercer (p.50).

At the publication of Diaw et al. (1996), animation with the domestic workers in the HLM Montaigne neighbourhood had been underway for over 10 years. In terms of accomplishments in that time period, the report stated that from 1986 to 1994, one group of girls had returned to the village, while 616 girls between the ages of 12 and 22 had received training in "*couture-tricot-crochet"*. While the study was being carried out and the report drafted, evening literacy courses were being held from 8-10 pm Tuesdays and Fridays for domestic workers at four centres in Dakar and its banlieues (HLM-Montagne, Grand-Yoff, Rail, Pikine) (p.30). Family planning interventions were also provided, and *causeries* on other themes, such as hygiene, childcare, and home economics were held. The authors noted that four new groups were in the process of being formed in other neighbourhoods, and that 42 girls who had learned to read and write in these centres were presenting themselves at the Primary Certificate exam of the formal education system in 1996.

The report further stated that for three years some of the educational centres for *filles domestiques* had been widening their beneficiaries to include *filles déscolarisées* native to the urban quartier, along with young adult women working in laundry and cereal pounding: "Conçus par elles-mêmes et pour elles-mêmes au départ, les cours concernent aujourd'hui les employées de maison du quartier, leur enfants pour celles qui en ont, et les autres habitants." (p.59). This widening of the learner group was significant, since, as will be explained in chapter six, an inadequate concentration of authentic *filles domestiques* was a reason cited for the later withdrawal of direct EJA national programme support from some of these literacy and training centres and thus from the *groupes de bases* associated with them, which led in several cases to the dissolution of these groups.

According to Diaw et al. (1996), in 1994, after the initial presentation of the research findings to the participating domestic workers, they further formalized links with EJA to work towards their action priorities, which included, as suggested above, reinforcing activities for the self-development of their home territories. Also in 1994, the EJA-supported domestic workers along with other members of the incipient Dakar Association des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs (AEJT) marched for the first time in the annual May Day workers parade. While the idea of marching in the May Day parades was initially discussed among groups of domestic workers and their animators in 1993, adequate arrangements did not come together until the following year. At this time, to demonstrate the significance of national and regional solidarity among working children, parallel May Day demonstrations were planned by the AEJT in several cities of Senegal, as well as in four other West African countries where EJA had established its network of urban animation partner organisations. In Dakar, groups of female domestic workers participated in the annual May Day parade. Carrying signs with slogans such as *Nit du masin* (Wolof for "Human beings are not machines"), some of the girls marched alongside their own employers who themselves were union members in formal sector employment (EJA, 1995). Although EJA international

programme staff admitted that the event received very little media coverage, they nonetheless characterized it as a "tremblement de terre", adding that "tout le monde en parlait". From their perspective, it appeared as a major step forward for child protagonism and a breakthrough in the process of earning local public recognition for the legitimate status of *filles domestiques*, and of child workers more generally, precisely as workers entitled to corresponding workers' rights. The perceived success of these parallel multi-country May Day events provided the impetus for the creation, shortly thereafter, of a more permanent and structured solidarity network of working children's organisations, the MAEJT.

5.6 Establishment of the MAEJT

This section continues the narrative begun in the previous paragraph by recounting the circumstances of the official establishment of the MAEJT as a child protagonism network that would assert its own discourse of child rights, child protection, and education both locally, and, increasingly, on the international scene. As described by Diaw et al. (1996), the events in Senegal that followed the formal MAEJT launch signaled a first shift in EJA emphasis from the forms of animation at the *groupe de base* level described earlier to the facilitation of working children and youth's formal objective-setting processes within multiple meeting cycles at higher, more centralized levels of the new "movement"[76].

The MAEJT was officially established in July 1994, when child worker delegates were brought together by EJA and its network of collaborators at Bouaké, Côte d'Ivoire. There they elaborated twelve "basic rights" for child and youth workers, and drafted an action plan to promote them (Coly & Terenzio,

[76] Although there is little data from intervening years to clearly establish the historical continuity, my suggestion here is that the earliest of MAEJT meeting cycles in Senegal (described in this section) began a tendency that evolved into an organizational feature that was critiqued by several informants in the present research: a preponderance of higher level meetings, in which relatively few members can participate, over more grassroots actions and education.

2007). Terenzio (2001) has asserted that the twelve rights were drawn up "in less than half an hour". An EJT delegate present at the drafting of the twelve rights stated: "C'est parce que nous étions douze que nous avons fait ressortir ce nombre seulement, il y aurait pu en avoir plus, mais on s'est limité car il faut déjà concrétiser ceux-là petit à petit." (Enda TM, 1999).

Once returned to their home country, the two Senegalese delegates (a *fille domestique* and a lighter recharger) reported on the content of the Bouaké meeting to the local *groupes de base* of EJT, as well as to the populations and media[77]. In a process of "reappropriating" the 12 rights propositions and the definite strategies for applying them, the municipal AEJTs of Senegal first selected four of the rights to constitute the working themes for 1995: *the right to health, the right to stay in the village, the right to security in the workplace, and the right to learn to read and write*. Having chosen these priorities, the EJT of Senegal reportedly wanted to deepen their reflection on strategies for concrete action towards realizing them. AEJT leaders and their adult animators thus proposed organizing a forum where all the groups would participate, which necessitated first holding a number of planning

[77] Such a procedure was followed in every country that had sent delegates to Bouaké.

meetings to define the forum's content, its programme, and the related calendar of due dates. The final forum programme included opening speeches, plenary sessions, workshops, and presentations of lived experiences with various audio-visual aids (Diaw et al., 1996, p.61).

The final outcome attributed to this forum was the selection of a number of actions for the various AEJTs of Senegal to carry out with the assistance of their local supporting organizations, such as EJA. These actions included:

- Establishing health mutuals
- Establishing more training centres
- Elaborating and implementing plans for returning to the village
- Sensitizing the authorities and populations on working children's rights
- Strengthening exchanges among *groupes de base* and AEJT
- Holding a second collective meeting or forum

According to Diaw et al. (1996), the following had been achieved among Dakar *groupes de base* of domestic workers by the time of the study's publication:

- caisses de santé had been set up in the groupes de base of HLM Montagne, Rails, Médina, and Rebeuss (with contributions varying between 100-250 CFA per month) (note: To supplement their caisses, groups of domestic workers organized fundraising events involving drumming, music, dance, and storytelling.)
- literacy courses were opened or continued at these same four groups, as well as at the group in Pikine (for the "sommes modiques" of 25 CFA per person per month)
- negotiations for data collection related to plans for return to the village (in the first four groups plus that of Gueule-Tapée)
- denunciations and other means of struggle against employer abuses (in all six)

There is also abundant evidence that a number of GBs of domestic workers, as well as GBs of other categories of EJT, continued to function throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s, and some accomplishments have been credibly, if rather sketchily, reported for them. de Ravignan (1998) produced a highly enthusiastic UNESCO report on a range of Enda TM initiatives with children and youth in the informal economy (including those of EJA and of other Enda teams). He reported that the

MAEJT had over 800 members at the time in Dakar alone[78] and enumerated the following achievements for the MAEJT approach (as well for a separate Enda Graf team approach), but unfortunately without offering any additional detail, or stating whether he had directly observed any of these stated achievements:

> The fifteen EJT groups in Dakar, which bring together maids, porters, and shoe cleaners, have…set up mutual health insurance groups for common diseases financed through membership fees. Certain groups have also managed to obtain discounts for medications and consultations at health posts. Reading and writing is also an achievement for all of them. Contacts with the police forces and the creation of a system of membership cards has helped reinforce security for children working in the street. Police in Dakar today rarely perform round-ups of shoe-cleaners and children selling lighters; previously it was common practice. As for the maids' situation, Oumy[79] says she has noticed a distinct improvement in relations with employers. Other groups of mbindaan[80], based in the Grand Yoff neighbourhood and working in collaboration with the Graf (group for research action training), another Enda team, have gone even further: they have created an employment agency and have obtained the right to name employers in case of conflict[81]. The next battle will be for the establishment of valid and correct work contracts (p.24).

The same report sounded a note of caution concerning the sustainability of such organizational achievements, however, by noting that Bamba Diaw (the lead author of Diaw et al. 1996, the EJA-produced qualitative research report on domestic workers) was "afraid that this extraordinary mobilization and organization might lose steam. 'If young people don't manage to get their own economic projects off the ground, they'll lose motivation.'" (de Ravignan, 1998). This concern echoes

[78] A first indication of inconsistency in the MAEJT's membership claims is seen when one compares de Ravignan's 1998 figure of 800 for Dakar with the assertion of a girl from the HLM Montagne GB, cited in (Enda TM, 1999), that there were 700 girls in the Dakar association *as well as 800 boys*. For comparison, 1000 total were claimed for March 2008 and 700 claimed for September 2008. (See section 8.5 below on the movement's use of statistics.)

[79] Oumy was a member of the HLM Montaigne GB of domestic workers since the early 1990s. During fieldwork she was in fact the only *ainé* from this period still volunteering with the association.

[80] *Mbindaan* is a Wolof term for female domestic worker.

[81] The accomplishment of the Enda Graf team mentionned here is noteworthy for its distinct strategy of establishing a separate agency, certainly staffed by adults. The scant information I was able to find regarding such an agency suggests that it now serves the higher end of the domestic worker employment market. A literate young woman who attended one of the GBs frequently visited during the research (she was a cousin of the literacy teacher) reported having paid 2000 CFA ($5 Cdn) to a domestic worker employment agency in Grand Yoff, but having never been offered a placement.

the challenge noted by Coly (1999) of reconciling group and individual interests and of finding methods to systematically advance both.

5.7 Ambiguities of EJA's child protagonism practice in 1990s Dakar

The remaining available record on domestic and other child workers in the MAEJT in Dakar in the 1990s somewhat unclearly reflects the overall principles of EJA outlined in the first sections of this chapter, centrally including the ideal of child protagonism. Towards the end of the 1990s, Fall (1999) described the *centre de formation* for domestic workers in HLM Montagne if not as flourishing, at least as active. Similar to the present study's findings on attendance at literacy classes for *filles domestiques*, Fall (1999) reported that of 36 listed as enrolled in the literacy class she observed, 16 were present on the occasion of her journalistic visit. It is noted, however, that the observed literacy class was only one of two that were ongoing at the time at that centre, and that "Malick Sy, leur alphabétiseur, en a vu défiler un grand nombre depuis son arrivée au centre en 1993." Consistent with accounts from the early 1990s of the animation of groups of *filles domestiques*, the article mentions that "Malick Sy leur organise aussi des visites et des activités extra-muros sur des sites tels que l'île historique de Gorée, le parc et le zoo de Hann[82]. Les bonnes aussi ont droit aux loisirs." Some of the girls attending the literacy class were reported to have been wearing pink blouses that they had bought for 2000 CFA on credit, subsidized by EJA. Curiously, however, Fall (1999) referred to the centre as "L'école des bonnes d'Enda Jeunesse-Action" and makes no mention of the MAEJT, the Dakar AEJT, or even of the notion of a GB as a unit of

[82] Gorée is an island accessible by ferry from downtown Dakar. It is a popular tourist destination for its well preserved colonial architecture, in particular its slave fort. Hann is a neighbourhood on the eastern edge of Dakar that houses a forested park and zoological garden.

auto-organization for young domestic workers. The journalist perceived and presented the learners essentially as beneficiaries or recipients of a programmed intervention – a school run by EJA- and not as leading actors in efforts to improve their own conditions.

Ambivalence towards the principles and the accomplishments of child protagonism was also evident in the remarks of a former EJA animator who was interviewed about his extensive experiences with GBs of the Dakar association of the MAEJT throughout the 1990s. In describing what he viewed as the most important impacts of domestic workers' organization in this period, this informant's comments arguably related to the ideal of child protagonism in that he noted the progress that girls made in self-confidence and self-expression, and by suggesting that organizing in groups is a form of mutual protection and self-help for working children. At the same time, however, he emphasized above all the contribution of the adult animator, not only in terms of empowering pedagogy, but in terms of ongoing "accompaniment" that included care, protection, and counseling.

> le fait d'être dans un groupe, d'avoir une maladie… et d'être accompagné par rapport à ça, d'être orienté, accompagné jusqu'à elle guérisse…
>
> la force…c'était la communication, le fait de dire : « je veux » ou « je ne veux pas». C'était déjà quelque chose au niveau des EJT : « je veux » ou « je ne veux pas », le fait de s'exprimer. Voilà, voyez, je pense que c'est fort. Parce que si on voit par rapport à notre culture, l'âge – l'expression en tant que tel, pour arriver à ce que ces enfants là puissent dire ce qu'ils pensent sans gêne, je pense que c'est déjà une force...
>
> quand on parle de… [l']alphabétisation et les suites - c'est les supports par rapport à l'écoute active qui règle aussi d'autres problèmes. Il y a des cas de viol, les enfants veulent s'exprimer parce qu'ils ont été victimes de tels, et voilà des cas comme ça qui vont sortir.

He also specifically mentioned the animator's role in aiding groups of domestic workers to develop supplemental income generating activities and in negotiating with their employers for an earlier end of the work day to allow their participation in literacy and training courses. To illustrate the positive difference that animation, close accompaniment, and facilitation of groups' entry into relevant training programmes could accomplish, he recounted the case of a group of *cireurs* (shoe-

shiners) who practiced their trade at a transportation terminus, without shelter from the sun, directly inhaling the exhaust from idling buses and *car rapides*, as well as the dust, and indeed exposed to the danger of being hit by them as they reversed direction. Through a process of reflection with this group of *cireurs*, they decided to build a shelter, and after long negotiations with Enda TM, they obtained the funds to construct one. The youth were thus largely removed from the most direct dangers.

> Voilà, là tu dis: au moins tu as répondu par rapport à l'aspect santé. C'est par le soin qu'on fait, on peut dire, oui, c'est un bandage, voilà je soigne…
>
> Et maintenant il fallait passer à la vitesse supérieure. La vitesse supérieure, c'est de former ces gens là, parce qu'en fait eux, ils utilisaient ce travail comme tremplin…

Shoe shining had traditionally been used by boys from a specific ethnic region as a temporarily activity, in order to save up sufficient cash to travel to central African countries, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, to work in diamond mining. However, as the result of the armed conflict that persisted in that region, the youth that this animator was accompanying were blocked, stuck in this temporary trade for five years or more.

> Est-ce que maintenant il fallait valoriser ce métier? Donc, c'est là où je me suis dit, avec eux, essayons de valoriser ce que sont les acquis. Et là on les a amenés dans une école de formation, qui s'appelle *École de formation artisan*. Ils ont fait leur formation [in shoe repair], ils ont eu l'attestation. On les a aussi renforcés pour pouvoir fabriquer des ballons de foot à la main…

However, this former EJA animator tempered his satisfaction over such accomplishments with expressed frustration and doubt about the transformational potential of EJA's child protagonism approach, which envisioned GBs and associations of working children and youth becoming autonomous.

> Quand tu vois un peu - toi qui es ici sur le terrain - ce que tu ressens, les besoins que tu vois, et ce que tu leur rends de l'autre coté, après tu te dis il y a un problème. Tu te dis il y a un problème par rapport à l'approche …

Also emphasizing the challenge in harmonizing group and individual interests he further questioned the tradeoff in measurable impact *on individuals* that is inherent in an approach that prioritizes broader group influence in the hope of triggering transformative processes:

> Maintenant après, il y a l'intérêt du groupe et après il y a l'intérêt individuel, parce que l'intérêt individuel, c'est ça qui a amené la fille. Et maintenant pour répondre par rapport à l'intérêt individuel, ça demande une prise en charge individuelle, et je pense que si on a voulu aussi embrasser en masse, tu vas t'interroger : tu te dis : je travaille avec 1500 enfants – Bravo! Mais tu vas prendre un enfant dans ces 1500 pour mesurer l'impact qu'il y a des problèmes…Donc les besoins de certains se perdent dans les besoins des autres …

He reinforced this point by stating that even indications of structural progress for a group would not entail tangible advances for its individual members. He had often regretted seeing group members forced to realize: " 'voilà je suis resté à la même case de départ'. Même si le groupe a bougé, la personne a bougé avec le groupe, mais tout en restant sur place."

5.8 Support for Domestic Workers post-2000: Recent reversals

Running counter to the optimistic claims of organizational advancement within the MAEJT cited above from de Ravignan (1998), a number of sources have suggested rather limited progress in Senegal within the overall problematique of CDW since the establishment of the MAEJT in 1994. Before reviewing this evidence, it is important to note the purposes and the audiences of the various documents that comment on the issue of CDW. NGO reports striving to project the success of their interventions can be expected to offer impressionistic and anecdotal, but typically unsubstantiated claims of improved conditions, of more enlightened attitudes of employers, and of shrinking numbers, especially at the youngest end of the spectrum. At the same time, project proposals produced for the purpose of seeking more funds for work in the domain of CDW will tend to portray the situation as persistently dire. EJA's documents have indeed exhibited both of these tendencies. While reporting on the movement's impact has

claimed a general improvement in the treatment of domestic workers, in their salaries, and in their working hours, EJA's French version of the project proposal for their 2007-2011 grant from Plan nonetheless included:

> Quelques problèmes spécifiques des filles :
>
> Les filles travaillent sans relâche et gagnent encore moins que les garçons.
>
> Leurs conditions de vie sont pires car elles ne mangent pas assez et sont mal logées. Certaines, comme les domestiques, les vendeuses ambulantes et les apprenties, courent des risques de grossesse non désirées de la part des patrons, ou de l'entourage de leurs employeurs. Dans ces cas là on les chasse, ce qui leur pose des problèmes avec la famille qui reste dans l'ensemble très conservatrice. Elles se retrouvent dans des situations très difficiles, sans emploi et en « rupture de liens familiaux » (EJA-MAEJT, 2006, p.8).[83]

The issue of *filles domestiques* still appears regularly in Senegalese media; examples in French language newspapers having on-line versions are abundant. Such coverage typically suggests a massive scale and intensity of the phenomenon, but without offering specific quantitative evidence. However, ANSD/BIT-IPEC (2007) reported from a 2005 national survey of child work in Senegal that child domestics worked an *average* of 50. 6 hours per week and that there were over 21,000 child domestic workers in Dakar alone. One small scale study conducted in Dakar in 2005-2006 stressed that they continued to voice complaints in the areas of: delays in monthly salary payments, insufficiency of salary, absence of medical care, excessive workload, poor nutrition, ill treatment, violence, sexual harassment, rape, and unwanted pregnancies (Alissoutin, 2006).

An additional assessment has been provided by Senegal's Coalition national des associations et ONG en faveur de l'enfance (CONAFE) in their 2006 report submitted to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child. This report must also be viewed as part of the process through which child rights

[83] This statement appears in the proposal's Section 2.1: JUSTIFICATION - Problèmes rencontrés par les enfants travailleurs en Afrique, within a broader description.

NGOs seek international funding partnerships to implement their recommended measures to address child domestic work and other child rights issues, and thus as having an interest in stressing the challenges that remain, rather than past progress. It is also important to note, however, that when the report was drafted CONAFE Senegal's director was a former EJA staff member, none other than the lead author of Diaw et al. (1996). Moreover, the report actually draws upon statements of an MAEJT representative to place emphasis on conditions and grievances that exhibit continuity with those voiced from the very beginnings of EJA's engagement with *filles domestiques* in the mid-1980s:

> Les filles domestiques souffrent de beaucoup de maux comme l'atteste le discours de la coordonnatrice de l'Association des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs à l'occasion de la fête du travail (1e mai 2005). « Des patronnes emploient un nouveau système d'exploitation. Elles recrutent des filles ; Elles discutent avec elles sur les indemnités mensuelles. Quand elles tombent d'accord la patronne lui ordonne de lourds travaux à faire pour la renvoyer 1 à 2 jours après et ensuite appliquer la règle de trois en dédommagement. Beaucoup de filles en souffrent. Et pire, pour faire marcher de pareilles astuces, l'employeur porte des griefs sur son employée dont le plus connu est l'accusation de vol. » (pp.20-21).

The 2006 CONAFE report has also emphasized that:

- There are no standard fixed working hours, a situation that becomes particularly exploitative for girls residing in the homes of their employers.
- Pay is docked for absence even as a result of illness or family emergency.
- Some girls begin working as early as at age six.
- Even those beginning in adolescence have abandoned school early or never attended.
- Those who start working only during school vacation are drawn in and quit school.
- They have no time for vocational education or training courses.
- Sexual harassment is common from employers and their sons.
- When girls yield to such advances, under-age and unwanted pregnancies result, from which the offspring are poorly accepted[84].
- Cases of outright rape are kept silent out of shame.
- Domestic workers are accused of all sorts of theft as a pretext for dismissal.
- Dismissal also occurs without warning or explanation, and without wage arrears being settled (p.21).

[84] The text even alludes to a high rate of infanticide and child abandonment "chez cette categorie sociale".

The report further states:

> Elles ne bénéficient ni de couverture médicale, ni de jours de repos encore moins de congés. Elles sont victimes de violence morale, d'un manque de respect et sont discriminées par rapport aux membres de la famille de leur employeur (pp.21).

Not surprisingly, considering the author's links to EJA, the report also recognizes the AEJTs of Senegal as having been constructive actors in the domain. Yet here as well there is a further suggestion that their impact has been limited.

> L'Association des Enfants et Jeunes travailleurs du Sénégal mène diverses activités de sensibilisation des autorités, des parents et des enfants eux-mêmes pour le respect de dix [sic] droits qu'elle a identifiée sur la base des vécus des enfants travailleurs, notamment les droits à l'éducation, à la santé, à la formation, au respect et de justice en cas de conflits. Des campagnes de sensibilisation sont menées en direction des employeurs. Chaque année, à travers l'AEJT, les filles domestiques fêtent la journée de l'Enfant Africain et célèbrent la fête du travail. *Malgré ce début d'organisation*, et la défense par elles-mêmes de leurs propres droits, de nombreux obstacles subsistent encore (p. 22, emphasis added).

The report's characterization of these actions as "*ce début d'organisation"* is remarkable since these words were written twelve years after the founding of the MAEJT and more than 20 years after Enda's first interventions with domestic workers in Dakar. Furthermore, while de Ravignan (1998) had stated that the next stage of struggle at that date would be for fair and valid work contracts, the 2006 CONAFE report makes no mention of progress towards this goal. Likewise, no evidence of progress in this direction has been put forth in EJA/MAEJT publications, nor was any found in the field.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter of findings has focused on EJA's original published discourse, centered on child protagonism, as it arose in the 1980s from their local understanding of informal urban child work. In relation to this discourse, the chapter has also considered historical reports of EJA's and the MAEJT's

practice and results, mostly from the 1990s. It must first be emphasized that EJA can be credited, in the period in question, with forms of child-centered development analysis whose pertinence came to be increasingly accepted within the "new paradigm" of the sociology of childhood (Prout & James 1997; Thomas, 2000). Explicitly contesting the "Western folk view" of childhood (Schildkrout, 1981), and thus rejecting the "inappropriate and inflexible" nature of external approaches to child work issues (Ennew et al., 2005), their discourse affirmed children's effective social agency as the foundation of the child protagonism strategy. If children were to be viewed as competent social actors, and not passive objects of protection, this entailed children's inclusion in a fundamental "right to work", a concept which scholars (e.g. Bourdillon, 2009) have argued to be supported in human rights instruments, even if the UNCRC remains ambivalent towards it. Concrete intervention with working children, within this approach, had to begin by offering working children respect, rather than suggesting that their work was wrong or abnormal, a point whose psychological importance has been underscored by later commentators such as (W. E. Myers, 2001a). In effect, EJA's explicit analysis of children's informal work *within the context of local cultural norms and economic opportunity structures* prefigured Hobbs and McKechnie's (2007) "balance model" and Woodhead's (2007) three dimensions for judging child work (see section 2.4), and anticipated more mainstream debates on how best to focus on reducing work's harm rather than simply banning all child work (Bequele & Myers, 1995).

It is important as well, however, to signal the omission from EJA's child protagonism discourse of serious attention to certain cultural and structural concepts that other scholars have viewed as crucial for understanding issues of child work in developing countries. These include the critical concept of *paternalist exploitation* that has been applied within traditional cultural frameworks, first by Morice (1981, 1982) specifically in relation to traditional apprentices, who were in fact an original target of EJA intervention, and later to other forms of child work by researchers such as Nieuwenhuys (1996), Lange

(2000), Invernizzi (2003), and Massart (2007). Similarly, it must be noted that despite prioritizing *filles domestiques* in their early interventions and noting the importance of their work in freeing up more educated women to participate in other sectors of the labour market, EJA's early discourse had a minimal gender dimension, particularly omitting to critique in any way strict labour divisions along gender lines, or to situate the issue of sexual exploitation in the workplace within the wider framework of gender ideology. Furthermore, despite referring to their new approach as one of "development and transformation", EJA's publications did not significantly explore how economic structures conditioned both child and adult employment and earning possibilities – in particular, how the transition to market economies had tended to undermine traditional production and social relations (Cabanes, 2000), and how the articulation of local economies into global capitalism had favoured the persistence of a dominant informal sector demanding extremely low and even unpaid child work (White, 1994; Marguerat, 2000; Chen et al., 2004). Each of these structural and cultural factors framing child work could be expected to have implications for the potential of working children's own agency to make significant improvements in their own situation.

As was noted within the chapter, however, EJA's early discourse in fact did not focus *solely* on child protagonism, but also gave significant attention, if not to the above structural and cultural factors, at least to the institutional context of education and training that was complicit in child work, and within which the NGO viewed itself as having a direct role in stimulating policy change. In this domain as well, EJA can be credited with clearly articulating insights about the deeply exclusionary function of post-colonial formal schooling, rooted in its inappropriateness to the majority of children, and about the practical possibilities of learning *through* work, critiques upon which there has been growing consensus among critical education analysts (e.g., Rogers and Standing 1981; Serpell 1999; Schlemmer, 2002; Satz, 2003). Yet here again certain gaps in EJA's published discourse may be noted as having potential

implications for long term strategies for articulating education and training into the overall child protagonism approach. Within their emphasis on the urgency of comprehensive national education reform, EJA on the one hand expressed an ideal of more lightly structured, flexible basic education and training interventions that departed from the standardization and rigidity of the classical primary school. On the other hand, since traditional apprenticeship regimes were viewed as lacking adequate structure and control, and, more generally, since what passed for "professional training" for the great majority was seen as entirely unplanned, unsystematic, and unscientific, they in this case expressed the need to work towards the opposite ideal –namely the more rigorous systematisation and standardisation of these existing informal training institutions (a recommendation often reiterated more recently, including by Haan and Serriere (2002) specifically in relation to TVET in Senegal). These two distinct emphases are not inherently incompatible; indeed, the inclusion of both implicitly argues for a synthesis of the virtues of "formal" and "informal" institutions that overcomes the historical weaknesses of each. However, while EJA signaled many of the concrete challenges to the first of these objectives (designing and implementing educational interventions carefully adapted to working children), they did not address the inherent difficulty of reconciling this objective with the contrasting goal of establishing generalized systems, standards, and equivalencies in outcomes, qualifications, and credentials.

Similarly, in its early discourse on education and training, EJA did not clearly demonstrate an appreciation of how flexibly-designed, specifically targeted services would raise special challenges to the ideal of *rigor in evaluation and management* that they also affirmed as crucial for continuous progress in overall urban animation work to stimulate and support working children's protagonism. Fieldwork findings in the following chapters will demonstrate how, by increasingly prioritizing specific organizational goals for the MAEJT related directly to the ideal of child protagonism, EJA's focus was gradually drawn away from further serious reflection on educational innovation and reform, such that little

conceptual or practical progress in resolving such issues was perceptible. Moreover, additional findings will show how, under added donor influence, EJA retreated from their overall vision of the urgency of comprehensive school reform.

This chapter also highlighted how EJA's child protagonism strategy was built upon a foundation of well-established systems of urban animator training that incorporated cycles of deep reflection, analysis, and adaptation conceived to enable intense and patient accompaniment of groups of working children and youth for the purpose of catalyzing their own agency. Published anecdotal reports of the movement's organizational achievements in Dakar in the 1990s and an experienced animator's first-hand account included claims of positive achievements of these methods and of the *groupe de base* model of organizing. However, these reports consistently revealed precisely the central and ongoing contributions of the adult animators themselves and EJA's central role in providing literacy and skills training. As this available historical evidence did not clearly demonstrate the progressive autonomization of child worker organizing and activity, it necessarily suggested potential limitations of the child protagonism ideal itself.

Despite the absence of explicit gender discourse within early EJA publications, noted above, the organization's focus upon domestic workers must still be credited, within the global historical context, with an early recognition of, and sensitivity to, this gender specific form of exploitative and harmful work, which was far less publically conspicuous, and thus attracted far less institutional attention, than the predominantly male phenomenon of petty street occupations. EJA's interventions were clearly an attempt to *empower* girls and young women. However, despite the important reality of sexual exploitation among the hazards facing domestic workers, the fact that they have been primarily exploited by their *female* employers appears to have led EJA to implicitly frame the issue more as one of class than of gender.

This chapter cited a number of sources indicating that despite the literacy and manual skills training and the psychosocial support provided, EJA's and the MAEJT's organization of domestic workers has been

able to record few lasting advances in the status and in the material and working conditions of this class of vulnerable young workers, or progress towards creating incentives to keep young girls in their rural areas of origin. While the fieldwork could not systematically survey numbers of child workers in Dakar or more limited *quartiers*, observations presented in the following chapter will support the conclusion that the AEJT Dakar, as accompanied by the EJA national programme, has evolved into a structure that has been decreasingly capable of ensuring the durable organization of groups of child domestic workers in a manner that can provide to them at least the above recognized services. Additional findings will support the conclusion that while a complex set of circumstances is behind this decreased vitality of the organization of child and youth domestic workers in Dakar, it is ultimately traceable to how EJA's programmatic MAEJT strategies for realizing child protagonism have entailed the NGO's departure from the forms of intensive animator training, research, and accompaniment of child worker groups that were prized in their early work.

Chapter 6: MAEJT education and child worker support in Senegal: Gaps between Conceptual Approach and Implementation

6.1 Introduction: Limitations of Child Protagonism as Praxis

Sections 5.7 and 5.8 of the previous chapter began to present evidence of practical limitations to EJA's child protagonism approach deriving from unresolved tensions and underestimated challenges in its original discourse. Specific claims of both organizational progress and improved conditions for domestic workers were shown to be contradicted by sources outside EJA. The present chapter continues in this direction, but now with direct fieldwork observations and dialogical data from Senegal that pertain primarily to the state in which the researcher witnessed the MAEJT to be in Dakar. The chapter begins with observations from two Groupes de base (GBs) in the banlieues of Dakar that EJA selected to showcase for the research. The members of these GBs were not *filles domestiques,* but primarily non-working, out of school girls, which immediately indicated some evolution in the overall membership of the Dakar AEJT. A more central focus of the chapter, however, is on two GBs of *filles domestiques*, nearer to central Dakar, that the researcher needed to locate without the cooperation of EJA. Findings provided on these GBs of *filles domestiques* offer a further point of comparison with the findings of the earlier studies that were presented in the preceding chapter. These findings on these GBs also illustrate the functions that they performed for their members and indicate the groups' capacity for autonomous organization, which has been held as a concrete objective of the child protagonism ideal. The chapter then specifically examines the literacy and skills training dimension of these two GBs and of the Dakar AEJT more generally, as well as of the AEJT observed in two other cities in Senegal (see map of research sites). To further highlight the contrast between present practice and the ideas on education from EJA publications presented in chapter 5, this section is prefaced by additional historical discourse from EJA that conveys

how the organization had conceived of alternative education for working children as the most important element of their work. Interview data from past and contemporary literacy teachers are then presented, followed by descriptions of observed literacy classes and interview data from the EJA national office pertaining to difficulties within and future plans for the literacy programmes for the GBs. For comparison specifically with EJA's early discourse on skills training an additional subsection elaborates on the forms of skills training that were in place and planned for the GBs in Dakar and St. Louis.

Most of the above outlined findings focus upon ongoing challenges and recent setbacks in the Dakar AEJT and the MAEJT in Senegal more widely. The latter sections of the chapter are then devoted to presenting how representatives of the two EJA offices and Senegalese MAEJT members divergently interpreted these challenges and setbacks. Salient in this dialogical data is contestation over the child protagonism-based assumption that AEJTs and Coordinations Nationales should have the capacity to seek out their own partnerships for funding literacy and skills training and overall organization.

6.2 Mission drift from support to child domestic workers

As background to the entire chapter it will be useful at the outset to reiterate the explanation, found in section 3.9, of the EJA national office's role and relation to the MAEJT. The EJA national office implemented a child protection programme referred to by the Wolof title *Xaley Ca Kanam* ("children move forward"). This programme had been negotiated with European funding partners other than Plan for three years of interventions targeting *three* categories of "children in difficult situations", of which working children were only one (see map of inter-organizational relations). At the time of fieldwork, EJA's provision of literacy and skills training for the GBs of working children in Dakar, which had begun in the early 1990s, was taking place within the framework of this specific donor funded programme.

On my very first day of fieldwork, EJA national office staff, the president of the National Coordination of the MAEJT for Senegal, and the officers of the Dakar AEJT all gave assurances that they would provide me the coordinates of all of the Dakar GBs so that for the purposes of the research they could be contacted and visited directly, without any mediation. However, EJA had already scheduled *accompanied* visits to two GBs for my second and fourth days in country. It became clear that EJA had selected to showcase these GBs because their functioning best conformed to the ideal organizational models prescribed for the MAEJT. However, these GBs' members were not domestic workers and fewer than five percent worked in any way outside of their own homes. The fact that precisely these groups had been selected was a first indication of limited long term success of the child protagonism strategy with child domestic workers and other more marginalized working children. Descriptions of these first two accompanied visits are presented here.

Grand Mbao (November 4, 2008)

On my second day in Senegal I was accompanied by EJA national office staff on a pre-arranged visit to the Grand Mbao GB. From the EJA national office in the densely populated *banlieue* of Guédiawaye, we drove further away from the peninsula of central Dakar itself to the small coastal *arrondissement* of Grand Mbao. The group of girls was waiting for us with their literacy teacher outdoors in a walled courtyard of their centre, in a circle of benches under a tree. I was told that literacy lessons would normally be going on (scheduled for Tuesday and Thursday, 15:00 to 17:00 or 18:00). My host from EJA spoke Wolof to the assembled group members, ending by introducing me. The group's literacy teacher whispered translation to me, indicating eventually that it was my turn to speak. I began, and within seconds one young woman shouted out for me to speak louder. (I later came to know this individual as a leading *ainé* and delegate of the group from her attendance at AEJT and national meetings.)

Not yet familiar with the level of formality deemed necessary to show to an official visitor, (and expected from him), I was surprised and disappointed to find that I would not be witnessing the group engaged in its regular activities, and specifically its literacy classes or manual skills training, which I had assumed to be the purpose of the visit. It turned out rather to be only a formal greeting session, an exchange of questions, and a tour of the facilities, which included a small room with sewing machines.

The members present, all girls, totaled roughly 30 by the time they had all trickled in. My host from the EJA national office seemed to me very gentle, caring, and empowering with them. When they were asked to present a description of group activities, they recited, with further prompts from the EJA facilitator and the literacy teacher, mainly the familiar formulas from communications available on the MAEJT website about realization of the twelve rights, literacy, skills training, and sensitization of adults about children's work and education. The literacy teacher emphasized how the ideas for their civic projects, such as cleaning up litter, planting trees, and assisting local *talibé* (Koranic school pupils), came from the group members themselves, as did the choices of skills for training, the content of literacy lessons, etc. When he also emphasized the dimension of citizenship education, the GB members' comments on this topic also came across as rote (in large part attributable to their lack of facility in French, in which they were encouraged to express themselves). Nevertheless, they all came across as earnest and sincere – as did their invitations to return for another visit.

EJA staff explained that prior to the group's formation in 2002, many Grand Mbao girls, mainly school dropouts aged 12 and older, worked on the seashore collecting and drying small fish for sale, and gathering seashells for construction material. According to EJA staff, it was arduous work that caused health problems. A Grand Mbao resident became aware of the literacy and skills training classes of the Medina GB of *filles domestiques* near central Dakar and he facilitated links with EJA to form the new Grand Mbao GB and provide it with a teacher and literacy and training materials. Reportedly, in 2004 the

Grand Mbao mayor was so impressed with the girls' first event - an exhibition of their craft products and a public sensitization on children's rights - that he personally bought many of the products and had a special structure built for them (the centre I visited). Those members present at the time of the fieldwork visit reported that they neither worked on the seashore nor attended formal school, but mainly helped with domestic chores in their own households. The centre thus served primarily as an alternative literacy and training facility for school dropouts or *filles desoeuvrées,* who did not contribute to their families' income directly through economic activity.

Cheikh Wade

Just two days later, on November 6, 2008, I was accompanied by another EJA national office team member on a pre-arranged visit to the Cheikh Wade GB, which uses rooms in a public complex, roughly 1.5 kilometers from the EJA national office, that includes the Guédiawaye Salle des Fêtes and library. The girls were also prepared for this visit, but were in the room used for skills training. This room was equipped with sewing machines and many of the girls were engaged in sewing and other related activities. The manual skills training *monitrice* reported that the GB had 52 members, of whom over 40 were present, making the space quite crowded. The typical member background included six years of formal school, followed by work in their own households. A few had taken other training courses before joining the group, and to my inquiring into what they sought from being in the group, all of the responses were variations on: "pour avoir un métier". The complex also housed a computer centre run by a small local NGO with a mandate of facilitating wider public access to ICTs. The employee of this NGO had been providing computer training to representatives of the GBs of the Dakar AEJT, and he reported that 15 of the 52 members of the Cheikh Wade GB had earned their diploma in Microsoft Word. The skills training *monitrice* stated that roughly half of the groups were "alphabétisées" and that literacy classes were ongoing. In later conversations with the ICT instructor, however, he explained that he himself had been the

latest to attempt to run literacy lessons, but had given up some time ago as he had found it too difficult. He was not trained as a literacy teacher and he cited the variety of learner levels and irregular attendance as challenges.

Provoked by my questioning of the girls on their profile (age, years of schooling, work status or experience), the EJA team member interjected that this group was originally called into being by their mothers. Enda TM had previously been working in the neighbourhood with a women's group who eventually asked that something be organized for their daughters who were poorly served by the school system and who worked very hard in their homes. The EJA staff member gave a history of the physical spaces that the GB had used, culminating in the present arrangements within the Guédiawaye complex that EJA had facilitated through an agreement with the local mayor.

On December 18th I stopped in briefly unannounced at this GB and found 20 girls hard at work at sewing machines and beading tasks. It was relatively early in their two hour meeting period, so more girls may well have arrived subsequently. In response to my question, the girls expressed their wish to re-establish French and literacy lessons.

After these two arranged visits, I reminded the EJA staff and AEJT officers of their promise to provide the coordinates (cell phone numbers, addresses of meeting places) of the remaining GBs in Dakar. Repeated polite requests by phone and by email went unanswered. When I returned to the EJA national office in person, a staff member inserted my USB key into her computer and told me that she had copied the relevant file onto it, but I found only a blank document. This experience appeared to be connected to the fact, discussed at the November 5 meeting of the Dakar AEJT, that the number of GBs officially counted by the Dakar AEJT in its own censuses had dropped from 30 to 20 between March and September of 2008, with the number of members counted dropping from 1003 to 700, and of child members (under

18) from 675 to 460. It thus appeared that there was discomfort on the part of the EJA national office and AEJT officers with the overall level of organization and activity that I would find among the remaining GBs, outside of the two showcase groups to which visits had been orchestrated.

Indeed, I would eventually find that the functioning, facilities, attendance, etc. of other GBs in the Dakar AEJT were not of the same standard as those of the GBs to whom visits had been arranged. Moreover, EJA staff and AEJT representatives would eventually admit that not 20, but only 14 GBs could actually be identified as active in Dakar during the fieldwork period, and that at most 400, not 700 total members could be estimated. Of these, the proportion that was under 18 years old also appeared considerably less than the 70% that EJA and the MAEJT had been targeting as a priority since 2006 after an external report had highlighted the age issue (Nimbona and Lieten 2004). Precisely because document review in advance of fieldwork had clearly revealed EJA's and the MAEJT's awareness of the issue of aging membership, the degree to which it remained a significant challenge in Dakar GBs, and particularly those of domestic workers, was an unexpected finding. Details specifically on the GBs of *filles domestiques* are presented in the following section, while descriptions of the remaining GBs are contained in Annex 2.

6.3 Domestic Workers in the Dakar AEJT 2008 – 09

This section begins with accounts of two of the three GBs primarily comprised of domestic workers that were at least semi-active during the period of fieldwork. These accounts describe the level of organization and activity found in these groups, the status of literacy and skills training in them, and the arrangements that I made with them to derive data about their living and working conditions, preoccupations, and aspirations through forms of participant observation and dialogue. Data collected using these methods are then presented, with detailed, supplemental material available

in Appendix 4. All of these findings allow further comparison with those from earlier studies on domestic workers in Dakar and with claims about organizational accomplishments attributed to child protagonism within the framework of the MAEJT.

6.3.1 Two *groupes de bases* of domestic workers in the Dakar AEJT

Ben Tali

When the EJA national office, the Dakar AEJT, and the Senegal CN repeatedly failed to assist me in locating the Dakar GBs, I resorted to the use of a key informant whom I had met in mid-November at a national level meeting of Senegal (and the Gambia) AEJT delegates at Thiès. This was an *ainée* (meaning she was over 18) of the Dakar AEJT who was able to converse in broken French. She reported having been a *fille domestique* and a member of the Ben Tali GB, but at the time of fieldwork she was involved in informal trading of soaps, perfumes and toiletries. On November 24, 2008, she guided me on my first visit to the Ben Tali GB. We arrived at approximately 6:00 PM in the courtyard of a public middle school in which all of the classrooms were being used by formal school students either for (paid) supplemental lessons with formal school teachers or simply for studying under the fluorescent lights.

