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CHILD LABOUR, CHILD EDUCATION AND POVERTY: A STUDY OF CHILDREN ON THE STREET IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Background

Child labour remains a global health concern and an issue that significantly burdens developing countries, especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa. Considering its effect on children's education, development, health and wellbeing, international organisations have called for the early elimination of the practice for the betterment of society. In the poorest countries in the world around one in four children is engaged in child labour. There are many aspects to child labour which are important, for example, child prostitution, child trafficking and use of children in armed conflict among others. It is not feasible to take on board every aspect of child labour at the same time without the tendency of failure to produce meaningful analysis. In order to make analysis essential and vital in addressing the child labour practice, this study chose hazardous child labour relating to 'street working children'- more specifically children on the street. This is the most predominant and visible form of child labour in Nigeria. Due to the lack of a well-defined child labour criteria and up-to-date national statistics, child labour practice in the country remains unclear as international statistics of the phenomenon in the region continues to peak despite the recorded decrease in other regions of the world. This study thus aimed to explore the experiences of Nigerian children and their parents/guardians who work on the streets of Benin City in order to provide an in-depth understanding of the reasons why they work and how working subsequently affects them.

Method

Qualitative grounded theory approach was adopted for this study. This approach involved systematic and simultaneous data collection and data analysis process. It also eased and underpinned the use of more than one method of data collection. Data were collected from children on the street and their respective parent/guardian- to provide a holistic family insight on child street work. Eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with adults and nine children were involved in this study through storytelling.

Results

Children on the street and their families do not consider themselves child labourers. Street working children are a highly heterogeneous group- and among them is a category of children called children *on* the street. Rather than poverty, family and other regional and global dynamics are significant factors for why children work on the street, as well as the subsequent impact on the children. Identifying the role of distinctive features of child labour is not only crucial in understanding the reasons, but also the impact of working on the child, and the incidence of child labour is greatly influenced by families, the government and the general representation of the practice. It is problematic when researchers continuously present child labour arguments to either support or oppose the notion that children work for money. Each side of the argument does not sufficiently recognise the different narratives of these working families, and lives of children in different contexts, especially of those that work on the street. With recognition and understanding, each side of the argument could be valid and right depending on the family's situation. Furthermore, it helps reconcile the differences in opinions which over time have generated several arguments in child labour discourse. There may not be a wrong on right answer to the justification of certain aspects of child labour, rather an understanding of child work within different contexts - this approach provides consideration for work principles, desires of working children and highlights heterogeneity of child labour debate and analyses.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Children who work on the street are a distinct subset of child labourers that, like other children, attend school and receive support from their parents/guardians. This study's findings on child labour challenge the popular abolitionist approach, which supports the ban of all work children conduct. The abolitionist approach does not only ignore the circumstance/context of street work and appreciate family's effort to support the child, a ban on their activities may also further marginalise them or deny them the opportunity for better futures. In extreme cases, it may force them into unconditional worst forms of child labour. In viewing child labour as a coping strategy, interventions aimed at child labour should not only focus on eradicating the practice rather see the need to refine it in terms of redefining the meaning of child labour, promoting and protecting the child's overall health and wellbeing. Also, involving children in research on issues affecting them is a contemporary way of thinking in research, and is likely to be the future of social research. Therefore, there is a need for a contextual definition of child labour beyond ILO Conventions 182 and 138; and in this case, one that recognises children's opinions and context-specific nature of work.

List of Abbreviations

ESCRL	Edo State Child's Right Law
GT	Grounded Theory
ILO	International Labour Organisation
OST	Out-of-stall Trade
ST	Stall Trade
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of Children
WHO	World Health Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0.   Overview

This chapter offers an introduction to this research - a description of the problem under study, the rationale for conducting this research, the research question, aim and the objectives of this work. Also, this chapter provides an overview of the structure of the entire thesis.

Child labour is negatively portrayed in several works of literature and rightfully so. The aspect of street work as a form of child labour is one of particular interest not only because of documented impact on the wellbeing and education of children and the need for the phenomenon to be addressed in several contexts, rather the topic was also selected because the researcher was a street working child and was eager to positively contribute to the lives of street working children in Nigeria. The lived experience of the researcher should not only be considered a potential for bias, but a legitimate base for making certain arguments regarding the context and the topic of interest.