The manual skills *monitrice* for the GB arrived. Also able to converse in limited French, she reported still feeling somewhat ill. She explained that her illness had forced her to be absent all of the previous week, so few girls might show up, not being sure if she would yet return. She and the *ainée* conversed with a computer trainer at the school, who was present during these evening hours for tutoring, trying to negotiate with him to provide some training for members of the Dakar AEJT. Meanwhile, a few of the GB members began gathering at the other end of the courtyard. All but one of the eight girls who were eventually present that evening wore much less elegant clothing than the girls in the Grand Mbao and Cheikh Wade GBs (in the banlieues) to which I had been escorted by the EJA national office for pre-

arranged meetings three weeks earlier. I was informed that the Ben Tali members were almost all *filles domestiques*.

Of those present, one was only eleven years old, another twelve, the others ranging up to nineteen. They at first appeared shy, but eventually all but the youngest engaged fully in conversation with the *ainée* accompanying me and with the skills trainer. None of them reported being able to speak French. We eventually entered a regular classroom with a blackboard and fluorescent lights, but no sewing machines or other such equipment, which had been highlighted at the centres of the GBs to which I had been escorted by EJA national programme staff. (Use of this classroom four evenings a week had been negotiated with the middle school's principle.)

The *ainée* with whom I had come sought to run a formal session of introduction and question exchange similar to those I had experienced at the showcase Grand Mbao and Cheikh Wade GBs. I tried to explain, with the *ainée* translating, that while I understood that I certainly owed them an introduction and an explanation of what I was doing, I mostly wanted to observe their regular, ongoing activities. The *ainée* exhorted them rather sternly, to my perception, to attract more young girls to the group, and then told me that a couple of the members agreed to try to do so. One of the girls present had come from the HLM Montagne GB, which by then, she reported, was no longer active.

Four of the eight girls had not brought their crocheting material to work on. The explanation given was that two of them were new and that the other two had forgotten it, for which they were mildly chided.

The *monitrice* said that she had forgotten the enrollment list of the members at home.

Three days later, I returned to this GB and found that the EJA national office staff member newly charged with facilitating the Dakar AEJT was carrying out an "état de lieux" of the GBs in the association, as she described it[85]. She had some difficulty in getting clear responses from the group as to who its officers were and what their activities had been during the year. She requested that they suspend meeting until after Tabaski (December 9th). This visit was on a Thursday evening, officially reserved for French literacy classes, but I was told that the teacher had not been coming for some time and that prior to the complete cessation of lessons she had been often absent or late. When I spoke to this teacher two weeks later (after Tabaski) she claimed that she had in fact been waiting for word from the GB itself as to when to recommence French literacy classes.

It was this teacher that I eventually convinced (and hired) to run her usual classes in the Ben Tali GB for the final six weeks of fieldwork. Brief discussion of her teaching is offered in the section on basic education (Dakar) below. Despite the group's initial expression of frustration over this teacher's previous spotty attendance record, the relations between her and the group appeared warm. In stark contrast to much of her teaching style (rote, repetitive, authoritarian, frequent harsh vocal tones), her animation of *causerie* revealed her to be a very witty, entertaining, and caring older sister figure. When the group members exchanged stories about negative experiences in the workplace they listened, completely engrossed, and moved each other to both tears and uproarious laughter. This was the dimension of their present GB experience that struck me as most vital, and was complemented by such promises of solidarity as when, for example, members vowed to present themselves as a group, if necessary, to demand the wage arrears of one. This key function of the group in simply providing a space to be together also seemed

[85] After visiting the Ben Tali GB, we followed the EJA staff member to the meeting place of another former GB of *filles domestiques*, but learned from local residents that they had no longer been coming for several months.

evident on those evenings when I observed them gathered to practice crocheting and beading. The trainer participated in their quiet camaraderie and always appeared patient, gentle, and encouraging in pointing out the weaknesses in their work.

The literacy teacher and manual skills trainer of the Ben Tali GB both stated that the group had had 55 total members as recently as July, 2008, with roughly half of this number showing up on any given evening. During my six weeks attending the GB two to three times per week, attendance peaked one evening at 26, with only half being under 18 years of age. The group thus struggled with the age criteria defined by the international donors of EJA's *national* programme (on which more below), as well as with the target 70% ratio of the MAEJT. The *ainée* from the AEJT and the EJA facilitator each returned twice during my six weeks of biweekly sessions with the Ben Tali GB to reinforce the group's understanding of the MAEJT's structure and concepts. The *ainée* tended to use a tone that came across to me as stern and scolding. On February 3, 2009 she lectured the group about their "manque d'organisation", and the need to carefully keep forms recording the dues they paid. She addressed them in Wolof, but in addition to these ideas, which I confirmed with the manual skills trainer, I was also able to make out repeated references to "Enda" as well as "UNICEF"," "pires formes de travail", "EJT", "Fabrizio" (the director of the EJA international programme), "Benin", "Burkina", "Mali", "exode précoce", "marriage précoce", "gouvernement", "participation des enfants". After consulting with the group, the literacy teacher confirmed to me that the *ainée* had been drilling them on structures and concepts of the MAEJT, but that it remained abstract and disconnected from their own direct experience and preoccupations. The very next evening (February 4, 2009) the EJA national programme facilitator visited and took a contrasting approach with the members, asking them which learning and training activities interested them, and began listing off suggestions beyond those raised by the girls themselves. As during other visits, she raised the specter of the already defunct GBs of domestic workers, especially HLM Montagne, to encourage the group to recruit

more girls under 18 years of age, insisting that by the end of February they would need to conform to the two-thirds proportion of children stipulated by donors in order to qualify as beneficiaries of such training activities. It was thus noteworthy at this meeting how the strategy for motivating the GB members to engage in outreach revolved around the promised provision of training, and the threat of its withdrawal, and did not involve appealing to solidarity among domestic workers to ensure greater protection of the youngest, or boosting their sense of self-efficacy for realizing affirmed rights.

At the date of my departure (March 1, 2009), the Ben Tali GB, with the help of an EJA national office intern from France, was organizing a door to door campaign and a sensitization event in the neighbourhood to attract more child *fille domestique* members. As expressed at the occasion of a farewell party that I sponsored for the group, morale was high, as all appeared to understand the stakes and the notion of an obligation towards younger girls. I later learned through email communication with the literacy teacher that the group was eventually judged to meet programme criteria for 2009 and that she (the teacher) was also accepted under a more stringent hiring process (see below) to continue receiving compensation for her work with the group. However, less than a year later, the GB was back in the same situation. On January 16, 2010, the literacy teacher informed me by email:

> Actuellement les filles font des démarches pour organiser une journée de sensibilisation. Elles feront un jumelage avec le groupe de solidarité de ben tally. Si ils réussissent à avoir beaucoup d'enfants, on maintient le groupe. Si c'est le contraire le groupe de ben tally sera fermé.

In May, 2010, she informed me that this time they have not been successful in attracting additional younger girls, that the group no longer held literacy classes, and that she was unsure if the skills trainer continued to receive any compensation from EJA.

Grand Dakar

On November 26th, 2008, I was accompanied by the same *ainée* of the AEJT on my initial visit to the Grand Dakar GB which met in a dimly lit classroom of a public primary school in which there was no other evening activity. We found seven girls on an evening when they had previously been holding literacy classes (a Wednesday); as in Ben Tali, the literacy teacher had not been coming for some time. Here as well, the *ainée* accompanying me sought to test and reinforce the girls' understanding of the concepts and structures of the MAEJT. We returned the next evening along with the EJA facilitator who was carrying out her *état des lieux* (November 27th, 2008). The manual skills teacher (the same woman as for the Ben Tali GB) was absent, but six girls were gathered around the one functioning fluorescent lamp, working on their crochet and conversing quietly.

I eventually discovered that this GB had had some 27 members earlier in the year (of whom most were reportedly at least 18), but that since the cessation of literacy classes at the beginning of November fewer than 10 had been coming regularly. I also recruited and hired this GB's former literacy teacher in order to attract back some of the GB members and create an opportunity to learn about their profiles, aspirations, etc. as well as observe literacy and numeracy lessons, in the same manner as I did with the Ben Tali GB. The former literacy teacher of the Grand Dakar GB had also previously served the last existing GB of boys of the Dakar AEJT, the group of Nyari Tali, so he proposed seeking out these *cireurs* and car washers to also join the classes in the Grand Dakar space. I accompanied him into the Nyari Tali neighbourhood one afternoon in early January 2009 and we met several of his former students, including two who were clearly adults, and they affirmed that they would attend the resumed classes in the Grand Dakar space. In the end, none of his previous male students actually did attend, but word must have spread in the neighbourhood because ten adolescent boys and young men, mostly *cireurs* and *marchands ambulants* (including one who did not even speak Wolof), did attend fairly regularly over the six weeks. During our recruitment outing we also came across several of the *filles domestiques* who had previously

attended his courses at Grand Dakar. They were living with their mothers (cereal pounders) in makeshift encampments in the street near the Grand Dakar literacy space (the literacy teacher stated that such street families were a relatively new but growing phenomenon). These girls also never returned to lessons during the six weeks of our collaboration. With the combined group that we did manage to attract, we averaged about 15 students per session, almost equal numbers male and female, meeting at 18:30-20:30 Mondays and Fridays over the six weeks. Of the dozen or so female members (that is, actual Grand Dakar GB members) that came at least sometimes, most were over 18, with one of the most regular being a 35 year-old. They were nearly all domestic workers, plus one very young (11-13 year old) *vendeuse,* who always arrived late, when she attended at all, because she could not leave the nearby Grand Dakar market until she had sold out the day's supply of doughnuts.

As described further below, the literacy (and numeracy) teacher could be quite effective in his direct instruction techniques: he gave appropriate written exercises, and managed the multiple ability levels well. On the whole, although he discursively embraced the idea of *negotiating* with the group the activities through which we could reflect together on their situations and hopes, he often dictated tasks, some of which the group appeared uncomfortable doing, such as drawing, or singing, so that they could not easily serve as a useful stimulus for discussion (and data generation). Seemingly accustomed to a magisterial approach, he once initiated a "causerie" on the topic of the environment that became an authoritative lecture with some odd digressions. Nonetheless, he appeared to hold the respect and trust of the students and was ultimately able to elicit from the group eloquent and poignant personal accounts - sometimes visibly difficult to recount or seemingly tinged with shame - of why they had never had the opportunity to attend school, how they came to be engaged in their current work, and why they now so valued various forms of literacy and numeracy.

A 19 year-old who still stayed at home helping her mother, and whom the teacher described as having been the student with the most regular attendance during his previous stint with the group, stated that she had never attended school, as it had been against her father's wishes, but that she liked school. She had started some training courses, including hairdressing, but had never been able to afford to follow through. She spoke of wanting to become literate in order to be able to read and write her own letters, and to be able to take telephone messages if she entered domestic work. She also wished to better understand French in order to enjoy films on television.

The 35 year-old *employée de maison* explained that during her rural childhood her father had needed her to help in the fields and that she had therefore never attended school. She felt marginalized and "pas dans la course". She had started her work at the age of 15, earning just 4000 CFA per month, but after 20 years of experience she was now earning 50,000 CFA ($105 Cdn). She performed cooking, cleaning, and laundry. She deplored that domestic workers were accused of theft every time an object went missing and she wished to move into a different line of work. She had seized the opportunity offered by the programme in the GB to learn reading, arithmetic, and weaving.

Another domestic worker, in her early 20s, appeared to find it difficult emotionally to reminisce about her experiences, as she rocked gently back and forth in her chair while also sliding her hands forward and back on her thighs and touching her torn jean threads as she gave her relatively lengthy account. At the age of three she had been confided to an aunt who "educated" her but would not allow her to attend school. The aunt became very attached to her, and dependent on her for household help. At the age of 11 or 12 she came from the village to Dakar where she started working as a *fille domestique* for 5000 CFA per month. She reported currently earning 40,000, from which she managed her own affairs and helps her mother and aunt in the village.

A 15 year-old *fille domestique* reported earning 10,000 CFA ($21 Cdn) monthly doing dishes and some laundry, and cleaning toilets. Two older domestic workers, each of whom earned 30,000 CFA, reported sometimes being maltreated by their employers. These three offered their responses and accounts with heads bowed and eyes downcast.

Particularly inspiring was a young girl who did not know her age (I would guess 12 or 13) who reported that she had been withdrawn from school because she was "nulle". Although she started slowly, over the weeks she gained confidence and was able to memorize the pronunciation of letters in French, as well as learning to add.

The stories of the male youths in these classes also highlighted the unsatisfied demand for literacy and other forms of training among young workers and added insight into the forms of informal *débrouillardise* to which such young men resort and within which they typically remain trapped. A 23 year old male recounted how his father had been an "*aventurier*" who went to seek work in Gabon, but whose remittances to the family in the village did not cover their needs. He and his friends started selling wood to help support their families. At the age of 17 he followed the example of others in coming to Dakar where he worked at the port shining shoes. He reported that on the very best days he made 5000 CFA ($10.50 Cdn), but that this was very rare.

Another *cireur* had moved with his family to Côte d'Ivoire but returned to Senegal to live with his grandmother at the age of five after his father died. The grandmother died when he was 12, and since his sister had no means to support him he had no choice but to come to Dakar. He had never attended school and as a result now felt handicapped in his work. He specifically wanted to be able to better manage his money, but also spoke of a general sense of displeasure in being illiterate and desiring a greater "*ouverture d'esprit*". A 19 year-old youth originally from Burkina Faso and who sold used clothing also spoke of his discontent at being unable to read and write, skills which he viewed as necessary for his work, specifically

for understanding posted signs. He had been enrolled in primary one, only to quit and be entrusted to a *daara* (Koranic school).

The teacher and I continued to explain to the entire group that it would be necessary to increase the child (under 18) membership of the group in order for it to continue to enjoy the support of the EJA national office's donor funded programme for the literacy/numeracy classes as well as for the manual skills trainer for the females. In our most focused and sustained discussion on this topic, the 35 year-old *employée de maison* asserted her belief that parents have so understood the importance of school that it is now very difficult to find children of school going age who are not enrolled and attending, a comment which elicited applause from the group. I interjected that the latest available statistics on out of school children in Senegal indicate that the percentage, even for urban areas, is still very high, especially among those aged 12 and over. She and the others were not convinced, however, and she even reported having done some canvassing and finding no demand for literacy classes among adolescents. Significantly, this 35 year-old individual was the only one who reported knowing that "Enda" arranged the literacy and skills training lessons.

The class members also did not believe it would be possible to find or link with any other organization in the *quartier* that could support their group or set up an alternative structure for their learning goals. The literacy teacher, partly because he believed that the solution should come from EJA, made no real effort to facilitate the group's research and exploration of options for continued literacy and numeracy lessons after my departure.

The 35 year-old stated that she knew from the beginning the age limit, and had considered claiming a "reduced" age. She argued that the programme should not "faire de la fixation sur l'âge", for which she again received applause from the group. She stressed that she wanted a chance to learn even if she could not be formally registered in the group. A male youth also spoke up during this discussion and received

applause for asserting that the age criteria were a discriminatory measure, that everyone should be given a chance to learn, and that he would be prepared to misrepresent his age. Apparently because the Grand Dakar GB seemed rather less likely to meet the target proportion of under 18s (and because of their lesser numbers), the EJA national office was not making any visible efforts during my fieldwork (as they were at Ben Tali) to rejuvenate and redynamize the group[86]. Nonetheless, the research assistant reported to me via email that this group continued to enjoy EJA support for literacy and skills teachers at least until early 2010.

6.3.2 Current status of *filles domestiques* in the Dakar AEJT

From my own observations and inquiries with the members of the two active GB of domestic workers in the Dakar AEJT at the time of fieldwork, there was little indication of the concrete and tangible accomplishments claimed by de Ravignan (1998) for the Dakar association and its GBs. His first general claim was that the AEJT and its GB had earned recognition from *authorities, the media*, and *the public*. While the two showcase GBs (of *filles désœuvrées*) in outlying *banlieues* had benefited from local authorities who had provided them physical spaces and equipment for learning and income generating activities, most GBs, including the two GBs of domestic workers nearer the downtown area, enjoyed no such links or recognition beyond the use of empty public school classrooms after hours. In terms of recognition by the media, during and after fieldwork the EJA international office orchestrated Senegalese media coverage for the meetings of higher level executive bodies of the MAEJT that were taking place in Senegal, and for the President of Finland's visit to the Grand Mbao GB. However, there was no evidence

[86] However, one EJA national programme officer (not responsible for the EJT side of programming) stated that if the Grand Dakar group could no longer be supported by the Xaley programme, EJA, who had originally brought them together, had an obligation to help them find alternative arrangements to satisfy their learning objectives.

to support the suggestion that the Dakar AEJT itself or any of its GBs was in any significant and durable way "recognized by the media". Moreover, while the name "Enda" enjoys some recognition among the urban population, the AEJT itself is scarcely known, and even in the neighbourhoods of the public schools in which the GBs of domestic workers meet there was no awareness of the MAEJT, the Dakar AEJT, or the GBs themselves. In the two largest downtown markets, where boy porters had previously been organized into GBs of the Dakar AEJT, boy porters who were questioned during fieldwork had heard of neither EJA nor the AEJT.

de Ravignan (1998) had further claimed:

1. "All fifteen EJT groups in Dakar… have… set up mutual health insurance groups for common diseases, financed through membership fees."
2. "Certain groups have also managed to obtain discounts for medication and consultations at health posts."
3. "Reading and writing is also an achievement for all of them"
4. "[They have established] contacts with the police force and the creation of a system of membership cards."
5. "For the maids situation … [there has been] a distinct improvement in relations with employers." (p.24).

Fieldwork revealed that only two GBs in the Dakar AEJT claimed to have set up a joint fund for health needs. No Dakar GBs reported having negotiated health service discounts, having established contacts with the police, or using membership cards. Regarding point 3, while the two GB of domestic workers described above had been benefiting from French literacy classes subsidized by the EJA national programme, none of the members whom I met could be described as having achieved "reading and writing". I have described above how Cheikh Wade, one of the showcase GBs had no literacy classes despite the expressed wishes of its members. The same situation was found in four out of five of the other Dakar GBs visited (see details in Appendix 3), and this was also confirmed to be the case in at least two other GBs that could not be visited.

The claim made in point five above has already been compared with assertions about employer relations contained within more recent characterizations of the overall situation of domestic workers in Senegal in section 5.10. Additional findings collected directly from domestic workers are presented here, not only on the topic of employer relations, but also on the profile of domestic workers and their living and working conditions. While the three experienced literacy teachers of past and present GBs of domestic workers were already knowledgeable on these topics, we used the data gathering methods described above to confirm with the domestic workers themselves some features of their life and work experience.

As in the early nineties study, the domestic workers encountered are still mostly of the Serrère and Diola minority ethnic groups, which one of their literacy teachers suggested made them tend to be insular and lack the confidence to assert themselves well in the wider group of majority native Wolof speaking *filles désœuvrées* in the Dakar AEJT. Most reported not having completed a full cycle of primary school, having been enrolled at most three to four years, which was consistent with their minimal competence in French literacy and conversation, even among the oldest (those over 18 years old). Some had been fostered to their "aunts" in Dakar when in the age range of seven to ten and then gradually introduced to work. Among those who came when somewhat older, some reported having made their own decision to come, while most stated that their parents encouraged the move, often by presenting the example of a girl from another family that had come to the city and succeeded.

They still tended to live in groups of up to ten, sharing run-down quarters in a poor neighbourhood, all contributing monthly to the rent. Some spent the week at the house of their employer and returned on the weekend to the home of their extended family member or guardian, an arrangement that was described as not at all favorable in terms of the dangers posed by the presence of men in the homes during the overnight hours, as well as the increased workload, as working hours could be indefinitely extended. Once, while I was walking with one of the experienced literacy teachers, we passed two of his former pupils

(former GB members) who were living with their mothers or other female relatives in makeshift encampments in the street. He explained that the older women work in the production of food products such as pounded millet, while the girls do domestic work[87]. To find work the girls and young women often resort to going door to door. As written contracts are very rare and the girls are not familiar with the national legislation on domestic work, employment continues to be precarious, with roughly half of the girls and young women reporting a frequent change of employers. Lengthy absences from a position for visits to home villages rarely allow for position to be retained, but cases of employers' tolerance and particular affinities for employees have allowed it to happen.

When asked to recount personal experiences that had marked their working lives, they highlighted physical and verbal abuse, threats and intimidation, and disputes over salary arrears. One described how at the culmination of a long salary dispute, "My boss's mother slapped me in front of everyone, and then many piled on blows." Another recounted how her employer had asked her to do laundry at 11:00 pm as she was just finishing bathing.

> When I said 'no, I've just taken my bath' she said I was being insolent and ungrateful after all that was provided for me and that I had no dignity because I spent week nights in the house. I became angry and asked to be paid out. My employer refused, but eventually one of her sons convinced her to. I walked home at midnight with all of my bags.

Additional anecdotes and the plotlines of two dramas performed by the members of the Ben Tali GB are contained in Appendix 4. Taken all together, the findings presented in this section lend further support to the assertion that the MAEJT child protagonism strategy of organizing domestic workers into GBs, with representation in the Dakar AEJT, has brought limited improvement to their living and

[87] He further explained that the phenomenon of such families simply living in the street in this way was new but fast growing.

working conditions over the years, and, most recently, has not reliably provided effective educational opportunities, especially for literacy. Moreover, these findings have suggested the fragility of the GBs themselves as a mode of organization that can be autonomously managed by members, even where many are in fact *ainées* and thus no longer officially "children". Indeed, to ensure the continuity of child protagonism and its purported benefits for *children*, autonomous management of GBs would crucially entail forms of effective outreach to younger cohorts to continually renew *child* worker membership.

6.4 Education for EJTs: contradictions of discourse & practice

The preceding observations of the GBs of domestic workers have shown how these groups have been able neither to sufficiently renew their child membership in order to qualify for EJA-funded literacy and skills training, nor to *independently* arrange for the classes that they desired to continue pursuing, as had been the aspiration of the child protagonism ideal. As a result, domestic servants, both girls and young women, were without educational opportunities. As will be discussed in this section and in section 6.5, the situation partly reflected how long term child protagonism objectives entailed an evolution from originally prized modes of group "accompaniment", as pedagogical partnership or mentorship, to less intensive modes of support. The situation observed in the GBs also reflects, however, developments and influences partly unforeseen in EJA's early discourse, exposed in the previous chapter, in which a chief concern was the development of forms of education that would be relevant and adapted to categories of children and youth underserved by formal schooling, centrally including those working informally in the streets and in domestic service. This section of findings first returns briefly to some documented discourse of EJA to focus further on how they conceived of "alternative" education as a top priority and indeed as a key accomplishment of their own earlier

interventions. This quick look back is for comparison with the situation of the system of literacy training in the GBs of the Dakar AEJT as it was observed during fieldwork and described by recent literacy teachers and EJA staff.

6.4.1 Alternative education: a pillar of EJA's child protagonism discourse and practice

Quoted in an EJA volume entitled *Éducation: Alternatives africaines*, the EJA international programme director underscored how alternative education had been the most important accomplishment of the early years of the MEAJT:

> Le contexte de ces années là [1990s], c'est celui du débat international sur le travail des enfants. Une chose dramatique dans ce débat c'est le dogme qui oppose «travail des enfants et éducation». Pour ceux qui se fondent sur ce dogme là : s'il y a travail il n'y a pas d'éducation. Dans ce débat, je jouais le rôle du diable. Et devant un parterre de Ministres et d'experts, *j'ai expliqué que la première réalisation du MAEJT est dans le domaine de l'éducation*.
> Dans notre réalité, il y a des enfants qui ne font qu'aller à l'école, d'autres qui ne vont jamais à l'école et ensuite une grande masse d'enfants qui vont à l'école et qui travaillent, ou qui travaillent et qui apprennent. *Et nous faisons tout pour que cette masse augmente pour que tous les enfants apprennent*. C'est cette masse des enfants qui construisent leur pays et se construisent parce qu'ils travaillent et apprennent en même temps (Enda Tiers Monde, 2006, p.91, emphasis added).

In a later section of the same publication another EJA official expressed ambitious objectives for EJA's work with the MAEJT on alternative education (although he seemed to neglect the perennial fact of *new* cohorts of child workers):

> Nous devons redoubler d'efforts. On doit faire de telle sorte que ce droit des EJT «à lire et à écrire» puisse disparaître de leurs 12 droits à réaliser. Et pour ce faire, il faut que nous mettions le cap : si on donnait des cours pour satisfaire la moitié de nos apprenants, qu'on puisse faire maintenant des cours pour satisfaire les objectifs à atteindre à 100% pour qu'à la prochaine évaluation les EJT puissent dire maintenant par rapport aux 12 droits on n'a plus besoin du «droit à lire et écrire» (p.103).

A sense of what had been implemented in Dakar in the early 1990s, as described by Coly (1999), can be read in his account of initial frustration, intensive group accompaniment, and incremental learning on the part of animators that eventually permitted what is described as successful literacy

implementation, given the modest objectives of the targeted young male workers, including market porters.

> Les cours démarrèrent avec une quarantaine de jeunes pour atteindre rapidement une centaine. Le taux de présence est resté stable pendant deux ans. Beaucoup d'entre eux qui parlaient le français «tirailleurs» ont pu arriver à lire et à écrire. Certains se sont perfectionnés et d'autres qui ne connaissaient aucun mot ont fait des progrès significatifs. Une fois leurs objectifs atteints, ils arrêtaient systématiquement les cours (p.166).

The account of Fall (1999), based on observations and statements of the literacy teacher of the HLM Montagne GB of domestic workers, also illustrates the attitude of literacy teachers and the importance attached to their work by the EJA programme:

> Malick se dit « très fier » d'inculquer des connaissances à des jeunes personnes sans soutien. Il assimile sa mission éducative à un « acte civique ». « Après chaque évaluation, j'ai la satisfaction d'avoir participé un peu au développement de la nation. Ces filles sont fraîchement venues du village et n'ont jamais été à l'école. Y aller est un de leurs droits », explique-t-il (Fall, 1999).

Former literacy teachers interviewed during fieldwork also enthusiastically affirmed the potential value of literacy classes for EJTs. One former teacher, who, like the others interviewed, held relatively high educational and employment credentials, had taught from 1997 to 2005, most recently at HLM Montagne. He reported having had 100 students in that GB, whom he divided into two groups by age, teaching the younger earlier in the evening. Between the two groups the attendance rate was such that he would work with at least 50 students total at each evening of lessons with the two groups. (These figures for membership and average class size up to 2005 indicate an *increase* from those reported for

the HLM Montagne GB in Fall (1999). For his first three to four years he had worked with another GB of domestic workers near downtown Dakar, where he reported having 60 students[88].

This literacy teacher described himself as having been highly committed to his work with the Dakar GBs. During his time with the programme he worked closely with full time EJA staff to organize the monthly in-service training for all literacy teachers *(*referred to as "*rencontres pedagogiques"*), and even took part in training the other teachers according to the monthly themes. In this period (1997-2005) between 30 and 33 teachers were attending these training sessions, as some centres assisted by the programme had as many as 150 learners[89], thus requiring three teachers, while others had as few as 30 learners.

In this informant's view, participation in the programme was conceived more as a form of voluntary civic engagement than as employment. As compensation for transportation costs, literacy teachers received between 20,000 and 30,000 CFA monthly, which he characterized as a very modest sum, and many of the literacy teachers indeed had other jobs. "Il y avait une dynamique au niveau des moniteurs... Le moniteur va s'engager parce que c'est un militant." In describing his own devoted teaching and animation, he mentioned running a theatre group with the domestic workers whose performances thematized the MAEJT's twelve rights, as well as pedagogical outings, games, and *causeries* on health topics. He stated that he was generally present at the learning centre from 4:00 to 9:00 PM, arriving well before class time to allow him to discuss with students and manage the group well. If a student was absent for a week, he would pay his own transport to get in contact with her

[88] Note, however, that while this former literacy teacher asserted that these students were domestic workers and market sellers, it is impossible to confirm what portion of them truly were and what portion were under 18 during these years.
[89] EJA's *rencontres pédagogiques* were open to literacy teachers of other community based literacy spaces, beyond those working with GB of EJT or with any other official EJA programme.

employer, or family, or seek her out at her place of work to find out the cause. He even claimed to have traveled to visit some of his students in their home villages at Tabaski[90] each year. "Nous sommes parti intégrante de ce programme; nous sommes amis des enfants."

However, former literacy teachers also underscored the challenges of pursuing learning objectives – especially long term objectives - with working child and youth learners. Moreover, even the 1999 account of the HLM Montagne literacy course unintentionally exposed the same tension inherent in alternative education initiatives that was signaled in section 5.3. On the one hand, the 1999 courses were described as offering a structured three-year curriculum incorporating objectives in literacy and numeracy, as well as in health (sexually transmitted diseases including HIV), hygiene, home economics, and child care (including breast feeding). On the other hand, the article emphasized that the courses sought to realize the alternative education ideal of participatory negotiation of learning objectives (Fall, 1999). The question thus arises as to how the two approaches could have been harmonized, and how teachers could have avoided the tendency of learners cited just above from Coly (1999): "Une fois leurs objectifs atteints, ils arrêtaient systématiquement les cours."

Former teachers confirmed that they had used the participatory negotiation approach described in Fall (1999) and in earlier EJA publications. They would start the year (or session) by surveying the whole class, recording all of the members' needs and objectives on the board, and from this would negotiate the programme. Simple French dialogue was viewed as the most important competence for *filles domestiques*, while those engaged in selling needed to understand some principles of business management. They would then monitor progress and eventually move on to further objectives. While

[90] The West African term for Eid al-Adha, the Muslim festival commemorating the willingness of Abraham (Ibrahim) to sacrifice his son as an act of obedience to God.

they all noted that having their objectives written down helped to motivate learners, they also all stressed that the highly irregular attendance of almost all individuals greatly complicated progression through objectives.

6.4.2 Decline of basic education for EJTs in Dakar: teacher perspectives

Former literacy teachers also offered critical remarks about the evolution of the literacy programme for EJTs in more recent years and hypotheses concerning its decline. One of these teachers first attributed the disappearance of the very GBs whom he had recently taught to a lack of implication of *organisations communitaires de base* (OCBs) and of the local community in general, and he stressed the need for GBs to create and sustain relations with other community groups[91]. If GBs had not been able to do so, then the level of engagement and support from their teachers and animators appeared to be an important factor in this failure. Former teachers believed that many current teachers no longer were taking on the fully engaged, militant role described above, and that there was no longer the same "dynamique, volonté de créer, innover." One informant noted his impression that teachers increasingly were just showing up for the minimum two hours without feeling deeply integrated into EJA, or impregnated with the programme. He had even sought explanation from EJA national office staff as to what was happening: "Vous avez changé les objectifs? Vous avez changé le trajectoire?" Speculating that the decrease in teacher engagement derived from EJA's renewed commitment to autonomizing the EJTs, he suggested that, "c'est bien de les autonomiser, mais il faut aussi les accompagner."

[91] While this informant had worked with NGOs, including INGOs, he was still active in and committed to OCB activity, particularly towards organizing and running *écoles communitaires de base* (ECBs).

Another former literacy teacher had recently worked with GBs of boys in the AEJT - groups who also had ceased any activity before the fieldwork period. This informant also described himself as a passionate and engaged teacher, but he implicitly rejected the voluntarist ideal. Echoing EJA's own discourse of twenty years earlier, he insisted instead that the pedagogical challenges presented by boys in informal street trades demanded a professional and scientific approach. This informant's added emphasis, however, was that salaries should therefore be commensurate with the necessary pedagogical qualifications. From his own observations, boys and young men in, e.g., the shoe shine/shoe repair and car washing trades had heavy earning responsibilities to families on top of their own survival needs. They therefore calculated daily the opportunity cost of attending class, which would entail leaving work early and foregoing additional customers. In this informant's view, whatever the hardships of domestic workers, their fixed monthly salary provided an important contrast to the manner in which such boys felt the need to squeeze in every extra hour of work daily for additional revenue. Since girls had less at stake in the time investment of classes, he reasoned, and also less immediate responsibility to families in relation to their earnings, they were less readily discouraged by irregular attendance or ineffectiveness of literacy teachers. Many male members had dropped out in recent years and their GBs had disappeared, he claimed, because many literacy teachers were not sufficiently committed, and EJA had increasingly resorted to people without the needed pedagogical skills. The boys needed to find a consistently engaged, serious environment, and it was the responsibility of the organizers (EJA) to "donner un air sérieux. C'est pas aux apprenants de le faire." For this reason, he stated :

> il faut qu'on repense la philosophie de ce projet, revoir le statut du moniteur, la motivation, le cadre et les cibles, faire une analyse, quoi, scientifique, beaucoup plus scientifique… un projet doit avoir une dimension scientifique aussi… quand il est bien financé il doit y avoir aucune raison d'échec….

This former teacher went on to describe his personal experience of deep engagement with his learners, but eventual frustration, mainly with the compensation level. According to him, holding class twice weekly in each of two GB meant a heavy workload, as the teacher was present from 18:00 and 21:00, and needed to budget additional time for transportation. Most importantly, he asserted, the EJTs were the most difficult category of learner to manage, as one must constantly adjust to their availability, rhythm, preoccupations, and interests. As a result, it was very difficult for a teacher to progress according to any initial plan. EJTs' heavy responsibilities towards their family often entailed travel and missed classes, but even if a learner missed four straight classes, when he returned, the teacher was morally obligated to work with him, which required great creativity and ingenuity. Noting his own high educational and professional credentials (including varied experience in the formal system) he recounted how at a certain moment he had to tell himself that while "l'esprit" of working with the EJT afforded some satisfaction, "je ne peux pas avoir ce *background* and courir après des miettes."

Part of this informant's viewpoint appeared to have been based on an exaggerated estimation of the financial resources potentially available to EJA for the EJT literacy programme. In any case, contrary to the child protagonism ideal, he explicitly viewed EJA as the crucial *lead* actor in any ongoing efforts to provide literacy training opportunities to EJT.

> [Ils donnent] les miettes et la personne se débrouille avec…Je pense que quand on se lance dans un projet, c'est pour avoir un résultat… quand tu engages un projet, tu es financé, tu as même une obligation de résultat… Moi, je ne peux pas imaginer un bailleur qui finance Enda pour que Enda à son tour donne des motivations de 25,000 francs mensuellement. Ça, j'ai du mal à réaliser ça…
>
> J'avoue que j'ai un sentiment d'insatisfaction par rapport à la gestion des EJT. Un sentiment *d'insatisfaction* je dis bien, pour avoir pratiqué le milieu, et pour avoir, n'est-ce pas, compris les possibilités de réalisation *positive* de ce projet. Je comprends : on a la cible, on a l'environnement – les classes- on a les ressources humains. Qu'est-ce qui reste? Motiver les gens. Il faut les motiver...Moi, je ne suis qu'un wagon. C'est Enda la locomotive. Si Enda tire, ça marche.

Moreover, withholding *financial* resources was not the only reproach that this informant leveled at EJA. He also asserted that over 10 months had passed without anyone visiting his classes from the EJA office. While he believed that this was partly because they trusted his ability, he asserted that supportive monitoring visits were also an important component of the motivation of a teacher. In addition, he accused EJA of failing to fulfill promises made to GBs of young male workers that they would be offered driver's license and computer courses. On the whole, former literacy teachers all viewed EJA national office staff as out of touch with the current realities of teaching EJTs and the intensity of support still required to make it function successfully:

> On doit pouvoir les accompagner, par tous les moyens …Prendre donc le projet au sérieux. Il ne faut pas s'enfermer dans les bureaux comme ça et vouloir véritablement faire des résultats. Ça, c'est un travail de terrain…

One of these informants described what remained of the EJT literacy programme, especially for domestic workers, as being "en crise", noting that in late 2009, of those attending EJA's monthly *rencontres pédagogiques* in Dakar, he was one of only three who were working with GBs of EJT. Former literacy teachers suspected that EJA had shifted attention from EJT, the most difficult group to manage, to their work with *talibés (*young Koranic pupils sent by their masters to beg in the streets for most of the day), with whom it was easier to record quantifiable results, especially in terms of health, hygiene, and protection from dangerous conditions.

The EJA national office staff in fact confirmed a shift in emphasis towards *talibés,* attributing it to increasing international donor interest in that category of child beneficiary:

> Ça fait des années qu'on est avec des enfants travailleurs, et ces trois dernières années, on a développé un processus avec des partenaires financiers avec les recherches sur les talibés. Ils ont interpellé en disant, c'est bon, pour le nouveau programme, la dimension talibé soit un peu plus forte que les autres dimensions, avec tout le processus qu'on a fait, etc., avec aussi le phénomène, et la connaissance de ce phénomène.

6.4.3 EJA's (and their NGO partners') perspectives on literacy lessons for MAEJT GBs.

Virtually the entire four month period on the ground in Senegal coincided with a period of dormancy and restructuring of the systems of literacy classes, not only in Dakar, but also in two other cities visited, St. Louis and Louga. As a result, the system of literacy instruction for the GBs of EJTs as it existed through 2008 could not be directly observed. The EJA national office staff had in fact suspended this literacy activity precisely because of concerns about the qualifications and competencies of the recent teachers.

> Ce qu'on a fait, l'année passée [vers la fin de 2008], on s'est rendu compte qu'au niveau d'alphabétisation, dans certains groupes ça ne marchait pas. Ce n'était pas lié aux enfants, mais c'était lié à la capacité des moniteurs. On a dit, on fait une évaluation pour tous les moniteurs du programme et on demande aux gens d'arrêter pour voir ceux qui ne répondent plus en termes de capacités. On ne va pas les reconduire. L'année passée aussi on a mis en place aussi un processus d'élaboration de curriculum."

When EJA national office staff had asked me (in November 2008) to comment on the curriculum mentioned here, they had described it as being intended to provide a full learning programme for *daaras (*Koranic schools*)*. In in this later discussion of literacy classes for GBs (in February 2008), however, they stated that it was to be used for the EJTs as well: "Ce qu'on veut faire à travers le curriculum, c'est une proposition d'enseignement de qualité pour tous les enfants qui ne vont pas à l'école." The curriculum outlined ascending levels of targeted learner competencies in a range of domains[92],

[92] In the version of the curriculum that I received, which was stated to be for Daaras, these learning domains were Koran and Religious Education; French; Math; Information and Communication Technology; Initiation into Trades; Hygiene, Health and Environment; Citizenship, Civism, and Culture of Peace; Arabic; and National Languages.

conceived as steps in a three to five year progression towards the final successful learner profile in each domain. EJA staff explained that the necessary next stage would be to create a teaching/learning manual for each domain. Yet despite the expressed need for such manuals they also claimed that the St. Louis AEJT and its *structure d'appui*, the NGO Claire Enfance, had already been trying to test the curriculum in January 2009. Not surprisingly, EJA staff added "Mais je pense que les gens avaient quelques difficultés d'amorcer ça avec ceux qui était là-bas."

Elaborating further on their approach to the educational aspects of their programme to support the Dakar AEJT and its GBs, the EJA *national* office implicitly questioned some MAEJT priorities as defined by the EJA *international* programme, and echoed a critique from the 1990s EJA animator cited in the previous chapter:

> Ce qui est important pour nous, c'est plus l'impact que … les actions ont sur les enfants, plutôt que [le nombre]… Bon, on peut avoir 5000 enfants, alors que l'impact n'est pas important... C'est ce que nous a motivé à faire ce curriculum – pour avoir des enfants qui sont capables de faire quelque chose, au lieu d'avoir des milliers et des milliers où on dit, « ils sont alphabétisés », alors qu'ils savent juste écrire quelques mots.

However, such an enhanced orientation towards valid measures of specific achievement in their literacy programmes, rather than purely towards numbers of pupils, was not yet reflected in the action plan of the EJA national office's donor funded programme in the form of concrete achievement targets, or even any procedure for setting them. The only targets in the 2009 action plan were still in simple terms of numbers of EJT registered in courses.

6.4.3 Literacy training for GBs

Dakar

The two literacy teachers whose lessons[93] I observed in Dakar GBs over the course of six weeks were both experienced in teaching within the framework of EJA's literacy programme for EJTs programme and they had regularly attended the EJA national office's *rencontres pédagogiques*, which were intended to reinforce pedagogical skills adapted to learners in such alternative, non-formal educational spaces. In addition, however, one of these literacy teachers had several years experience teaching in formal schools, while the other was currently enrolled in the École normale. It was this training for the formal system that most distinctly marked their teaching practice with the EJTs, a finding that was consistent with an earlier account of non-formal teaching in alternative school spaces in the *banlieues* of Dakar:

> Il semble que la part des activités d'enseignement de type traditionnel (parcoeurisation, répétition, partir de la lettre pour aller à la syllabe, puis au mot et à la phrase, etc.) est très importante et ne se distingue pas radicalement de ce qui nous a été donné à voir dans les écoles publiques. Les interactions maître/élèves sont très ritualisées et les pratiques de classe traditionnelles… sont les pratiques les plus générales (Dreyfus & Caroline, 2004).

Not surprisingly, such conventional methods were conducted more effectively and were better adapted to the various levels of the learners by the teacher with more experience in the formal system. Indeed, though his learners numbered only about 15, his deft class management in some of the early

[93] The literacy lessons we ran in the GBs also included a numeracy (counting and arithmetic) component, as had been the traditional practice. I had hired these instructors to resume the forms and content of literacy and numeracy teaching that they had previously been conducting, in order that I could observe them. In their capacity as research assistants, we consulted together concerning the form and the focus of supplemental animation activities geared towards data collection. These animation activities also turned out to be within the repertoire of practices that they at least claimed to have been conducting regularly with the groups.

lessons was impressive, as he seamlessly diagnosed the levels of new pupils in literacy and numeracy, conducted direct instruction, set differentiated exercises, and corrected them.

As also noted by Dreyfus and Juillard (2004) in their observations of other non-formal literacy classes in Dakar, such relatively rigid formal lesson methods did not constitute the entirety of the interactions between teachers and pupils. Other portions of class time were devoted to activities that both diminished the teacher-pupil power/knowledge hierarchy and focused on themes and issues directly relevant to the learners' lives. While I had negotiated with the teachers to insure that they included such activities for the purposes of my data gathering, they stated that they implemented them in a manner consistent with their regular practices[94]. In this dimension of their classes it was the *less* experienced teacher who was rather more successful, as I have described above in reference to the Ben Tali GB. However, despite my encouragement and suggestions for the teachers to integrate spoken French, literacy, or numeracy learning objectives into their *causeries*, theatre, drawing, or games, they made only minimal attempts to do so, always at my direct prompting. As a result, a conceptual divide between such activities and serious formal learning tended to be reinforced.

The evening classes in the space used by the Grand Dakar GB were conducted under challenging conditions. The formal school classroom allotted to them had only one weak fluorescent light that functioned, and it was located near the classroom's rear corner, far from the fixed blackboard at the front. A small, movable blackboard was positioned under the light, but reading from it was still

[94] Consistent with the report of Fall (1999) and the accounts of other former literacy instructors, my research assistants affirmed that the *causeries* they held in the groups had sometimes focused on health topics, in particular sexually transmitted diseases.

difficult. From a mosque next door amplified chants continued on and off for roughly 60% of the time between the hours of 18:30 and 20:30, severely compromising communication in the classroom.

St. Louis

The Xaley Ca Kanam programme within which EJA national office supports the Dakar AEJT and its GBs also encompasses support to the AEJT in the city of St. Louis through its local *structure d'appui*, the NGO Claire Enfance. In discussions at their office in St. Louis, Claire Enfance staff emphasized literacy in French as the core activity of GBs and reported that six hours a week on average was devoted to it in all GBs. Through additional financial support from the Spanish NGO Fundación Xaley, Claire Enfance compensated a literacy teacher for every GB by providing a "*prime de transport",* as had been the practice in Dakar. Also consistent with recent developments at the EJA national office in Dakar, reported above, they had begun demanding perspective literacy teachers to provide CVs with proof of academic or professional credentials, etc., whereas in previous years there had been more informal recruitment, including from *ainés* (former GB members), without vetting of qualifications.

Speaking in early February, 2009, Claire Enfance staff stated that the "experimentation phase" for the curriculum created by the EJA national office was only beginning, but added that they had designed a programme of monitoring and evaluation involving the state education inspection authorities, with whom, they emphasized repeatedly, they had for some time been working in "étroite collaboration" to reinforce the capacity of literacy teachers. Despite the EJA national office's characterization of the curriculum as merely an outline of learning objectives, the Claire Enfance animator expressed confidence that it would allow them to review teachers' tools and facilitate an improved dispensation of literacy lessons, allowing the children to have an "education of quality."

The St. Louis AEJT's groups were reported to consist largely of domestic workers, with some girl market vendors, hair braiders, and apprentices in woodworking and auto repair, and the Claire Enfance animator firmly stated that the teachers negotiated learning objectives with group members "à partir de leurs aspirations et attentes." While he further asserted that there was no doubt that the new curriculum was sufficiently flexible to allow this sort of negotiation, it would appear challenging to reconcile the process elaborated in the curriculum itself (envisioning *five* years of staged learning towards a final competency profile)[95] with a process that proceeds via the same sorts of negotiated learning objectives that have been mentioned above in the historical material and in relation to the GBs in Dakar.

The Action Plan for the Xaley programme in St. Louis set a target of 700 EJT (aged 15-17)[96] to benefit from literacy courses in 2009. (Note that this target is actually greater than that for Dakar, while the population of St. Louis is less than one-tenth that of Dakar.) While 596 members of the St. Louis AEJT were counted in the September 2008 figures, Claire Enfance staff and an *ainé* of the association stated (on February 10, 2009) that the number was then approaching 700, and that they would continue to undertake sensitization activities to attract more EJT to the literacy and skills training offered under the Xaley programme.

Unfortunately, despite the fact that literacy courses were distinctly the center of my interest in my extended conversation with the Claire Enfance programme officer, and despite their assertion that that the new literacy courses had begun in some GBs, neither of the GBs to which I was accompanied

---

[95] The curriculum is presented in an annex. The full five year duration, and indeed all aspects of the ambitious programme outlined would appear to be more relevant to gradual implementation in daaras, which are already established educational institutions of a sort.

[96] EJA national office and Claire Enfance staff both explained that Xaley programme documents needed to avoid the suggestion that the programme officially promoted in any way the work of children under the age of 15, since any such work is officially illegal under Senegalese law (see section 2.6).

that afternoon were holding literacy classes on that particular day. I was told that a contingent of journalists linked to some donors was also visiting the AEJT St. Louis that day, and that the two GB I would visit were chosen so as not to coincide with those being visited by the journalists; thus I would not get to see any literacy courses in progress.

Louga

The city of Louga has an AEJT affiliated to the MAEJT, but it has not been part of either national programme administered through the EJA national office[97]. The Louga AEJT had implemented a three month programme of three literacy classes in 2008 through the direct support of the international NGO CISV. The association's delegates had included this brief literacy programme in a presentation of their 2008 activities at the year-end national meetings in Thiès. An EJA animator critiqued them at that time for neglecting to mention any problems with this programme, since the point of such presentations should be to draw lessons from experience that can inform ongoing and future programmes. (The animator also argued at that time that the stated achievement of the programme cited for "calcul" of counting from 1 to 5 does not qualify as "calcul"). The delegate paradoxically stated that according to the teachers for the course there were no problems of frequency of attendance because while the courses were free, pupils were fined for being late.

During my visit to Louga I asked again about the nature of the problems they had encountered with the three month programme. The same delegate replied that there were in fact challenges related to the pupils' irregular attendance, inadequate learning spaces, and complications related to the different

[97] Besides the Xaley programme, a second programme with separate donors has a component of support to the AEJT in the cities of Fatick, Kaolack, Tambacounda, and Kolda.

levels of pupils. When I asked what lessons could be drawn from the experience, the AEJT bureau member commented that three months was very little in which to achieve any objectives for literacy, and highlighted the absence of monitoring and follow-up, adding only that they would try to incorporate monitoring into the present programme of literacy and skills training classes for all GBs, which they were just in the process of rolling out at the time of my visit. For this new programme (and a similar one for the AEJT in Thiès) EJA had negotiated funding from the Spanish NGO Fundación Xaley, who, in justifying their support in a programme description document, wrote that they had found the AEJT of Louga in a situation where educational activity had been sporadic and then had ceased altogether because of a lack of resources and the resulting demotivation of members (Fundación Xaley, 2009).

As in St. Louis and Dakar, while in the past many teachers were *ainés* who were deemed qualified to serve, for the present programme the "supervisors" told all prospective teachers, both for literacy and manual skills, to submit CVs. Through this process they had already hired the 15 literacy teachers, whom the programme stipulated would receive a transport allowance of 25,000 CFA monthly. While the Louga AEJT also reported having received the above-mentioned curriculum from the EJA national office, staff of the latter stated that Louga was not involved in efforts to implement it.

At a meeting of *ainés* on February 11, 2009, held outdoors in the courtyard of the small building that housed the AEJT office, the central topic was progress towards the launching of the new literacy programme, which was intended to occur in all GBs in that month. Reports, some delivered from well prepared notes, were given on the status of each GB. The ensuing serious discussion among the 25 in attendance (including some literacy teachers) focused on the issue of insufficient numbers of *table-bancs*, and then on the plans for the sale of scarves upon which the AEJT had printed the MAEJT logo using a loan from "Enda".

One GB (of Louga's 15) had in fact begun the new literacy course on the day of my visit. At 17:10 we arrived in the courtyard of a family compound to find 13 girls seated on rows of benches before a male teacher at a portable chalkboard that was in good condition. At least one of the girls was a younger sibling, too young to be a GB member. By 17:30 16 girls were present of the 18 listed on the register. Though I was told that this was not among the newly "created" groups, the girls appeared very young, likely between 11 and 15. They were reportedly a mix of domestic workers and girls who stayed at home.

A notebook and a slate had been provided to every pupil and the teacher had multiple boxes of coloured chalk. He smiled constantly and spoke warmly to the class. "On va à la découverte de la lettre A". A Louga AEJT member and an adult animator explained to me that some of the girls were complete beginners, whereas others had attended school up as far as the second year of middle school (which would not necessarily translate into much attained literacy or French). A girl enthusiastically led the group in reading from the board: "Adama apprend avec Rama et Anta". Having experience in the formal school system, the teacher eventually came around to breaking up the words into syllables and confirming the pupils' understanding of the structure of some words and their ability to recognize syllables and the letter A. Earlier however, much time had been spent in choral and individual recitation of the sentence (which would have been consistent with children's memorization in lieu of actual reading). He had six girls each write one of the words of the sentence on her slate and asked them to arrange themselves in the correct order to reproduce the sentence. As they displayed their slates to him, and the rest of us, they arranged the words in exactly the reverse order of the correct sentence – literally *mirroring* what they saw on the blackboard. The teacher accepted this as correct without any qualifications. Shortly after this we thanked the teacher and began our return to the AEJT centre to

attend the meeting of the association's *ainés* on the topic of the implementation of the literacy programme.

In concluding this section of interview data and direct observation of literacy courses, I wish to recall the statement cited earlier from EJA national office staff:

> Pour le mouvement ce n'est plus la situation de travail, c'est la situation de ne pas aller à l'école maintenant. Même si le mouvement est conçu par les enfants et jeunes travailleurs, maintenant il y a … une évolution, maintenant ce sont des enfants qui ne vont pas à l'école qui se retrouvent dans les [groupes].

In accordance with its decentralized structure, the MEAJT has always emphasized that it is the prerogative of each GB and AEJT to set priorities as to which among the 12 rights to focus upon for realization. Nonetheless, consistent with the above quotation, the representatives of the five *structures d'appui* of AEJTs in Senegal with whom I spoke all named literacy classes, along with manual skills training (especially for girls), as the *core activity* of GBs; these regular, purposeful, supervised meetings continually consolidated group organization.

6.4.4 (Literacy) education in the MAEJT as a whole

On the level of the MAEJT as a whole it is difficult to generalize about basic educational structures, models, and practices, and there is conflicting evidence on the priority given by the MAEJT and its international programme to "the right to learn to read and write". On some occasions, basic education (literacy) for working children is still strongly foregrounded in EJA and MAEJT discourse. In early March, 2010, the African commission of the MAEJT (see organigramme in section 3.9) held a press conference in Dakar, at which they appealed to national governments and child protection NGOs to support them in realizing their right to learn to read and write, noting that this right was also fundamental to the UNCRC. According to a news article reporting on the press conference,

> Les membres du Maejt sont très préoccupés par ce droit élémentaire que beaucoup d'entre eux n'ont. C'est la raison pour laquelle, ils l'ont élevé comme priorité numéro un dans les nouvelles orientations du mouvement pour les prochaines années (Sarr & Traore, 2010).

However, mention of such a "number one priority" within new orientations of the MAEJT was entirely absent from the African Commission's communiqué produced at the very meeting for which this press conference was held[98], and was also absent from the movement's "perspectives" presented in the reports of the 8ème Rencontre africaine of November, 2009. Likewise, it has not been mentioned on the MAEJT website.

A finding of the 2009 international programme evaluation carried out in Mali, Benin, and Rwanda corroborated my findings from Senegal on the absence of progress within the framework of the MAEJT's child protagonism strategy in developing well adapted basic educational opportunities for working children:

> Du point de vue de son déroulement les EJTs n'ont pas un programme spécifique d'alphabétisation fonctionnelle. Ils sont invités à se joindre à des processus d'alphabétisation fonctionnelle concernant d'autres groupes. C'est ainsi par exemple que des EJTs ont été parfois invités à se joindre aux femmes qui suivent les cours d'alphabétisation au lieu de mettre en place un module qui tienne compte de leurs spécificités. Même si certaines illustrations des cours portent sur les droits EJTs il reste qu'on est loin d'une vraie alphabétisation fonctionnelle qui se base sur le vécu réel de cette catégorie d'acteurs (Imorou, 2009)[99].

---

[98] The "nouvelles orientations" stated in this communiqué were rather:

- avoir une visibilité et une reconnaissance au niveau local, national et international.
- faire des formations qui répondent à nos réalités.
- ménager une place pour les enfants dans les instances de notre Mouvement: au moins 7 enfants sur 10, et 3 jeunes en appui.
- continuer le combat afin que tous les enfants d'Afrique vivent dans de bonnes conditions et qu'ils arrivent à exprimer leurs opinions librement.

[99] This finding could indicate cooperation and partnership with other groups' educational initiatives, and thus AEJT competence in forging these relationships. However, the evaluation does not discuss this issue or how the arrangements for participation in literacy courses have been made.

As recently as 2007, EJA echoed in a very general way their early critiques of formal schooling and proposals for reform:

> The only global successful model that is imparted is formal education and competition… Even those who have the chance to be at school feel that quality education is not offered to them. … Good development must include all African children and offer them various chances of being educated and empowered at any stage of their development, so as to help them build up and express their energies to contribute to the development of a society that they will have helped to create through their own culture, dreams and aspirations, and not the ones of a rich and faraway continent. (Terenzio, 2007, p.71)

This appeared, however, in an academic journal, where it was unlikely to have been viewed by development partners. On the whole, a "mainstream approach" to schooling (Nimbona and Lieten 2004) - the movement's (and EJA's) emphasis on enrolling children in formal primary schools - is now most conspicuous in its publications and activity reports available on its web site and listserv, which give an overall impression of a diminishing concern with, or even understanding of, the enduring dysfunction of formal schooling, its persistent disjunction from actual economic opportunities, and how these are important conditions determining child and family coping strategies that incorporate precocious work at the expense of education. Epitomizing this public message was an EJA staff member interviewed on RFI on the occasion of the MAEJT's African Conference of 2009 who offered the sanguine view that we are presently witnessing a transitional generation that is learning the value of going to formal school, and that as a result there will be fewer child workers in the next generation.

6.4.5 Manual skills training

The history of EJA's interventions with groups of domestic workers in Dakar, recounted in the previous chapter, demonstrates that training in manual handicraft skills ("*formation en petits métiers*") such as crochet, beading, and sewing, has always been a demand of the girls and young women in these groups, who have viewed the acquired skills as useful both for income generation and for their future

roles as homemakers. The commitment and industriousness of the teachers for manual skills training stood out as a key to the remaining dynamism and functioning of the GBs observed in the Dakar AEJT, particularly the Rufisque, Nicoel Rab, Golf Sud, Cheikh Wade, and Doro Aw GBs, as well as in the two most closely observed domestic worker GBs, Ben Tali and Grand Dakar, which have already been described in some detail above. In the case of the Rufisque GB, the teacher has been using profits from her own commercial dressmaking centre (Aida Couture) to subsidize what appeared on paper as a highly structured education and skills training programme for *filles désoeuvrées,* which was run in the rear of the centre. It was unfortunately not possible to visit the centre on a weekday to directly observe the quantity and quality of the learning activities that were listed on the timetable. Other teachers had also remained motivated to continue their training of the girls and young women despite no longer receiving compensation from the Xaley programme via EJA and despite the inability of the girls themselves to reliably pay their dues (more detail on these situations are available in Appendix 2 on GB observations).

In a sense this latter development could be seen as a successful realization of the MAEJT model, since community resource persons were continuing to deliver educational or training activity in GBs without the subsidy of EJA or of any other donor programme that had been secured by EJA directly. On the other hand, this form of sustainability was rooted in the energy and dedication of the individual skills trainers who in fact were *originally* engaged by EJA, and it could not be argued to have derived from the AEJT's or the GBs'own efforts or agency. It is also important to point out once again that the distribution of equipment for skills training was highly unequal among these GBs, with the domestic workers among those without access to sewing machines.

In considering the skills training made available to GB members by the MAEJT in Senegal in 2009 it is relevant to recall the recommendation of EJA in the late 1980s to comprehensively reform

both basic education and vocational training systems to make them relevant to the majority of children. As described in section 3.5, no such reform of vocational training systems has taken place, but a number of other NGOs active in the field of alternative, "second chance" education in Senegal have for some years been implementing systems of alternating classroom and workshop based learning *(formation en alternance)* and attempting to influence government policy towards mainstreaming such programmes. While there was no evidence of EJA collaboration in structured advocacy for vocational training reform, in 2009 the Xaley programme in both Dakar and St. Louis appeared to be taking a small first step towards emulating the programmes of other NGOs by gradually introducing more structured training opportunities for MAEJT members beyond the relatively limited GB-based manual skills training. As planned, this programme would involve facilitating and subsidizing members' initiation for short periods (up to four weeks) into established workshops or "espaces de formation" whose collaboration with EJA and the AEJT was yet to be negotiated. The Dakar Xaley programme action plan for 2009 targeted 50 ET for such short term initiation into at least three trades. EJA national office staff recognized at a Dakar Xaley programme action plan meeting that productively adapting this initiation model to the profile of domestic workers (given both their daily work schedule and near inevitable return to the village for marriage) would require "une grande réflexion". As reported above, however, at the time the entire Dakar AEJT was home to few children of any categories other than *filles domestiques* who would be eligible by Xaley programme criteria for these placements. Thus, as with meeting the programme targets for literacy, to fill these 50 short term training placements either the programme would indeed have to be readapted to *filles domestiques*, or EJA would have to recommit to forms of animation that could attract and retain other categories of working children (perhaps boys). Failing either of these two options, most of the benefits would fall to the girls of the already better organized

and resourced GBs such as Grand Mbao, and any other *filles désoeuvrées* judged to technically qualify for programme support.

In St Louis, at the time of fieldwork, skills training was taking place only in the context of GBs, but they were also set to roll out an experimental phase of placing girls in commercial workshops for initiation into trades. While the St. Louis Claire Enfance staff asserted that 100 girls would be placed that year, the St. Louis 2009 Xaley programme action plan actually stated "300 ET découvrent au moins 03 nouveaux métiers." At the time of the interviews (February 10, 2009) they so far had agreements with six local workshop partners towards these placements.

The St. Louis AEJT and Claire Enfance were also in a trial phase of a microcredit programme for personal income generating activities of *ainés* through the support of their additional partner, Fundación Xaley of Spain[100]. This trial programme was reported to have thus far proven fairly successful. To that point, ten of the original twelve loans granted (to young women from 12 different GBs) had already been fully reimbursed, 21 *ainés* in total had received loans (including one boy), and they were preparing to give out 45 new loans[101]. They reported having noticed, through this process, a saturation of couture and crochet micro-enterprises, so they were attempting to encourage diversification by offering training in additional manual skills in the GBs.

[100] The rationale for running such a programme for *ainés*, rather than for child members, was to promote the ainé's commitment to the AEJT and to their groups through organizational leadership, teaching, and recruitment of child members.
[101] The target in the St. Louis Xaley programme action plan was 50 new loans for 2009, while for the same dimension of the programme in Dakar (improvement of revenues for *ainés*), the target was only 20 loans.

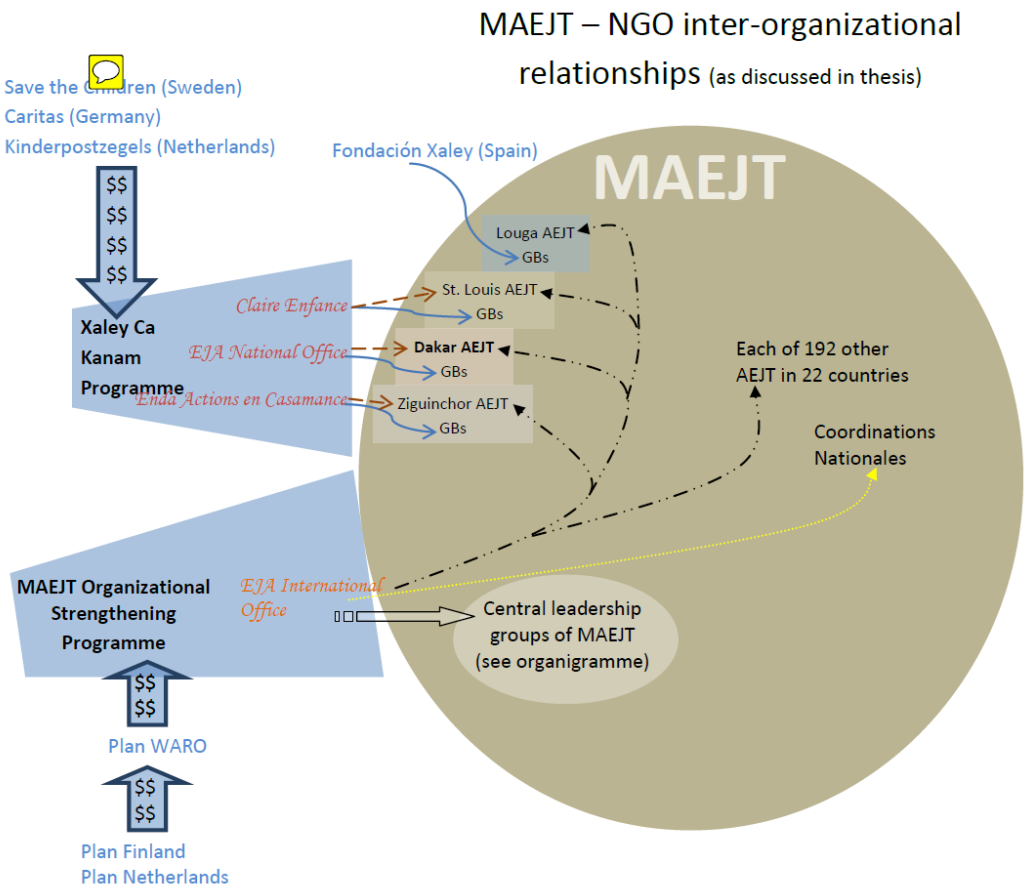
6.5 Reflections and Critiques of Child Protagonism: Diverse practitioner perspectives

This chapter has reported a steep decline, just prior to the fieldwork period, in the dynamism of the Dakar AEJT in terms of functioning GBs, total members, *child* members, *working* child members, and the availability of desired literacy training. These trends also held in Senegal more widely, where over the same period (between March and September 2008) the total of GBs was recorded as falling from 124 to 101 and the total of members as decreasing from 8,527 to 6,639. Evidence from direct observation of the survival struggles of the Ben Tali and Grand Dakar GBs offered important insight into the causes of these developments. However, because these reversals had occurred before the commencement of fieldwork, it was of course essential to discuss them with the implicated actors. These next sections of the chapter explore how staff of the two EJA offices, as well as MAEJT members and *ainés,* viewed, explained, or rationalized the reduction in MAEJT dynamism in Senegal, according to their separate mandates, priorities, and levels of commitment to the ideal of child protagonism, and specifically to the objective, set in the EJA international programme, of "autonomizing" the AEJTs and GBs throughout the MAEJT. Since at least half of the GBs that became inactive in Dakar were those of *filles domestiques*, the deliberation over the loss of groups and members involved discussion of issues specifically related to effective outreach and sustainable organization of this category of working children. Not only informants' versions of the facts, but the interplay of their preferred discourses for discussing support to working children, contribute to better understanding the limitations of the child protagonism ideal in practice and the influence that international donor funding had had upon that practice.

To provide context for these various analyses of the decline in MAEJT dynamism observed in Senegal through 2008, it is necessary to once again review and further explain the respective functions

and the interrelations of the two EJA programmes (national and international). The diagram from page xii is reproduced here on the following page. The international programme is in fact described as a partnership between Plan and the MAEJT itself, with EJA merely providing facilitation. MAEJT leaders are reported to have supplied the main lines of the programme proposal, in consultation with the EJA international office. While this characterization may downplay the effective role of that office within programme conception and the partnership as a whole, members of the MAEJT's leadership committees were at least observed to be present along with EJA and Plan staff for reporting to European Plan officials, evaluation planning, and preparations for the visit of the President of Finland,. At the time of fieldwork, the MAEJT international programme funded by Plan annually allocated 600,000 CFA ($1,275 Cdn) directly to each qualifying AEJT affiliated to the MAEJT[102], of which there were reportedly 196 in 22 countries. However, the programme document described this sum as typically being far from sufficient for an AEJT to implement its desired range of activities, and particularly for maintaining regular literacy and manual skills training classes for GB members. The balance of resources would have to be secured more locally, generally with the assistance of an AEJT's local *structure*

[102] This sum was uniform for all AEJT, regardless of their membership total, proposed budget, etc.



Key

MAEJT	Mouvement Africain des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs
AEJT	Association des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs (city level)
GBs	Groupes de Bases
WARO	West Africa Regional Office

International NGO donor

Local NGO

Annual grant, amount depends on number of AEJT in country

Facilitation, funding of meetings (including travel), collaboration on publicity

60,000 CFA annually; periodic technical support missions

Facilitation, "mentoring", admin

Subsidize literacy and skills training

d'appui - an NGO, a private or religious organization, or a state agency working in partnership with an AEJT to provide support in the form of facilitation/animation/guidance, administration, training,

finances, etc. In the case of the Dakar AEJT, it was precisely the EJA *national* office that had always served as this local *structure d'appui*.

Besides its allotments to each qualifying AEJT and its funding of international MAEJT meetings and communications, the international programme funded by Plan has consisted chiefly of capacity building measures for the movement's CNs and AEJTs in the form of training workshops. Consistent with the child protagonism ideal, the entire programme was conceived as a temporary scaffolding soon to be removed from the MAEJT, once the CNs and AEJTs have been sufficiently trained and empowered to continue more independently, with *all* necessary resources mobilized more locally through national and municipal level partnerships. The proposal for the 2007-2011 programme specifically stated:

> Ces apports [techniques des partenaires] devront se faire surtout au niveau national, car l'enjeu principal est une autonomie d'action et de gestion des coordinations nationales. Le dispositif régional [i.e. the international programme] est là pour impulser la construction des compétences à ce niveau décisif pour l'action…
> [dans les cinq ans du programme] Enda TM aura alors joué son rôle de garant d'une bonne gestion, formation, communication et conseil, d'un programme régional qui pourra s'estomper au profit de programmes nationaux, assurant un rôle de substitution dans la formation, le suivi, comme dans la mobilisation des ressources (EJA-MAEJT, 2006).

Likewise a 2006 report on the previous three year programme had stated:

> Perspective: Développement du MAEJT au niveau national, puis structuration à partir de 2009 du niveau régional, afin que le Mouvement puisse acquérir son identité propre et les capacités managériales autonomes auxquelles Enda supplée depuis le début de ce programme (EJA, 2006).

As stated above, the historical function of the EJA *national* office in relation to the MAEJT was to serve as the *structure d'appui* of the Dakar AEJT. As such, it had long been reliably performing the functions for which the international programme was attempting to strengthen capacity in CNs and AEJTs: it secured, managed, and administered significant resources for the Dakar AEJT that were independent from resources channeled from the Plan funded international programme. As this chapter

and the previous chapter have explained, this role as *structure d'appui* had historically centered on establishing and operating a literacy and skills training programme for the GBs, as well as facilitating meetings and other actions of the Dakar AEJT. However, whereas the EJA international office had come to be solely concerned with the MAEJT[103], the EJA national office was still managing a range of child-focused programming; the MAEJT in Dakar was not its sole, or even its top priority.

6.6.1 EJA national programme staff perspective

The EJA *national* programme staff's perspective on the disappearance of GBs in the Dakar AEJT was largely determined by the mandate given to them by their separate donor funded Xaley programme, which now defined their relationship and their modes of interaction with the Dakar AEJT. In contrast to the Plan-funded international programme, from which it was entirely distinct, the Xaley programme displayed an ambivalent attitude towards EJTs that was far from fully embracing the child protagonism ideal. The Xaley programme document did not name the AEJTs of Dakar, St. Louis, and Ziguinchor as *partners*– not even symbolically. The programme document stated, and informants confirmed, that the AEJTs themselves had had no role in the programme's negotiation, which was carried out among the three *structures d'appui* (the EJA national office in Dakar, Claire Enfance Caritas in St. Louis, and Enda Actions en Casamance in Ziguinchor), and the three European funding partners Caritas (Germany), Kinderpostzegels (Netherlands), and Save the Children (Sweden). Moreover, the Xaley programme's logical framework characterized EJTs foremost not as actors, but as one of three categories of *beneficiaries* (along with *talibés* and *enfants en rupture familial*). Entirely bypassing the Dakar AEJT as a decision making and action planning body, the Xaley programme directly took charge

[103] Besides the Plan grant, EJA also secured grants from other European and IGO donors for short term international programmes and research projects of the MAEJT

of organizing and funding the literacy and skills training for a targeted number of *enfants travailleurs* (600 in Dakar for the year 2009) that fit the specific programme criteria of being economically active and under 18 years old. From the point of view of the Xaley programme those working children counted towards these targets did not even need to be AEJT members. Given the state of EJA's literacy programme at the end of 2008, it was going to be necessary to recruit many more child workers to meet the Xaley programme's quantitative target, but as beneficiaries of the programme they would be free to choose whether or not they wished to become GBs affiliated to the AEJT and thus be introduced to its discourse of the twelve rights, its principles of organization, etc. The Xaley programme document furthermore made no mention whatsoever of the *M*AEJT as an international movement or organization to which the AEJTs were affiliated. The EJA national office acknowledged that their Xaley programme approach was not necessarily in harmony with the MAEJT's goal of continued international membership growth, noting that the movement (and the EJA international office) would indeed consider it a problem to lose a sizable quantity of EJT and GBs from the membership rolls. They emphasized, however, that there were various ways of having positive impact, and especially educational impact, on underschooled children -ways that might not necessarily conform to the MAEJT's priorities or ideals (including child protagonism).

On the other hand, the Xaley programme document did acknowledge the existence of AEJTs, describing them as "réels acteurs", and some programme inputs were precisely conceived to reinforce their capacity for autonomous organization and action. The EJA national office confirmed that they had in recent years been in a transitional process, striving towards less of a paternal and more of a parallel relationship with the AEJT and the MAEJT, which seems entirely consistent with the long term strategy of working children's protagonism. However, this disengagement was explained less in terms of autonomizing a working children's association than as a direction necessitated precisely by the fact that

the AEJT and GBs in Dakar were no longer primarily comprised of working children. In other words, the priorities, objectives, and criteria for membership of the AEJT (and by extension the MAEJT) were not in harmony with the priorities, objectives, and criteria for support of the Xaley programme. For the Xaley programme the EJT national office and its donors had felt forced to react specifically to ILO-affiliated researchers who, four years earlier already, had fixated on their discovery of many groups of non-working *filles désœuvrées* belonging to, and even dominating the Dakar AEJT, as well as the fact that a substantial percentage of members seemed no longer to qualify as children under international definitions (under 18) (Nimbona and Lieten 2004). Subsequent visitors, including myself, had often immediately started asking whether the "EJTs" they meet within the framework of the AEJT and GBs actually "worked" and what their ages were. To rectify this situation and to ensure that donor resources would be reaching the clearly defined, targeted category of working child beneficiaries, the Xaley programme criteria allowed direct support for core literacy and training activities solely to groups that qualified as working children.

GBs that no longer met Xaley programme criteria, regardless of their history in the AEJT, could no longer receive the direct subsidy for literacy and skills training. Consistent with a parallel relationship, this cessation of direct financial support from the Xaley programme would not *directly* affect their status in the AEJT, which, like the MAEJT more widely, had established no strict membership policy based on working status and had introduced only guidelines and goals for age composition of GBs. EJA national office staff further explained that those existing GBs from which the Xaley programme had necessarily disengaged (for either age or working status criteria) would still be supported *indirectly* through the Xaley programme's dimension of continuing accompaniment of the AEJT (including capacity reinforcement, assistance in searching for further resources and partners,

identification of activities, etc.)[104]. "Il y a une relation indirecte qui reste *si le groupe continue à fonctionner*." (italics mine).

As reported above, in 2008 more than 10 GB of the Dakar AEJT failed to continue to function[105], most of which were among the groups in Dakar proper that had been supporting cohorts of *filles domestiques* since the establishment of the association. For example the GBs of HLM Montagne, Reubus, Pompiers, Medina, Geule Tapé, all named in the 1996 research on domestic workers, ceased functioning in 2008, as did the last remaining male GB, a group primarily of car washers. Consistent with their notion of a parallel relationship, the EJA national office stressed that it was not *they* (or their Xaley programme) who had lost GBs or members, but rather the AEJT and the MAEJT. (The disappearance of these groups did mean, however, that the Xaley programme lost contact with a pool of potential beneficiaries to count towards its literacy and training targets.) EJA national office staff acknowledged that this development raised questions about the capacity of these GBs for autonomous functioning (in the absence of subsidized literacy and skills training) and questions about the independent capacity of the AEJT itself to support them.

> Il faut une structure. Est-ce que actuellement les associations du mouvement ont cette capacité de pouvoir gérer ce genre de programme d'actions directe? On le pense et on le souhait, mais il y a beaucoup de points d'interrogation par rapport à ça aussi.

---

[104] These GBs could of course also benefit indirectly from the *international* programme's annual financial support to the AEJT.

[105] Reminder: the statistics submitted to the regional programme showed a drop from 30 to 20 GB between March and December 2008; during my fieldwork in Dakar there were only 14 GB that were at least minimally active. Six others were included in a January, 2009 analysis by the AEJT of the previous years' groups and membership. I found out nothing about the other ten that had been counted as recently as March 2008.

This partial explanation of the demise of GBs begs the question of how, under EJA's watch, the Dakar AEJT had come to be so populated by non-working children and by individuals over 18 years old, a development that would seem to represent a serious setback for the MAEJT as a strategy for realizing the protagonism of *children* engaged in informal urban work. In offering explanations for this evolution in membership, EJA national office staff in fact made assertions that diverged considerably from the MAEJT's self-portrayal in its international office-based communications. They explained that GBs of *filles désoeuvrées* had initially been brought into the AEJT because they recognized at least some of the 12 rights of the MAEJT as relevant to their own situation[106]. The MAEJT has indeed projected inclusivity for all children wishing to work towards the realization of rights. However, their international publicity has still persistently described the movement as an organization dominated by children working in the informal urban economy. EJA national office staff, however, apparently based on experience with the Dakar AEJT, stated:

> Pour le mouvement ce n'est plus la situation de travail, c'est la situation de ne pas aller à l'école maintenant. Même si le mouvement est conçu par les enfants et jeunes travailleurs, maintenant il y a - une évolution, maintenant ce sont des enfants qui ne vont pas à l'école qui se retrouvent dans les [groupes et associations].

Those GBs wholly or primarily of *filles désoeuvrées*, which were originally established with such a membership profile in the *banlieues* of Guédiawaye and Pikine, managed to continue to function even without the programme subsidy for literacy and skills training, and they thus continued to

[106] Nimbona and Lieten (2004) argued that the *filles en formation* were exclusively interested in the right to training in a trade, and were taking advantage of highly subsidized, almost entirely free opportunities for skills training. Some interest in the right to learn to read and write would be consistent with such a strategy. Other MAEJT rights potentially relevant to these girls are the rights to be respected, to be listened to, and to organize and express oneself.

predominate within the Dakar AEJT[107]. The primary showcase GB, Grand Mbao, continued to enjoy direct support under the Xaley programme based on a prevention justification: in the absence of a well-functioning centre for these girls, it was argued, they would likely *return* to the forms of potentially hazardous work by the seashore in which girls their age had been engaged before the centre was established.

Although the struggles of the Ben Tali and Grand Dakar groups with the Xaley programme age criteria had been observed in fieldwork, when asked directly in February of 2009 about the disappearance of the Dakar GBs of *filles domestiques* and of boys, the EJA national office did not initially assert that the defunct groups had no longer met donors' age or working status criteria for the Xaley programme. Instead, they first spoke of frustration regarding the impact of working with *filles domestiques* in terms of the limited time perspective. They claimed that membership in the groups of *filles domestiques* tended to turnover at a rate of up to 80% per year, making it impossible to accomplish significant long or even medium term organizational or educational objectives. It must be noted, however, that literacy teachers with recent direct experience with these groups suggested that claims of such turnover rates were exaggerated; according to them, *filles domestiques* would indeed visit their home villages for the annual Tabaski holiday, but they would return to Dakar, with most spending several years in the city in total. Concerning groups of boys, the EJA national office staff surprisingly stated: "Pour nous il était un peu difficile à travailler avec eux"; they had too many individual interests

[107] As noted, however, in at least five of these surviving GBs as well, in the absence of the direct subsidy from the EJA national office, members had devised no means to organize the French language and literacy courses that they expressed the wish to continue. Those few GBs of *filles désoeuvrées* who had been able to sustain skills training and literacy classes had done so as the result of various circumstances, which mostly had little to do with their own (child and youth) organizing and networking capacity (for details see section on skills training above and annex of GB observations.

and could find little in the way of common objectives. They would seek to have security in their workplace, to be able to earn their money, and then abandon any associational activities.

These explanations clearly echoed the challenges of working with such groups of boys that had been outlined by EJA in the 1980s and 90s. However, whereas in that earlier published discourse the descriptions of these challenges prefaced accounts of patient animation, continuing reflection, and adjustment of methods for galvanizing the agency of such groups of working boys, and served as the basis for recommendations for reformed systems of basic education and skills training, they were now offered as an explanation for ceasing any further outreach with this category of children and youth. While the Xaley programme action plan stated as an activity "Négocier un programme d'alphabétisation avec les ET", and thus reiterated EJA's longstanding principle of respect for learners' objectives and accommodation of their constraints, the explanations offered for the GBs' disappearance seemed rather to suggest a guiding interest in meeting donor funded programme targets by zeroing in on working child beneficiaries that did not offer excessive challenges – learners who would be easily amenable, that is, to the established parameters of the alternative education model that could be offered in the programme. Moreover, the EJA national office's expressed commitment to a more structured literacy programme with more ambitious long term objectives was also consistent with a tendency to divert support away from categories of learners with whom measurable learning objectives were most challenging, and who could not be expected to commit to a three year programme.

In further discussion with the EJA national office, however, they eventually also asserted: 1) that the phenomenon of *filles domestiques* (below the age of 18) was diminishing in Dakar, and 2) that the literacy and manual skills training classes in spaces such as HLM Montagne, traditionally associated with *filles domestiques*, had also come to be populated mainly by non-working girls and young women. This second assertion seemed plausible, but was not fully consistent with:

- Accounts from recent literacy teachers of some of the GBs concerned, who credibly described them as having plethoric classes of *filles domestiques*, as well as *vendeuses* in recent years.
- The expressed intention of an *ainé* of HLM Montagne to redynamize that GB in 2009 for the sake of the many *filles domestiques* in the quartier.
- Attendance records of the *monitrices* of the Ben Tali GB showing that this GB, in a similar Dakar neighbourhood, had 55 members in July of 2008, almost all *filles domestiques* and approximately half children.
- The EJA national office's encouragement and support of the Ben Tali GB's efforts in 2009 to attract more under 18 *filles domestiques* from their *quartier*.
- The EJA national office's reflection with the AEJT on the status and prospects of redynamizing other inner city (as opposed to *banlieue*) GBs, e.g., Medina, Pompiers, Rebeuss, partly as a strategy for meeting Xaley programme literacy and skills training targets (suggesting the belief that *working children* could still populate these groups).

All of these points, along with the evidence presented above about the scope of child domestic work in Dakar, indicate that the target population of *filles domestiques* was still present in these urban *quartiers*. Even if the GBs in question had lately come to be dominated by non-working and/or overage members, this development would appear to reflect the EJA national offices' decreased capacity, resources, and/or will to conduct sufficiently intensive outreach to and accompaniment of *filles domestiques* to sustain GBs more fully oriented towards them.

6.5.2 EJA international office vs AEJTs on child protagonism

An entirely different discussion of the MAEJT's decline in Senegal had taken place earlier, in mid-November, 2008 at a national meeting held in Thiès, Senegal among child and youth delegates from each of the country's AEJTs (as well as those of neighbouring Gambia), along with animators from their various *structures d'appui,* including the EJA national office. Interestingly, at this November 2008 meeting, neither the Dakar AEJT delegates (ainés and children), nor the EJA national office staff present mentioned the explanations for the disappearance of the GBs reported above. Dakar delegates spoke of the cessation of direct EJA national office support to the GBs as a key factor in their disappearance, but without mentioning the possible rationale for this disengagement of funding in terms of the age or (non-) working status of the membership. The EJA national office animators did not intervene to explain the issues of the membership profile relating to their Xaley programme. In the ensuing discussion all parties appeared to assume that the membership of the defunct GBs in question truly were qualifying *filles domestiques*, as the focus moved to their inability to contribute 1500 or even 1000 CFA ($2.12 Cdn) monthly to motivate the groups' teachers and thus to ensure their continued functioning.

This singular event crystallized tensions between child protagonism ideals and the results that were unfolding in practice. Precisely for the purpose of discussing the membership declines in Senegal, a special appearance was made by the director of the EJA *international* programme office, who was the primary author of the documents reviewed in chapter five, as well as being the author of more recent articles and of all of the MAEJT's public relations, both of which have continued to promote the child protagonism ideal. This individual has been the enduring and dominant adult figure behind the MAEJT. Furthermore, unlike the EJA national office, whose donor funded programme objectives were not specifically linked to MAEJT membership levels, the Plan-funded international MAEJT programme that the director was administering could only justify its programme funding by being able to project the

overall dynamism, and ideally the continual growth and progressive autonomization of the MAEJT as an international working children's organization.

At this meeting, the EJA international programme director placed the responsibility for the disappearance of GBs squarely on the AEJTs and the CN of Senegal. Instead of behaving like mere beneficiaries bemoaning their loss of subsidies, he urged, the AEJTs must fulfill their role as development actors responsible for the dynamism of the GBs. By thus reproaching them for failing in their duties, he unambiguously implied that they themselves should have the capacity to independently perform them. In particular, the AEJTs were expected to: effectively conduct outreach to attract and accompany new cohorts of child workers to the GBs; independently secure additional funding partnerships to finance literacy and skills training; and facilitate the effective participation of representatives of *all* GBs in AEJT meetings by taking into consideration the hours and locations of their members' work, and possibly other challenges and preferences related to their particularly marginalized circumstances[108].