1.1.   The Problem under study

Child labour is a global concern, and many works of literature are calling for an end to the practice in all its forms. Over 218 million children aged between 5 and 17 years are in employment worldwide (International Labour Organisation, ILO, 2017a). Due to the potential and actual negative impact on the children's education, health and wellbeing, the topic remains a global health issue, especially among developing countries. The ILO (2017b) 2012-2016 Global Estimate report on the trend of child labour concluded that there had been a global reduction in child labour between years 2012 to 2016, this recorded decrease is consistent with the decreasing global trend for over a decade since the inception and first publication of ILO Global Estimates on child labour in the year 2000. This document is the most current and comprehensive global report on child labour because it utilised data from 105 national household surveys, covered over 70% of the global children population aged 5-17years as well as covered all world regions. As such, its findings significantly underpin several arguments presented in this study.

Africa and the Asia and Pacific regions rank highest in child labour prevalence, and collectively both continents harbour nine out of every ten children involved in child labour around the world;

with the ILO (2017b) also identifying Sub-Saharan Africa as the region with the highest incidence of child labour. In line with the above stated global reductions recorded in the ILO (2017) Global Estimate trend report, one would expect a significant reduction in child labour statistics in Africa and the region. This study holds such expectations not only because the region accounts for the highest population of child labourers, but also because the region has produced and implemented specific policies and interventions aimed to reduce these levels of child labour, over the last 16 years.

Furthermore, in 2016, the United Nations International Children's Fund, UNICEF, (2016) and International Labour Organisation, ILO, global database showed an increase in child labour practice in Sub-Saharan Africa from 21% to 28% among children aged 5-14 years. According to the ILO (2017a) report, despite the number of targeted policies which was carried out by the African governments to address child labour, Sub-Saharan Africa witnessed a rise in child labour during 2012-2016, while every other region recorded a decline. The ILO (2017a) executive summary called for a breakthrough in Africa because it has the highest incidence and prevalence rates of child labour, stating a reduction in the region would be critical and significant in ending child labour globally and achieving the Sustainable developmental goal of ending child labour in all forms by 2025. Besides, the summary attributed the retrogression in the region to broader demographic and economic factors which contradict government efforts; yet, stated the need for more research on why child labour statistics fail to decrease in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Child labour continues to be a topic of academic concern and policy-making in Africa (Kazeem, 2013). The practice has been argued to be beneficial to children (Young Lives, 2016; Okyere, 2013, 2012; Katz, 2004; Robson, 2004), as well as detrimental to their wellbeing (Abubakar-Abdullateef, Adedokun and Omigbodun, 2017; Kazeem, 2013). There is still no consensus in child labour discourse in the region- as there is a divide in arguments on the phenomenon relating to its impact on children, likewise its causes.

Nigeria is a Sub-Saharan nation where child labour remains a significant concern, despite legislative measures (ILO, 2014). The documented national child labour survey in Nigeria was in 2000-2001; and up until now, no subsequent report/survey has been conducted or documented. The Nigerian government may have failed to conduct national surveys because they do not possess the necessary funds or they have no desire or incentives to do so. The report further stated the lack of state, zonal and national statistics on various aspects and trends of child labour

in the region was a drawback in implementing effective policies to address the phenomena (International Programme on the Elimination of Child labour, IPEC, and Federal Office of Statistics of Nigeria, 2001). Due to the enormous and complex nature of child labour phenomenon, it is challenging to address the issue without identifying and especially choosing the aspect of it. This study solely focuses on the hazardous form of child labour (*children on the street*) in Benin City, Nigeria. Hazardous work is a form of child labour, and an example of such is street working children.