He continued forcefully explaining that EJA could not provide literacy and manual skills teachers for every GB – more than 1000 claimed for the entire MAEJT. The EJTs themselves had to

---

[108] An ainée delegate from Dakar confirmed the facilitator's suggestion that the Dakar AEJT did nothing to facilitate the attendance of *filles domestiques* at their weekday, daytime meetings in the banlieue of Guédiawaye, far from the work and living places of the *filles domestiques*. My own ensuing observations of the Dakar AEJT and its GBs also indicated that the remaining *filles domestiques* from the Ben Tali and Grand Dakar GBs were less than fully comfortable taking part in the meetings of the association and did not feel strongly attached to it. I heard no further discussion within the Dakar AEJT about the possibility of adjusting either the time or location of their meetings, or other ways to reinforce their links with the GBs of *filles domestiques*, or to reinforce the groups themselves. At a January 27th, 2009 meeting of the AEJT, the Ben Tali GB was relunctantly represented by two of its three members (of the roughly 25 that I encountered over six weeks) who were not *filles domestiques*. (At any rate, neither spoke at the meeting or even signed the attendance sheet). For the February 5th, 2009 meeting, to assure the attendance of a single representative of the Ben Tali GB, an ainé of the AEJT intervened to receive permission from her employer. This selected representative was one of a group of five mischievous 12 year old girls, newcomers to the group who irregularly attended literacy classes as complete beginners.

find more local solutions –it was *their own* battle, he insisted, to prove to donors that their programmes are effective and deserve to be supported. "Quand les authorités disent qu'il n'y a pas d'argent, ils mentent!"[109]

The director further highlighted notions from EJA discourse stressing how NGO and donor involvement are not essential to the underlying dynamic of solidarity among groups of working children as the principle actors in their own struggles. So conceptualized, GBs do not *really* disappear, any more than EJA originally created them. They have always been pre-existing affinity groups of working children that officially affiliate themselves to an AEJT. The strength of the movement, the director told the delegates, is in *uniting* such pre-existing groups. "La force est vous-mêmes, c'est pourquoi il est fort, pourquoi les EJT ne peuvent pas disparaître. Ce n'est pas Enda qui l'a créé; c'est entre vous, et les liens aux autres villes et pays – c'est ça, votre force!" The missing GBs of *filles domestiques*, he explained, were still groups, *even if not members of the movement, "ce qui est normal"*. But perhaps it is necessary to go to them, he added, and explain that while the externally funded programme has ended, that means that they, the EJT, can count on themselves. He cited the example of Burkina Faso, where, he asserted, the AEJTs had continued to advance by themselves after two years without any externally funded programme or paid animators.

The EJA international programme director did not seem to be eliciting palpable enthusiasm, confirmation, or endorsement of these ideas from the assembled AEJT delegates, but rather resistance, particularly related to the issue of resources. A youth (appearing to be in his late 20s) who had founded

[109] Strangely overlooked in this discussion at the time in relation specifically to Dakar was that the Xaley programme (provided by the EJA national office) in fact already had room within its quotas to take charge of hundreds more qualifying ET for literacy and skills training in Dakar in 2009. If child workers could be recruited to populate the groups, literacy and skills training teachers would have been subsidized for them.

an AEJT in neighbouring Gambia in 2002 intervened at length to describe the difficulties of retaining group members in the absence of externally provided resources for the AEJT. In an informal interview with this youth, he elaborated on his view of the challenges of retaining GB members, thus revealing what appeared to be the prevailing local conception of the role of these associations of working children and youth. His AEJT had 14 groups, some in urban Bara, Gambia and some in surrounding villages (where they reportedly encouraged children and youth to stay in the villages). According to the informant, 12 to 18 year-olds, entirely unschooled or school drop-outs, had been attracted to the skills training offered by the AEJT's programmes, but when resources ran out, they no longer saw the value of group membership.

> If I am in a group and I don't see any benefits in that group, I think I have to go. If they are making skills, I will stay. The most important thing is to give them the skills. If they develop them, they can go. Youth problems are because of poverty. So it's important to give skills. [110]

He emphasized repeatedly that the financial resources provided by "Enda" were too "small" to sustain the skills training. I reminded him of how the EJA international programme officer had responded to his complaints about these matters by stressing that funded *programmes* always end and that therefore the local AEJT must develop the independent capacity to find their own additional partnerships and means to sustain activities. He responded: "To find sponsors would be very, very difficult. Enda themselves - *they* know the partners. Why don't they talk to them and say we want you to help this group?"

---

[110] As Gambia is a former British colony, this youth spoke English, rather than French. He communicated with the Senegalese delegates in Wolof.

This AEJT leader's comments illustrate EJA's enduring challenge in bringing the grassroots groups with which they work to adjust their understanding of the nature of their relationship and to take seriously the envisioned processes of *autonomization*. Indeed, his assertions strongly suggest that the Gambian AEJT in question is conceived predominantly as a vocational education or "skills training" *provider*. This conception contrasts in important ways with the ideal of the EJA international programme director as expressed at the meeting, and the overall discourse of child protagonism in which AEJTs are conceived as quasi-autonomous organizations galvanizing the collective agency of working children for actions to realize an array of rights. An example of additional evidence of how AEJT members' own conceptions diverge from EJA discourse and ideals, particularly in terms of independence in securing resources, came from a group interview with the AEJT of Diourbel, a secondary city roughly 150 kilometres east of Dakar. This new AEJT, which was still "*en observation*" and thus not yet officially affiliated with the MAEJT, was the result of EJA's contact with a small indigenous NGO based in Diourbel who could serve as a *structure d'appui* to begin recruiting and organizing children. The local NGO's director explained that, contrary to the GB model described by the EJA international programme director, which reinforces and unites *existing* affinity groups, in Diourbel they had created GBs from a cross section of children according to their neighbourhoods of residence (including some who combined school and work). These GBs had as yet no literacy classes or other regular weekly activities. Diourbel AEJT and GB members interviewed expressed their understanding that AEJTs in other cities had the support of "Enda" for such benefits. When asked what the GBs were currently doing, they reported that they were holding meetings twice monthly, using the homes of members, and were contributing dues. When asked what the dues went towards, the reply from an *ainé* (who appeared to have the most senior leadership role in the organization, but of course could never have actually been a child member) was that Enda said the association needed to collect

dues in order to eventually receive the annual 600,000 CFA from them as a full-fledged AEJT in the MAEJT.

6.6 Limitations of local community support for child protagonism

As noted earlier, one of the envisioned means by which AEJTs were ideally intended to function more independently from EJA and other professional *structures d'appui* was by fostering collaboration with other local community organizations. The Xaley programme document emphasized the importance of organizing communities around the AEJT frameworks for the protection, education, and training of working children:

> DURABILITE ET VIABILITE
> L'amélioration des conditions de vie et de travail des enfants travailleurs passe par la mise en place de cadres permettant à ces derniers d'acquérir plus de protection, plus d'instruction et plus de qualification. Les associations d'enfants et jeunes travailleurs peuvent garantir un certain degré de pérennisation de ces cadres. Cependant l'organisation des communautés pourra assurer le maintien des résultats des actions à travers leur mobilisation autour des actions d'éducation (Claire Enfance Caritas St Louis, Enda Actions en Casamance Ziguinchor, & Enda Jeunesse Action Dakar, 2007).

Although little detail was included on their implementation, activities proposed towards this end were included in the EJT section of the Xaley programme Plan d'Action for 2009 (see annex). However, at the meetings for drafting this Plan d'Action, it became clear that the issue of dependence on EJA was one that simply resurfaced in relation to the kinds of voluntary community organizations and associations that might link to the AEJT. Indeed, staff discussed and expressed concern over this approach in a fashion that surprisingly suggested neither long term progress in the area of OCB links to GB and the AEJT, nor new, concrete strategies for confronting perennial dependency of community groups. Staff members stated:

"Il faut s'assurer que les OCB pourront prendre le relais quand Enda se désengage… la notion n'est pas inconnue…", and "on veut éviter le piège qu'on a les OCB qui ne fonctionnent que quand Enda est là." Accordingly, a staff member proposed the inclusion of activities "qui aident les OCB à pouvoir mobiliser des resources," essentially repeating at one level removed from the AEJT one of the capacity building aspects also attempted with them.

It was also clear that little had recently been accomplished in terms of AEJT partnerships with the community. In reviewing and quantifying the results of the Xaley programme in Dakar for 2008, the staff referred to "collaboration entre l'association de Dakar et trois structures partenaires pour l'organisation et l'action conjointes". Plan International was named as a partner, as was the NGO Éducation et développement de l'enfant (EDEN) of Guédiawaye, but no staff member could recall a third partner, and no actions resulting from the partnerships were identified. Only two actual events were cited for 2008 that could be interpreted as collaborations directly with GBs (rather than with the AEJT as a whole), both of which involved parent groups loosely deemed to be organized into "committees": in the quartier of Guinaw Rail in Pikine an event had been held on "l'importance de l'éducation et le maintien des filles à l'école", and in the distant, peri-urban community of Niceoul Rab there had been a drive for the official birth registration of children, both events in which the EJA national office had played an important organizing role. On the whole, this discussion of how to state 2008 results on partnerships with EJT appeared awkward; the staff considered mentioning other collaborations in which their own EJA team was engaged, rather than the AEJT itself, and even considered mentioning a renewed partnership that as yet had only been proposed with the Collectif Éducation alternative. Absent from the discussion was the notion that the AEJT and even the GBs were themselves supposed to be developing autonomous capacity for partnership building.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a range of evidence concerning the implementation of the MAEJT child protagonism strategy in Dakar, noting some accomplishments, some distinct setbacks, and contestation over the role of NGO accompaniment and donor resources. The fieldwork evidence from GBs has indicated, first of all, that with even minimal literacy and skills training activities as a pretext for regular meeting, and thus as a basis for cohesion, GBs have in fact served as important centres of camaraderie and solidarity for child and youth domestic workers. Confirming the assertions of an informant cited in chapter five, this evidence indicated that young domestic workers who have been able to frequent these supportive spaces have been able to increase self-confidence and the capacity to express themselves and have found at least a modicum of protection relative to remaining isolated.

The findings on the disappearance of GBs of domestic workers and on the struggles of the existing ones also demonstrated, however, that for even such a modest supportive function to remain available to continually arriving cohorts of child domestic workers, sufficient "accompaniment" of the groups is needed to assure the conditions under which a minimum of literacy and skills training can reliably serve as its basis. In fact, the experience of the Ben Tali and Grand Dakar GBs has shown that this "accompaniment" must centrally include ongoing and adaptable outreach strategies for attracting those youngest workers newly arrived in the city and the design and provision of learning activities sufficiently stimulating and rewarding to sustain their interest. Although these two GBs had many experienced "adult" (over 18) members, they demonstrated no capacity for fulfilling these necessary accompaniment functions themselves, a finding which, coming after fourteen years of organizational activity, suggested important limits to the agency of a small group of domestic workers, whether adult or child. This finding was furthermore consistent with how the Dakar AEJT had come to be dominated by *non*-economically active girls.

On the whole, the observed GBs of domestic workers conformed little to EJA's vision of child workers becoming lead actors in efforts to improve their working conditions and to realize their rights to education and training. Indeed, evidence both from the GBs and from the national meeting led by the EJA international programme director demonstrated how, despite EJA's intentions, its relationship with the AEJTs of Senegal had taken on an entrenched parental character (Keengwe et al., 1998). Notwithstanding their initiation in MAEJT (child protagonism) discourse and the direct exhortations of the director that they become *actors,* members tended to view both EJA offices as the basis of resources for activities from which they could benefit.

EJA *national* office staff more explicitly acknowledged the limitations of the independent child protagonism strategy for the AEJTs and implicitly recognized that the problematic over-age status of the GBs of domestic workers mainly owed to these limitations. However, the EJA national office did not view itself as being in a position to recommit to the forms of more intensive accompaniment that could have recruited and retained more *child* domestic workers for their empowerment and mutual protection. Ironically, donor preoccupation with 18 years of age as the internationally constructed boundary of childhood required EJA to even more completely disengage from these groups, and thus from their present as well as their *potential* child members. While EJA discourse had originally critiqued this age boundary as artificial and arbitrary, they now were compelled within their donor relationship to enforce it, despite the perverse effect it had on support to their original target of child domestic workers. Thus, by orienting their programme to donor's priorities and problem definitions and to concepts from international frameworks, EJA increasingly permitted both child and young adult domestic workers to recede from their effective reach in a manner conforming to the donor-NGO upward accountability processes described by Bebbington (2005), Lister (2000), and Michael (2005). It is noteworthy that the international definition of childhood was viewed as entirely irrelevant from the perspective of over-18

GB members, who viewed themselves to have the same status as younger members with respect to work, social standing and need for education and training. Furthermore, while attention to the problem of *talibé* exploitation is unquestionably urgent, EJA's donor-encouraged shift of resources to *talibés,* with whom quantifiable results are easier to report, nonetheless lent them an air of "heat seeking missile" (Ogunseye, 1997), particularly when one considers how unfinished the work of support for child domestic workers and other children and youth in the informal economy was found to be.

Indeed, fieldwork evidence presented in this chapter reinforced sources cited in the previous one by confirming that young female domestic workers in Dakar continued to face living and working conditions similarly harsh to those that prevailed in earlier decades. The evidence furthermore suggested that the domestic workers in the GBs did not positively appraise their work on the whole or consider it an important part of their self-esteem in the ways that earlier researchers such as Elvira (2000) and Invernizzi (2003) have put forward as reasons to tolerate and even encourage child work in certain circumstances. In fact, the entirely negative nature of the accounts they chose to give of their domestic work strongly suggested that it indeed had negative psychological effects on them *beyond* those incurred from a baseline of poverty and urban slum living. Considered in terms of Hobbs and McKechnie's (2007) balance model and Woodhead's (2007) three dimensions for evaluating child work (both described in section 2.4), such findings are consistent with how international actors have often categorized domestic work among the harmful, and even "worst" forms of child work (Black, 2005). Not surprisingly, both child protagonism critics (Lieten 2005) and supporters (Myers 2001) have advocated for additional strategic efforts - interventions that go beyond the agency of the child domestics themselves towards the structural level - as necessary for improving the conditions of their work to acceptable levels, as well as for creating viable alternatives to it.

On the whole, while recognizing the importance of the empowering and protective function found in GBs and the potential usefulness of the manual skills and literacy transmitted within them, it is important to underscore how EJA's discourse presented in chapter five had expressed far greater organizational ambitions than these modest function for GBs. Crucially, field evidence showed that within the framework of the child protagonism strategy and its reliance on a voluntarist dynamic, alternative education for literacy had not lived up to EJA's aspirations for it as a scientific field that would progress both in designing sustainable delivery models and in rethinking pedagogy and content for both flexibility and evaluable rigour. Similarly, the forms of skills training available to girls and young women in the GBs fell short of EJA's ambitions in the 1990s to contribute to the creation of skills training models that would be relevant to the informal economy yet offer transitions out of the barest improvisational survival activities. A particularly stark finding in this regard was the cessation of all partnership in Dakar with groups of young male workers despite the ubiquitous presence in the urban landscape of boy apprentices, horse cart drivers, shoe shiners, street vendors, transit fare collectors, car washers, market porters, etc. Now implementing a mainstream child-protection development programme, the EJA national office's approach no longer displayed its original analytical interest in the structures and institutions of the informal economy (including traditional workshops) that might allow them to identify opportunities and overcome challenges to the successful accompaniment and organization of young male informal workers. While this *de facto* reverse discrimination has meant that MAEJT resources in Dakar have disproportionally benefitted girls and young women in the ways described (empowerment), fieldwork still uncovered nothing in the way of interrogation of their society's gendered hierarchies, roles, and division of labour within the framework of the MAEJT in Senegal.

There were of course always many structural and political obstacles to the realization of EJA's initial ambitions. However, the following two chapters will present evidence on how specific strategic directions for advancing child protagonism within the MAEJT, which have been chosen partly in response to international influences, have shifted focus, and with it resources, from such concerns with education and training at the base to international dimensions of the movement and to the goal of autonomization at higher organizational levels.

Chapter 7: Capacity building of working children's associations: limitations and contradictions

7.1 Introduction

Whereas the previous chapter focused on findings directly related to activity in GBs, including the ways in which decisions of the national Xaley programme had affected them, the present chapter turns its focus to the domain of capacity building or "organizational strengthening" at higher organizational levels, the progress of which, or lack thereof, also has had definite implications for GBs. The chapter first presents direct observations of organizational strengthening practice in national and Dakar level meetings, which expose limitations in the approaches used to advance the autonomization of AEJTs. After these observational findings, the following sections present supporting analysis from key insider informants concerning additional obstacles to sustainable capacity building and autonomization of MAEJT structures. These sources critique the full scope of the autonomization agenda, affirm the role of professional accompaniment, and question whether recent priorities for resource expenditure within the MAEJT can translate into improved working conditions and educational opportunities for members at the GB level. An additional section presents findings from the latest MAEJT international programme evaluation that corroborate many of the findings from chapter six, deeply calling into question the efficacy of the international MAEJT organizational strengthening programme.

7.2. Capacity building: The limitations of a deficit approach

In 2008, before the fieldwork period, the various AEJTs of Senegal (and the Gambia) had carried out an instance of a diagnostic exercise that they and EJA refer to as *missions croisées*. The idea of *missions croisées* originated in EJA's use in the 1990s of *evaluations croisées* as a form of peer evaluation among literacy teachers in non-formal educational centres, including those working with the

EJT. As they deemed it important to avoid having teachers feel individually targeted by criticism when discussing the perceived weaknesses in pedagogy and class organization detected at these peer evaluations, a synthesis of visiting peer evaluators' comments was drawn up as a basis for a general discussion at a subsequent meeting of all the teachers.

In the case of the *missions croisées* of 2008, each AEJT of Senegal was visited by two or three delegates from another AEJT, who observed its function, interviewed its members and subsequently made recommendations towards solving any problems detected. Apparently in keeping with the tradition of the *evaluations croisées* among literacy teachers, they sought to shield any particular AEJTs from direct criticism by submitting their recommendations to the EJA national office, one of whose staff members synthesized them into a single categorized list of salient issues. From 18-20 November, 2008, delegates from each AEJT in Senegal gathered in the city of Thiès for the *restitution*[111] of the *missions croisées.*

At these meetings, the assiduity of the MAEJT delegates in undertaking the group work assigned to them was impressive. These children and youth, all of whom had less than a secondary education (many of them having less than a full primary education, or even no formal education at all) concentrated on their task with more stamina than one is likely to witness among university graduate students in a northern setting. The participatory dynamic in the meetings was also remarkable, in that even the youngest delegates, male and female, displayed no reticence in challenging the animators. While some of the exchanges appeared at times, to a cultural outsider, as very heated, they always remained respectful and ultimately good-natured. Contrary to the claims of Nimbona and Lieten (2004)

[111] The French term "restitution" is used locally, in this case, to refer to the reporting of findings from research or evaluation.

and to what I had been told in advance to expect by a Plan WARO staff member, meetings were almost exclusively conducted in Wolof, which clearly facilitated full participation.

The strongest impression given by these meetings was that they provided an empowering pedagogical space in which the delegates could practice skills of teamwork, respectful dialogue, and public speaking (thus learning mostly *implicitly* while pursuing the meeting's official objectives). However, as will be clarified through a presentation of key aspects of these observed meetings, the exercises performed did not appear to go beyond this pedagogical dimension to provide constructive organizational capacity building.

On the first day an EJA animator presented to the assembled delegates the synthesis document which incorporated the recommendations that had been made based on the investigations during the *missions croisées*.

Typical recommendations included:

- Veiller et travailler sur la participation des enfants et sur leur présence, former les enfants sur la vie associative;
- Mettre en place un système d'organisation pour que: le problème des Groupes de Base soit soumis aux Aînés après à l'Association pour que la décision finale reste au Comité de Gestion;
- Redynamiser les groupes de base et rendre fonctionnel le bureau de l'AEJT;
- Revoir les organes de l'AEJT: le CD est quasi inexistant;
- Revoir le système de fonctionnement du Comité de Gestion;
- Formation sur les rôles et les responsabilités des membres de l'AEJT et des conseillers dans la mise en œuvre des activités;
- Renforcer le système de communication pour une bonne circulation de l'information;
- Mettre en place un système de gestion et de suivi;
- Avoir un plan d'action opérationnel avec système de suivi et évaluation;
- Aucune formation sur les différents corps de métier n'est pas effectuée au sein de l'association;
- Entamer un partenariat avec les élus locaux et les autorités administratives;
- Des sources d'auto financements et le renforcement de la subvention du MAEJT sont très indispensables pour la bonne conduite des activités (plan d'action)
- Renforcer l'AEJT à confectionner un plan d'action avec un budget;

- Révision totale de la gestion du siège
- Autonomisation des enfants dans la gestion

An animator from one of the supporting organizations (EJA or one of its Senegal partners) proposed two additional recommendations:

- Élargir et renforcer les relations et la collaboration avec les structures pour enfants et autres organisations œuvrant en faveur des enfants;
- Revoir le système de collaboration avec les partenaires et faire des propositions pour bénéficier de leur appui par la prise en charge des activités.

Recommendations such as these addressed fundamental issues, but merely by restating core ideals of the MEAJT model, rearticulating long-standing assumptions about the necessary mechanisms for sustaining activities at the base to fulfill the movement's mission, and reiterating that key components of the official organizational structure at the municipal level should be put in place or reinforced. The recommendations did not elaborate on methods or strategies for achieving the stated objectives, and never mentioned what sorts of capacity did exist, upon which the AEJTs could possibly build. The goal of shielding specific AEJT from direct criticism rendered it impossible to situate the recommendations within the specific contexts and circumstances of these diverse AEJTs (in terms of their membership, their relations to their supporting organization and wider community, years of existence, etc.). Indeed, while the recommendations clearly implied certain organizational weaknesses, one could glean little about the specific ways in which such weaknesses might be manifesting.

The animator had detected this last mentioned gap in the information he had received to produce his synthesis, and he thus introduced a group activity by asserting that the links between the recommendations and the problems observed were not sufficiently clear. They were to break into groups to produce posters clarifying these links. Underscoring what appeared to me as the primarily

pedagogical significance of the exercise, delegates were assigned randomly to groups, with no assumption that they might have areas of interest or expertise relative to the salient issues. In the same vein, it soon came to light that many of the delegates to this *restitution* had not actually taken part in the *missions* themselves. As a result, one group I observed ended up working somewhat in reverse, by starting with a given recommendation and trying to imagine what problem would be resolved by following it, rather than recalling from the *missions croisées* themselves, or from reviewing the documentation, what the specific problem manifestations were that led to that type of recommendation. Some groups were slow in getting started in their work, and needed further clarification from animators as to what was expected.

From the problems displayed when this group work was posted, one could easily have had the impression of the near complete dysfunction and breakdown of the AEJTs of Senegal, especially as there was still be no effort to specify which problems were particularly acute in which associations. These problem statements are listed in Appendix 6. As such fundamental issues were being framed so broadly, one also had the impression, as an outside observer, that the delegates and their animators were starting from scratch in conceiving and carrying out this exercise. I asked an animator from a supporting organization of one of the AEJTs if they had held similar meetings in past years in which they had raised this range of problems in depth. He replied that what they were doing at present was not "in depth" compared to earlier meetings on the same topics. When I asked him to specifically address the issue of communication (to take an example of an area that has been cited over the years as a weakness of the MAEJT as a whole), he described the sessions I had been witnessing, without my prompting him in this

direction, as primarily a form of pedagogy, emphasizing the need to go over the same topics multiple times and for all of the associations to be able to benefit from further training in these same topics[112].

At the session the following morning an EJA animator employed a Socratic method, asking questions in order to bring the delegates to summaries the table of problems and recommendations according to his own and others animators' conception of it. As a pedagogical approach this seemed appropriate, but in addressing actual issue areas, e.g., communication, discussion remained at too high a level of generality to be constructive, with no attempt to analyze the various contrasting forms, directionalities, purposes, etc. of communication, in order to set priorities at the AEJT level. Participation at this *restitution* would not equip delegates with concrete strategies, or even the building blocks thereof, for advancing their home AEJTs towards the posited ideals of organizational functioning.

A finalized synthesis document of recommendations or an "action plan" from this exercise did not become available in the remaining three and a half months of fieldwork. While it is possible that individual 2009 AEJT action plans sought to incorporate recommendations resulting from the *missions croisées*, the level of generality in the formulation both of problems and solution approaches within the basic logical framework analyses (LFAs) produced in the sessions rendered it improbable that the process could have effectively fed into organizational capacity building. Moreover, the litany of

[112] Interestingly, though appearing to no longer be a "youth" himself, this animator spoke enthusiastically of how much he himself had learned from being attached to the movement and having the opportunity to travel within Senegal.

problems exposed in the session suggested continued challenges to the achievement of perennially repeated objectives for organizational and management strengthening[113].

Other meetings observed revealed similar limitations. On Jan 27th, 2009, at a special meeting of the Dakar AEJT, the representatives present broke in to five groups whose task was to evaluate the association using a monitoring tool that had in fact been devised for benchmarking progress of CNs rather than AEJT. The exercise appeared frustrating for the girls. The monitoring tool had not been adapted to offer relevant criteria at the AEJT level and its language (in French) was too difficult for most. At the AEJT's regular February 5th (2009) meeting, three groups were formed according to age and assigned to draw cartoons illustrating: 1) an existing situation at the GB level; 2) the desired situation; and 3) an activity conceived as a means of getting from the one to the other. While working on their cartoon, the youngest group's initial response to the problem statement they had been given was that the problem should be immediately and directly brought to EJA to be dealt with. This task also constituted an engaging pedagogical exercise in logical frameworks, but it once more followed a conventional formulation of identifying a *deficit* in relation to an imposed and unquestioned *ideal* of organizational functioning, while neglecting deeper analysis of why the same deficits might tend to be perennially diagnosed and the same remedial activities proposed. As at the other meetings, this session

[113] One interesting piece of evidence suggested similarly serious organizational capacity issues in the AEJTs in another country. On the MAEJT listserv an email announced that training in *recherche action participative* (RAP) was being held in this country for delegates from the AEJTs. When the EJA international office responded on the listserv by inquiring what themes had been the focus of their RAP in the training workshops, the answer came back: "La mauvaise organisation; -ne pas bien jouer son role dans l'organisation; -Monopole dans la gestion." While such an application of RAP is not necessarily inappropriate, it also demonstrates a discontinuity from the earlier focus of such pedagogical support work within the MAEJT on helping GBs of working children to analyze their working conditions and immediate environment and to identify opportunities for improvements through their own actions.

also lacked any "appreciative inquiry" dimension that might seek to identify what *was* already working, upon which the groups and association could build by small steps.

Some animators with whom I spoke, including some with the EJA national programme, recognized the need for more reflection upon, and experimentation with, the formal processes of organizing and facilitating associations of children with little or no schooling. From a senior EJA national programme staff member with long years of experience with the movement:

> Parfois aussi nos comportements, nos fonctionnements d'adultes, on les répercute aussi sur les enfants … par exemple, l'association …c'est une association d'enfants. Donc, l'association ne peut pas fonctionner comme c'était des adultes. Mais le rythme de fonctionnement, même la configuration, c'est comme l'association traditionnelle. C'est peut-être nous aussi, en termes de structure d'appui, qui n'a pas encore trouvé des mécaniques pour les aider à fonctionner comme des enfants ... peut-être qu'on n'a pas encore assez travaillé pour pouvoir vraiment les aider à faire les choses à leur niveau. Ça, c'est une interpellation au niveau des programmes d'appui.

While the distinction between "children" and "adults" in this reflection may be considered an oversimplification, it does not diminish the fundamental acknowledgment here of the imperative for animators to find ways for such an association of underschooled children and youth "to do things at their level" in a way that furthers the interests of the constituent GBs and members.

7.3 Contradictions of capacity building as a child protagonism strategy

Several experienced informants described other factors that have tended to inhibit the development of capacity in AEJTs and CNs for ensuring the positive function of GBs. These factors related to the external environment, to individual EJT interests, and to institutional forms and priorities of the MAEJT itself. A long time EJA team member noted:

> Si tu veux faire un plan pour une année, c'est bon, mais si tu veux faire avec *eux* un plan stratégique, c'est plus difficile, parce que… ils peuvent se représenter sur douze mois, mais pas dépasser les douze mois.

He emphasized further that while the international programme seeked to reinforce the capacity of members to manage the associations and to plan and implement their actions, if the individuals receiving such training could not survive on that activity, they would not stick around. They would seek opportunities elsewhere, taking with them any acquired capacity. "Le risque, c'est de renforcer ces personnes et demain… c'est bon pour la personne." When I suggested that such reinforcement is supposed to be passed from the individuals to the organization as a whole, he replied,

> Oui, il y a un système de restitution, mais parfois, c'est pas - parce que – peut-être de notre coté, il n'y a pas un accompagnement- il y a des difficultés pour accompagner ces restitutions pour que ça arrive jusqu'à la base.

One informant who had much to say on the subject of MAEJT organizational capacity had formerly worked in a different Plan country office (not in Senegal), where he had collaborated intensively with the MAEJT for several months at the national and municipal level. The informant had observed the AEJT and several GBs in the capital city whose members were "porteurs, bonnes, vendeuses de beignets…" and he had seen their literacy programmes. He described what he had witnessed as "un peu informel; ils avaient beaucoup d'espoir…Entre 10 et 15 enfants chaque fois." The CN and some AEJTs in this country (backed by the EJA international programme coordinator and the Plan WARO official who had first championed Plan's financing of EJA/MAEJT) solicited the financial support of the Plan country office in question for a proposed organizational strengthening project. The Plan country office judged the project, as proposed, insufficient for developing the national MAEJT organization effectively, but decided to initiate their own capacity building programme for the MAEJT. This programme involved diagnostic and cartographic tools for studying the AEJTs' and GBs' relations with their *structure d'appui* and with their environment as a whole, including local authorities and

educational institutions (e.g. for the use of classrooms), and tools for reviewing and strengthening their internal organization, including the conduct of meetings, and the management of small funds.[114]

After four months of such capacity training, the CN and AEJTs received financing to carry out a year's activities as a partner in the Plan country office's own "child labour" programme. However, according to the informant, the MAEJT organization did not develop as expected, and as a result was unable to fulfill the important role assigned to them in the programme: "à cause d'un manque d'implication."[115] When I asked if it was rather simply a question of a lack of developed *capacity,* he insisted:

> Non – d'implication…Les jeunes qui animaient ont laissé tout pour aller partout avec Enda - à Accra, Dakar, Mexique, ont laissé l'organisation [du pays]... Les ainés qui viennent les représenter, souvent, quand ils retournent, ils n'animent pas les groupes ou les associations pour les permettre de participer dans le projet…Un point critique – c'est le leadership au niveau local… [Ça existe au niveau] régional, international, mais pas au niveau national – qu'est-ce qu'on a?...

(The travel mentioned here refers to MAEJT leaders' participation in international meetings, conferences and thematic working groups, some of which will be discussed in the following chapter). The informant then began further clarifying that it was less an issue of individual commitment than of the institutional form and organizational priorities that he deemed to motivate or incentivise members to disengage from their base. His account thus corroborated others (see below) and my own emerging

---

[114] This may appear paternalistic on the part of Plan, since EJA and its urban animator partners had been facilitating and training EJT in such methods of *recherche action participative* since the late 1980s.

[115] In EJA's version of the project proposal of late 2006, considerable hope had been attached to this particular national partnership : "Tout un dispositif de renforcement est mis en œuvre afin que l'AEJT se structure et s'organise suffisamment pour exécuter ses propres programmes et développer ses champs d'action… Ce rôle de Plan est «exemplaire » et la relation qui s'y établit est une expérience pilote, qui devra être évaluée et amendée puis proposée dans les autres pays." In discussions in February of 2009, EJA staff stated that this country's coordination and AEJT no longer have a partnership with the Plan country office in question.

analyses.[116] On the whole he insisted that the international MAEJT programme tended to assure that energies and resources went predominantly to activities on the international level, including various meetings, the *Rencontre africaine,* and lobbying, leaving the municipal and grassroots levels very weak.

> Ils savent bien mobiliser les gens, faire le discours, le plaidoyer, mais quand tu regardes bien, les activités qu'on leur propose ne sont pas suffisamment fortes pour changer leur position : les programmes d'alphabétisation, par exemple, ne sont jamais évalués…Même les AGR [activités génératrice de revenue], on ne regarde pas si c'est rentable. On ne sait pas épargner. On n'a pas l'appui pour vérifier si ça a marché ou n'a pas marché. On dit on a reçu l'argent, on l'a donné aux gens, ils ont géré, ils ont fait le rapport, mais en réalité, quand tu regardes le changement, l'augmentation du niveau par exemple, n'a pas changé...
>
> Au niveau des pays ils n'ont pas des compétences pour structurer des organisations pour leur permettre d'être utile aux membres…
> Tout l'argent qu'ils ont c'est pour organiser des réunions nationales, publier les grands journaux, mais en réalité, les filles là, qui ne peuvent pas cotiser, c'est elles qui devraient être la cible. Donc, c'est une question stratégique d'orientation, quoi.[117]

In response to my question about the challenge to *any* organization of maintaining leadership capacity at the base, the informant argued that it was the hierarchical organizational structure of the MAEJT within countries that generated, or at least aggravated, this problem. If it was more of a loosely knit network of autonomous organizations, he argued, this problem could be minimized, because a very light central coordination could allow leaders to still be useful to their GBs. As the CN was structured, however,

> Si tu es dans la coordination nationale, tu ne peux plus être actif dans ton groupe de base. Donc, le leader, il est coupé de sa base tout de suite. Comme une organisation classique, alors que ça devrait fonctionner comme un réseau…

---

[116] It must be mentioned, however, that his interpretation also deflected possible attention from the ineffectiveness of Plan's own training and capacity building efforts with these EJTs.

[117] EJA's own proposal for the international programme had signaled the very danger of this tendency: "Le MAEJT a un grand rôle à jouer dans le plaidoyer et lobbying à l'échelle nationale et internationale, mais cela ne doit pas se faire au détriment du soutien aux actions des groupes de base et clubs, qui permettent aux enfants d'améliorer leur vie." (EJA, 2006)

The coordinator of the EJA international office (responsible for the MAEJT international programme) had in fact expressed suspicions about this very issue in an email that he had sent to the Senegal coordination and its AEJTs in reaction to the drop in membership between March and September 2008. Among other questions upon which he asked them to reflect was : "Est-ce que l'existence d'une coordination nationale et d'une permanente découragent les EJTs de travailler à la base au lieu de les encourager ??"

An international NGO official closely familiar with the MAEJT expressed similar concerns about the priorities of the international MAEJT programme and their effects:

> The movement… is a bit top-heavy, it's a bit top-driven, and as a result, there isn't much happening at the grassroots level…
> [There is a] strong regional or even pan-African body, but a very weak grassroots organization. And it should be the other way around in my opinion. …. And even from a resource mobilization point of view, it's far more expensive to run activities at regional and international level than at the grassroots level; you get more value for money [at the grassroots level]. It depends on how you look at it of course, because taking part in an international conference might contribute to making you more visible and ultimately bring in more resources, but with very little financial means at the grassroots level you're able to make a difference.

Another informant, a former EJA staff member with long experience with the MAEJT, and who was fundamentally sympathetic and supportive of it, also offered related criticism, though in perhaps even harsher terms:

> On prend des enfants … qui habitant des quartiers assez pauvres. On les met dans les avions. Ils sont dans les hôtels. Ils font le tour du monde, de l'Afrique. Ils ne se forment plus… Si on prend deux délégués de Sénégal, deux de chaque pays, on crée une oligarchie, une caste. Une bourgeoisie dans le mouvement. Ce sont les gens qui représentent, qui sont les représentants, et qui reviennent, qu'est-ce qu'ils font après à la base? On dit il faut restituer à la base. Ce sont des mots. …. C'est cette question de représentativité qui pose un problème… Cela doit être horizontale, pas verticale. Développer les associations qui sont là, les mille gosses, est mieux que mettre vingt gosses dans un hôtel. Quelle légitimité ils ont?

The evaluation report of the international programme of 2009 also raised such issues of representation and of inadequate "restitution", which refers to the relaying of the content of a meeting or

workshop from the representative who attended to the remainder of the AEJT or GB members. In this case it specifically concerned training opportunities that could be attended only by selected representatives of AEJTs or GBs:

> Les critères de choix des participants aux formations ne favorisent pas tous les membres des associations ou groupes de base. De même les restitutions ne se déroulent pas selon les normes prévues par le MAEJT à cause du manque de moyens financiers, matériels et humains des associations et parfois de l'instabilité des bénéficiaires qui migrent sans avoir fait la restitution de ce qu'ils ont appris à leur collègues (Imorou, 2009).

In the MAEJT's annual bulletin for 2004, Fabrizio Terenzio, coordinator of the EJA international programme, also had displayed awareness of the *potential* for the sorts of distortions and diversions that such critics have viewed as occurring and as inherent in the movement's structure and action priorities. In response to the question: "Quels conseils aimeriez-vous donner aux enfants et jeunes qui président la destinée du MAEJT?", his answer included the following:

> Je n'aime pas le mot « président » car le MAEJT ne doit pas fonctionner à partir de pouvoirs hiérarchisés. Mais réellement, il a de nombreux leaders, filles et garçons[118] … N'essayes pas de devenir un perroquet qui répète les formules à la mode, continue à te référer à la vie, l'expérience de tous les jours, de vous les enfants, dialogue avec eux, ne te coupe jamais d'eux, même si tu vas à New York ou ailleurs parler avec l'ONU ou la Banque Mondiale!!!
> Être un leader est un honneur et un sacrifice, c'est aussi un privilège que le bon Dieu t'a donné, donc sois un bon leader, ne profite pas de la situation, sache toujours en faire profiter à l'ensemble des enfants et jeunes que tu représentes, et qui t'ont désigné (Enda TM Jeunesse Action, 2004, p.4).

Officers of Plan WARO furthermore indicated, however, that even among the relatively select management groups of the MAEJT, capacity building efforts had been frustrating. They described having facilitated a session with the MAEJT's communication working group in which they detailed the

[118] Note the evaded tension here between a non-hierarchical *ideal* for the movement and the fact that there "really" are leaders.

steps to develop an external communications plan. A year later, this Plan staff reported, the group had not developed anything, and they needed to start from scratch with exactly the same exercise.

As explained in the previous chapter, the MAEJT international programme funded by Plan is specifically referred to as the "organizational strengthening" programme, most of whose programme resources, according to the budget (Appendix 7), are dedicated to "Technical support missions + internships", "national workshops", and "regional workshops" (the latter for the highest leadership groups of the MAEJT). A 2009 evaluation of this MAEJT international organizational strengthening programme included field visits conducted by a consultant to AEJTs and GBs in Rwanda, Benin, and Mali. On the one hand, this evaluation offered anecdotes that are among the most compelling evidence available of important individual impacts and positive dynamics of friendship and solidarity in the MAEJT, including successful small-scale shared revenue generating activities. Nonetheless, beyond its mention of weaknesses in basic educational opportunities and of unequal chances for participation in higher level training and meetings, both mentioned earlier, the report ultimately advanced a highly negative assessment precisely of the efficacy of the international organizational strengthening programme, thus further corroborating many of the direct findings of the present research. The positive anecdotes presented of AEJT accomplishments, such as members' re-insertion into formal school and initiation into apprenticeships (of which no quantification was offered), all emphasized not the AEJTs' own acquired capacity, but the key role of local NGOs. The following quotation, antithetical to the notions of autonomization and child protagonism was included:

> Parlant de l'une des structures d'appui qui aident à mettre en œuvre les programmes d'action du mouvement au niveau de chaque localité un interlocuteur souligne :
> « Si ces enfants n'étaient pas encadrés par l'OPDE, ils seraient des enfants de la rue avec tous les dégâts qu'ils apporteraient la société » (Imorou, 2009, p.34).

The capacity of the AEJTs in these countries to independently attract funding was reported to have not been developed as hoped:

> Les ressources complémentaires mobilisées par les AEJTs semblent surtout être en natures et en investissement humain. Il en résulte que les ressources financières nécessaires à la réalisation des activités programmées se résument essentiellement à la subvention du MAEJT. D'autres sources de revenus notamment des autres partenaires n'ont pas été évoquées (pp.35-36).

While the evaluation stated that a few of the AEJT are well recognized by local authorities, it emphasized the weak visibility and even "embryonic" structure of most. The AEJTs, having no "outils de fonctionnement autonomes", were generally confused with their *structure d'appui*. The evaluation highlighted an absence of systematic follow-up and monitoring to the training and technical support provided by the international programme, and thus a lack of capitalization and sustained institutional memory. Indeed, writing *as if there was as yet no international organizational strengthening programme*, the evaluator recommended:

> Les AEJTs devront être davantage outillés afin de pouvoir conduire elles mêmes les projets. Il est aussi important, dans le processus d'autonomisation, de mettre en place un mécanisme de transmission de compétence managériale aux AEJT et à leur coordination. Pour le moment les outils de gestion mis en place sont rudimentaires et se limitent à une tenue de la comptabilité courante (p.36).

Furthermore, as was reported above concerning the *missions croisées*, the choice of delegates to national level meetings and trainings was found to not be grounded in selection criteria reflecting any actual capacity building objectives. Also resonating with the observational findings of the present research was the evaluator's assertion that "les groupes de base semblent réduits à de simples regroupements sans statut officiel." (p.46). He therefore recommended that more resources be rededicated to the GB level, specifically to structuring them, in order to rely less on an informal "militantisme associatif" that results in the quick demobilization of many members. It would be necessary, he argued, to

> amorcer progressivement une dynamique de vitalisation des groupes de base en leur offrant les mêmes visibilités que les associations qui méritent aussi d'accueillir des activités de formation afin d'accroitre les chances de participation des membres de base. Cela peut permettre aussi au niveau local d'accroitre les chances de construction d'une identité commune d'EJTs (p.49).

Finally, he suggested greater integration of parents and employers into the programme.

7.4 The context of capacity building of working children: demise of professional animation

An official of another international NGO partner of the MAEJT had individual experience in the *Programme Africain de Formation* (the EJA-led African network of urban animation organizations) going back to at least 1994. His comments on capacity building challenges pulled back from the present to offer a broader historical view of the tradeoff inherent in the deprofessionalization of the MAEJT's animation, and of the EJA international office itself, a trend which has been viewed as consistent with pursuing the child protagonism ideal through the autonomization of AEJTs. He specifically mentioned how from 1994 to 1997 Dutch, German, and French donors had funded the *Programme Africain de Formation* (PAF), via EJA, as a means of reinforcing the capacity of the animators in the professional *structure d'appui* that then accompanied the MAEJT.

This informant explained that even with the current international programme funded by Plan Netherlands and Plan Finland there were no longer such resources for professional animators. Instead, the effort and resources went towards reinforcing the *ainés* among the EJT themselves, so that they could take over animation. While this official conceded that flight with credentials had also been a problem with systems of professional animator training, he nonetheless concluded, regarding their disappearance, that:

> Ce qui est sûr c'est que ça a enlevé le coté de *knowledge management* au sein du réseau parce qu'il y avait cette gestion de connaissance à travers notre réseau qui venait renforcer ce que faisait les enfants.