1.2.   Research Rationale

Child labour phenomenon occurrence is very significant in Sub-Saharan Africa. Children are the future of any society, and their wellbeing is necessary for them to thrive and become productive individuals within respective households and the community (Nakray, 2015). Certain types of labour have been reported by several NGO's (ILO, 2018; World Health Organisation, WHO, 2018; United Nations International Children's Fund, 2017) and independent researchers to jeopardise children's future. Calculations from the most recent ILO Global Estimates on the trends of child labour indicate that statistics from Sub-Saharan Africa contradicts recorded child labour reductions from other parts of the world, despite the targeted policy against child labour implementation by the African governments. As a result, the ILO, (2017b) called for more research into why such is the case. The proportion in which African children are involved in child labour is more than twice as high as in any other region of the world; and the practice involves one-fifth of all African children (ILO, 2018). According to the ILO, progress against child labour seems to have stalled in Africa. Consequently, this study sets out to investigate child labour practice (specifically- children on the street) in Benin City, to contextualise and elucidate the practice in the region.

There is still no clear and unanimous conceptualisation of the practice in the region. This work argues that the lack of clear and consistent argument on the subject matter makes it difficult to address; as the main reasons for child labour analysis and discussion is to inform policymaking (Basu and Van, 1998a). Thus, if researchers' analyses and arguments on child labour contrast too much, the usefulness of their analyses may become redundant to policymakers, as there is no clear direction on how to adequately address the practice.

Aside the lack of consensus in child labour debates, the issue of child labour in Sub-Saharan Africa has received much more attention from International Organisations (such as the WHO, UNICEF

and ILO) and the Western world. Likely presenting Eurocentric views and constructs as the universal knowledge and idea about child labour. In these African countries, the views on child labour have been argued to be constructed by the Western world, likewise Eurocentric (Omorogiuwa, 2017), rather than by the indigenous people who practice it and who are directly affected by it. Said (1987), Spivak (1988) and Bhabha (1994) have identified problems with the representation of colonised societies by the West. Further, they stress the importance of ensuring and facilitating a medium for marginalised majority world citizens to speak and be heard.

It is also important to acknowledge that children who work on the street are exposed to manufactured risk (especially of harm and abuse), a distinctive attribute synonymous with modern society (Beck, 1992). The levels of risk has been the foundation for several argument on child labour, likewise the reason for divide in opinions. The nature and attitude towards 'risk' on the street needs to be expounded- highlighting the role of the government and parents/guardians. Nevertheless, in all this, the stories of the children have been prioritised and given special precedence for two reasons. First, it is children's right for their views and opinions to be respected at all times and not undermined or disregarded. Second, the street is their world within which they have grown, navigated, experienced and directly or indirectly learnt from, regardless of the idea of the modern world and changes in the nature of risk within it. As such, similarly to adults, they should be allowed to participate in discourses on child labour. Children's voices in this study were therefore considered relevant and highly legitimate because failing to do so would not only be unethical (Graham et al., 2013) but also socially unjust (Fraser, 2007).

Furthermore, from the search of the literature, there is limited current and robust research on the phenomenon in Nigeria, and child labour studies in the region are mostly quantitative, with very few qualitative studies that included children's perspectives in the research methodology. Studies conducted on the subject matter have been mostly surveys, and this is not an effective means to highlight people's opinions and beliefs about the practice. Therefore, there is the need for more insight into the 'why's, just as there is on the 'how many'. As a result, using qualitative paradigm, this research seeks to elucidate and explore the experiences of Nigerian children and their parents/guardians on the *street* to give an in-depth understanding of the reasons for child street work practices in Benin City. Though the literature suggests child labour can be detrimental as well as beneficial; this study attempts to investigate and identify the impact of such form of child labour on children from the experiences of children themselves and the perspectives of

their respective parents/guardians. As earlier stated in section 1.1 this study defines child labour within the scope of child street work because it is the most predominant form of child labour in major cities in Nigeria (Edewor, 2014). This study further discussed other forms of child labour in detail in chapter two of this work.

1.3. Research Question

What are the reasons for child street work in Nigeria, and how does it impact on children and their education?

1.4. Aim of Study

This work aims to elicit the reasons children work on the streets in Benin City and identify how working impacts on the children's wellbeing and education.

1.5. Objectives of the Study

- To identify the types of children that work on the street
- To tell children's stories and experiences of working on the *street*.
- To elucidate the meaning of *street* child work in Benin City.
- To elicit the reasons for *street* child work, likewise its impact on children and their families.
- To contribute to the understanding of the role of poverty and child education in *street* working activities.
- To facilitate knowledge and understanding of *street* working activities in Benin City.
- To provide recommendations on effective ways to foster the wellbeing of *street* children in Benin City, as well as strategies to eliminate harmful child *street* work.

1.6. Structure of the Thesis

This work is arranged in six different chapters- each telling a story and addressing different aspects of this work.

Chapter One

This chapter offers a general overview of this research- the research statement, research question, aims and objectives.

Chapter Two

Chapter two provides a detailed background review of the existing body of literature on the subject area. Literature review chapter would be divided into two sections: the first section presents carefully selected studies that offer insight on the child labour phenomenon globally, while the second offers discussions within the context of Nigeria- mainly focusing on children who only work on the streets of Benin City. In giving an overview of child labour practice, the chapter highlights the complexity of the issue by discussing child labour definition, global statistics, documented causes, impacts and forms.

Chapter Three

Chapter three tells the reader how the researcher conducted this study. It provides insight into how and why this study included children and further elucidates on the framework of this study's adopted inquiry- strategy for inquiry, ethical considerations, methodological considerations, and philosophical assumptions. It further states the theoretical underpinnings and conceptual framework for the study. Poverty and child education are two major themes in the child labour discussion; this chapter utilises UNCRC, ILO Conventions on child labour, some Marxist ideas and globalisation theories to re-conceptualise child street work in Nigeria concerning these themes and the general practice in Nigeria. This approach offers a theoretical insight as to why some households send children to work on the street. Also, selected theories were chosen to underpin this study's overall research question and significance to study.

Chapter Four

This chapter is divided into three parts, each providing details of the context, stories told and interpretation respectively. It provides the rich narrative of the stories of *street* working children and reports findings. Chapter four contextualises this study- as it discusses the socio-cultural context within which this study was carried out, describing the history of Benin City, the language of the people, the meaning of 'street' and the lifestyle of street vendors. The chapter also offers operational definition to the terms frequently used within this study.

Chapter Five and Six

These chapters discuss findings with the existing literature on the subject matter, as well as offer a conclusion based on findings. Further providing recommendations on child labour practice in Nigeria.

1.7. Contribution to Knowledge

- This work is the first qualitative study on child labour in Nigeria that included children *on* the street and their respective parents/guardian in data collection. As a result, this study offers insight on the practice not only from adults but also from children; consequently providing valuable insight into children's experiences as street workers within the household and on the street. Further providing a degree of understanding of how the practice truly impacts on families. Considering conducted studies in Nigeria have limited child contribution, this research gave children a voice- by offering a platform for children to tell their stories as the main actors in the subject matter.

- The method of data collection applied by this research is unique within the context of this work. The sampled children are a heterogeneous group (different educational level, street activity and living situation); therefore, a comic leaflet was explicitly designed for child participants' in-place of a participant information sheet, and it facilitated understanding among the different groups of children. The use of comic leaflet by this study is a novel approach to child labour research in Nigeria. This approach further ensured ethical principles of respect and justice, ensuring no child was categorically left out due to their educational level or age.

- Also, Nigerian research methods are yet to explore the combination of comic leaflet and storytelling. The belief that children are different from adults, with varying opinions, significantly underpins this study to facilitate the understanding of their life as street workers in Benin City; it is crucial to employ an effective method that is apt for their knowledge, competence, opinions with study's context. Aside from facilitating understanding, this study's adopted approach to data collection with children empowered children as it enabled them to take control of the process and also minimise power imbalance that potentially occurs during interviews with children. The use of child-friendly methods and techniques minimises power differential (Einarsdóttir, 2007). Including them in this study upholds their right as stipulated by the UNCRC, Article 12- which states that children have the right to give their opinions, be heard and be taken seriously by adults.

- Lastly, another contribution of this research is the development and design of the 'contextual supply of child labour model'. This model/theory is a 'findings driven' representation of child labour activities that put across a range of family, regional and global factors in the discussion of child labour. This model can potentially be transferred

to similar settings with the same degree of ecological validity. The use and development of this model are original to this study; as it emerged as the core category from the data analysis.