He further explained his concern that while there was value in having *ainés* increasingly involved in animation and organization, "ça n'a pas cette même qualité de ressource humaine." In the early days, when he was first attracted to the programme, the urban animators were being drawn from the ranks of trained teachers and recent university graduates. Their training in the PAF "leur permettaient de remettre tout en cause et de construire sur la base de ce que recevaient des enfants. Ça manque maintenant. C'est évident." Since *ainés* do not start with the same educational base as these earlier animators, their need for specialized training was all the greater, but he viewed it as entirely lacking. In fact, this informant emphasized that many or perhaps even most *ainés* who took on the role of animator as a means of staying with their association did not have the potential to become truly qualified to perform this role - even with extensive training. His unambiguous conclusion was that more fully qualified accompaniment was still needed.

> On doit faire très, très attention par rapport à ça à mon avis, … les animateurs doivent rester – il doit rester des animateurs professionnels, c'est-à-dire ceux qui ont été formés pour faire ça…qu'on ne laisse pas tout totalement aux enfants parce qu'ils ont besoin encore de l'appui… même le summum de la participation ne veut pas dire qu'on n'a pas l'appui de l'adulte…
> Malheureusement, ces dernières années on n'a pas beaucoup investi sur ceux qui accompagnent le mouvement.

This critique was shared by a former EJA official who especially lamented the effects of these developments on educational activity at the base of the MAEJT. This individual also insisted that "il faut beaucoup investir dans la formation des animateurs eux-mêmes, *eux-mêmes*".

Both of these informants also expressed concern over how the process of deprofessionalization was affecting capacity even in the EJA international office itself where the cream of *ainés* from throughout the movement – the movement's leaders from the 1990s – had replaced almost all specialist staff.

> [Ces ainés] doivent être là, mais encadrés par une équipe de la protection des enfants, de l'accompagnement des enfants. Avant il y avait au moins six personnes là dans l'équipe qui étaient spécialistes. Il y avait un spécialiste de l'éducation… il apportait le 'background' de la science de l'éducation parce qu'il a appris ça. Et on ajoute ça pour adapter aux expériences des enfants. … lui-même avait compris les failles de l'éducation formelle, et donc il était là pour encourager les alternatives. Mais il donnait une vision quand même technique de ce qu'est l'éducation. Aujourd'hui il n'y a personne qui peut donner une vision technique de l'éduction, pour ne parler que de cela. Et même quand on parle stricto sensus de ce qui est l'accompagnement socio-éducative des enfants: certains enfants peuvent être traumatisé… il n'y a aucun spécialiste dans la maison pour faire ça. Et ça c'est le coté que je regrette personnellement par rapport à ça.

While the gradual withdrawal of resources from professional animators is consistent with EJA's original strong interpretation of child protagonism and its ideal of autonomization for the associations, an important factor that was identified as initially triggering the shift to reliance on *ainés* over professional animators was the imperative of renewing the *child* leadership of the MAEJT, particularly for representation at international child labour and child rights events. These experiences, which constitute an important influence of international frameworks on how the child protagonism strategy played out, will be discussed in the following chapter.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated how in implementing the MAEJT child protagonism strategy EJA shifted the locus of its diminishing professional animation from GBs to the AEJT level and higher. The training that MAEJT child and *ainé* representatives at these levels received aimed at installing autonomous bureaucratic and professional capacity in AEJTs, which EJA believed would enable them to sustain the vitality of GBs and thus assure ground level impact in improving children's working conditions and education. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, however, where professional animator accompaniment had effectively been withdrawn from GBs themselves and not replaced by that of the still dependent and poorly functioning AEJTs, GB activity had not been sustainable, especially in the case of *filles domestiques* and working boys.

Concerning the observed practice of organizational strengthening at the AEJT and national levels, the sincere engagement of the MAEJT representatives and of the animators was not to be questioned. However, the organizational strengthening activities' direct and indirect objectives were undermined by inherent tensions that have been associated with local organizational capacity building in general, as well as by an ambiguity associated specifically with participatory interventions targeting children. First, the observed capacity building sessions could not be interpreted as the product of indigenous or local imagination for building such an organization from the ground up in a manner that could ensure its continued dynamism at the base. Instead, in defining proper AEJT functioning in terms of externally imposed bureaucratic forms and processes, the capacity building being practiced indeed conformed to a "broader pattern of 'governmental' engagement" focused on the "formal demands or expectations of aid related actors and processes" (Gould, 2005, p.70) – even if this implicit agenda was enacted ineffectively. Moreover, the objective of this capacity building to achieve a semblance of professional NGO function in the AEJTs *on a purely voluntarist model* was implicitly contradicted through being carried out by salaried professionals from a donor funded NGO (EJA). Counter to its autonomizing intentions, perennial iterations of such capacity building only reinforced the *parental* character of EJA's relationship to the AEJTs that was noted in the previous chapter. As Keengwe et al. (1998) argued, this result is difficult to avoid with *any* long term capacity building of a community based organization. In this case, however, the challenge was compounded by an ambiguity, often noted within child participation initiatives, between a true, participatory action objective and a more purely educational or developmental purpose for participants. The observed facilitated exercises, lacking adequate conceptual depth to be helpful in advancing the AEJT's functioning, appeared rather as simplified pedagogical exercises, or what Jans (2004) has called "artificial training rooms" for child participation. Their artificiality was rendered more problematic by the fact that the Logical Framework-

oriented tasks undertaken did not constitute a form of learning that would easily transfer to work or life situations for the majority of the delegate EJTs who would not end up as NGO staff or animators transmitting these methods to a subsequent cohort.

The comments of informants and the descriptions of the 2009 evaluation further indicated that the child protagonism strategy to systematically de-emphasize animator training in favour of cultivating capacity in the MAEJT's *ainés* was hampered by constraints rooted both in individual members' imperatives and priorities and in the institutional structure of the MAEJT. Members who had received capacity building often left the organization without transferring acquired knowledge and skills to other members. While such flight with acquired skills has also often been flagged as an issue plaguing capacity building of community based organizations in general, the child and youth membership of the MAEJT makes the problem particularly acute. Furthermore, owing to the specific hierarchical structure of the MAEJT, opportunities and perks at higher organizational levels, which were perceived as inequitably accessible, tended to extract the most talented leaders from their base, in a similar manner to that long described in relation to formal education systems.

As observed in the fieldwork, and as corroborated in other locations by the 2009 evaluation, the international MAEJT programme funded by Plan did not appear to be overcoming such constraints to effective capacity building of AEJTs. The following chapter will examine in more detail how this international programme has been conceived and discursively constructed by EJA and by Plan and how the image of progress attributable to it has been fashioned and projected in order to serve the financial and symbolic capital imperatives of the two organizations – largely at the expense of scrutiny of the true impact of the child protagonism strategy.

Chapter 8: International Aid and Child Protagonism: Influences and Constraints

8.1 Introduction

While the two preceding chapters have focused upon manifestations of the MAEJT at the local and national levels, it has also been necessary at several points in these chapters to describe how processes and outcomes at these levels have been shaped by EJA's international partnerships, including both the Xaley programme in Senegal and the international MAEJT "organizational strengthening" programme funded by Plan. This final chapter of findings will focus entirely on aspects of the MAEJT as an *international* organization, especially presenting greater detail on the interactions among Plan, EJA, and the MAEJT that characterize their partnership over the international programme. To begin, however, the first section returns briefly to the late 1990s to consider the MAEJT's participation in international conferences on child labour as a pioneering opportunity to exert influence upon global constructions of child work - but whose reciprocal influence on the organization was to accelerate the replacement of professional animators by *ainés* and thus to hasten the overall autonomization agenda.

The succeeding four sections of the chapter examine the EJA/MAEJT partnership with Plan international and its influence on the discourse and practice of child protagonism. The ways in which Plan has shaped this discourse for its own purposes and Plan's demands for selective and symbolic information from EJA have tended to influence programmatic priorities in ways that have affected outcomes at the GB level. The last of these four sections explains how earlier rounds of programme evaluation served to evade difficult questions and were used to consolidate the mutually beneficial partnership. Additional sections outline the overall external communication strategies of EJA and the MAEJT that have been intended to attract donors and to raise the profile of the movement by projecting quantitative and qualitative accomplishments of its child protagonism approach. Finally, the impact of

these communication strategies is considered by looking at the level of acknowledgement of the MAEJT in major international reporting within their field of intervention.

8.2 An international stage for child protagonism: MAEJT in child labour conferences

EJA international programme staff expressed pride in having been the "elephants" who "kicked in the doors" of global adult institutions in the 1990s to permit what they characterized as the authentic voice of African working children to be heard advocating for intelligent policy in their best interests. This first section briefly describes the intervention of representatives of the MAEJT in international child labour conferences with the ILO and other IGOs in 1997 and indicates how the international definitions of "child" enforced in these global governance fora helped to accelerate the agenda of deprofessionalizing animation in the MAEJT.

Representatives of the MAEJT participated in two child labour conferences in 1997 that lay much of the groundwork for ILO convention 182 (on the "worst forms" of child labour). These were the Oslo Child Labour Conference, and the Amsterdam Child Labour Conference, where two representatives of the MAEJT participated in a one hour plenary debate along with representatives of working children's organizations from Asia and Latin America. Observers have described how the abolitionist perspective of the ILO, along with many trade union groups, NGOs, and Northern governments, brought strong opposition to working children's participation in these events, even though child participation rights had been explicitly defined in the UNCRC (White, 2005).

The following anecdote from an MAEJT domestic worker representative to the Oslo conference offered a taste both of the interactions and of the impact that working children's personal testimony could have:

> C'était chaud parce qu'il y avait un indien qui m'a attaqué : « tu ne peux pas dire que tu es un enfant, tu as 18 ans et pourquoi tu parles à la place des enfants, tu ne peux pas aussi représenter les enfants. Quand tu avais 7 ans, qui avait décidé que tu allais travailler? ». J'ai répondu : « moi j'ai 13 ans et quand j'avais 7 ans ma décision était d'aller à l'école. Comme mes parents n'ont pas les moyens pour me mettre à l'école, j'ai pris la décision de travailler pour sortir de ma situation et pour préparer l'avenir »… Il y avait beaucoup de gens qui étaient venus me remercier de ce que j'ai dit, c'est ça qui est la réalité parce que l'enfant ne doit pas aller tout le temps à l'école sans préparer son avenir; tu peux t'organiser, travailler et en même temps aller à l'école. Il y avait beaucoup de gens qui m'ont dit ça (Enda TM, 1999, p.141).

At the Oslo conference the delegates of working children's organizations taped their own mouths closed to confront the departing adult delegations in symbolic protest of their still marginal status in the debates (White, 2005). Yet according to Myers (2001b), pressures from the working children's organizations are reflected in the affirmation of ILO Recommendation 190 (which accompanies ILO Convention 182) that the views of children affected by the worst forms need to be taken into account. Likewise, Miljeteig (2000) has argued that on the whole the interventions of working children's organization representatives in these international events "contributed to a more nuanced and diversified understanding of what 'child labour' is." (p.22)

However, the importance that EJA and the MAEJT placed on intervening in such international fora also influenced the evolution of the MAEJT. For the conferences in the late 1990s, insistence upon the UNCRC's and the ILO's definition of child (under 18) as a strict criterion for the inclusion of "children's voices" was reported by the EJA international office's staff to have precipitated a "terrible battle" in the movement's leadership and to have accelerated the evolution from EJA's focus on a network of urban animator organizations to the process of autonomization of the AEJT themselves and of the MAEJT's governing bodies.

> Ça y était la guerre entre les pères fondateurs du mouvement – ceux qui ont créé le mouvement, et qui n'étaient plus des enfants pour la plupart – et les enfants.

In preparations for the Amsterdam conference EJA and the MAEJT leaders realized that although leadership would traditionally fall to the most senior members, it was necessary to reconstitute the movement's leadership so that they could qualify for attendance at international events.

> Donc, à partir de là, à Rufisque en 98 il y a eu le débat sur l'âge… Il y a eu une bataille terrible. Parce que les jeunes, tout d'un coup, qui possédaient le leadership - ils ont dit non! … avant ils étaient les ambassadeurs du mouvement,
> OK, … maintenant là ou ça a chauffé très sérieusement, les jeunes ont dit, d'accord, on se retire, mais nous maintenant, on n'a plus besoin des animateurs, on est meilleur que les animateurs. Donc, on fout des animateurs dehors …les enfants … poussent les jeunes dehors et les jeunes poussent les animateurs.

Much more recently, on May 11, 2010, the MAEJT was represented at an ILO conference in the Hague (on progress against the "worst forms") through a video-feed speech. Surprisingly, given the above history, this speech was delivered by a 21 year old *ainée* of the Dakar AEJT, not by someone with the current status of a working "child". She had been a child member of the same showcase GB (Grand Mbao) that received the visit of the president of Finland.

8.3 EJA and Plan International: constructing child protagonism for donor approval

This section begins to explore in more detail how EJA/MAEJT relations with their donor Plan International have affected programmatic priorities and strategies. In the context of this partnership, it has been possible to observe how Plan's (intentional and unintentional) structuring of information requested and received from EJA (Ebrahim, 2003b) has empowered the latter to continue projecting an image of progress towards autonomization in the MAEJT, and thus the realization of child protagonism, and has enabled them to proclaim widespread progress in the twelve rights for MAEJT movement members. The exchange of financial for symbolic capital at the heart of this donor-NGO partnership also disposed both organizations to continue evading serious scrutiny of the extent to which any MAEJT grassroots results in terms of educating and protecting working children were in fact traceable to the

inputs and activities of the partnership's international organizational strengthening programme. As the most distinct example of Plan's intentional shaping of information from EJA to ensure its usefulness as symbolic capital, it has been possible to compare EJA's original draft of the proposal for the 2007-2011 international MAEJT programme (along with its LFA and budget) with Plan WARO's translated and revised version[119], and to consider both in light of comments on the drafting process, and on the MAEJT, from the Plan WARO official involved. This project proposal, submitted in 2006, solicited the continuation of support from Plan Netherlands and Plan Finland, who together had granted $1,290,000 to the previous three-year programme, which ended in December 2006.

Those familiar with this genre of document would not be surprised by the manifest efforts in both versions to craft the story of the MAEJT and to frame its accomplishments in strategic ways in order to appeal to Northern donors. However, differences between the content and emphases of the two versions are noteworthy. Before presenting some examples of this content and of the proposals' rhetorical strategies, this section presents candid comments of the Plan WARO staff member who drafted the English version. A significant portion of our conversation is presented, as it offers an uncommon insight both into the personal, affective motivations and the institutional imperatives of Plan WARO at work in drafting a formal proposal on behalf of a partner organization. Note how the official emphasizes how he sought to assure donors of the programme's value by optimistically describing its potential in terms of capacity building and sustainability via local resource mobilization – two areas that have in fact been characterized in much of the evidence presented above as stubborn systemic challenges to the MAEJT's child protagonism strategy.

---

[119] The Plan WARO version noted that the process of developing the proposal was highly participatory, including inputs from national and international levels of the MAEJT.

Plan Official: I like the story of Enda, I like the story of MAEJT and I like hanging out with those youngsters… [At an African commission meeting] that's where I literally fell in love with the movement, because it was an opportunity for me to have a better understanding of who they are, what they do, and how they do it. And also I could clearly see what I could contribute to the movement, apart from money, you know, raising funds for them. I particularly enjoyed those sessions during which I provided training on PR and how to approach donors, etc. It was very popular with the youngsters themselves. …

Those were small groups of 10-15 people. Yeah, those were good moments, and that's really where I felt I could contribute something else, something different, than just money or…

Researcher: Do you get a sense that the movement has always capitalized on that type of training?

Plan Official: No, and I wouldn't point fingers, as I think we're partly to blame, because this kind of support can only be effective if it is part of an ongoing mechanism, right? The training that I mentioned was done on an ad hoc basis. And for many reasons - lack of time, conflicting commitments, etc. - I haven't been able since to do the same thing. ..

Researcher: You wrote the English version of the project proposal?

Plan Official: Oh, yeah.

Researcher: Comparing the two versions, it seemed like you had to write a whole introduction.

Interviewee: No, no, what I tried to do was, based on my understanding of the movement - who they are, what they do - I tried to come up with a story that would trigger some potential donors to support the movement.

Researcher: At that stage you have certain donors in mind that you're targeting.

Plan Official: Oh yeah, absolutely. Depending on the type of donor you're talking to, you're targeting, you will come up with a certain type of proposal or programme as well. And those days, I think we were talking to the Dutch government, primarily, so there's a lot of that influence.

Researcher: What is that influence, their interest?

Plan Official: Capacity building is key, even though this means a lot of things. But basically what they mean by capacity building is making sure that we're providing the movement with the skills that they need to develop, to grow, and to support other (similar) organizations on the continent. So one tricky area – aha, also key was sustainability. Especially financial sustainability, yeah - so there is a resource mobilization section in the proposal that I wrote with, I must confess, very little input from Enda and the youngsters.

Researcher: In terms of how they envisioned mobilizing resources in-country.

Plan Official: Yeah, I wrote it more from my point of view. Enda saw it before I submitted it, so that was okay, right? [smile]. It's not like I made up anything - which is probably one of the best resource mobilization sections I've ever written.

Researcher: And what did you say exactly? Remind me.

Plan Official: First of all, a broader understanding of resources; not looking just at money, but also at knowledge, at working in partnerships and alliances, that's one part of it. The other part of it is making sure that existing resources are well managed, yeah, because usually when people talk about resource mobilization they tend to look either at fundraising or at human resources, sometimes, but very few people look at the other dimension. These are two sides of the same coin. If you're not able to properly manage existing resources, it's going to affect your credibility; it's going to affect your reporting; it's going to affect your relationship with donors, etc., yeah. So I tried to talk about all these levels, and I also talked about how, within Plan – because that's the tricky part - you find yourself in the position where you're putting together a proposal on behalf of a non-Plan organization, but you are still Plan, right, and you have to make sure that you show, um, that this movement in its vision and mission and what they do on the ground is fully aligned with Plan's vision and mission and policies and stuff. So there are a couple of paragraphs that tried to show that resources mobilized by MAEJT are complemented by internal Plan resources. Yeah, I mentioned

those training sessions, for example, that I facilitated; this is a good example of resource mobilization in my opinion, yeah?[120] That's basically it.
Because usually when you read proposals, you come across well-written resource mobilization sections, which talk about things, but they're just not going to fly, right? I'm being a little cynical here. You know: "the organization will indulge into income-generating activities and over the long term they will become self-sufficient, etc." We all know it's not going to happen. But donors like to hear those things, yeah[121]?
The other challenge in writing this proposal was to talk about the movement in a way that would make it attractive to donors without changing the identity of the movement, for to some extent it's not really a formal organization, yeah, in that sense. And donors like to be reassured when they're dealing with organizations; in general they like to know there is a good accounting system in place, they have strong financial systems, they have a board, they have those – MAEJT has *a bit* of all that.

Researcher: A bit. EJA has it.

Plan Official: Yeah, EJA has it, and they're supposed to give it to them, but in some countries what they call national coordinations or country coordinations are locally registered, so some of them have that status. Now the trick is how to strike the balance between becoming a professional organization in that sense without losing their very nature, which in my opinion is the beauty of the movement, this informal dimension.

I asserted at this point that while EJA made many claims about the achievements and impacts of the informal, everyday actions of MAEJT members, especially in terms of sensitization, outreach, and sympathetic counseling of migrant child workers, they had been unable to present documented results from this "informal dimension", so that claims of the scale of such grassroots impact remained less than fully convincing to some donors – and especially to researchers. I added that from what I had observed in Senegal there was in fact very little of such informal action going on at the GB level. The Plan official responded by corroborating the views expressed above on how the international dimension of the MAEJT and work towards professionalization of CNs and AEJTs seemed to be coming at the expense of ground level actions and support to working children. I asked if Plan had raised this critique with EJA and the MAEJT.

---

[120] His above explanation of how the training was without follow-up suggests on the contrary that such resources were not well managed.

[121] In a section labeled "financial sustainability", the proposal nonetheless contains the sentence: "The [MAEJT] intends to support financial sustainability by stimulating income generating activities."

Plan Official: There are a few people who think like I do. Now, this being said, I think most advisors and managers are being careful not to dictate to a partner organization who they should be and how they should be working.
Researcher: It's not a question of dictating. It's a question of being a partner and having dialogue; sometimes–
Plan Official: Right, it's a question of expressing an opinion on something that has to do with the identity of the partner organization, and we have expressed that opinion on a couple of occasions, but never formally - not like on behalf of Plan. And EJA for example is very much aware of that. They know that this is Plan's opinion on the movement.
Researcher: Even though Plan the organization has never expressed it.
Plan Official: Yeah, officially.

The Plan official went on to suggest that a promising way forward would be to have Plan country offices enter into partnerships with the MAEJT to support such grassroots work. However he seemed to be unaware of the piloted partnership described in 7.3 between the MAEJT and a Plan country office, which was characterized as disappointing and which had not been extended. EJA's original (French) 2007-2011 programme proposal had in fact foregrounded optimistic *hopes* about the beginnings of national-level partnerships within the context of its vision for phasing out the international programme itself once CNs had built more autonomous capacity:

> *Le dispositif régional* [i.e. the international programme] *est là pour impulser la construction des compétences à ce niveau décisif pour l'action [le niveau national]*. Mais d'autres acteurs et partenaires le font déjà et devront développer leur appui. Ainsi en Guinée et au Niger, Plan *a entamé* un partenariat pour le renforcement des capacités des AEJTs locales. Des programmes de ce genre sont *en voie d'éclosion* au Burkina et au Sénégal. Ils sont *espérés* également au Togo, au Mali. Nous *espérons* que dans les cinq ans du programme cette pratique se généralisera, avec Plan et d'autres partenaires (Save, UNICEF, etc …) (EJA-MAEJT, 2006).

Despite these hopes, however, by the end of 2008 there was no longer any national partnership with Plan Guinea, and by late 2010 none of the hoped-for national level partnerships had materialized with Plan country offices in Burkina Faso, Niger, Senegal, Togo, or Mali. While there is evidence that MAEJT delegates participated in events organized by Plan in these countries, Plan has tended to organize their own clubs and Radio projects within their programming for "child participation" and sensitization on the rights of the child.

Consistent both with child protagonism discourse and with donors' concerns for sustainability, EJA's original programme proposal also made claims about resources mobilized by CNs at the national level, which sought to imply CNs' growing capacity to continue autonomously in the absence of the Plan-EJA international programme grants. In a confusing passage, however, EJA concedes that resources counted as "mobilized" by CN's actually derive from INGO programme partners at the national level (as we have seen with the Xaley programme in Senegal), partnerships which have been created by EJA, not by the CNs themselves.

> Là où des coordinations nationales se sont développées, on a noté le développement de la capacité de rechercher des ressources et d'établir des partenariats pour développer les actions locales…
> Cette capacité de mobilisation découle des appuis que les AEJTS reçoivent d'organisations et programmes locaux. Ainsi, au Zimbabwe, l'AEJT est directement soutenue par Save the Children Norvège, au Sénégal par Enda TM, Save et SKN (avec un début de contribution de Plan). Dans d'autres pays comme la Guinée, c'est le partenariat avec le bureau de pays Plan qui apporte des ressources importantes inscrites ici comme « mobilisées » (p.29).

The ambiguity in this passage from EJA's proposal appears to have allowed the Plan WARO (English) version of the proposal to misinterpret these assertions and distort them into the following stronger, and highly misleading suggestion that CNs have played a leading role in mobilizing resources:

> Countries where national coordinations have been set up have proved more active and successful in leveraging financial resources and establishing partnerships to implement local initiatives. In Zimbabwe, for example, the national coordination receives direct support from Save the Children Norway; the same applies to Senegal where the coordination receives direct support from Enda TM, Save and SKN. Guinea is another example, where Plan Guinea is the national coordination's main partner (Plan WARO, 2007, p.27).

Concerning the case of Zimbabwe in particular, the EJA international team stated in February, 2009:

> Au Zimbabwé, on ne sait pas très bien. [Les EJT] sont très nombreux, mais on se demande si leur niveau d'autonomie réelle, est-ce que ils sont plus bénéficiaires d'un projet de Save Norway ou vraiment autonome?

This admission indicates that EJA staff members are not in a position to affirm the possible role of the Zimbabwe CN in "leveraging financial resources".

Plan WARO's English project proposal contains additional misleading claims about "resource mobilization" intended to demonstrate the "sustainability" of the MAEJT international programme to donors:

> One of AMWCY preferred strategies is peer education, i.e. children and youth educating other children and youth on issues that affect their development. This has proved an effective cost-saving mechanism and literacy classes are a case in point. Thousands of children and youth are thus educated every year by their peers, instead of being trained by "professionals", i.e. paid teachers.
> Financial contribution from the youth themselves should be acknowledged. Members of country/national coordinations meet on average 4 times a year, which is essential for these national bodies to fully play their role. The costs of 3 out of the 4 annual meetings are covered by the youth themselves (Plan WARO, 2007, pp. 27-28).

The first paragraph conflates sensitization activities and peer counseling with literacy classes. None of the MAEJT's or EJA's own publicity makes any claims about widespread *peer* literacy teaching. At most, there are instances of *ainés,* or former EJTs, who are employed as literacy teachers. (However, see section 6.4 for recent concerns about the qualifications of literacy teachers and the effectiveness of literacy programmes). The second paragraph is also misleading. It translates the following from the French version:

> …pour qu'une coordination nationale fonctionne correctement il lui faut se réunir 3 ou 4 fois par an. L'appui budgétaire aux coordinations leur permet tout juste de couvrir les frais d'une rencontre. Les autres se font grâce aux moyens mobilisés localement. Mais inversement, les coordinations nationales ont réellement pu « décoller » à partir de ce soutien « régional » (EJA-MAEJT, 2006, p.30).

Given the preceding discussion of local resource mobilization, the phrase "grâce aux moyens mobilisés localement" cannot be reasonably translated by the notion of costs being "covered by the youth themselves". If one consults the international programme budget (Appendix 7), a brief narrative

section states that the budget "makes available" to CNs one meeting. However, there is no budget line specifically for this item. The only budget line for CNs mentions that they receive 200,000 CFA (US$402) per AEJT in their country, without specifying what it is to be used for.

Consistent with the disregard for accuracy behind such distortions, the Plan WARO programme document also uncritically reproduced the logical framework analysis (LFA) designed by EJA and the MAEJT leaders, despite the clear conceptual weaknesses in the presentation of its six objectives. The English version of the 2007-2011 proposal translates the objectives essentially word for word from the French, but they are presented here in French to more easily contrast them with the presentation of results from the 2008 MAEJT programme report, below. This statement of specific objectives deviates from the standard logical framework approach in that some of the objectives are logically subordinate or contributory to others, as is suggested by the inclusion of the phrases "pour financer", "pour mieux faire connaître", "pour répondre", "pour développer" (which were dropped in some cases from the English).

- Objectif 1 : Rendre nos activités génératrices de revenus plus nombreuses et plus rentables, pour financer nos droits et réduire notre pauvreté.
- Objectif 2 : Contribuer à la diminution de l'exploitation, la violence, l'exode précoce et la traite des enfants
- Objectif 3 : Communiquer plus et mieux, pour mieux faire connaître nos droits et nos actions.
- Objectif 4 : Développer notre formation dans les domaines organisationnels, de communication, d'AGR, de lobbying, etc. pour répondre aux préoccupations des associations et des groupes de base, et trouver des solutions valables.
- Objectif 5 : Etre bien connus et collaborer avec tous les acteurs : parents, associations, autorités, société civile, ONGs et Organisations Internationales, pour développer nos droits et nos pays.
- Objectif 6 : Développer des organisations mieux structurées pour nous étendre parmi les enfants des villages et de nouveaux pays, et bien négocier nos actions partout (EJA-MAEJT, 2006).

Objective 2 would typically be described as being at the *impact* level in logical framework analysis (or "Results Based Management"), that is, the level of the broadest, ultimate, long-term effects to which the programme aspires to contribute. In contrast, objective 4 suggests the need to improve

inputs towards objectives 1, 3, and 6. Objective 3, in turn, mainly describes activities required in the realization of objective 5.

8.4 Reporting on child protagonism to donors: symbolism and selectivity

This section continues to explore the effect of Plan's financial partnership with EJA/MAEJT, now by considering how discourse on the *results* of the child protagonism approach has been shaped by Plan's programme reporting requirements. On the one hand, EJA international programme staff complained that Plan's reporting templates were rigid, and that they at times had to improvise ways to append what they considered relevant information, as well as ways to respond to questions they viewed as less relevant to their programme. On the other hand, however, Plan's approach to EJA's reporting was observed to be lax. Just as Plan WARO staff indicated that they had not previously been attentive to any limitations in the formulation of objectives in the programme document, they also had not reacted in any way to how the 2007 and 2008 annual reports submitted by EJA/MAEJT made no effort to report *against* the programme's six stated objectives, *even though the reporting template demands that the objectives be excerpted directly from the programme document*. Instead, the 2007 and 2008 reports are each structured around five "results" that diverge widely from those stated objectives. Those in the 2008 report are as follows:

> Résultat 1: (Renforcement des capacités). Les EJT sont mieux préparés avec de bonnes connaissances et outils méthodologiques pour assurer une structure et un fonctionnement optimaux de leurs associations.
> Résultat 2: Les 60 AEJT et 11 coalitions ont développé une base financière et organisationnelle pour soutenir leur plan d'action de terrain.
> Résultat 3: Les activités et décisions sont prises au niveau Panafricain; les réunions de "gouvernance" et de suivi sont planifiées, exécutées et évaluées.
> Résultat 4: Le MAEJT et ses actions sont mieux connus par les EJTs, et soutenues par le public, et les autorités.

Résultat 5: Le "networking" s'est développé, les programmes sont complémentaires avec ceux existants, et les partenaires les soutiennent (excerpted from table in EJA-MAEJT (2008)[122].

The LFA thus appears to have been a symbolic formality for both parties. While the proposal format demanded it, in reporting EJA/MAEJT appeared to enjoy the indulgence from Plan not only to use a participatory approach to defining annual results that went *beyond* the LFA, but to ignore the LFA entirely.

Informants broadly agreed with my assessment that claims in MAEJT reporting have been consistently vague and have lacked convincing evidential basis, especially concerning the impacts upon the wider membership (beyond those participating in national and international meetings and trainings), as well as in terms of tangible capacity development. Reporting has for the most part stated that the inputs, or activities, were implemented as planned. The following discourse of results from the 2006 report (the final year of the previous programme), which does not even make specific reference to countries or AEJTs, is representative:

> La connaissance et l'appropriation des méthodes de planification basées sur les 12 droits sont en *nette progression*…. La capacité d'écoute des EJTs entre eux, et surtout vis à vis des « plus petits » *se sont développées*… Les activités économiques individuelles et associatives *se sont également développées* et facilitent l'auto prise en charge des EJT. Parallèlement à cela, la gestion des AEJTs et des coordinations nationales *a progressé*… Les résultats ont également été *très concrets* pour la session concernant les actions éducatives, qui *se sont développées qualitativement et quantitativement*. …Une *meilleure* organisation et « prise en main » des activités par les EJTs…Une connaissance *plus pointu*… Un *renforcement* … Le *développement* du partenariat … *accroître la crédibilité* des AEJTs. *L'amélioration* de la qualité des actions économiques et de la gestion, ainsi que des actions éducatives (pp.24-25 emphases mine).

[122] The 2007 annual report had cited yet a different set of 5 results, noting that "Ces résultats ont été fixés par le Groupe de Suivi du Programme, en septembre 2007".

An attempt to better quantify impacts on the membership was first included in the 2008 annual report. This consisted of a questionnaire exercise to survey members' judgements about whether and how their belonging to a GB and an AEJT had affected them individually. The aggregated results of this questionnaire are summarised here:

1- L'AEJT a-t-elle changé quelque chose dans ta vie ? Oui: 96,4%

2- Depuis que tu es dans l'AEJT, est-ce que tu as étudié ou tu t'es alphabétisé ? Oui : 83,7%

3- Depuis que tu es dans l'AEJT, est-ce que ta santé s'est améliorée (tu es moins malade) ? Oui : 83,5%

4- Depuis que tu es dans l'AEJT, est-ce que tu arrives à t'amuser plus qu'avant ? Oui: 92,5%

5- Depuis que tu es dans l'AEJT, est-ce que tu te sens mieux protégé contre les mauvais traitements (violences, injustices)? Oui: 89,0 %

6- Depuis que tu es dans l'AEJT, est-ce que tu travailles moins et moins dur qu'avant ? Oui: 90,6 %

7- Depuis que tu es dans l'AEJT, est-ce que tu te sens mieux respecté et écouté :

- Par ton patron : Oui: 84,8 %
- Par ta famille : Oui : 92,2 %
- Par les autorités : Oui: 81,3 %
- Par la population : Oui : 87,7 %

8- Depuis que tu es dans l'AEJT, est-ce que cela t'aide à mieux préparer ton avenir ? Oui: 94,6 %

9- Depuis que tu es dans l'AEJT, est-ce que tu t'exprimes et tu participes aux décisions avec tes amis (groupe, association)? Oui : 95,4 %

10- Depuis que tu es dans l'AEJT, est-ce que tu arrives à mieux satisfaire tes besoins ? Oui: 81,8 % summarized from (EJA, 2008)

EJA's complete report on these questionnaire results also explained away the small percentages of negative responses (e.g., some have only just become members, were already in good health, could already read, the question was not well understood, etc.). Commenting on the first (2006) questionnaire exercise, in which the percentages of positive responses were even higher, the consultant hired to evaluate the international programme in 2006 pointed out that the MAEJT sampling method of taking four respondents from each GB created a "cluster effect", which overrepresented the responses of GBs

with fewer members (Touré, 2007). This serious problem was not addressed in the 2007 or 2008 iterations of the questionnaire exercise. It also appeared from the patterns of responses visible on the detailed spreadsheet from 2006 (blocks of 100% positives to all questions) that some forms of guidance were given at the AEJT and GB level and/or translation of the questions into local languages was a significant factor. Most importantly, as it came out at the final "restitution" session of the doctoral research before departing Dakar, no effort had been made to select respondents *at random* from within their groups. Dakar AEJT members present at this meeting stated that GB members were asked to volunteer if they were comfortable filling out the survey. Of course, to provide any information approximately representative of the total membership claimed for the movement, the questionnaires would have had to be distributed to a random sampling not only of members present on any given day, but of all members that were counted towards the year's census. This would mean tracking down "members" who were very irregular in attendance or no longer attended at all. Despite not having used such a sampling method, EJA multiplied the percentages of positive responses in the 2007 survey by the claimed membership totals and presented them in the 2008 annual report to claim, for example, that the MAEJT then included 57,704 children who had learned to read and write thanks to their belonging to the movement.

An additional problem with making such claims within reporting on the Plan-funded international MAEJT organizational strengthening programme is that by implication these results were being attributed to that programme's capacity building measures. The evidence presented in chapter six demonstrated, however, that literacy and skills training in fact did not rely upon any hoped-for capacity of the AEJTs. The separately funded and implemented programmes of local *structure d'appui* deserved the credit. Under the Xaley programme (and other parallel programmes in Senegal), separate European

donor funding for literacy and skills was negotiated by EJA, who, along with other professional *structures d'appui*, implemented the programmes[123].

EJA encouraged this misattribution and in fact the officials of Plan were not aware that the activities, and in many cases the very existence of MAEJT GBs in Dakar were less attributable to their own "organizational strengthening" funding than to the direct support of other donors. An example of the EJA international office, in their relations to Plan, glossing over the crucial contributions of local *structure d'appui* and their separate donors was the symbolic visit of the President of Finland to the Grand Mbao GB of the Dakar AEJT. Since Plan Finland (with funds from the Finnish government) contributed to the grant for the MAEJT international (organizational strengthening) programme, the President of Finland visited Dakar, where she was taken by Plan and the EJA international office to Grand Mbao, the showcase GB of the Dakar association (see description above in section 6.2). None of the publicity around the event mentioned that this group's relative dynamism derived chiefly not from the Plan Finland funded international capacity building programme, but rather from the Xaley programme's full subsidy of its literacy and skills training *moniteurs* (for which the GB was judged to technically qualify in order to prevent the girls from engaging in potentially hazardous work). In a planning meeting held between the EJA international office and Plan for the presidential visit I in fact raised the point about the more directly implicated European donors, but my comment was met with silence. It was after this meeting that I learned from Plan officials that they were not aware of the parallel funding structures. Driving the Finnish president to the Grand Mbao GB necessitated traversing the traffic jams on the bottleneck of Dakar's peninsula (see Dakar map). However, Plan officials were

[123] Louga also AEJT bureau members confirmed that it was EJA who negotiated the funding from Fundación Xaley and that the new literacy classes for their 15 GBs were being put in place by this "programme" and not by the Louga AEJT. Accordingly, nothing related to literacy or manual skills training appeared in the Louga AEJT's own action plan for 2009.

not sufficiently knowledgeable about the history of the Dakar AEJT or about its current situation to be able to probe into why no GB of *filles domestiques* conveniently located near downtown could be showcased as a success story of the self-organization of working girls in defense of their own rights. Such probing would have uncovered precisely the absence of capacity in the Dakar AEJT that Plan's funding was supposed to be building.

Also motivated by Plan's demand for quantification, in recent years an annual collection of membership statistics has been carried out by the EJA international office as a means to chart the expansion of the movement and track the proportion of children (under 18) and youth (18 and over). The numbers have become a key element of EJA's discourse in projecting the dynamism of child protagonism. They have been used widely on the MAEJT website, in their printed publications, and in reporting to Plan on the results of the international programme. Overall, however, membership data cited by the MAEJT/ EJA have tended to invite skepticism from outside observers, especially since a consistent methodology for counting members has never been explained alongside the presentation of statistics. The method of estimating "sympathizers" has appeared to be even more inconsistent among AEJTs.

Brief perusal of the full spread sheet of statistics showing the decline in membership in Senegal in 2008 (included in Appendix 5) suffices to expose such numerous anomalies in the data as to call into question their usefulness for anything beyond, perhaps, indicating the most general trends. EJA international programme staff expressed some understanding of this point, and repeatedly indicated that collecting "les chiffres" was essentially a task imposed by Plan to which they did not attach undue significance. Nonetheless, as mentioned, the figures have been highlighted, *and even exaggerated*, in the movement's public discourse, and the reported decline in Senegal members brought strong admonishment from the international programme director. In terms of how to count members, his

strongest message to the delegates at the November 2008 meeting at Thiès was to be inclusive: to count as a GB member anyone who once joined, even if that person did not come regularly, and to set no minimum member requirement for qualification as an official GB. On the other hand, reflecting the EJA *national* programme office's avowed greater interest on real impact over sheer numbers, staff members from this office reportedly told AEJTs in Senegal only to count the regulars. An ainée from St. Louis even indicated that this directive for the September 2008 census was the reason for the sudden drop in membership reported.

In advance of the next round of membership data collection, a call was sent out in early 2009 by email from the headquarters of the EJA international programme to all of the coordinations and associations of the MAEJT requesting new membership statistics and completed questionnaires from a sample of their members on the realization of rights. The following directive was included:

> Toutes associations et coordinations nationales membres du MAEJT doivent actualiser les statistiques de leurs membres en remplissant le tableau ci-dessous et en s'assurant que le pourcentage d'enfants recommandé par la [Commission Africaine] 2008 est bien respecté.

While it may have been the result of careless expression, this directive would not appear to promote reliable data gathering on members' true ages for the purposes of monitoring the movement's membership trends by age; to fulfill it, AEJTs may have had to over-report the number of children or under-report the number of youth members.

The new MAEJT website contained, from early 2010 until August 2011 a brazen misrepresentation of membership statistics. The totals for MAEJT "members", "members + sympathizers", and "sympathizers" were shuffled such that the membership figure was grossly inflated. The paragraph containing this inaccuracy was also pasted verbatim onto the webpage of the Global Movement for Children (http://gmfc.org/en/action-within-the-movement/africa/regional-partners), of which the MAEJT is an African regional partner:

> Aujourd'hui [le MAEJT] est constitué de 196 associations membres et de plusieurs autres en observation, en relation avec les coordinations nationales, présentes dans autant de villes de 22 pays africains, d'environ 1749 groupes de base, regroupant environ 260 824 membres actifs et 95 787 sympathisants (MAEJT, 2011).

Two of the three documents that flatly contradicted this claim were also available on the MAEJT website itself. The first was the "Synthèse Des Réalisations, Changements, Difficultés Et Perspectives" from the MAEJT's 8ème Rencontre Africaine, which stated : "le nombre total est passé de 80773 en 2008 à 95787 en 2009." Likewise, from the 8ème Rencontre's final report itself: "Le MAEJT …compte 260 824 membres et sympathisants, dont 95 787 membres." (Gnanih, 2009).

Further text from this final report has made clear that there has been no consistent or systematic means of counting "sympathisants":

> En 2009 les sympathisants ont évolué plus que les membres avec une proportion de deux sympathisants, pour un membre. Cependant, on note des écarts entre certains pays comme le Zimbabwe, l'Angola et le Madagascar qui n'ont pas de sympathisants et le Togo, le Rwanda qui ont de 7 à 10 fois plus de sympathisants. Quant aux pays comme le Bénin, la Côte d'Ivoire et le Mali, le nombre de sympathisants est à peu près 2 pour 1 membre (p.32).

Further confusing the picture, according to the French version of the project proposal submitted in 2006, "Chaque membre a la capacité d'attirer 5 à 8 autres enfants et jeunes que nous appelons «sympathisants»". (EJA-MAEJT, 2006, p.19). With the latest figures for the movement as a whole, the actual ratio is only 1.72 to 1.

Articles in the news media credulously repeated the membership figure of 260, 824. A Radio France International (RFI) internet article even confusedly attributed to the MAEJT the following: "Sur le continent 260 000 enfants ont ainsi pu se former à un métier. La plupart sont aujourd'hui leur propre patron." (RFI, 2009). The photo accompanying this article showed a youth selling bottles of pop in Mozambique, a country where the MAEJT has never been present.

By peculiar contrast, Plan International's own webpages for Africa and for the MAEJT offer the figure of only 37,000 members for the MAEJT (Plan International).[124]

8.6 Evaluation of child protagonism as symbolic capital for the donor

A senior Plan official asserted that it was naïve to assume that evaluation was truly intended to provide comprehensive information on the effectiveness of a programme. Since all aspects of partnerships are a constant "dance" of compromise, in evaluation planning the partners seek to delicately probe where the "no-go zones" are - what the questions are that should not be answered for fear of jeopardizing a partnership that has advantages for all parties. However, not all Plan actors fully shared this perspective, to judge by a note attached to the terms of reference for the 2006 MAEJT programme evaluation and by that note's authors' confirmations in direct communications. In this case, isolated Plan WARO and Plan Netherlands officials appeared genuinely preoccupied by questions of the ultimate impacts of the activities funded in the international MAEJT program:

> We have seen over the period of the [first grant agreement] a flurry of workshops, meetings and publications that have been directed at meeting the objectives. After 3 years of support, the time has now come to evaluate the effect of these activities and establish if the envisioned objectives are being met? In the case of [MAEJT] we should want to know if our intervention has contributed to a genuine child/youth led process. Have we contributed to a process where the decision making process is truly from the children's perspective or have we helped in developing an elite layer of children's leaders who are doing business as adults? How has [MAEJT] impacted on the lives and development of its members and to what extent does it contribute to the development of other children and youths non-members in their communities? To what extent has capacity been built on governance, communication, facilitation and management of associations? How does power transfer from all levels of the organisation? Are the national coalitions a functional level or only to group preferred members? Are the interest and aspirations of the members at the base being met? Is Plan's relationship with the facilitating partner NGO clouding our ability to perceive and respond to the real needs and aspirations of [MAEJT] members? ... From the foregoing therefore it can be appreciated that a number-crunching type of evaluation that

[124] Inexplicably, one of the on-line news articles covering the MAEJT's African Commission press conference of March 12, 2010 states: "Le mouvement est constitué d'environ 400 groupes de base, regroupant 20,000 filles domestiques, vendeuses des marchés, enfants et jeunes travailleurs indépendants des rues et des marchés, et apprenti(e)s." (Faye, 2010) An MAEJT member posted a comment on this article, but without attempting to correct the figures presented.

> only looks for the outputs and deliverables will not do either of these organisations or indeed Plan any good (Plan WARO, 2006).

However, as a function of its methodologies, the resulting 2006 evaluation ultimately left all of these questions unanswered, offering little towards the first two of its own stated "objectives" for the evaluation: « Évaluer l'impact du mouvement sur différents aspects de la vie de ses membres », et « Analyser le niveau de développement du mouvement eu égard à l'appui apporté par Plan et ses partenaires ». Towards the first of these, the report merely offered a sample of the anecdotes gathered in the movement's first (2006) questionnaire exercise (whose validity limitations the report itself underscored). Towards the second, it in fact merely provided a list of programme *inputs*, as much MAEJT reporting has done. Hope for some useful qualitative information was pinned on the piloting of a monitoring method called Most Significant Change (MSC), but the method was implemented ineffectively. As a result, no clear picture emerged to challenge whether the discourse of child protagonism was being born out in the MAEJT's practices and results at the base, and the exchange of financial for symbolic capital at the heart of the EJA-Plan partnership was protected.

Fieldwork included observation of two planning meetings for the 2009 evaluation of the international programme among representatives of the Groupe Éxecutif Managérial of the MAEJT, the EJA international office, Plan WARO, Plan Finland, and Plan Senegal (to whom administration of the grant was being handed over). These meetings in fact resembled a "dance of partners", who never mentioned that close examination of the MAEJT's processes and effects at the GB level was important. The evaluation was heading towards a near repeat of the previous one, relying mainly on a new iteration of a questionnaire, as well as of MSC. However, for reasons that could not be confirmed, plans for the evaluation changed significantly after the conclusion of fieldwork. The 2009 consultant evaluator in fact carried out direct observations in nine AEJTs, three each in Rwanda, Benin, and Mali, including in

some GBs[125]. However, despite the serious criticisms of the international programme's effectiveness within this 2009 evaluation (cited in the previous chapter), messages on the EJA/MAEJT listserv have indicated that negotiations have been proceeding for the renewal of its funding.

8.7 Buffering against deeper donor probes into child protagonism impact

Within the overall dance of compromise over reporting and evaluation, the EJA international office could be observed to use a particular buffering tactic against any suggestions from Plan that additional and better quality information on MAEJT child protagonism impact were needed. As seen in the previous section, such concerns about impact could at times be raised by individual voices within Plan WARO and the Plan donor offices, and they were further incited by the negative report on the Dakar AEJT by Nimbona and Lieten (2004). EJA defended against such pressures precisely through expressing concern about how the exigencies of the Plan funded programme, and the forms of AEJT and CN capacity needed to meet them, contributed to a sort of NGOization of the working children's "movement" , detracting from the efficacious informal dynamic of peer solidarity that was claimed to operate at the grassroots level. In their 2007 report to Plan on the international organizational strengthening programme, EJA somewhat paradoxically suggested that this donor-funded programme itself was inherently problematic in that regard:

> Les partenariats empruntent des voies plus bureaucratiques et souffrent de «formalisme » car ils tendent à rendre compliqués les mécanismes d'action, tout en permettant de développer lesdites actions par les moyens qu'ils mettent à leur disposition.
> Le passage d'actions totalement informelles et peu intensives en moyens financiers, et ne comportant que peu de contraintes de « reporting » car intégrées au quotidien de chacun, à des mécanismes « formalisés » de planification, budgétisation, action, suivi, gestion, évaluation,

[125] At the conclusion of my final feedback session for this research, the EJA international programme director, acknowledging the value of my investigations of GBs, asked if I would be available to perform similar studies in other countries

> reporting… est toujours problématique, car l'efficacité peut se trouver noyée dans cette « modernisation » (Enda Jeunesse Action, 2007, p.31).

Similarly, in their 2008 annual rapport, in reference to EJA's role in producing MAEJT activity reports, they stated:

> Un rapport d'activité de ce type ne peut pas être rédigé par un EJT. L'acquisition de ces «techniques» ne doit pas se faire au détriment de ce qui fait sa principale richesse, sa capacité d'action et de réaction dans les conditions de «l'informel» (EJA-MAEJT, 2008).

During my final "restitution" of the research to EJA international office staff and to Plan in February, 2009, in the context of defending the validity of their membership statistics and questionnaires, EJA staff shifted into expressing how onerous these quantification tasks became, especially with each suggestion of more rigorous approaches to data collection:

> EJA staff 1 : Parce que moi, ce qui m'inquiète là-dedans, c'est que, disons, ils font le travail quotidien d'aller voir des groupes, de faire [unintelligible], des démarches, de faire des sensibilisations, et si on continue à les bombarder de questionnaires, de trucs, de plus en plus de choses, à la fin ils ne feront plus leur travail
> EJA staff 2 : Non, c'est même trop même.
> EJA staff 1 : C'est trop même. Nous, on se sent mal à l'aise à devoir leur envoyer des messages « dépêchez-vous! Il y a tel questionnaire, dépêchez-vous » et tout ça, tu vois? Le fait de pouvoir avoir de l'argent à travers un cadre logique et des indicateurs finit par corrompre vraiment leur travail, tu vois. Je dis ça, c'est notre débat interne, des réunions qu'on a entre nous, parce que nous, nous sommes ceux qui bombardons – combien de fois par jour tu téléphones pour avoir les résultats de ça [*EJA staff 3 giggling ; many speak at once, giggling*]. On les mobilise sur ça, ça veut dire qu'on les démobilise sur autres choses.

Fieldwork observation of the Dakar AEJT and its GBs had yielded no evidence of any of the spontaneous, everyday informal work of EJTs mentioned here, such as sensitization activities, or even visits to GBs by AEJT bureau members. The major annual sensitization activities reported to have taken place earlier in 2008 had been orchestrated by EJA national office staff. While it is possible that such informal activity is more regular in other countries and cities where the MAEJT is present, even the

MEAJT's own monthly and annual communications, described in the following section, do not to convey a compelling impression that this is so.

8.8 External publicity for child protagonism

EJA publishes a monthly bulletin (*Calao Express*), which has appeared on the former EJA website and now on the new MAEJT website. EJA and the MAEJT have also produced 10 annual bulletins entitled *Défi des EJTs,* which are available electronically and in print. Both of these bulletins contain reports of MAEJT events in different countries including: major sensitization activities; leisure activities such as soccer tournaments; the integration of new GBs; the initiation of new income generating activities; AEJT participation in forums and meetings with NGOs, IGOs, and local and national authorities; and the technical support and training conducted within the framework of the international programme. *Défi des EJTs* also includes poems and thematic cartoons, most often on the twelve rights of the MAEJT, composed by selected EJTs. These publications are conceived to increase the profile of the movement, but have been critiqued by Plan communications personnel as appearing more like newsletters for "friends of the MAEJT".

The former EJA website had also presented much of this anecdotal reporting on special activities, including some accounts of EJT events that appeared as conspicuously stage-managed instances of child activism. For example, an article appeared entitled "Les EJT se mobilisent contre les Accords de Partenariats Economiques (APE)" :

> Ce lundi 07 janvier 2008, les EJT ont participé à la marche organisée à Dakar (Sénégal) pour dire « NON » aux APE, ils étaient venus assez nombreux vêtus de leurs tee - shirt blancs ou était clairement écrit « Les EJT disent NON aux APE » et « oui aux APD (Accords de Partenariats de Développement ». Les pancartes qu'ils tenaient exprimaient tout aussi bien leurs pensées: « avec les APE la misère des EJT s'agrandit ». A la fin de cette marche un mémorandum a été remis au premier ministre du Sénégal ainsi qu'au représentant de l'Union Européenne à Dakar.

The accompanying photo showed a handful of young boys wearing the tee-shirts and carrying the signs. Recall that the membership of the Dakar AEJT at the time was already overwhelmingly female.

In 2010 a new MAEJT website was launched to replace the former EJA website[126]. Whereas the former EJA website had not placed any emphasis on the role of trained animators in accompanying EJTs, or discussed the transmission of such capacity, the "activities" page of the new MAEJT website page surprisingly begins with a paragraph on the Programme Africain de Formation (PAF), the animator training programme that had faded away more than a decade earlier. A second striking and surprising aspect of the new MAEJT website has been that (apart, arguably, from the links to the current and back issues of *Défi des EJT* and *Calao Express)* it has contained little that could be characterized as the forms of EJT content that might be expected. The website does not prominently present images of the activities of GBs (education, training, leisure, or indeed members performing dignified *work*), or attempt to portray in any way the resourcefulness, creativity, industry, and agency of working children in the face of their challenging daily circumstances, or to graphically convey how they are supported by the forms of organization offered by the MAEJT. The *grassroots* situation of the movement is thus not presented in a way that could capture the interest and potential solidarity of other children and adolescents particularly in other parts of the world. Instead, the photographs have mostly displayed older members sitting around tables in NGO-style meetings. Recent content on the home page presented only special publicity events (such as the visit of the President of Finland, along with international trips undertaken by MAEJT representatives to various meetings). The pages describing the

[126] There is also a cursory EJA *national* office website. Upon request from the EJA international office, during fieldwork I submitted comments and suggestions concerning the former EJA website, many of which appear to have been heeded, including the idea of having a separate MAEJT website.

movement and its structures are in fairly complex technical language, without any inclusion of the voices of EJTs themselves. Like the prominent mention of animator training in the PAF, the site as a whole appears to be calculated to cover various bases in appealing to perceived donor interests, partly by obliquely responding to the recent evaluation and other constructive criticism. However, since most of the critique and donor questioning (by Plan WARO and Plan Netherlands) in recent years has involved seeking evidence for the impact of the movement *at the base*, and of the extent to which it is child-led, the choice of website content has remained puzzling.

Several on-line articles about the MAEJT's African Commission press conference of March 12, 2010 contained identical language to that on the MAEJT website, apparently reflecting the near-verbatim use of a press release. Such a pattern of unquestioningly reproducing the MAEJT's discourse and claims also occurs on a wider scale within the publications of academics, NGOs and other organizational actors sympathetic with the general idea of working children's organizations and child protagonism. The German organization Pronats, for example, has also reproduced the claimed 260,000 members on its website and has presented wholly positive reports on EJTs' income generating activities in Benin without conducting any independent observations. (Miljeteig, 2000) has also uncritically reprinted claims of local level impacts of the MAEJT.

8.9 Wider cooperation with INGOs and IGOs: compromises of child protagonism

> [EJA] relies on many sponsors (government, UNICEF, ILO, Save the Children, Plan, and many others) and is active in the very broad field of child issues. The target group has inadvertently become very large and relatively indistinct. This set up enables [EJA] to play all cards and to carry out interesting work that is appreciated by various donors, but the price to be paid is that the initial target group of child labourers has become marginalised (Nimbona and Lieten, 2004, p.32).

Section 8.2 described how, by forcefully asserting themselves in international child labour conferences, EJA and the MAEJT were able to see their views gain acceptance and constructively

influence global understandings of children's work, mobility, education, and rights. More recently, however, both EJA offices have been progressively conforming to dominant global discourses, as in their quest for funding they have decreasingly been in a position to challenge the agenda of mainstream international development actors. Illustrative of this tendency, EJA staff asked me early in the fieldwork to edit an English language text they had drafted making the case for the "added value" of the MAEJT for contributing to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)[127], the present global action framework, reference to which has become *de rigueur* for development organizations seeking funding. Moreover, while the EJA international programme supported by Plan persists in the discourse of child protagonism and autonomization, and in implementing the top-down (or centre to periphery) capacity building intended to realize it, the very decentralized nature of the MAEJT means that closer to the ground level, as I have described in the case of the Xaley programme in Senegal, local AEJTs and their *structures d'appui* must secure their own funding partnerships by appealing to the priorities of whichever international NGOs and IGOs already have some presence in their locale or can be convinced to implicate themselves[128]. As (Leroy, 2009) has observed concerning interventions for child workers in general, such a situation demands of EJA and the child rights organizations serving as *structure d'appui* a certain flexibility and practicality in their approach:

> Il arrive ... que des organisations opposées finissent – au regard de la réalité de terrain - par transiger en réalisant des projets communs ou similaires. Sans généraliser, notons que la

[127] The only MDG directly related to education (MDG number 2) targets universal completion of a full cycle of primary schooling. MDG number one has as targets to "halve… the proportion of people whose income is less than $1 a day" and to "achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people".

[128] This influence of local *structures d'appui* and financial partners can cause priorities and agenda setting of local AEJTs to diverge from international MAEJT discourse. Moreover, the effects at the GB level of capacity building and training emanating from the center (or top) of the international organization can not avoid being highly mediated by these local influences, such that central intentions for ideal organizational functioning remain "loosely coupled" to actual processes and effects at the base.

> virulence des confrontations rhétoriques ne colle pas toujours avec les compromis et arbitrages observés sur le terrain (p.30).

The following quotation from EJA international programme staff illustrates this approach. The informant is here referring to another sub-national programme for the AEJTs in some Senegalese cities:

> Il y a un programme qui vise à mettre surtout les enfants à l'école, quoi, tu vois, parce que, aussi c'est le bailleur qui dit, «moi je ne veut plus tellement entendre parler d'enfants travailleurs. Si les enfants travailleurs veuillent aider à mettre les enfants à l'école, je veut bien, ça c'est mon objectif». OK, ils ont négocié, ils ont fait comme ça…Bon, tu sais, moi je me suis éloigné aussi, je n'ai pas voulu créer une histoire parce que c'est un bailleur aussi qui finançait notre communication, bon, OK.

A further interesting case in point is offered by the MAEJT's entry in a Carnet du participant of a conference on migrations and development (Groupe Initiatives, 2009). To fit into the template for this "Carnet du participant" the MAEJT is described not as a movement or an independent organization, but as a "project" in which

> Enda a tenu un strict rôle d'appui organisationnel… :
> - au niveau de la formation des animateurs et de leur orientation dans la progression du projet.
> - au niveau de la recherche de partenaires techniques et financiers." (p.36)

Autonomization and child protagonism are not mentioned and it is in fact made to appear that the training of *animators* is a central activity of the MAEJT.

Conversely, one representative of an international NGO that supported the MAEJT stated that they did so for reasons separate from EJA's emphasis on participation and "l'appui à l'auto-organisation des enfants". Being focused on the promotion and protection of the rights of the child, this international NGO believed that for children working in isolation from their families, being organized makes them more visible. "S'ils sont ensemble, ça renforce leur protection, *ce n'est pas pour la participation civique*, mais pour se renforcer entre eux… C'est ça l'objectif en fait."

Similarly, and perhaps more extreme, in Togo the *structure d'appui* for multiple associations of the MAEJT is the NGO WAO Afrique - charter members of the Global March against Child Labour, whose rigid abolitionist stance was noted in the literature review as tenaciously resisting the insights on children's work offered by the MAEJT and other working children's organizations.

8.10 The international profile of child protagonism: recognition of the MAEJT

This final section looks at the extent to which the MAEJT tends to be recognized publicly among actors in the domain of child labour and child rights, both globally and specifically in countries where it is active. In fact, despite its history of involvement in international forums on child rights and child labour issues, other than among sympathetic academics and their organizations (e.g., Pronats,), the MAEJT appears to have surprisingly little profile within international discourse and reporting on measures to protect and provide educational opportunities for working children. Frustrating its overall aspiration to be perceived as a child-led "movement", rather than a development project, its activities, when considered at all, are often attributed solely to EJA. For example, the Government of Senegal's most recent statement to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child twice specifically mentioned EJA (among six other organizations) in connection with the protection and support of child workers, but the existence of the MAEJT or its AEJTs in Senegal is not acknowledged. (UNCRC, 2006b).

Even a 2004 publication subtitled "Children's participation in action for working children" produced for the NGO Save the Children, who has been sympathetic to child protagonism discourse and has even partnered with the MAEJT, mentioned only "Enda" and the "Xaley Ca Kanam programme" and not the MAEJT itself (Black, 2004). A handbook on good practice in programme interventions for child domestic workers published by Anti-slavery International included the MAEJT in an annexed list of organizations, but never mentioned the MAEJT or even any of EJA's work in the

text (Black, 2005). A more recent Anti-Slavery International publication presented an international study of child domestics, including in Benin and Togo. In the latter country the research was conducted in cooperation with the NGO WAO Afrique, which is listed as the *structure d'appui* for the county's four AEJTs. Despite a heavy emphasis in the report on how "the child domestic workers demonstrated themselves to be the central agents of change in their own lives", as well as on the importance of promoting their capacity, resilience, and solidarity, Togo's AEJTs are not mentioned (Blagbrough, 2008). I asked the report's author by email whether he had heard of the MAEJT. He responded, "I was made aware by WAO of the existence of the EJT. My understanding is that WAO helps to facilitate EJT in Togo," but he did not elaborate on why they had not figured into the report. These silences may reflect the authors' own views on the effectiveness of the MAEJT's particular implementation of the child protagonism approach to domestic workers.

As early as 1998 the ILO had found sufficient common ground with EJA/MAEJT to support them in Senegal within the framework of its IPEC programme by seeking to build capacity of the *ainées* of GBs of domestic workers. UNICEF has also been an occasional short term partner of EJA/MAEJT over the years. Accordingly, a report from Understanding Children's Work (a joint research initiative of the ILO, UNICEF, and the World Bank) conducted from 2007-2009 on children's work and youth unemployment in Senegal credits EJA with being an actor in the domain. However, EJA/MAEJT did not collaborate in this report's production, participate in its national validation workshop on January 29, 2010, or attend the ceremony for the launch of the report on March 25, 2010 (Diop, 2010)[129]. The discourse available from the media reports on this launch reflects none of the

[129] Nor did EJA or the MAEJT ever refer to it in their own publicity

insights on child migration, or the links among education, training, child work, and youth idleness to which the EJA and the MAEJT have contributed, and the report itself is framed by a normative "life cycle" perspective in which work is granted no possible value in a childhood that should be purely devoted to schooling (UCW, 2010). Of particular interest is (Ndiaye, 2010), who, in referring to the report's launch, describes in gripping journalistic detail the harsh working conditions of several categories of child workers in Dakar (particularly industrial apprentices, but also domestic workers), discusses poverty and the failed education system, but makes no mention of the MAEJT despite the fact that the same society section of his on-line newspaper had featured a story on the press conference of the MAEJT's African commission less than two weeks prior.

The ILO itself can be read to have quite intentionally *erased* EJA's child protagonism discourse by crediting EJA in Senegal with "success in resolving conflicts between employers and children *using adult workers as intermediaries*" and asserting that EJA "has also created a health cooperative and negotiated reduced rates for health services at a local health post *on behalf of* child domestic workers." (ILO-IPEC, 2004). Though the ILO asserted in this report that "the activism of children in pursuance of their rights is a potent factor in changing the attitudes of parents and other adults in the community" (p.94), the existence of the MAEJT was never acknowledged.

The annual bulletin Défi des EJTs of 2008 reported that Senegal's minister of Sports and Leisure visited a January meeting of the Senegal Coordination Nationale and had promised to develop a partnership with the EJTs of Senegal. In February 2009, when I asked officials in this ministry about the status of any such partnership, they were not familiar with the MAEJT and needed to be referred to the article in the MAEJT bulletin for confirmation of what I was referring to. They promised to look into it, and I reminded them by email, but after two inconsequential responses, they ceased

communication. On the whole, despite such occasional mention in the monthly and annual bulletins of symbolic visits by various ministers to higher level MAEJT meetings, there was no evidence in Senegal of systematic, ongoing government implication, serious interest, or even awareness of the MAEJT. Nor is there any indication of the MAEJT contributing to any structured civil society dialogue with government on the issues of child work, education, training or youth employment.

8.11 Conclusion

Findings presented in this chapter have highlighted EJA's and the MAEJT's deepening involvement in the global sphere of discourse and action frameworks on child rights and child centered-development, with an emphasis on the dynamic exchange of financial for symbolic capital at the heart of their partnership with Plan WARO. Through the orchestrated participation of selected MAEJT representatives on the international stage, EJA initially had an influence *upon* global discourse, deepening global actors'understanding of the divergence of African childhoods from Western ideals, particularly in relation to work. However, the direction of influence has generally tended to reverse, leading to a situation where EJA's perpetual quest for funding necessitates adapting discourse to the currently dominant problem definitions and action frameworks of international development, within which formal schooling is still widely advanced as the universally appropriate core activity of a healthy childhood. Chasing multiple funding opportunities in the manner of Ogunseye (1997)'s "heat seeking missiles", EJA conforms to the tendencies described by Hilhorst (2003) and Demars (2005) in that they are obliged to portray the MAEJT differently to various potential partners, and even to compromise on original principles, most notable by retreating from their early cogent critiques of formal schooling.

At the same time, however, as the result of the mutually beneficial relationship between Plan and EJA/MAEJT, the MAEJT's core processes, rooted in the principle of child protagonism, remained largely insulated from the influence of this key international donor. In packaging the international organizational strengthening programme to be maximally attractive to European Plan offices, Plan WARO staff did not scrutinize the claims made in EJA's original proposal or otherwise promote conceptual clarity and detailed analysis of programme effectiveness. Instead, Plan WARO's proposal further embellished EJA assertions. On the whole, Plan's influence tended to embolden EJA's use of vague, imprecise and inflated claims in its discourse of results and achievements of child protagonism. In particular, Plan permitted the MAEJT to ignore its own objectives in reporting; repeatedly accepted highly selective, anecdotal qualitative reporting along with symbolic and imprecise quantification; and acquiesced to superficial evaluation methods that could not uncover processes and results at the base. It is probable that time and resource constraints played a role in this overall process by excluding more thorough investigations and communication. Of at least equal importance, however, as the proposal translator's remarks suggested, was Plan's wariness of imposing their own professional adult views and standards too forcefully upon the MAEJT, from which they derived symbolic capital by projecting it precisely as an authentic "child participation" partner organization whose executive committees ("les gosses" themselves) made the key decisions regarding programming, reporting, and evaluation.

Furthermore, EJA buffered their core processes against requests for better quality information by raising fears precisely about how upward accountability was corrupting commitment to grassroots constituencies and the authentic everyday actions of EJTs. While such fears are warranted (as this thesis has argued), these grievances seemed incongruous with how EJA and the MAEJT had themselves deliberately prioritized formalizing and professionalizing AEJTs within the international organizational strengthening programme that they had conceived as a means towards realizing the

ideal of vibrant grassroots child protagonism. As shown in the previous chapters, it has actually been this focus on capacity building at the AEJT level and higher that has translated into neglect at the GB level.

Finally, findings in this chapter indicated that EJA's efforts to raise the profile of the MAEJT on the national and international levels have been an uphill struggle. Like their official reporting to Plan, external communications have sought to project the image of a massive and dynamic child protagonism organization and have been conceived to cover the various bases of potential donor interest. However, the field of child rights and child protection actors is crowded on both the national and international levels and to judge by their infrequent mention in major international reports on child worker protection, the MAEJT's profile has remained surprisingly low. This lack of acknowledgement of the MAEJT as an effective and autonomous organizational actor has likely been influenced both by the limited scale, visibility and impact of the MAEJT's activities within countries and by the limited degree to which its child protagonism ideal and underlying contestation of Western notions of childhood have been fully accepted by the major international actors reporting on child labour and child rights issues.

Chapter 9: Discussion and Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

While smaller scale independent reports have been produced on the Mouvement Africain des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs (MAEJT) from both sympathetic and antagonistic perspectives, the range of investigative methods employed in the research for this thesis have enabled it to consider Enda Jeunesse Action's (EJA's) child protagonism strategy through forms of historical and multi-level organizational analysis that have not been previously attempted. The thesis has not contested the pertinence of earlier positive reports that have emphasized empowerment and solidarity outcomes of the MAEJT. In fact it has confirmed the reality and the importance of such outcomes. Beyond this, however, the thesis has specifically been concerned with how, *and how well*, EJA's child protagonism ideal has served as the foundation for sustainably assuring meaningful empowerment and solidarity, and as a strategic basis for going beyond them to actually realize the MAEJT's prioritized rights for working children, in particular those concerning improved working conditions and compensatory literacy and skills training opportunities. An earlier *negative* report written from the abolitionist perspective of the ILO (and thus hostile to the idea of working children's organizations) insisted that EJA's rhetoric of child protagonism was belied by the observed necessity of close adult staff guidance at the levels of the *groupe de base* (GB) and *associations des enfants et jeunes travailleurs* (AEJT). While accurate in many ways, this critical report made minimal attempt to situate its observations within either the historical evolution of EJA and the MAEJT, or within the context of their multiple international funding partnerships. By contrast, the present thesis has focused on such historical and donor-recipient dimensions in order to better *explain* observational findings, particularly those concerning the GBs of domestic workers in Dakar, and to consider their implications. While the present thesis may appear to

have been partly structured around a rhetorical opposition of *discourse* to *practice*, it has in fact questioned *neither* the sincerity of the child protagonism ideals propounded by EJA in their publications and elsewhere *nor* the attempted fidelity of EJA's practical interventions to these discursive notions. It has rather sought to scrutinize the effectiveness of EJA's and the MAEJT's specific evolving strategies, within the implementation context, for sustainably producing its envisioned individual and organizational child protagonist subjects.

Specifically, the research and analysis were guided by the following questions, as stated in the introduction:

1. As one locally grounded response to global child rights concerns, how has the discourse of child protagonism served as a basis of efforts for improving children's working conditions and for offering educational opportunities to working children in Senegal?

Responding to this question entailed considering three sub-questions:

a. How has children's *education* been conceived in the Senegalese context, both in terms of its historical systems and proposed alternatives?

b. What have been considered appropriate or acceptable forms of work and working conditions for children in Senegalese and similar contexts?

c. How has it been envisioned that child protagonism can achieve improvements for working and out of school children in the above two domains?

2. In the realms of practice (local, national, and international), what are the contradictions, flaws, or limits within the ideal of child protagonism?
3. How does external donor financing affect the discourse of child protagonism and its effectiveness as a strategy for supporting the rights of working children?

9.2 Ideals of Child Protagonism: a response to the local conditions for working children

Research question one and its sub-questions was primarily treated in chapter five through presentation and analysis of published historical EJA discourse on child protagonism, education, and child work, which prominently included anecdotes of their practice, and claims of progress. In briefly reviewing the essence of these findings in relation to the literature it is important to begin by recalling how child protagonism was conceived by EJA as an organic offshoot of the way that Enda TM had already been supporting the grassroots agency and organizing of *marginalized people in general* for initiatives based on their own local experiences and objectives. Although not clearly deriving, as did child protagonism in Latin America, from an historical framework of overtly political "people's" movements (Overwien, 2001; Schick, 2001), in Senegal the general concept of "protagonism" was nonetheless extended in a similar fashion from adult groups to working and street children. In this context, the idea of organizing working children themselves, parallel to the reasoning behind Enda's initiatives for adults, in large part grew from appreciation of how neither the state nor any other institutional actor could be counted on minimally to protect them or to provide useful development opportunities (Swift, 1999). Indeed, given the demographic preponderance of those under the age of 18 in Senegal and other West African countries, EJA argued that children urgently needed to be engaged as active agents in development.

By extending the ideals of people's protagonism to children, EJA and the MAEJT became, to many observers, standard bearers of the new paradigm of childhood sociology and vanguard practitioners of the child participation principles of the UNCRC (M. Liebel, 2004; Miljeteig, 2000). From this perspective, giving credence to working children's own views about their experiences of schooling and work was a much needed corrective to the "Western folk view" of childhood (Schildkrout, 1981) that had shaped dominant international development strategies. When organized,

working children were able to amplify their declared preference to continue working and thus to advance for themselves - even on an international stage – the argument that work adapted to a child's capacities can be a superior source of self-esteem in the present and a more promising preparation for the future than the available forms of schooling, even for children under 15 (the age limit set in ILO convention 132) (Woodhead, 1999; Karunan, 2005). This argument helped advance the agenda to focus on the "Worst Forms" of child labour (ILO Convention 182), and was increasingly systematized into academic frameworks for considering the contextualized appropriateness of child work (e.g. Myers 2001a, Hobbs & McKechnie, 2007; Woodhead, 2007)[130].

For EJA, accepting children's (and their family's) judgements on formal schooling as inferior to work meant confronting the failed institutional context of formal education and training as deeply complicit in the high volume of child work. Consistent with both earlier and later critics of formal schooling such as Foreuil (1973), Serpell (1999), and Schlemmer (2002), justifications of the child protagonism approach in Senegal thus emphasized how the country's post-colonial formal school system served as a mechanism of exclusion and extraction, and was thus effectively irrelevant both as a path of opportunity for the majority of children and as a potential engine of broad based economic and social development. Conceiving of education more holistically, the discourse of child protagonism in Senegal echoed the earlier arguments of child labour scholars Rogers and Standing (1981) by underscoring the practical possibilities of learning *through* work, an insight that would also figure centrally within later critiques of simplistic UPE approaches (Satz, 2003; Liebel, 2004, 2007).

---

[130] It must be noted, however, that despite the UNCRC assertion of a right to participation, Western ideals of childhood embedded in the ILO's abolitionist stance had activated strong resistance to child worker participation in international child labour conferences in the 1990s. Furthermore, despite increasing academic acceptance of the EJA/MAEJT position and their negotiation of partnerships with certain child-centred international development NGOs, Western notions of childhood have continued to underlie widespread support both for the minimum age limits of ILO Convention 138 and for UPE policies.

Moreover, critiques of formal schooling entailed insistence on the urgency of designing and providing alternative literacy and skills training opportunities adapted to the situations of working children and youth.

After initial experimentation in literacy for working children in Senegal, full commitment to child protagonism led to the stronger assertion that alternative education programmes needed to be entirely conceived by the learners themselves. Working children had to negotiate the schedules and locations according to their daily constraints and define the learning objectives according to their interests and aspirations. Furthermore, EJA believed that groups and associations of working children and youth, given sufficient initial professional adult support, would be able to sustain regular informal literacy programmes through their own regular contributions and by partnering with local community organizations. EJA envisioned that by these means working children and youth could become lead actors –protagonists - in the process of providing themselves educational opportunities (research question 1c). It is important to note, however, that the overall discourse on education in Senegal that was interwoven with that of the child protagonism ideal also emphasized how NGOs (such as EJA) had an important role to play in stimulating educational policy change through direct collaboration with the state and other civil society actors - a point to which I will return in the final section of this chapter.

To effect improvements in children's working conditions, the model of child protagonism in the MAEJT in Senegal has been characterized as one in which empowered and socially aware groups of working children and youth mount effective sensitization activities on the rights of child workers targeting parents, employers, police and other authorities. It has likewise been projected as an organizational model through which working children and youth can conceive and carry out supplemental or improved income generating strategies often applying newly acquired literacy or manual skills. In some cases, including that of domestic workers, the child protagonism approach has

been described, loosely on the model of a labour union, as enabling groups to negotiate hours that permit them to take part in educational activities, and to arrange for group benefits such as reduced health care fees. The following sections review and discuss how the results of child protagonism practice were observed to diverge from the ideals expressed in the discourse that has just been summarized, and consider the specific influences of the MAEJT's implication with international development frameworks and funding.

9.3 Contradictions, flaws and limits of child protagonism in practice

As noted in this chapter's introduction, sympathetic observers of working children's organizations, including the MAEJT, have tended to emphasize precisely the intrinsic benefits of empowerment, confidence, and solidarity, along with raised social awareness and knowledge of child rights, all of which are nurtured by adults' pedagogical accompaniment grounded in explicit respect for the working children (Swift, 1999). This thesis has corroborated the benefits of solidarity and improved self-confidence among female domestic workers in Dakar. Such outcomes may be all the more appreciated from a gender perspective, as may the facts that the Dakar AEJT has become an exclusively female training space in collective decision making (under the guidance of female role models among the EJA national office staff) and that there appears to be overall gender equity in participation throughout the organizational bodies and training activities of the MAEJT itself, up to its highest leadership groups.

However, while these empowerment outcomes were envisioned to be the basis of effective child worker agency that could take the lead in actions to improve both their working conditions and their education and training opportunities, any such ultimate impact, despite earlier claims, has been difficult to detect in Dakar. In fact, where the scaffold of adult accompaniment has been largely withdrawn – for

the mix of reasons that will be reviewed further below – groups of hard-working children, such as domestic workers, have struggled, and in many cases failed, even to remain organized, which is of course a minimal condition for the exercise of any group protagonism towards improvements in their situation.

9.3.1 Limits of working child agency and dynamics of dependency

In the broadest sense, the observed situation was consistent with critical appraisals of the limited efficacy of working children's agency (Lieten, 2006; ILO-IPEC, 2004b). As EJA itself had acknowledged from the beginning, and as critics of child protagonism have continually stressed, the conditions of many categories of working children and youth heavily constrain their individual ability to participate in associational activities (Lieten, 2006; Nimbona & Lieten, 2004; van den Berge, 2007). While these critics have insinuated that EJA's ideal of African *childhood* attributes to it an overblown sense of agency, the issue of constraints on idealized participation is in no way unique to working children, but has also been a theme of much literature on "participatory development" with adults. As Cleaver (2004) has argued, to the most disadvantaged - "those with the most to gain from transformation" - the constraints and costs to participating are generally the greatest (p.275). In the particular case of the domestic workers considered in this study, it has proven unfeasible over the years to instill lasting institutional competence in groups whose members' participation is generally sporadic and whose most senior members eventually return to their home villages without transferring any acquired organizational skills. Early EJA discourse on child protagonism had conveyed an understanding of such steep challenges to consistently reaching, empowering, teaching, and securing an organizational commitment from young female domestic workers and male informal workers in Senegal. This discourse had also declared it to be imperative to constantly experiment and to rigorously

evaluate in order to ensure progress towards child protagonism goals. The thesis research demonstrated, however, that programme models and processes - and the specific and ambitious child protagonism assumptions behind them – had not been persistently examined for their effectiveness in overcoming these challenges and for responding to evolving circumstances in the environment. The assumptions and ambitions of child protagonism thus appear to have never been adequately adapted to the situation of domestic workers and male informal workers and to the nature of the groups that they tend to form.

Given these constraints, it has appeared unrealistic to expect groups and even associations of working children to more independently forge their own local and international partnerships and networks for securing the resources to sustain the group activities (including literacy and skills training) that build group cohesion and are intended to enhance young workers' immediate conditions. As one representative of a working child and youth association pleaded, an established professional NGO with longstanding international connections, such as EJA, would always be far better positioned to approach potential donors *on behalf* of associations of working children. This expression of the inherently parental relationship (Keengwe et al., 1998) between constrained children and youth and the NGO whose resources and efforts had initiated their programmatic activities goes far in explaining why the *groupe de base* members and association representatives observed in this study continued to adopt a *beneficiary's* perspective, especially in the absence of ongoing empowering pedagogy and animation that was earlier viewed as crucial for promoting an *actor's* perspective and thus catalyzing child protagonism.

Once again, this is a dynamic that has been found to bedevil the "sustainability" of organizational activity within community development initiatives in general (i.e., not only with children) - whenever an initiating NGO seeks to wean groups from their resources and encourage them to diversify funding sources (Niane, 2003). Even adults targeted by such programmes have quite rationally

been attracted foremost by the services and training that are initially offered at minimal or zero cost. Accordingly, when these services are curtailed, or members are pressured to increase their individual contributions (in cash or in kind) for the same externally initiated services, interest in overall group activity often declines (Maclure, 1995; Mosse, 2005b). In fact, this study demonstrated that an additional obstacle to the formation of useful links between working child groups and local adult community organizations was that the latter also tended to fall into a parental dynamic with EJA, or into a relation resembling that described by Ndione (1994), where NGOs are integrated by adult community groups into existing patterns of resource circulation as a sort of resource rich *chef de lignage* figure.

9.3.2 Isolating children and "participation" from their context

A clear lesson of the contribution of Ndione (1994) was that interventions seeking to activate agency in marginalized groups - and to arm them with new tactics for exercising that agency - need to find effective ways of working within existing social systems (even as they try to alter the unequal power structures of these systems). Participation cannot merely be something that takes place in idealized democratic fora newly grafted onto, but isolated from existing social practices (Cleaver 2004). An additional limitation of child protagonism has thus been its tendency *in practice* to isolate working child and youth participation from the existing informal kinship networks and traditional adult (village) associations with which their survival strategies were linked. As a former animator described this insufficient anchoring of child worker support in existing socio-cultural institutions,

> En parlant de groupes de base, en parlant de *base*, cette base là doit se retrouver sur un socle solide. C'est ce socle là qui n'est pas solide, parce que l'enfant qui est à Dakar, il faut savoir déjà pourquoi il est à Dakar.

Research such as that of Diaw et al (1996) had in fact armed EJA with rich knowledge of *why* girls came to Dakar for informal domestic employment, yet the particular implementation strategies and

priorities of the child protagonism approach, beginning with the GB model itself, were decreasingly articulated with these ecological realities. In this way, although child protagonism in Senegal was explicitly intended to consolidate a novel "development and transformation" approach for supporting working children – one which broke with earlier charitable and Western norm-imposing models – it did not fully avoid the ways in which other child-centered and child rights oriented development initiatives have tended to segregate children as a specific target group in relative isolation of the family, kinship, and community relations that should protect them, and thus the tendency to re-compartmentalize children according to the categories set within international development frameworks (White 2002; Jones 2005). Such compartmentalizing based primarily upon age also led to an under-appreciation within the concrete practices of child protagonism in Senegal of the heterogeneity among children and thus their potentially conflicting interests and agendas (James & James, 2001). As the research demonstrated, organized groups of idle girls and young women in the *banlieues*, rather than being principally associated to the women's groups that engendered them, were associated with child and youth workers. The greater available time, energy, means, and confidence of these non-economically active, linguistic majority girls for participating in associational activities ultimately created an imbalance that further marginalized domestic workers within the association. This development demonstrates that while gender is one important factor that has complicated efforts to solidify a collective orientation among diverse working (and "idle") children and youth, there are also intersecting differences that can be at least as significant. Indeed, reports on early EJA experiences had highlighted the challenges to the pedagogical work of organization not only of the gender dimension, but also of the overlapping factors of age, type of work, work hours, and discrete goals and interests (EJA, 1985; Coly, 1999).

On the other hand, while both *filles domestiques* and *filles désœuvrées* have enjoyed potentially empowering opportunities to develop self-confidence and capacity for self-expression, their categorization primarily as children has also meant that a specifically gendered analysis of their present situations and future prospects has been minimal. This omission has been reflected in how the skills training made available to them has only reinforced traditional gender roles.

9.3.3 Contradictions of efforts to "autonomize" working child associations

The child protagonism approach was initially based on professional animation and pedagogical work at the *groupe de base* level to conscientize, empower, and organize groups of working children. As detailed especially in chapters seven and eight, however, as it evolved and increased its ambitions, the scaffold of adult support for *groupes de base* was withdrawn and the increasingly scarce resource of professional animation was shifted to capacity building attempts at higher hierarchical levels in order to work towards their "autonomization". While these developments were certainly affected by international influences (which will be further discussed below), it is important to first emphasize how this shift was essentially a conscious strategy viewed as a natural progression in realizing child protagonism. Rejecting paternalism demanded applying to children the notion that their full human dignity could only be realized through having their own truly independent organizational voice and by acting as autonomous agents without adult control or manipulation (Terenzio, 2007). As discussed in the previous section, the imperatives of "sustainability", or weaning from the finances of the initiating NGO, would therefore have to apply equally to organizations of working children and youth.

Yet justifications of this sort have further contributed to an overly simplistic idealization of "autonomy", especially in relation to children. As new paradigm scholars, including those highly sympathetic to working children's organizations have argued, one can transcend the "Western folk

view" of childhood by adopting a non-paternalistic attitude and by affirming children's agency and yet still reasonably conceive of working children's organizations as mutually "educative partnerships" of a sort that can exist between groups of people of any age, but that are particularly important between adults and young people (Myers, 2001a) as the result of differing levels of relevant experience and competence. As such, the rather unreflective objective of outright autonomy may be more constructively replaced by one of interdependence with full respect and equality, where it is recognized that influence is unavoidable and thus omnipresent. Accordingly, rather than taking pride in trying "to do as little as possible" to influence children (de Ravignan, 1998, p.24), as child protagonism advocates have sometimes expressed, a richer ideal for respectful pedagogical dialogue would be to strive to have as much positive influence as possible by helping working children make sense for themselves of animators' social visions, theories, and strategies – even as animators learn from the children's own experience and perceptions to adjust such visions, theories, and strategies.