1.8.   Chapter Summary

Child labour practice remains a global and academic concern and a potential threat to the wellbeing of children who are involved in it. Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest prevalence of child labour, and Nigeria is one of the largest Sub-Saharan economies, and one highly overwhelmed with the phenomenon. Interventions aimed at addressing the issue in the region have been ineffective as International, and national reports indicate the practice is still widespread in the region, despite the falling statistics in other parts of the world.

This study aimed to contextualise and frame the practice of child street work to inform effective policy making in the region, considering the limited number of available robust studies (several surveys and only a few qualitative studies) and lack of consensus on arguments on the subject matter. Also, this work attempts to offer an indigenous representation of child work which contributes to the overall discourse on child labour in the region by providing an in-depth understanding of the reasons for and impact of street work practice on children in Benin City. Though the first of its kind in child labour research in the region, the method developed and utilised in collecting data from children has the potential to facilitate the inclusion of children in researches; especially about issues that directly impact upon their lives, and in societies where the child's voice(s) are not readily acknowledged.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0.   Overview

This chapter provides a review of existing literature on *children in employment* (every working child below age 18 years). This study however specifically focuses only on working children who are categorically engaged in street work activities-a subset of children in employment; which would be discussed in detail further within this chapter. Studies have been carefully selected to offer a detailed discussion on child labour phenomenon globally and street work activities within the Nigeria context. In giving an overview of child street work, this chapter is divided into two sections.

Section one aims to provide a comprehensive background of child labour phenomenon by highlighting the complexity of the practice by discussing child labour definition and conventions, global statistics, and the forms of child labour. This section ultimately provides a general overview of child labour around the world. Section two on the other hand mainly discusses the focus of this study, rather than the broader child labour discourse. It aims to conceptualise the practice in Africa, more specifically Nigeria by discussing children on the street, the dynamic relationship between poverty, child labour and child education, documented reasons for and impact of child street work.

In general, the focus of this work is on two related aspects- hazardous form of child labour and children *on* the street. There are various forms of hazardous work such as children working in mines, agriculture, manufacturing and so on. For the scope of this study, discussions on hazardous child labour will centre only on street working children- detailing the types of activities children perform on the streets, the characteristics and division of children who work on the street. This is the focus because as stated in chapter one section 1.2, respectively, hazardous work and child street work are the most predominant and visible forms of child work in Nigeria (Ekpiken-Ekanem, Ayuk and Adadu, 2014; Edewor, 2014).

Going by the ILO definition of hazardous work, street working activities in Benin City is predominantly considered a hazardous form child labour because the practice by nature or manner within which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, morals and safety of children

(ILO, 2017a). This definition is however broad and can range from many street activities without offering more specific criteria and context. This may be one reason why the statistics on child labour in Sub-Saharan regions constantly remain high, as definitions operate on broader scales. Therefore, in discussing street working children as a major form of hazardous work in Nigeria, this chapter elucidates two types of street work- children can either be 'on' the street or 'of' the street. Thus, this chapter attempts to expound on both child street work and contextualising the practice.

Aside from the focus of this research, sections of this chapter will also discuss other forms of child labour and children *of* the street. This will help provide a deeper understanding of the nature of child labour practice, its contested definition, and an adequate contextualisation of the concept. Lastly, this chapter also highlights issues specifically relating to children, especially among Nigerian children; these include childhood and the rights of children.

2.1. Operational Definition

Upon the conceptualisation of the subject matter by the most recent ILO Global Estimates on child labour, this study defines child labour based on the impact of such work identified in by several international/NGO documents. Therefore, child labour is any work a child does within or outside the home, paid or unpaid, voluntary or involuntary but such work affects her/his physical, mental, social or moral wellbeing, likewise interfere with her/his education. This definition considers domestic work/chores- an area of child work that was only considered up until 2016 in the ILO Global report on child labour trends. Considering the complexity of the subject matter, this definition covers every child in employment aged 5-14 years, excludes 12-14 years children in permissible light work, and lastly includes children aged 15-17 years who work in hazardous forms of labour and or worst forms of child labour- which is discussed in detail in section 2.7.2 of this chapter.