Beyond this inherent flaw in the concept of autonomization, the research demonstrated that in practice, repeated capacity building exercises were not autonomizing working child associations by instilling professional NGO-style functioning among child and youth volunteers, but rather only reinforcing the parental character of the professional, salaried, donor-funded NGO's relationship to the AEJTs in the manner characterized by Keengwe et al. (1998) and Mosse (2005a) as typical of capacity building with community organizations more generally. Moreover, shifting the child protagonism approach to the higher autonomization level, where training sessions were available to only a select few representatives, in fact tended to recreate the national and even international *selection* and *extraction* function of formal educational systems (Foreuil, 1973; R. Serpell, 1993) and to reproduce the tendency of NGOization in general to "create elite leadership bodies distanced from groups' membership bases" (Alvarez, 1998), thus undermining the original grassroots mission (Armstrong,

2004; Bebbington, 2005). Those most capable of serving their GBs and communities have been extracted from the base in a process that has altered their commitments and priorities. This has meant pursuing opportunities higher up in the organization, including travel, the use of offices, and meetings with various state and international civil society actors. Further contributing to the extraction effect, and in conformance with the prominent trend among NGOs in Senegal noted by Alissoutin (2007), the evolving child protagonism strategy has placed a heavy emphasis on national and international meetings ("…de conception, de restitution, de capitalisation ou de validation") that has not been matched by visible results at the base.

9.3.4 International donor influences on the discourse and practice of child protagonism

The evidence presented in this thesis has illustrated several influences of international donor frameworks and of specific funding partnerships upon the child protagonism strategy. On the one hand, consistent with characterizations of the relatively weak position of local NGOs in relation to donors (Alvarez, 1998; Ogunseye, 1997; Niane, 2003; Armstrong, 2004), the study found that upward accountability pressures and the quest for donor funds had brought about certain shifts and compromises in child protagonism discourse and practice, and necessitated new discursive strategies to project the impression of a robust international working children's movement. To meet donor criteria set within this international framework, creeping inclusion of older domestic servants in Dakar GBs emerged as an identity crisis of child worker support in need of managed change from above. What was overlooked in the process was the possibility of strengthening domestic worker solidarity that would cut across externally defined age boundaries. As suggested decades ago in the arguments of Morice (1981) and Goddard and White (1982), improvements in the working conditions of child domestic workers, including their time available for education and training, would be accomplished through improvements

in the working conditions of all domestic workers regardless of age. A means of working towards this goal would be to facilitate the inclusion of domestic workers, including children, in the Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal.

On the other hand, despite such examples of how a fund-dependent local NGO such as EJA has limited agenda-setting control, the dynamics of *interdependency* and capital exchange (Ebrahim, 2003) within EJA's key funding partnership in fact tended to consolidate their ability to pursue their own "autonomization" priorities for the MAEJT, which were most responsible for distancing them from their original grassroots animation and pedagogy in support of child protagonism. Within this framework of donor –NGO interdependency, the resilience of the MAEJT's specific autonomization agenda as a purportedly realizable strategy for child protagonism can also be partly ascribed both to the notion of *conspiracies of vagueness* around which international development partnerships form (Mosse, 2005b), and to the tendency of international development programmes to be propelled by a "hope-generating machine" (Nuijten, 2004). Documents reflected how the donor and the beneficiary NGO in this case had rallied around "autonomization" as an important goal within the child protagonism strategy, but without jointly reaching any conceptual clarity on what "autonomy" might mean for any organizational level of the movement. Autonomization as a perennial goal for the various hierarchical structures of the MAEJT thus appeared to have coalesced, and become self-sustaining, precisely as a *conspiracy of vagueness* that married the original under-examined rhetorical ideals of the beneficiary NGO to the donor's exuberant hopes to have a partner organization that they could project as implementing bona fide "child participation". As a perennial aspiration over multiple programme cycles, the experience of "autonomization" efforts in the MAEJT did not fully conform to Nuijten's (2004) description of development as a 'hope-generating machine', since she has emphasized how *new* concepts and buzzwords are continually created and introduced as the key to development success. However, the

pattern of child protagonism practice within the MAEJT nonetheless obeyed the logic of the 'hope-generating machine' in that constantly renewed faith in the vague notion of autonomization similarly functioned to divert attention from past failure to future expectations. Scrutiny of capacity building experience and results was prevented by refocusing hopes on the *promise* of autonomy through more of the same capacity building measures.

As detailed in chapter eight's conclusion, despite their own deliberate decision to pursue the overall strategy of autonomization, EJA themselves expressed strong concerns about how upward accountability and formalization pressures - in short the NGOization of the MAEJT - would displace grassroots action, just as described by NGOization critics such as Armstrong (2004) and Bebbington (2005). As suggested earlier, however, such protests must be considered within the framework of Ebrahim's (2003) conception of the mechanisms by which NGOs buffer donor probes and intrusion into core processes. For Ebrahim (2003), professionalization is one process that tends to shield local NGOs from donor interference and demands. The integration of high level professionals with accredited expertise and fluency in donor concepts and buzzwords gives assurance that extensive probing and intrusion are unnecessary. With EJA, however, by insisting on the MAEJT members as the true frontline organizational actors in implementation, and thus the true partners with Plan, a similar screening effect was accomplished by pulling in entirely the opposite direction: donors were constantly reminded that their preoccupations (for reporting, accountability, etc.) and their entire vocabulary were not easily understood by the real decision makers (namely the MAEJT's *groupe executif*) and were not easily reconcilable with the forms of authentic, everyday grassroots action in which they engage. Even the EJA international office itself, far from recruiting professionals with the credentials of those in donor organizations, had de-professionalized by replacing departing professionals with former child and youth workers, the justification being that such staffing introduced more relevant and authentic

forms of expert knowledge and organizational memory and was in fact more consistent with the autonomization agenda. This approach left a sole charismatic expatriate professional (the EJA international office director) in the position of translator, broker, and reconciler of what he constructed as the conflicting orientations between donors and "les gosses": in short, authentic child protagonism was inherently not compatible with donors' notions of rigor. This too was an effective exercise of power over Plan (the donor) to minimize their influence and demands.

Before turning to a concluding discussion, an additional influence of international aid frameworks on the practice and effectiveness of child protagonism in Senegal bears mentioning. This is the *overall* effect of the proliferation of professional local development NGOs, which has been fueled by the dominant presence of *international* development NGOs seeking local partners to fund (Niane, 2003). In this environment, the sense of mission and *militantisme* that was reported to have held sway in earlier years among the near voluntary literacy teachers of working children's groups had been progressively displaced by ambitions of more secure and lucrative employment with an NGO or elsewhere in a manner entirely consistent with NGOization analyses (Elaigwu, Toyo, & Ade-Odutola, 1999; Roy, 2004). Increasingly, a nominal monthly stipend had become insufficient to retain the caliber of individuals who formerly served as qualified literacy trainers. Those remaining, whose ambitions for alternative employment were often repeatedly disappointed, have experienced a decline in morale. Since such literacy teachers were both observed and reported to play a crucial role in group cohesion, this development, also ultimately rooted in international funding, was an additional factor in the overall decline of activity and organization in the *groupes de base* of both female domestics and male informal workers in the Dakar AEJT.

9.4 Final Remarks: education, skills, and economic structures

Based on observations of practice that diverged widely from the MAEJT's self-portrayal, the overall tone of this thesis has been critical of EJA's evolution away from their original comprehensive approach to supporting informal urban child workers in Senegal. The thesis has shown that deep but under-examined faith in the ideal of child protagonism, and particularly in the hazily-defined goal of autonomization, along with the influence of international donors and development frameworks have conspired over the years to strip away the original key strategic dimensions of *professional urban animation, serious experimentation with alternative education*, and *commitment to national education and training reform*, the justifications for which had been interwoven with EJA's early child protagonism discourse. As noted, this drift in focus from alternative education was in part attributable to the organization's increasing assimilation into mainstream EFA and UPE discourse, which prioritizes children's return to formal primary school, and of which their key donor, Plan, has been a strong proponent. Conceptually separating their funding of "education" (i.e. formal schools) from support to child "participation" within their programming framework, Plan relegated the MAEJT to the latter, thus discouraging their own recognition of the entire MAEJT enterprise as a network of "educative partnerships" (Meyers, 2001) where the purpose of every individual's membership must be first of all educative and empowering before "participation" or "protagonism" towards other ends could become effective.

As one critical former EJA staff member insisted: "Le levier c'est l'éducation avec un grand E, pas en faisant des réunions avec des gosses." From this perspective, the work of EJA's own earlier urban animation network, which focused on critical action-oriented pedagogy and alternative education for working children, is unfinished, and should return as the central concern of the MAEJT. EJA themselves maintained that effective child agency - the capacity to conceive and carry out actions

towards concretizing one's own rights – is sparked, harnessed, and focused through pedagogical processes such as *Recherche Action Participative*. Moreover, even proponents of the more adamantly political child protagonism of Latin America affirmed that the same sorts of adult implemented "practical initiatives" that were featured in conventional child protection programmes, centrally including literacy and vocational programmes, health services, and alternative employment insertion schemes, were also *permanently* necessary within a child protagonism approach as a basis for raising awareness, strengthening individual and collective identity and self-esteem, and providing an experience of solid organization (Schibotto, 2001).

Reprioritizing the direct animation and alternative basic educational component of AEJT activities (through the reallocation of funds to these, rather than to higher level meetings and capacity building) would restore broader, more equal, and more effective participation of child and youth members in the entire range of associative activities, including both advocacy and income generation schemes. Literacy itself is an important foundation for all the other objectives defined by the MAEJT in terms of the realization of their 12 declared rights, and evidence was presented that regular, structured alternative literacy classes indeed served more generally as the basis of individual empowerment and group solidarity - as popular education initiatives in various other countries have historically shown. It is also not inconsistent with efforts to galvanize child agency to affirm the importance of longer term processes of effective education and training as the foundation of meaningful *lifelong* agency and capability in economic, social, and political domains. That is, "educative partnerships" should aim to develop children's agency into that of mature, politically aware citizens.

To re-engage with young informal male workers in Dakar and to support this category of child worker effectively it would be necessary to recommit to experimentation and innovation of

educational programming adapted to their initial interests and aspirations, as limited as these may be, as well as to local economic opportunity, and to reinvest in the animators' necessary pedagogical work of bringing learners to gradually see the rewards of deepening engagement in more structured educational and training processes and to appreciate the benefits of organization. EJA staff's resigned attitude towards such male informal workers was particularly difficult to reconcile with how earlier EJA publications conveyed a sense of accomplishment in meeting the challenges of engaging such groups and of merging individual with collective interests.

The Plan- funded MAEJT international organizational strengthening programme was in fact partly justified through language asserting that it would contribute to alleviating youth unemployment through better adapting education and training opportunities to employment prospects. Yet the observed practice of child protagonism in the *groupes de base* and associations of the MAEJT could scarcely be linked to such a serious employment creation rationale. The objective of decent employment promotion was much more clearly visible within the programmes of other NGOs in Senegal whose interventions combine:

- literacy training,
- literacy *use* within job training in traditional, informal enterprise workshops,
- support to better systematize and structure the learning in these workshops, and
- facilitation of employment insertion after training

Such interventions clearly still have their own limits, and, as Schibotto (2001) underscored, there always remains a tension in emphasizing alternative employment training and insertion interventions (for individual earnings) within what is conceived as an overall *social change* framework. However, NGOs that have been implementing these models have also been striving to establish a collaborative framework with other civil society actors and the state for systemizing and capitalizing upon positive experiences in order to better attune education and training policy to the fact that at present 80% - 90%

of employment is informal. These efforts have involved explicitly acknowledging and seeking to resolve the tensions between the advantages of the most spontaneous, flexible, and therefore less formalized approaches and the advantages of systematizing and standardizing educational programmes and traditional apprenticeships in order to establish national qualification frameworks. These forms of collaboration constitute at least a step towards *transforming* the schooling, training, and employment insertion relationship in Senegal, an agenda that would include expanding relevant opportunities into rural areas. EJA has not been engaging in such collaboration. However, given its long experience locally with community development associations and in the African alternative education networks, the organization would have much to offer, as well as to learn, from other organizational actors within such united efforts to develop effective alternative education, training, and employment insertion models for early formal school leavers.

However, having argued for a recommitment to empowering pedagogy, alternative basic education, and skills training as the true basis of educative partnerships for child protagonism, I must nonetheless stress that none of this activity to bolster the agency and productive capabilities of children and youth will in itself *create* decent jobs for them. It is thus apt to conclude this thesis on child protagonism with a reminder of the inherent limits of focusing exclusively on the child agency and education side of the equation while neglecting to theorize more comprehensively about structure. Despite rhetoric asserting that working children's organizations are linked to broader struggles for social justice, and insistence that decent work for all is the essential condition for ending child exploitation, (Leroy, 2009), the observed practice of child protagonism in the MAEJT could not be interpreted as systematically pursuing a strategy articulated to broader struggles for social justice, or one that was grounded in a theoretical framework of political economy for understanding worker and peasant

exploitation and the entrenchment of poverty, or a gender framework for interpreting the special challenges of girl workers. (Bebbington, 2004) has argued that theoretical frameworks

> to understand the nature, potential, and likely effects of participatory interventions… [and] which understand participation within the context of actually existing capitalisms, are essential if the underlying normative interest is that participatory processes lead to forms of social transformation. If this is indeed the goal, then frameworks used to understand, but also to strategize, participation must have a well-developed structuralist and political economic dimension. Without this they lack the tools to understand 'what the fight is really about' or to understand the factors that will determine whether the fight is won or lost (p.280).

Even if one accepts the MAEJT's brand of protagonism as a participatory practice through which children and youth strive to better realize their own rights essentially *within* the given structural situation, greater theoretical reflection would still be required to devise new forms of participatory action (including learning and training) that respond to evolving constraints and opportunities in the structural environment. Explicit theoretical reflection would be especially necessary to inform new innovations to reach and bring beneficial forms of organization to categories of working children who were formerly included in the Dakar working children's association, such as the traditional workshop apprentices who were easily observable in tremendous numbers throughout the city, as well as to children engaged in newer forms of economic activity, such as the equally ubiquitous roving vendors of cellphone credits. Finally, as child protagonism's staunchest critics have forcefully argued, child protagonism within the framework of working children's organizations can at best be one tactic within integrated strategies for better realizing the rights of working children. The long term agenda of "transformation and development" in which such objectives are included must be advanced by more direct attention to the economic structures that so marginalize working children and their families in the first place.

References

ADEA. (2004). *La stratégie du « faire – faire » au Sénégal: Pour une décentralisation de la gestion de l'éducation et une diversification des offres*. Paris: Association pour le développement de l'éducation en Afrique (ADEA).

AEO. (2010). *Senegal: Social context and human resource development.* Retrieved 28/06, 2010, from http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/countries/west-africa/senegal/

Alber, E. (2005). Veränderungen von Kindheit und Elternschaft bei den Baatombu in Westafrika. In Busse, G., Meier-Hilbert, G., & Schnurer, J. (Eds.), *Kinder in Afrika* (pp.136-154). Oldenburg: Paulo Freire Verlag.

Alissoutin, R. L. (2006). La problematique des employées de maison. Dakar: Groupe de recherches d'études et de formation (GREF).

Alissoutin, R. L. (2007). Et si le Sénégal refusait le développement. Message posted to http://leboytown.blogspot.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/2007/09/et-si-le-sngal-refusait-le-dveloppement.html

Alvarez, S. (1998). Latin American feminisms "go global": Trends of the 1990s and challenges for the new millennium. In S. Alvarez, E. Dagnino & A. Escobar (Eds.), *Cultures of politics/politics of cultures: Re-visioning Latin American social movement*s. Boulder, Colorado: Westview.

ANSD/BIT-IPEC. (2007). *Enquête Nationale sur le Travail des Enfants (E.N.T.E.S - 2005): SENEGAL: Rapport National d'analyses*. Ministère de l'économie et des finances, Agence nationale de la statistique et de la démographie/ BIT/IPEC.

Armstrong, E. (2004). Globalization from below: AIDWA, foreign funding, and gendering anti-violence campaigns. *Journal of Developing Societies, 2*0(1-2), 39-55.

Bebbington, A. (2004). Theorizing participation and institutional change: Ethnography and political economy. In S. Hickey, & G. Mohan (Eds.), *Participation: From tyranny to transformation*? (pp. 278-283). London: Zed.

Bebbington, A. (2005). Donor–NGO relations and representations of livelihood in nongovernmental aid chains. *World Development, 3*3(6), 937- 950.

Becker, K. (2004). *The informal economy*. Stockholm: SIDA.

Bekombo, M. (1981). The child in Africa: Socialisation, education and work. In G. Rodgers, & G. Standing (Eds.), *Child work, poverty and underdevelopmen*t (pp. 113-129). Geneva: ILO.

Bequele, A., & Myers, W. E. (1995). *First things first in child labour: Eliminating work detrimental to children*. Geneva: ILO.

Berlan, A. (2009). Child labour and cocoa: Whose voices prevail*? 2*9(3-4), 141-151.

Bhukuth, A. (2009). Exploitation « faible » et « forte » d'enfants au sein d'entreprises familiales pauvres. In B. Duterme (Ed.), *Contre le travail des enfants*? Paris; Louvain-la-Neuve: Syllepse; Centre Tricontinental.

Black, M. (2004). *Opening minds, opening up opportunities: Children's participation in action for working childre*n. International Save the Children Alliance: London.

Black, M. (2005). *Child domestic workers: A handbook on good practice in programme interventions* No. 17). London: Anti-Slavery International.

Blagborough, J. (2008). *They respect their animals more: Voices of child domestic workers* No. 18). London: Anti-Slavery International.

Bloch, M., Kennedy, D., Lightfoot, T., & Weyenberg, D. (2006). Introduction: the global/local construction of the universal, modern, and globalized child, school, and nation. In Bloch et

al. (Eds.). *The child in the world, the world in the child: Education and the configuration of a universal, modern, and globalized childhood* (pp.3-17). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bhalotra, S., & Heady, C. (2003). Child farm labor: The wealth paradox. The World Bank Economic Review 17(2): 197–227.

Bourdillon, M. (2006). *Child domestic workers in Zimbabw*e. Harare: Weaver Press.

Bourdillon, M. (2009). Enfants et travail: examen des conceptions et débats actuels. In B. Duterme (Ed.), *Contre le travail des enfants? Points de vue du Su*d (pp. 37--69). Paris; Louvain-la-Neuve: Syllepse; Centre Tricontinental.

Bourdillon, M. F. C., White, B., & Myers, W. E. (2009). Re-assessing minimum-age standards for children's work. *29*(3-4), 106-117.

Boyden, J. (1997). Childhood and the policy makers: A comparative perspective on the globalisation of childhood. In A. James, & A. Prout (Eds*.), Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood* (2nd edition), pp. 184-216. London: Falmer Press .

Brown, B., Reed, L., & Saraswathi, T. (Eds.) (2002). *The world's youth: adolescence in eight regions of the globe.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Burr, R. (2002). Global and local approaches to children's rights in Vietnam. Childhood 9(1), 49–61.

Cabanes, R. (2000). Family versus the logic of the market. In B. Schlemmer (Ed.), *The Exploited Child* (pp. 263-267). London: Zed.

Carspecken, P.F. (1996) *Critical ethnography in educational research: a theoretical and practical guide*. New York: Routledge

Cannella, G., & Viruru, R. (2004). *Childhood and postcolonization: Power, education, and contemporary practice*. New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

Chen, M. A., Vanek, J., & Carr, M. (2004). *Mainstreaming informal employment and gender in poverty reductio*n. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

CIA. (2010). *The world factbook: Senegal*. Retrieved June 27, 2010, from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sg.html

Claire Enfance Caritas St Louis, Enda Actions en Casamance Ziguinchor, & Enda Jeunesse Action Dakar. (2007). *Programme d'actions 2008-2010 Xaley Ca Kanam*

Cleaver, F. (2004). The social embeddedness of agency and decision-making. In S. Hickey, & G. Mohan (Eds.), *Participation: From tyranny to transformation*? (pp. 271-277). London: Zed.

Coly, H. (1999). Annexe IV: Éxperience d'un animateur. In *Voix des enfants d'Afriqu*e. Dakar: Enda TM.

CONAFE-Sénégal. (2006). *Rapport complementaire elabore par la CONAFE-Sénégal au Comité des Nations Unies pour les Droits de l'Enfan*t. Dakar: Coalition Nationale des Associations et ONG en faveur de l'Enfant-Sénégal.

Cussianovich, Alejandro (2001). What does protagonism mean? In Liebel, M., Overwien, B., & Recknagel, A. (Eds.) *Working children's protagonism: Social movements and empowerment in Latin America, Africa, and India*. (pp. 157-169) Frankfurt, London: IKO.

Cunningham, H., & Stromquist, S. (2005). Child labor and the rights of children: Historical patterns of decline and persistence. In B. H. Weston (Ed.), *Child labor and human rights: Making children matte*r (pp. 55-83). London: Lynne Rienner.

de Ravignan, A. (1998). *Working and inventing on the streets of Africa: Education to fight exclusio*n. Paris: UNESCO.

Dahlberg, G., Moss, P., & Pence, A. (2007). *Beyond quality in early childhood education and care: languages of evaluation* (2nd edition). New York: Routledge (2007).

de Boeck, F., & Honwana, A. (2005). Introduction: Children and youth in Africa: Agency, identity, and place. In A. Honwana, & F. De Boeck (Eds.), *Makers and breakers: Children and youth in postcolonial Africa* (pp.1-18). Oxford: James Currey.

Demars, W. (2005). *NGOs and transnational networks: Wild cards in world politic*s. Ann Arbor: Pluto Press.

Deutschen NRO-Forums Kinderarbeit. (2009). *Kinderarbeit – kinderrechte: Beiträge zur Qualifizierung des Umgangs mit Kinderarbeit in kinderrechtlicher Perspektiv*e. Heidelberg: Klaus Heidel.

Dewey, J. (1907). *The School and Society: Being Three Lectures by John Dewey Supplemented by a Statement of the University Elementary School*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (accessed at http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Dewey/Dewey_1907/Dewey_1907_toc.html).

Dewey, J. (1938/1998). *Education and Experience*. Indianapolis : Kappa Delti Pi

Diaby, I. (2010). Travail des enfants : l'Etat est en partie responsable, selon Mamadou Lamine Keïta*. PressAfrik,* (March 25, 2010). http://www.pressafrik.com/Travail-des-enfants-l-Etat-est-en-partie-responsable-selon-Mamadou-Lamine-Keita_a24797.html

Diallo, A. (2010). Problématique du travail des enfants : Le ministre Lamine Keita pour une synergie sous régionale*. Le Soleil Multimédia,* March 25, 2010. http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/201003250310.html.

Diallo, Y. (2008). *Les activités des enfants en Afrique subsaharienne: les enseignements des enquêtes sur le travail des enfants en Afrique de l'Oues*t. Rome: UCW Project.

Diop, M. A. (2010). Travail et emploi des jeunes : 450 mille enfants âgés entre 7 et 15 ans travaillent au Sénégal. *SudQuotidien.* March 25, 2010. http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/201003250823.html

Djakaridja, K. (1995). Programme africain de formation des animateurs urbains (PAF). In Enda Tiers Monde (Ed.), *Enfants en recherche et action: une altérnative africaine d'animation urbain*e (pp. 32-37). Dakar: Enda Tiers Monde.

Dreyfus, M., & Caroline, J. (2004). Enseignement non-formel dans la banlieue de Dakar : Un espace scolaire alternatif, entre activités novatrices et pratiques ritualisées. Premières Journées scientifiques communes des réseaux de chercheurs concernant la langue, Ouagadougou, 2-3 juin 2004, Penser la francophonie. Concepts, actions et outils linguistiques, Editions des Archives contemporaines, AUF.

Ebrahim, A. (2003). *NGOs and organizational change: Discourse, reporting, and learnin*g. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

EJA. (1985). *Street children and youth: The Grand Bassam approach (final report, jeuda 27e*). Dakar: Enda Jeunesse Action.

EJA. (1986). *La ville et les jeunes: semaine de sensibilisation sur les problèmes des jeunes aux petits métiers (Jeuda 30*). Dakar: Enda Jeunesse Action.

EJA. (2006). *Enda Tiers Monde Equipe Jeunesse Action Rapport 200*6. Dakar: Enda Jeunesse Action.

EJA. (2008). Rapport provisoire sur le questionnaire d'évaluation (mars 08).

EJA-MAEJT. (2006). *Notre programme pour 2007-2011.* Project Proposal.

EJA-MAEJT. (2008). *Annual Project Progress report 2008 (draft*). Dakar: Enda Jeunesse Action.

Elaigwu, J. I., Toyo, N., & Ade-Odutola, K. (1999). *People, politics, and profit: Managing the tension between the philosophy of NGO mission and the reality of NGO operation*s No. 4). London: IIED.

Emerson, P. M., & Souza, A. P. (2007). *Is child labor harmful? The impact of working earlier in life on adult earnings* No. 3027). Bonn: Institut zur Zukunft der Arbeit.

Enda Jeunesse Action. (2007). *Notre espoir pour les enfants d'Afrique: Programme de Renforcement des Capacités du MAEJT: Rapport - 2007*. Dakar: Enda Jeunesse Action.

Enda Tiers Monde. *About enda*. Retrieved 08/10, 2010, from http://www.enda.sn/english/index.htm

Enda Tiers Monde. (2006). *Éducation: Altérnatives Africaine*s. Dakar: Enda Tiers Monde.

Enda TM. (1999). *Voix des enfants d'afrique: Travail, force et organisation des enfants et jeunes travailleur*s. Dakar: Enda Tiers-monde.

Enda TM Jeunesse Action. (2004), Entretien avec Fabrizio Terenzio, coordinateur d'enda tm jeunesse action, Dakar. *Défi des EJT no.4.*

Ennew, J. (1982). Family structure, unemployment and child labour in jamaica. *Development and Change, 1*3(4), 551-563.

Ennew, J., Myers, W. E., & Plateau, D. P. (2005). Defining child labour as if human rights really matter. In B. H. Weston (Ed.), *Child labor and human rights: Making children matter* (pp. 27-54). Lomdon: Lynne Rienner.

Equal Rights Trust. (2010). *Senegal: Labor code (code du travail)*. Retrieved July 4, 2010, from http://www.equalrightstrust.org/view-subdocument/index.htm?id=621

Fall, D. M. (1999), Dakar: les domestiques à bonne école. *MEDIAF/Le Soleil,*

Faye, M. (2010, March 12, 2010). La pauvreté en Afrique, oblige les enfants à travailler pour vivre. *PressAfrik.*

Feldman, M., Bell, J. & Berger, M. (2003). *Gaining Access: A Practical and Theoretical Guide for Qualitative Researchers*. California: AltaMira Press

Fereday, J.& Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. International Journal of Qualitative Methods. 5 (1) http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/5_1/PDF/FEREDAY.PDF

Fernando, J. (2001). Children's rights: Beyond the impasse. In J. Fernando (Ed.), Children's rights: Special edition of the annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (pp.8-25). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

FES. *Le Manuel du Travailleur : Droit du travail au Sénégal : Recueil des textes législatifs, réglementaires et conventionnel*s. Dakar: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Foreuil, F. (1973). L'éducation pour certains groupes ou la formation de tout un milieu? *Options méditerranéennes 21: Formation et développemen*t (pp. 77-81)

Fundación Xaley. (2009). *Titulo del proyecto: "apoyo al movimiento de niños y jóvenes trabajadores de Louga*". Madrid: Fundación Xaley.

Fyfe, A. (2001). Child labour and education, revisiting the policy debate. In K. Lieten, & B. White (Eds.), *Child labour: Policy option*s (pp. 67-84). Amsterdam: Aksant.

Glaser, B.G. (1998). Doing Grounded Theory: Issues and Discussions. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press

Global March Against Child Labour. (2004). *From exploitation to education: Global March position on child labour and education.*

http://www.globalmarch.org/aboutus/Photos/GM%20Position%20Paper%20on%20Child%20Labour%20and%20Education.pdf.

Glesne, C. (1998). Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction (Second edition). New York: Longman

Gnanih, L. (2009). *8° Rencontre Africaine des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs (Cotonou, Bénin, du 26 octobre au 7 novembre 2009) RAPPORT*. Enda Jeunesse Action.

Goddard, V., & White, B. (1982). Child workers and capitalist development: An introductory note and bibliography. *Development and Change, 13*(4), 465--477.

Gould, J. (2005). Timing, scale and style: Capacity as governmentality in Tanzania. In D. Mosse, & D. Lewis (Eds.), *The aid effect: Giving and governing in international development* (pp. 61-84). London: Pluto Press.

Sénégal Code du Travail, (1997). http://www.droit-afrique.com/images/textes/Senegal/Senegal%20-%20Code%20du%20travail.pdf

Grier, B. (2004). Child labor and Africanist scholarship: A critical overview. *African Studies Review, 47*(2), 1-25.

Groupe Initiatives. (2009). Migrations et développement des territoires. Quels enjeux pour nos pratique de coopération? Carnet du participant. Nogent sur Marne.

Guèye, A. N. (2009). *Scolarisation et travail des enfants au Sénégal.* Unpublished thesis, troisième cycle, Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar.

Haan ,H. & Serriere, N. (2002). *Training for work in the informal sector: Fresh evidence from west and central Africa*. Turin: ILO. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLM/214578-1103217503703/20295542/TrainingforWorkWCA.pdf

Hilhorst, D. (2003). *The real world of NGOs: Discourses, diversity and development* . London: Zed.

Hobbs, S., & McKechnie, J. (2007). The balance model reconsidered: changing perceptions of child employment. In Hungerland et al. (Eds.), Working to be someone: Child focused research and practice with working children (pp.225-231). London: Jessica Kingsley.

ILO (2004a). Girl child labour in agriculture, domestic work and sexual exploitation: Rapid assessments on the cases of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador (Girl child labour studies, vol.1). Geneva: ILO. http://www.ilo.org/ipecinfo/product/viewProduct.do?productId=339.

ILO-IPEC. (2004b). Helping hands or shackled lives: Understanding child domestic labour and responses to it. Geneva: ILO International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC).

ILO. (2005). *Project of support for the implementation of a time bound programme (TBP) in senegal: Evaluation summary*. Geneva: ILO.

ILO. (2006). *The end of child labour: Within reach* . Geneva: ILO.

ILO. (2010). *Application of international labour standards 2010 (I): Report of the committee of experts on the application of conventions and recommendations* No. III (Part 1A)). Geneva: International Labour Office.

Imorou, A. (2009). *Programme de renforcement des capacités du Mouvement Africain des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs (MAEJT): Rapport d'Evaluation.*

Invernizzi, A. (2003). Des enfants libérés de l'exploitation ou des enfants travailleurs doublement discriminés ? Positions et oppositions sur le travail des enfants. *Déviance et Société (Revue), 27*(4), 459-481.

James, A., & James, A. (2001). Childhood: Toward a theory of continuity and change. In J. Fernando (Ed.), Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science: Children's rights (25-37). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Jacquemin, M. (2006). Can the language of rights get hold of the complex realities of child domestic work? The case of young domestic workers in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. Childhood, *13* (3): 389-406.

Jelin, E. (1998). Towards a culture of participation and citizenship: Challenges for a more equitable world. In S. Alvarez, E. Dagnino & A. Escobar (Eds.), *Cultures of politics, politics of cultures: Re-visioning Latin American social movements* (pp. 405-414). Boulder, Colorado: Westview.

Jones, G. (2005) Children and development: Globalisation, rights and poverty. Progress in Development Studies, *5*(4): 336-342.

Karunan, V. (2005). Working children as change makers: Perspectives from the South. In B. Weston (Ed.), *Child labor and human rights* (pp. 293-317). London: Lynne Rienner.

Keengwe, M., Percy, F., Mageka, O., & Adan, M. S. (1998). *NGO roles and relationships: Partnership dilemmas for international and local NGOs (in Kenya)*. London: IIED (African NGO Networks Programme).

Kelly, P. (2003) Growing up as risky business? Risks, surveillance and the institutionalized mistrust of youth. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 6(2), 165-80.

Lange, M. (2000). The demand for labour within the household: Child labour in Togo. In B. Schlemmer (Ed.), *The Exploited Child* (pp. 268-277). London: Zed.

Lansdown, G. (n.d.). *Evolving capacities and participation.* International Institute for Child Rights and Development.

Leroy, A. (2009). Contre le travail des enfants? Présupposé à débattre. *Contre le travail des enfants? Points de vue du Sud* (pp. 7-34). Paris: Syllepse; Louvain-la-Neuve : Centre Tricontinental.

Levinson, D. (2000). Children as economic agents. *Feminist Economics*. *6*(1) 125–134.

Liebel, M. (2004). *A will of their own: Cross-cultural perspectives on working children*. London: Zed.

Liebel, M. (2007). Opinion, dialogue, review: The new ILO report on child labour: A success story, or the ILO still at a loss? *Childhood, 14*(2), 279-284.

Lieten, K. (2005). Children as agents in development. Amsterdam: IREWOC. Retrieved 10, 10, 2007, from http://www.childlabour.net/docs/Childrenagentssynthesis.pdf.

Lieten, G. K. (2006). Research on child labour.

Lima, A. (2006). The specter of the abnormal haunts the child: A historical study of the "problem child" in Brazilian educational discourses. In M. Bloch et al. (Eds.), *The child in the world, the world in the child: Education and the configuration of a universal, modern, and globalized childhood* (pp.3-17). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lister, S. (2000). Power in partnership? An analysis of an NGO's relationships with its partners. *Journal of International Development, 12*(2), 227-239.

MacLure, R. (1995). Non-government organizations and the contradictions of animation rurale: Questioning the ideal of community self-reliance in Burkino Faso. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies, 16*(1).

MAEJT. (2011). *MAEJT: Histoire.* retreived 14/7/2011, from http://www.maejt.org/French%20MAEJT%20histoire.htm

Manghardt, F. (2006). *Les enfants pêcheurs au Ghana: travail traditionnel ou exploitation*? Paris: Harmattan.

Marguerat, Y. (2000). The exploitation of apprentices in Togo. In B. Schlemmer (Ed.), *The exploited child* (P. Dresner Trans.). (pp. 239-247). London: Zed.

Maira, S., & Soep, E. (Eds.). (2005). *Youthscapes: The popular, the national, the global*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Massart, G. (2007). *The convention on the rights of the child put to the test by power relations and social norms in rural West Africa.* Plan International.

Maxwell, J.A. (2005) *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Mbaye, S. M., & Fall, A. S. (2000). The disintegrating social fabric: Child labour and socialization in Senegal. In B. Schlemmer (Ed.), *The Exploited Child* (pp. 292-299). London: Zed.

Meillassoux, C. (2000). Looking ahead: A general conclusion. In B. Schlemmer (Ed.), *The exploited child* (P. Dresner Trans.). (pp. 315-329). London: Zed.

Michael, S. (2005). *Undermining development: The absence of power among local NGOs in Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Miljeteig, P. (2000). *Creating partnerships with working children and youth*. Washington D.C.: Social Protection Unit, Human Development Network, World Bank.

Morice, A. (1981). The exploitation of children in the "informal sector": Proposals for research. In G. Rodgers, & G. Standing (Eds.), *Child work, Poverty and Underdevelopment* (pp. 131--158). Geneva: ILO.

Morice, A. (1982). Underpaid child labour and social reproduction: Apprenticeship in Kaolack, Senegal. *Development and Change, 1*3(4), 515-526.

Mosse, D. (2005a). *Cultivating development: An ethnography of aid policy and practic*e. London: Pluto Press.

Mosse, D. (2005b). Global governance and the ethnography of international aid. In D. Mosse, & D. Lewis (Eds.), *The aid effect: Giving and governing in international developmen*t (pp. 1-36). London: Pluto Press.

Myers, W. E. (2001a). *Planning education to help combat abusive child labor: Important considerations.* Transcript of a presentation on November 9, 2000 prepared for the Global Bureau, Human Capacity Development Center. Washington: USAID.

Myers, W. E. (2001b). The right rights? Child labor in a globalizing world. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 57*5(1), 38-55.

Ndiaye, A. (2010). Travail des enfants : Dans l'enfer silencieux des enfants travailleurs. *Walf Fadjri,* 26 March, 2010. http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/201003260619.html.

Ndiaye-Kane, Y. (1985). *Les "Mbindaan" ou employées de maison de HLM Montagne s'organisent*. Dakar: Enda Tiers Monde.

Ndione, E. S. (1994). *L'économie urbaine en Afrique: le don et le recour*s. Paris; Dakar: Karthala; Enda Graf Sahel.

Niane, B. (2003). Du gouvernement des ONG au Sénégal? In Y. Lebeau, B. Niane, A. Piriou & M. de Saint Martin (Eds.), *État et acteurs émergents en Afrique: Démocratie, indocilité et transnationalisatio*n (pp. 87-108). Paris: Karthala et IFRA.

Nieuwenhuys, O. (1994). *Children's lifeworlds: Gender, welfare, and labour in the developing world*. New York: Routledge.

Nieuwenhuys, O. (1996). The paradox of child labour and anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 2*5(1), 251.

Nieuwenhuys, O. (2000). The household economy and the commercial exploitation of children's work: The case of Kerala. In B. Schlemmer (Ed.), *The Exploited Child* (P. Dresner Trans.). (pp. 278-291). London: Zed.

Nimbona, G., & Lieten, K. (2004). *Child labour unions: AEJT Senegal*. Amsterdam: Foundation for International Research on Working Children.

Nuijten, M. (2004). The 'hope-generating machine' and the positionality of the anthropologist. In A. K. Giri, A. van Harskamp & O. Salemink (Eds.), *The development of religion and the religion of developmen*t (pp. 51-59).

Ogunseye, B. (1997). *The voluntary sector and sustainable development in Africa: NGO dilemma*s. International Institute for Environment and Development (African NGO Networks). http://pubs.iied.org/8750IIED.html.

Overwien, Bernd (2001). Informal learning, social movements, and the acquisition of competence for self determined working and living. In (Liebel, M., Overwien,B., & Recknagel, A., eds.) *Working Children's Protagonism: Social movements and empowerment in Latin America, Africa, and India* (pp.247-67). Frankfurt, London: IKO.

Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Phillips, W. (2005). *Driving under the influence: Senegal's PRSP process*. Ottawa: Halifax Initiative. http://www.eldis.org/assets/Docs/21107.html.

Plan International (n.d.). *Partners*. Retrieved 4/28, 2010, from http://plan-international.org/where-we-work/africa/partners

Plan WARO. (2006). Evaluation du Mouvement africain des enfants jeunes travailleurs: Annexes.

Plan WARO. (2007). Supporting the African movement of working children and youth for a better future for African youth: Project proposal.

Popkewitz, T. (1998). Dewey, Vygotsky, and the social administration of the individual: Constructivist pedagogy as systems of ideas in historical spaces. *American Educational Research Journal*, 35(4), 535-570.

Prout, A., & James. A. (1997). A new paradigm for the sociology of childhood? Provenance, promise and problems. In A. James, & A. Prout (Eds.). *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood* (2nd edition) (pp. 7-33). Washington, D.C.: Falmer.

Quist-Arcton, O. (2006). *Senegalese make dangerous journey for jobs*. Retrieved 06/16, 2011, from http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5632669

Ravololomanga, B., & Schlemmer, B. (2000). 'Unexploited' labour: Social transition in Madagascar. In B. Schlemmer (Ed.), *The exploited child* (pp. 300-313). London: Zed.

Ray, R. (2000). Child labor, child schooling, and their interaction with adult labor: Empirical evidence for Peru and Pakistan. The World Bank Economic Review 14 (2): 347–67.

Reynolds, P. (1991). Dance Civet Cat: *Child Labour in the Zambezi Valley*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

RFI. (2009). *Huitièmes rencontres africaines des enfants et jeunes travailleurs*. Retrieved 12/6, 2009, from http://www.rfi.fr/contenu/20091108-huitiemes-rencontres-africaines-enfants-jeunes-travailleurs

Rodgers, G., & Standing, G. (1981). The economic roles of children: Issues for analysis. In G. Rodgers, & G. Standing (Eds.), *Child work, poverty and underdevelopmen*t (pp. 1-45). Geneva: ILO.

Rose, P. (2010). Who's at school, and who's missing out? Message posted to http://efareport.wordpress.com/2010/03/31/whos-at-school-and-whos-missing-out/.

Roy, A. (2004). *Tide? or ivory snow? Public power in the age of empire.* Address to the 99th annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, August 16, 2004.

Sakho, A. (2001). *Senegal's slide from "model economy" to "least developed country".* http://www.afrol.com/Countries/Senegal/backgr_ldc.htm

Sanghera, G. S. (2008). The 'politics' of children's rights and child labour in India: A social constructionist perspective. *International Journal of Human Rights, 12*(2), 215-232.

Sarr, M., & Traore, P. K. (2010). Prenant à contrepied les organisations internationales : Des enfants revendiquent leur droit au travail. *Walf Fadjri,* March 13, 2010. http://www.walf.sn/societe/suite.php?rub=4&id_art=62786.

Satz, D. (2003). Child labor: A normative perspective, The World Bank Economic Review, 17(2): 297-309.

Schibotto, Giangi (2001). Social action with working children and adolescents: From empirical description to theoretical models. In Liebel, M., Overwien, B., & Recknagel, A. (Eds.) *Working Children's Protagonism: Social movements and empowerment in Latin America, Africa, and India*. (pp.271-87). Frankfurt, London: IKO.

Schick, Annette (2002). *Arbeitende Kinder in Lateinamerika: Auswirkungen eines subjektorientierten Ansatzes in Kinderbewegungen*. Unpublished thesis prepared in the Fachbereich Sozialpädagogik, Fachhochschule, Köln.

Schildkrout, E. (1980). Children's work reconsidered. International Social Science Journal. *32*(3):479–90

Schildkrout, E. (1981). The employment of children in Kano (Nigeria). In G. Rodgers, & G. Standing (Eds.), *Child work, poverty, and underdevelopmen*t (pp. 81-112). Geneva: ILO.

Schlemmer, B. (2002). Paradigmes de l'enfance et de l'école, droit à l'éducation et droit au travail. *Communications, 72. L'idéal éducatif* (pp. 175-194).

Seidman, I. (1998). *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: a Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences*. New York: Teachers College Press

Serpell, R. (1993). *The significance of schooling: Life-journeys in African society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Serpell, R. (1999). Local accountability to rural communities: A challenge for educational planning in Africa. In F. Leach, & A. Little (Eds.), *Education, cultures and economics: Dilemmas for development* (pp. 107-135). New York: Garland.

SIGI. (n.d.). Gender inequality and social institutions in Senegal. Retrieved 8/30, 2010, from http://genderindex.org/country/senegal.

Siméant, J. (2005). Des mouvements nouveaux et globaux ? Sur les mouvements sociaux «transnationaux» dans quelques ouvrages récents. Paper presented at the 8e Congrès de l'Association Française de Science Politique (AFSP), 15-18 septembre 2005. http://www.afsp.msh-paris.fr/archives/congreslyon2005/lyon2005.html

Soto, L. & Swadener, B., (Eds.) (2005). *Power and voice in research with children*. New York: Peter Lang.

Springwood, C., & King, C. (2001). Unsettling engagements: On the ends of rapport in critical ethnography. Qualitative Inquiry, 7 (4), 403-417.

Stephens, S. (1995). Introduction: Children and the politics of culture in late capitalism. In S. Stephens, (Ed.), *Children and the politics of culture* (pp.3-48). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sticker, G. (2004). *Letzte Rettung Zivilgesellschaft? Die afrikanische Zivilgesellschaft in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit*. Bonn: VENRO.

Swift, A. (1999). *Working children get organized.* Save the Children.

Taracena, E., & Taverna, M. (2000). Stigmatization versus identity: Child street-workers in Mexico. In B. Schlemmer (Ed.), *The exploited child* (pp. 93-105). London: Zed.

Terenzio, F. (1987). *Agir envers l'opinion publique et les politiques gouvernementales concernant les gosses de la rue*. Dakar: Enda Tiers-Monde.

Terenzio, F. (1990). *Enfants en situation difficile: quelques axes de réflexion (Jeuda 77)* No. 77)

Terenzio, F. (1992). *Chargeurs de briquets à gaz, cireurs ambulants, porteurs de marchés, employées de maison, accompagnateurs de touristes: quelques exemples d'appui aux enfants et jeunes travailleurs au Sénégal et ailleurs (Jeuda 83)* No. 83). Dakar: Enda Jeunesse Action.

Terenzio, F. (2001). From projects for children via projects with children to children's trade unions: Description of a development in Africa. In m. Liebel, B. Overwien & A. Recknagel (Eds.), *Working children's protagonism: Social movements and empowerment in Latin*

America, Africa and India (pp. 289-294). Frankfurt, London: Verlag fuer Interkulterelle Kommunikation.

Terenzio, F. (2007). Dialogue: The African movement of working children and youth. *Development, 50*(1), 68-71.

Touré, C. (2007). *Evaluation du Mouvement africain des enfants et jeunes travailleurs: Rapport final.* Dakar: Plan WARO.

UCW. (2010). *Comprendre le travail des enfants et l'emploi des jeunes au Sénégal*. Rome: Understanding Children's Work.

UNCRC. (2006a). *UN Committee on the Rights of the Child: Concluding observations, Senegal, 20 October 2006.* UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

UNCRC. (2006b). *UN Committee on the Rights of the Child: Second periodic report of states parties due in 1999, Senegal, 20 February, 2006.* UN Committee on the Rights of the Child.

UNESCO. (2010). *EFA global monitoring report 2010: Reaching the marginalized*. Paris/Oxford: UNESCO/Oxford.

van den Berge, M. (2007). *Working children's movements in Peru*. Amsterdam: IREWOC.

Verlet, M. (2000). Growing up in Ghana: Deregulation and the employment of children. In B. Schlemmer (Ed.), *The Exploited Child* (pp. 67-82). London: Zed.

Viti, F. (2005). Travailler pour rien. L'apprentissage en Côte-d'Ivoire urbaine (Abidjan, Toumodi). *Cahiers d'études africaines, 179-180*(3-4), 1037-1068.

Weston, B. H., & Teerink, M. B. (2005). Rethinking child labor: A multidimensional human rights problem. In B. H. Weston (Ed.), *Child labor and human rights: Making children matter* (pp. 3-25). Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

White, B. (1994). Children, work and 'child labour': Changing responses to the employment of children. *Development and Change, 25*(4), 849-878.

White, B. (2005). Shifting positions on child labour: The views and practice of intergovernmental organizations. In B. H. Weston (Ed.), *Child labor and human rights: Making children matter* (pp. 319-342). London: Lynne Rienner.

White, S. (2002). Being, becoming and relationship: Conceptual challenges of a child rights approach in development. Journal of International Development*, 14*(8), 1095-1104.

CIA. (2010). CIA World Factbook 2010. http://www.wolframalpha.com/entities/countries/senegal/tu/sh/jp/.

Woodhead, M. (1997) Psychology and the cultural construction of childrens' needs. In A.Prout and A. James (Eds) *Construction and Reconstruction of Childhood*, London, Falmer, (Second Edition).

Woodhead, M. (1999). Combatting child labour: Listen to what the children say. Childhood, *6*(1), 27-49.

Woodhead, M. (2007). Harmed by work or developing through work?: Issues in the study of psychosocial impacts. In Hungerland et al. (Eds.), Working to be someone: Child focused research and practice with working children (pp.31-41). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Appendix 1: UNCRC "Participation" Articles

Article 12

1. States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

2. For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law.

Article 13

1. The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice.

2. The exercise of this right may be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:

(a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others; or

(b) For the protection of national security or of public order (ordre public), or of public health or morals.

Article 14

1. States Parties shall respect the right of the child to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

2. States Parties shall respect the rights and duties of the parents and, when applicable, legal guardians, to provide direction to the child in the exercise of his or her right in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child.

3. Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health or morals, or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

Article 15

1. States Parties recognize the rights of the child to freedom of association and to freedom of peaceful assembly.

2. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of these rights other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (ordre public), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

Appendix 2: Countries with MAEJT membership

Appendix 3: Additional Groupes de Base observations in Dakar, St. Louis, and Louga

This appendix serves to round out the portrait of the AEJT Dakar by presenting observations from visits at other GBs. Visits to GBs at St. Louis and Louga are also included.

Daroukhane (December 18, 2008)

We found eight girls in attendance. They were gathered in the inner corridor of a training complex in whose other rooms other (non-AEJT) groups were involved in various forms of training, such as sewing. A few of the EJT were working on beading projects. Group members explained that the *monitrice* was absent because of a death in the family. The GB was reported to have 30 members, the list of which was held by the *monitrice*. Members also reported that the EJA national office facilitator had visited a few weeks earlier, but could not hold the meeting she had planned because at that time as well only eight of the thirty members were present. I was told that the group did "not yet" hold any literacy courses. They worked on beading and sewing, since they could use the centre's sewing machines when their *monitrice* was present.

I recognized a girl whom I had seen as a delegate at national level meetings at Thiès, as well as at a workshop in Dakar on using cartoons as a communication medium. I learned that she had also been the group's delegate for a recent computer training (which she had not been able to pass on to the group because computer access was too expensive in their centre). She said she was the delegate to *all* trainings and higher level meetings. She and others said that they are members of the group in order to learn skills and earn money, some of which they contribute to their families.

Doro Aw (December 22, 2008)

When we entered the public school classroom where this GB met, the *monitrice* was carefully drawing dressmaking diagrams on the blackboard. Eleven girls were present of the 22 reported to be GB members. The two members who had served as delegates to the most recent AEJT meeting were not present. The *monitrice* explained that the EJA national office had withdrawn her *prime de transport* in November, so she depended on the dues of the members, set at 1500 CFA monthly. Only about half had been able to pay. She would perhaps not be able to continue. She taught them *coupe*, *couture*, and *perlage*. They did some cooking, though rarely, as it was difficult to get the materials. The GB also reportedly met on the eleventh of every month for "*restitutions*" of the AEJT meetings (held on the fifth of every month) and other discussions.

The GB members on the list ranged in age from 14 to 22. They worked only in their own homes, with one possible exception. Of the eleven present, three stated that they were not literate but would like to become so. All present expressed the wish to continue French lessons as well as receive some basic computer training. They reported that EJA compensation of a literacy teacher had ended two years earlier and he had stopped coming.

The group formerly had a large room with sewing machines and other equipment, but the space had been taken over by a daycare. The *monitrice* stated that it was discouraging to no longer have equipment. She mentioned that a French NGO had visited the GB, but felt it could not enter into any sort of agreement with them as they held no *statut juridique*. She and the members further stated that it had been a long time since anyone from the EJA national office had visited them.

Guinaw Rails (January 15, 2009)

The GB meets in the Carrefour des Jeunes de Guinaw Rails, a centre established by Enda in the 1990s. 23 girls were in attendance of the 34 reported members. Of those present, fourteen had had six years of

formal schooling. Most worked in their own homes, though two were *filles domestiques*. The group seemed hesitant to give information about their ages, but it appeared that roughly half were under 18, the youngest being 13.

As with other GBs, EJA had paid literacy teachers in the past. In this case, however, when this direct support was withdrawn these literacy teachers were convinced to continue coming voluntarily. Members reported that classes were presently held only Fridays at 15:00, with two literacy teachers, one handling two levels in one room, and a second teaching a third level in a separate room. A GB member initially stated that 18 girls attend these classes, but the GB secretary insisted that all 34 members attend regularly. I was unfortunately not able to return to Guinaw Rails on a Friday to observe the classes.

As with Daroukhane, no relaying of the computer training (attended by one *déléguée*) had been possible, as there were no computers for them to use locally. My translator suggested that the GB should themselves organize a project towards the goal of having at least one computer. The group secretary reported that the group had cooperated with the Croix Rouge the previous year on an *animation/causerie*. The *mairie* had furnished the centre with chairs, etc., and a French organization had given them a stove.

When I asked the GB secretary if she had given a report of the January 5th AEJT meeting (ten days earlier), she replied rather sheepishly that she had not yet done so. They could not recall when anyone had last visited the group from the EJA national office.

Golf Sud (February 4th, 2009)

The Golf Sud GB used a classroom in a local primary school that was only available Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Nine girls were present. I was shown the list of the sixteen GB members. The ages were listed: only two were under 18 and two were in their thirties. Five were reported to work

only in their homes, one worked in a daycare, and the others were domestic workers. When I raised the question of the MAEJT's target of two-thirds children in all GBs, the *monitrice* explained that in Africa one is a child as long as one essentially lives in the house of one's parents, age being irrelevant.

Members and the *monitrice* reported that half of the members could not read and that they would all like to continue French literacy lessons. The situation was similar to that reported elsewhere: when direct compensation from the EJA national office to a literacy teacher was withdrawn, lessons ceased. The group also expressed their wish to have a room of their own, with electricity. (The room in which they were meeting had none, so they met in late afternoons). When my informal assistant and I asked whether there was a *foyer de quartier* in which they might use a space, the *monitrice* responded that this would involve certain *enjeux politiques*.

The two deléguées that I had seen at AEJT meetings were present. I asked (through the translator, as always) about any reporting back to the GB from the special January 27th AEJT meeting and what its topics had been, but did not receive any clear response. The members could not name any other GB activities undertaken besides the regular skills training.

Recounting her experience with and aspirations for the group, the *monitrice* impressed me with her seriousness, commitment and ambition. She wanted to add training in management, accounting, and marketing to her programme; in an earlier experience with micro-finance there had been problems of management of the accounts for the income generating activities. "Des filles voyagaient avec certaines sommes". She would like to add transformation of fruits, vegetables, and cereals, as well as *teinture* and micro-gardening to her programme, but had no means of procuring the necessary materials.

In 2005 the GB had held an exhibition of their hand-made products. The *monitrice* had gone to the *mairie* to invite the mayor, who had sent a delegate.

She mentioned that she and the GB had consulted with an NGO from Luxembourg on a *concept* for official support, but that a *statut juridique* was required by this *concept.* They were thus only "parentés dans un sens large."

Nicoeul Rab (February 23, 2009)

At Nicoeul Rab we found twelve girls present of the GB's 23 members who ranged in age from 12 to 22, with the majority reported to be under 18. The members were a mix of *filles domestiques*, girls who helped their mothers at home, one coiffeuse, and one *apprentie en couture*.

The *monitrice* recounted to us that the group had come into being after she had seen the Rufisque GB (at the Aida Couture centre) and learned that it was supported by "Enda". She contacted the EJA national office and started her own group, receiving financial support for materials and two sewing machines. She reported having always run the group voluntarily. From its beginning in 2005 until some time in 2006, the members had contributed 50 CFA per day towards supply of materials, but they had not been able to continue these *cotisations*. An *alphabétiseur* from a community organization had been offering his services voluntarily, but since he had stopped a year and a half prior to our visit they had had no more such courses. They expressed a strong desire to continue them. My translator suggested that the members who had attended school up to CM1 or CM2 might attempt helping the others towards their literacy and numeracy goals. The members and *monitrice* also offered a list of other productive skills in which they would like training.

The *monitrice* reported that since its inception the GB had conducted several *sensibilisation* and two *foureuls*. They had held an exposition of their crafts in 2007, and had once welcomed a group of visitors from Plan.

The centre in which the GB met was built by an organisation that the *monitrice* identified as "AFDS". She could not confirm whether this was Agence Française de Développement. The building was left unfurnished and during our visit the girls were seated on a carpet on the floor. They remarked that they had no shortage of space, but that the space was not secure. They reported receiving no support from the *mairie*.

An EJA national office facilitator had recently visited to deliver some money for machines that had been sent by European *stagiaires* who in 2006 had worked with the GB and other local groups.

GB visits in St. Louis (Feb 10, 2009).

I was accompanied to two St. Louis GBs by a member of the bureau of the AEJT St. Louis.

Bango 2 was first, situated on the outskirts of the city. This group enjoys the use of a good quality building that is lent by a women's group to which the GB's *monitrice* belongs. My guide from the association explained that many GB have experienced difficulties in finding appropriate spaces (buildings). While some succeed in forging agreements with organizations in the *quartier* to use their structures, or have had simple *cases* constructed, others meet in private houses.

My guide asked the *monitrice* at what time the girls arrive. The latter responded that while the official schedule was 16h-18h, in reality "elles n'ont pas d'heures", as most are *domestic workers*. Others work in the fields, including the "deléguée", whom I was told worked from 8-18h for 2500 CFA.

At 16:35 two girls arrived to bring the total present to ten. By the time we left shortly after 17:00, 15 members were present. The *monitrice* reported that typically about 25 of the group's 35 members attend her *formations* on Mondays and Tuesdays. The members' average age, she reported, was 15-16, with a fair number being between 12 and 14 years old. Some members had never attended any formal schooling.

I was told that the group held alpha classes Fridays and Saturdays from 16h-18h, and, as far as the *monitrice* knew, attendance for these was at similar levels. The girls themselves were reticent or shy (even more so than was generally found in Dakar GB visits), and did not offer any additional details. When asked about their motivations for joining the group, only one could be persuaded to speak, offering that she hoped to "préparer l'avenir".

The group had held three special events in 2008. The monitrice also reported that they had held some *causeries* on health topics with resource people provided by Claire Enfance (an NGO serving as the local "*structure d'appui*" for the St. Louis AEJT. Booklets on the *12 droits* had been provided, although a "problem" mentioned in relation to them to them was that most members could not neither read nor understand much French.

Medina Marmiyal was the second GB that we visited. Fourteen of the GB's 25 members were seated on benches in the courtyard of a small building that is rented by Claire Enfance and which houses a daycare in the mornings run by a *conseillere* of the AEJT. The members were reported to be *domestic workers, vendeuses*, and those who worked in their own homes. The youngest was 12 and the *ainés* of the group were 20 and 23 years old.

I was told that Claire Enfance had temporarily suspended literacy training for this GB. It had been held twice a week from 15:00- 17:00. The group currently held skills training from Monday through Thursday. In contrast to all of the GBs in Dakar with whom I spoke, these members did not outwardly display enthusiasm when I asked if they wished to recommence alpha classes. This group had also not been chosen to participate in the new (Claire Enfance – Fundación Xaley) programme of members' insertion into workshops. They could not explain why, other than to say that it was a decision of the

programme (Claire Enfance), and they were able to name other groups that had been chosen to participate.

They reported having held causeries on topics of health and the concepts of the MAEJT. Three members had participated in June of 2006 in a workshop culminating in the confirmation of their official status as *ainés*.

When asked about their motivations for adhering to the GB, the members spoke of wanting to learn skills so that when they had their own households they would be able to have some revenue for greater financial independence.

Appendix 4: Ben Tali Filles' dramas and anecdotes

Drama 1 plotline: fille asks prospective employer for 30,000 CFA monthly, but settles for 10,000 because she's desperate. They negotiate that her duties will be sweeping and dishes, but once at work she has to go to market, cook, do laundry, etc. The *patronne* speaks to an acquaintance at the market who warns her that *filles domestiques* are thieves. She comes home and accuses the girl of being a thief. The girl denies, but is warned not to talk back or try speaking as an equal to the *patronne*.

I asked my research assistant if she'd seen the same theme before. She said yes, even on TV. The girls would have seen it on TV too, but it's also what they live every day.

2nd Drama. Theme: *Patronnes* who leave all the work to the *domestiques*. Characters: *Patronne*, *patron,* domestique, and gossips (also parents). In the story the *domestique* does all the work of the house. The *patron* develops feelings for her and proposes marriage. The *domestique* hesitates, uncomfortable with the idea of being a domestic in the house under the command of her husband's other wife. He explains that she'd be on an equal level. She accepts. They go to see the girl's parents. The parents accept. On the day of the wedding, the *patronne* sees that the *domestique* is absent, but does not suspect the wedding. Even the husband stays home that day, because the religious marriage is an affair primarily between the parents of the marrying couple. The next day the *patronne* asks why the domestique was absent.

"I was getting married".

"If you had told me you were getting married I would have made a big party".

"No, it's not worth it."

"Okay, so you're married. Now you can do the dishes and clean the house".

She refuses and reveals that she is now a wife *in precisely that house*. The first wife is astonished. She is angry. She goes home to her parents. She returns with her mother. The husband explains: he saw a women, fell in love. Because he knew the lengths to which a first wife would go to prevent a second marriage, he did not alert her in advance to his intentions. She insults him. A dispute ensues over whether the children will go away with the first wife.

Anecdotes that have marked their work experiences:

The following anecdotes were recorded during a causerie at the end of an evening literacy and numeracy class. They were paraphrased in French by the literacy teacher/research assistant and most have been further summarized into English.

1) Elle a eu un événement là où elle travaille pendant un an. Un jour elle faisait le linge; une femme est venue pour lui demander de changer l'eau. À la suite elle a dit que oui je vais changer l'eau pour le linge. En tout cas la femme, elle a insisté pour qu'elle change l'eau. Par la suite, elle s'est fâchée. Elles ont eu des grognements et la femme l'a insultée. Elle aussi, elle l'a insultée. Donc la femme lui a dit que je ne suis pas ton égale. Je suis plus âgée que toi; tu ne devais pas m'insulter. Et la fille a répondu que tu n'es pas ma maman. Tu n'es pas ma sœur; donc, tu n'as pas le droit de m'insulter. Donc, il y a eu des événements par la suite. La femme avait même pris un [??] pour la frapper. Donc, c'était un événement qui la vraiment marquée. Cette femme pouvait même la tuer, alors qu'elle avait fait plus d'un an dans cette maison. Bon, c'est pas facile que tu travailles dans une maison et un jour quelqu'un lève quelque chose d'aussi dangereux pour te taper. Et si ça l'a touché, elle pouvait même mourir... Et la femme l'a chassée de chez elle et elle est rentrée. Et on lui a même demandée de revenir travailler dans la maison; elle a refusé. Elle n'a pas voulu revenir pour travailler. C'est un événement qui l'a vraiment marquée, parce qu'elle…. Il n'est pas facile de quitter comme ça avec des coups de poings.

2)Elle travaillait pour une jeune femme, et la femme ne l'a pas payée – deux mois et quelques jours… chaque fois elle dit que je veux que tu me donne mon argent, parce que je ne peux pas continuer à travailler pour toi comme ça et que tu ne me payes pas, et la femme lui dit, je vais payer; attends mon

mari. Et chaque fois la même chose, chaque fois la femme répond la même chose. Un jour elle s'est levée, elle s'est fâchée et dit je vais arrêter de travailler pour toi, parce que tu ne me donne pas mon argent. Après la femme lui a donné les deux mois, mais les quelques jours qu'elle a travaillé pour elle, elle n'a pas payé…

Eventually, because the girl's uncle came, they paid her the few extra days. The girl said, "I worked for the money you should have paid me all along." The boss's mother slapped her in front of everyone and other family members also began striking her.

3) At 23 :00 she was bathing, and the patronne asked her to do the laundry. She said, not now that I've taken my bath. The patronne said she was being insolent and ungrateful after all that was provided for her, and that she had no dignity because she passed the weeknights in the house. The girl said pay me out, the patronne refused, but eventually one of her sons convinced her to. The girl walked home at midnight with all of her bags.

4) This rather confusing anecdote revolved around domestic disputes among extended family, especially sisters-in-law as well as around disputes among the domestic workers, particularly over who would be paid to do the ironing. There was mention of constant insults and even death threats, which led the GB member recounting the anecdote to eventually quit.

5) Accused constantly of sowing dissent in the family, dividing them ("satanically"). "She was subjected to too much there".

6) Toilets were clogged. She was mopping. Patronne asked her to toss her the dustpan. She tossed it and it hit her. Was called "folle". The girl threatened to leave if she was called "folle" again.

7) An *employee de maison* worked in two houses, one in Sacre Coeur. She split duties with a large, fat woman. The big woman threatened her constantly. Eventually the little girl beat up the large woman, and after that she was left alone.

According to the literacy teacher, « il y a des cas pire que ça. »

Appendix 5 : MAEJT Senegal membership statistics 2008

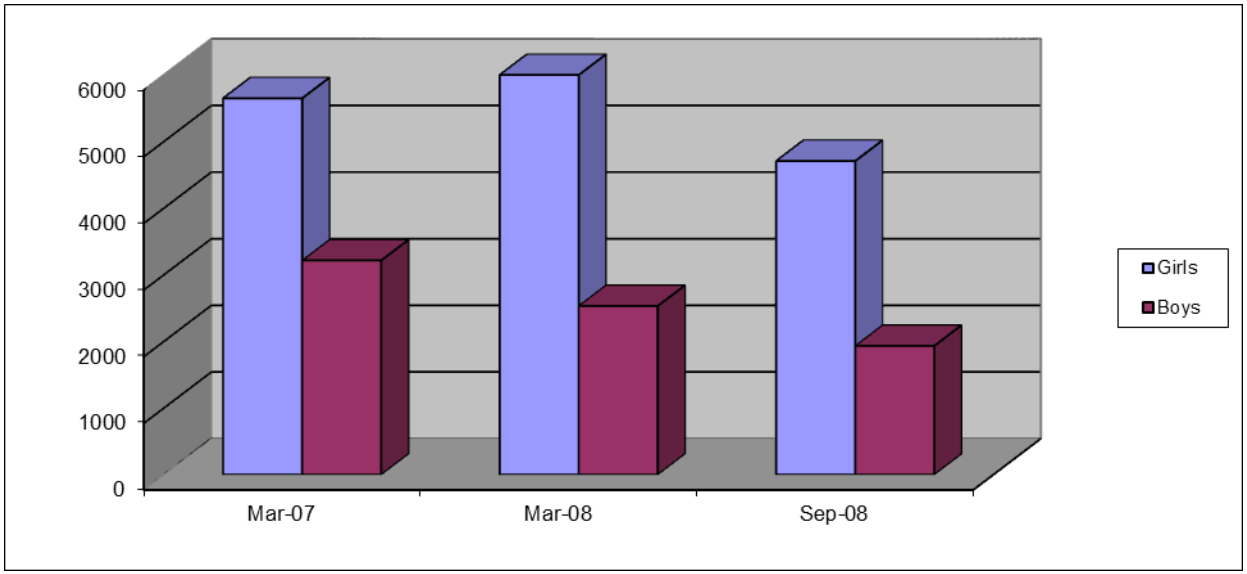
Mar-07 (Aggregate data – all cities)								
9	116	8,861	5,648 64%	3,213 36%	7,400 84%	1,461 16%	10,000	18,861

Mar-08								
Dakar	30	1003	973	30	675	328	3000	4,003
Fatick	17	1708	942	766	1147	561	5000	6,708
Kaolack	7	307	219	88	177	130	1000	1,307
Kolda	6	540	118	422	177	363	1620	2,160
Louga	8	320	269	51	230	90	950	1,270
St Louis	22	1522	1023	499	1230	292	4500	6,022
Tamba	9	1099	984	115	799	300	3200	4,299
Thiès	10	796	786	10	586	210	2300	3,096
Ziguinchor	15	1232	683	549	1072	160	4,500	5,732
10	124	8,527	5,997 70%	2,530 30%	6,093 71%	2,434 29%	26,070	34,597

Sep-08

Nom de d'AEJT	Groupes de base	Membres	FILLES	GARCONS	ENFANTS	JEUNES	Synpathisants	Total Membres + Synpatisants
Dakar	20	700	700	0	460	240	3000	3700
Fatick	16	1733	1068	663	1219	514	5000	6733
Kaolack	4	161	144	17	90	71	1000	1161
Kolda	6	540	118	422	177	363	1620	2160
Louga	8	226	194	32	169	57	950	1176
ST Louis	17	596	556	40	469	127	926	1522
Tamba	7	871	830	41	266	605	3200	4071
Thiès	9	261	261	0	192	69	2300	2561
Ziguinchor	14	1551	835	716	1241	310	4500	6051
10	101	6,639	4,706	1,931	4,283	2,356	22,496	29,135
			71%	29%	65%	35%		

FILLES-GARCONS



Appendix 6: Problems posted after group work at *Restitution des missions croisées*, Thiès, Nov. 9, 2008.

Problems and their corresponding recommendations had been categorised in the animator's Powerpoint presentation under the headings: La Mission de l'AEJT; Organisation et Structuration; La Composition de l'AEJT; Les realisations; Les resources. However, both in the animator's presentation and in the delegates' posters there was substantial overlap in the content under these various headings.

The purpose here is only to document what was reported at the session, not to suggest that it necessarily accurately reflects reality in the AEJTs.

- Vieillissement des members
- Les enfants ne prennent pas des décisions
- Les ainés décident à la place des enfants
- Manque d'enfants au niveau des instances de certaines associations
- Manque de motivation des membres
- Baisse de niveau d'effectif des GB
- Méconnaissance du concept du MAEJT
- Les décisions viennent du niveau supérieur
- Manque d'expérience / incapable de faire une bonne restitution
- Difficulté du fonctionnement des activités
- Manque de réunions régulières
- Méconnaissance de la situation financière
- Les membres du bureau ne respectent pas leurs engagements
- Pas reconnu au niveau des autorités locales
- Réticence des partenaires

- Non-maitrise de l'AEJT
- Les enfants ne connaissent pas leurs rôles dans l'AEJT
- Les ainés ne font pas leurs rôles
- Beaucoup d'ainés ont abandonné
- Les comités ne fonctionnent pas
- Les délégués ne sont pas capables de restituer et de participer à la rencontre.
- Non-fonctionnement des instances dans l'AEJT
- Les membres du comité de gestion ne font pas leurs rôles
- La gestion des ressources n'est pas claire
- Manque de formation des membres de l'AEJT
- Non-exécution des activités planifiées
- Les membres ne sont pas responsables pour l'exécution des activités
- Manque d'information au niveau de la base
- Manque de formation en système de communication
- Manque d'organisation au sein de l'AEJT
- Les plans d'action ne sont pas budgétisés
- Les membres ne viennent pas aux réunions
- Les membres du bureau habitent loin
- Le budget est insuffisant
- Pas de protocole d'accord entre l'AEJT et ses partenaires
- L'AEJT ne suit pas ses relations avec ses partenaires
- Les secrétaires n'ouvrent pas les emails
- Les AEJT ne collaborent pas avec des autorités et structures d'enfant
- Existence des clans
- Mauvaise réputation des GB
- Non-respect des règlements de l'AEJT
- La présence inutile des enfants[131]
- Mauvaise gestion des AGR collectives
- Non-rentabilité des AGR collectives
- Les décisions déjà prises au niveau des AEJT ne sont pas respectées par la coordination
- Choix de nouveaux délégués qui ne connaissent pas leur AEJT
- Non-respect des statuts du mouvement
- Les membres ne connaissent pas leurs rôles et responsabilités
- Manque de développement organisationnel
- L'élaboration du plan d'action n'est pas collective au niveau des GB
- Certaines GB ne savent pas élaborer un plan d'action
- Absence des enfants aux activités, aux réunions, et aux instances de décision
- Les enfants ignorent leur participation
- Les ainés ne sont pas respectées est ne jouent pas leurs rôles au sein des GB
- La prise de décision au niveau supérieur ne se fait pas de manière démocratique – pas de cadre de concertation

[131] This sentence provoked a response from an animator, who suggested it be reformulated. A heated but good natured debate ensued, largely over the appropriateness of the animator making editorial revisions.

- Choix gratuit de délégués sans aucun critère
- Les organes de l'AEJT ne sont pas actifs
- Non-maitrise des techniques de communication
- Le comité de gestion des AGR est non-fonctionnel
- Le suivi et l'évaluation des activités ne sont pas assurés
- Le transport des membres n'est pas assuré lors des réunions
- Absence de sources d'autofinancements
- Absence de signataires dans la comité de gestion- la comité de gestion ne fonctionne pas
- Désordre dans la gestion de siège et absence de règlement intérieur propre au siège
- Utilisation anarchique du courant (éléctricité)
- Les enfants ne sont pas autonomes dans la gestion
- Manque de matériel dans les espaces (couture)
- Les délégués ne font pas souvent un bon compte rendu
- Les membres du CD ne maitrisent pas leurs rôles
- Les enfants ne maitrisent pas les concepts du MAEJT
- Les groupes de base ont souvent de difficultés pour régler leurs problèmes et ne savent pas par où passer pour le faire
- L'AEJT ou le GB ne se base pas sur le plan d'action pour mener ses activités

Appendix 7: MAEJT International Strengthening Programme Budget

Supporting the African Movement of Working Children and Youth for a Better Future for African Youth

ANNEX I: PROGRAM BUDGET SUMMARY JANUARY 2007 - DECEMBER 2011
Note: the budget is in local currency (CFA); totals have been converted to Euros and highlighted (in red) at the bottom of the document

A	Training, support, coordination, monitoring and evaluation						
	Description	**CY2007**	**CY2008**	**CY2009**	**CY2010**	**CY2011**	**Total (over 5 years)**
3.1	**Training/Monitoring**						
3.1	Technical support missions+internships	22,940,500	24,087,525	25,291,901	26,556,496	27,884,321	
3.1	National workshops	81,700,000	85,785,000	90,074,250	94,577,963	99,306,861	
		104,640,500	**109,872,525**	**115,366,151**	**121,134,459**	**127,191,182**	
3.3	**Support to associations and coordinations**						
3.3	Financial support to associations	30,225,000	31,736,250	33,323,063	34,989,216	36,738,676	
3.3	Financial support to national coordinations	15,403,000	16,173,150	16,981,808	17,830,898	18,722,443	
3.3	Information and communication equipment	43,000,000	45,150,000	47,407,500	49,777,875	52,266,769	
		88,628,000	**93,059,400**	**97,712,370**	**102,597,989**	**107,727,888**	

3.4	**African and international coordination**	**9,000,000**	**9,000,000**	**9,000,000**	**9,000,000**	**9,000,000**	
3.5	**Contribution regional workshops**						
3.5	African commission	27,000,000	28,350,000	29,767,500	31,255,875	32,818,669	
3.5	Technical support group	27,096,000	28,450,800	29,873,340	31,367,007	32,935,357	
3.5	South, East and Central Africa group	20,000,000	21,000,000	22,050,000	23,152,500	24,310,125	
3.5	Program monitoring group	8,000,000	8,400,000	8,820,000	9,261,000	9,724,050	
3.5	Communication and newsletter group	7,000,000	7,350,000	7,717,500	8,103,375	8,508,544	
3.5	Exodus and child trafficking	18,750,000	19,687,500	20,671,875	21,705,469	22,790,742	
3.5	Contribution to 8th African Conference (2009)			90,000,000			
3.5	Assessment meeting (2011)					45,000,000	
		107,846,000	**113,238,300**	**208,900,215**	**124,845,226**	**176,087,487**	
	Audit et évaluation						
3.6	Annual audit	4,000,000	4,200,000	4,410,000	4,630,500	4,862,025	
3.6	Evaluation (mid-term and final)			7,000,000		13,000,000	
		4,000,000	**4,200,000**	**11,410,000**	**4,630,500**	**17,862,025**	
	TOTAL A	314,114,500	329,370,225	442,388,736	362,208,173	437,868,582	1,885,950,216

B	**Equipement and Communication**						
2.1	**Equipment**	**4,300,000**	**4,300,000**	**4,300,000**	**4,300,000**	**4,300,000**	
2.3	**Communication : jeuda, Calao express, web page+Poster**	**21,488,000**	**22,562,400**	**23,690,520**	**24,875,046**	**26,118,798**	
	TOTAL B	**25,788,000**	**26,862,400**	**27,990,520**	**29,175,046**	**30,418,798**	**140,234,764**
C	**Operational Costs**						
4.1	**Office and communication**	**12,000,000**	**12,600,000**	**13,230,000**	**13,891,500**	**14,586,075**	
4.2	**Transport and vehicle**	**2,000,000**	**2,100,000**	**2,205,000**	**2,315,250**	**2,431,012**	
4.3	**Rent (related costs)**	**13,695,698**	**13,906,933**	**17,492,329**	**15,291,496**	**17,776,120**	
	Total C	**27,695,698**	**28,606,933**	**32,927,329**	**31,498,246**	**34,793,208**	**155,521,413**

D	**Personnel**						
1.1	Coordinator (senior expatriate)	**21,624,939**	**22,706,186**	**23,841,495**	**25,033,570**	**26,285,249**	
1.2	Manager	**14,400,000**	**15,120,000**	**15,876,000**	**16,669,800**	**17,503,290**	
1.4	**Information, Training**						
1.4	Training coordinator	7,584,300	7,963,515	8,361,691	8,779,775	9,218,764	
1.4	Communication assistant	3,528,000	3,704,400	3,889,620	4,084,101	4,288,306	
1.4	Communication + IST officer	5,159,700	5,417,685	5,688,569	5,972,998	6,271,648	
1.4	01 training assistant	3,528,000	3,704,400	3,889,620	4,084,101	4,288,306	
	Total	**19,800,000**	**20,790,000**	**21,829,500**	**22,920,975**	**24,067,024**	
1.5	**Secretariat, Management**						
1.5	Admnistrative and financial management	6,548,850	6,876,293	7,220,107	7,581,112	7,960,168	
1.5	Office errands	1,992,123	2,091,729	2,196,316	2,306,131	2,421,438	
1.5	Accountant	4,294,560	4,509,288	4,734,752	4,971,490	5,220,065	
1.5	Switchboard opertaort-Cashier	2,520,000	2,646,000	2,778,300	2,917,215	3,063,076	
1.5	1 coordination assistant	6,072,570	6,376,199	6,695,008	7,029,759	7,381,247	
	Total	**21,428,103**	**22,499,508**	**23,624,484**	**24,805,708**	**26,045,993**	
1.6	**Consultations and collaborations**						
	Total	**8,500,000**	**8,925,000**	**9,371,250**	**9,839,813**	**10,331,803**	
1.7	**Welfare Benefits**						
	Total	**16,867,713**	**17,711,098**	**18,596,653**	**19,526,486**	**20,502,810**	
	TOTAL D	**102,620,755**	**92,631,792**	**97,263,382**	**102,126,551**	**107,232,879**	**501,875,359**

	Total budget FCFA	**470,218,952**	**477,471,350**	**600,569,967**	**525,008,016**	**610,313,467**	**2,683,581,752**
	TOTAL BUDGET EURO	**716,844**	**727,900**	**915,563**	**800,370**	**930,417**	**4,091,094**
	Operational costs	***70.5%***	***72.8%***	***75.7%***	***72.8%***	***73.1%***	
	Program Costs	***29.5%***	***27.2%***	***24.3%***	***27.2%***	***26.9%***	

Appendix 8. Consent and Ethics Approval Forms

Pages 343-47 display the consent form signed by the director of the EJA national office, which gave approval for research activities with the groups of working children and youth that EJA facilitated. The final page displays the doctoral study's certificate of ethical clearance from the University of Ottawa's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Committee.

Titre du Projet : **Le travail et les droits des enfants: Une étude d'un mouvement d'enfants travailleurs soutenu par des ONG à Dakar, Sénégal**

Chercheur

Daniel Lavan

[redacted]

Invitation à participer

Nous les responsables et employés de [*l'institution*] Enda JA avons été invités à participer à la recherche nommée ci-dessus qui est menée par M. Daniel Lavan, étudiant au doctorat à l'Univérsité d'Ottawa.

Les objectifs de l'étude

L'objectif de l'étude est d'examiner les efforts du Mouvement Africain des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs (MAEJT) pour défendre les droits des jeunes travailleurs, améliorer leur vécu quotidien, et développer leurs futurs possibilités en cernant les réussites, les échécs, le potentiel, et les limitations de cette stratégie contestée. L'influence des ONG Enda Tiers-Monde et Plan International sur le mouvement sera également investigué.

Participation

Notre participation consistera essentiellement à permettre l'observation de nos activités reliées au MAEJT encadré par [*l'institution*] Enda JA, une ou deux entrevues qui ne dureront pas plus de 60 minutes chacune. Ces entrevues auront lieu dans les mêmes lieux que les activités que nous menons

(salle de réunion, par exemple) ou dans un autre endroit que les répondants détermineront en accord avec les chercheurs.

Risques

Puisque le sujet de l'étude est orienté vers la participation et la défense des droits des enfants et des jeunes, des principes clé de notre mandat, il y a très peu de risques. Néanmoins, nous avons reçu l'assurance des chercheurs que tout sera fait en vue de minimiser tout risque par le respect de la confidentialité et de l'anonymat durant l'étude.

Bienfaits

Cette recherche aura pour effet de faciliter la connaissance des facteurs qui renforcent et ceux qui empêchent la participation des enfants et des jeunes dans la défense de leurs propres doits et dans les interventions éducatives visant à améliorer leurs perspectives de revenus. De plus, les activités de recherche auprès des jeunes seront choisies avec leur collaboration afin de maximiser la pertinence de leur apport éducatif.

Confidentialité et anonymat

Nous avons l'assurance que le contenu ne soit utilisé que pour l'analyse et la dissémination des résultats de ce projet de recherche. Selon le respect de la confidentialité, toutes les données seront bien gardées dan un endroit sécurisé. Durant la période de la recherche sur le terrain, le chercheur principal (Lavan) va garder les données dans un cabinet fermé à clé dans son bureau au Plan International à Dakar. À la conclusion de son séjour au Sénégal, le chercheur principal (Lavan) prendra toutes les données avec lui au retour au Canada et les gardera dans son bureau à l'Université d'Ottawa. Seul lui et son professeur (Richard Maclure) auront accès aux données de la recherche.

Bien que le nom de l'organisation puisse être supprimé à notre demande, nous comprenons qu'il serait impossible de garantir son anonymat dans la recherche ou les publications, étant donné que ses rapports avec le sujet de l'étude (les enfants et jeunes travailleurs à Dakar) sont bien connus.

L'anonymat des individus de l'organisation peut être favorisé de la façon suivante: après l'enquête de terrain, les chercheurs n'utiliseront pas leurs noms; ils leur attribueront un numéro afin de les identifier dans le processus d'analyse des données ainsi que le processus de dissémination des résultats. Dans le cas où on les cite, ils ne seraient pas identifiés comme une source des citations. En fait, leurs noms ne figureront pas dans les rapports de la recherche sans leur approbation. Seul M. Lavan et professeur Maclure auront accès aux données brutes et aux codes numériques.

Conservation des données

Les données recueillies – bandes magnétiques, transcriptions, notes d'observation, et photos, seront mises en sécurité. Après la fin de l'étude, M. Lavan gardera les données (les enregistrements et les notes) pour une durée de cinq ans afin qu'il puisse les utiliser pour plusieurs étapes d'analyse. Quelques enregistrements audio et visuels seront sélectionnés pour que les extraits puissent être gardés indéfiniment pour des raisons

d'apprentissage et archivages. Ensuite, le reste des données brutes seront détruites et effacées.

Acceptation

Au nom de [*l'institution*] Enda JA, j'accepte que nous participons à cette recherche menée par M. Lavan.

Pour tout renseignement additionnel concernant cette étude, nous pourrons communiquer avec M. Lavan

Pour tout renseignement sur les aspects éthiques de cette recherche, je peux m'adresser au Responsable de l'éthique en recherche, Université d'Ottawa, [redacted]

Il y a deux copies du formulaire de consentement, dont une copie que je peux garder.

Signature:
du responsable [redacted] Poste [redacted] Date: 05/11/08

du chercheur: [redacted] Date : 5/11/2008

Université d'Ottawa University of Ottawa

Service de subventions de recherche et déontologie Research Grants and Ethics Services

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

CONDITIONAL CERTIFICATE OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that the University of Ottawa Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Committee has examined the application for ethical approval of the research project entitled **Child Labor and Child Rights: An Inquiry into an NGO Supported Child Workers' Movement in Dakar, Senegal (File #08-08-08)** submitted by Daniel Lavan and supervised by Richard Maclure from the Faculty of Education of the University of Ottawa. The Board found that this research project met appropriate ethical standards as outlined in the Tri-Council Policy Statement and in the Procedures of the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Boards, and accordingly gave it a Category 1a (approval). This approval is valid one year from the date indicated below.

[redacted]

Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For Peter Beyer, Chair of the Social
Sciences and Humanities REB

January 12, 2009
Date

[redacted]