Term	Meaning
Children in employment	Every working child below 18 years, whether in child labour or other permitted forms of employment involving children of legal working age.
Family work	work in child's own or family business
Market work	Work inside a stall or outside a stall
Domestic chores	Child offers services to own family members, household chores such as cooking, cleaning and running errands or shopping for household goods and services.

Section One

2.2. Introduction

Today, several organisations and individuals are concerned about child labour practices. These concerns vary among different regional and cultural contexts. As a result, the phenomenon is much contested as to what child labour correctly means- what forms of child work can or cannot be considered as child labour, makes children work and how it subsequently impacts upon children. The number of working children in the world today remains significant (section 1.1, chapter one) despite the reported decrease by the ILO (2017b) Global Estimates on the trends of child labour. Also, it is difficult for these reports to be considered entirely accurate, as several types of child labour remain underreported, and some countries fail to publish national statistics on the subject matter. This may be because countries do not possess the necessary funds for conducting national surveys, or they have no desire or incentives to do so. A typical example would be Nigeria, where the last conducted national survey on child labour was in 2000-2001 and published in 2001. Situations like this can be considered as factors which continue to misinform and setback the representation of child labour, likewise, act as drawbacks in endeavours to address the issue primarily in such regions.

2.3. Definitions and Conventions on Child Labour

In trying to address the different arguments on child labour which centre around the definition, its impact and causes, it is essential to establish who a child is. Therefore, Article 1 of the UNCRC states that a child is every person below the age of 18 years (International Labour Organisation, 2018; UNICEF, 1989). Interestingly, children under age 18 constitute more than half of a developing nation's population and a third of the world's population (UNICEF, 2015).

It is also agreed on that age of child, hours and type of work performed determines whether a work can be considered child labour (ILO, 2018). Also, the complexity of the subject matter is further reinforced by the idea that the answer to what is and can be classified as hazardous work varies from country to country. Child labour practice has existed throughout history likewise constitutes a problem for children. To this day, there is still no consensus on the definition of child labour (Kazeem, 2013). International organisations, however, share a mutual understanding of a child as anyone less than 18 years.

According to ILO (2018), child labour can be defined based on four premises, and they include: work that deprives children of their childhood, deprive children of their potential and dignity, work that interferes with their schooling and work that is physically, mentally, socially or morally harmful to the child. However, Okyere (2012) in his ethnographic study of mining children in Ghana argues that in its most basic form, child labour practice entails the cultural context within which it occurs, and the nature of the work done.

Considering the issue of child labour has globally resulted in several arguments centred on its definition, causes and impact. Three main international conventions have taken place to address these contested issues around child labour. They are two constitutional ILO conventions (ILO, 2017a) and one United Nations Convention (UNICEF, 1989), and they are:

● The International Labour Organisation, ILO Convention No.138: Issues concerning minimum age for employment; and the ILO Convention No. 146: recommendations. This convention was adopted in 1973 and addresses the minimum age for employment in every sector.

● The ILO Convention No. 182: Issues concerning worst form of child labour- its prohibition and immediate action for prohibition; and ILO Convention No. 190: recommendations. This was introduced and adopted by 181 countries in the year 1999 to address the prohibition and immediate measures to eliminate the worst forms of child labour (ILO,

2018). This convention serves to compliment Convention 138, and it is of utmost priority for international and national actions.

- United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child: Issues concerning rights of the child. This 54 article Convention covers all aspects of a child's economic, social, political, civil and cultural rights that every child below age 18 should be entitled to. From the 54 Articles, four are called 'General Principle' and considered special because they are fundamental in realising every other article, likewise help to interpret all the remaining articles. These four articles are: Article 2 (non-discrimination), Article 3(best interest of the child, Article 6 (right to life, survival and development) and Article 12 (right to be heard).

Likewise frame the concepts of child labour and serves as the basis of legislation for signatory countries, the above listed conventions serve as a foundation and theoretical basis for arguments presented within this work. It will be a baseline for making distinctions and conclusions on the forms of child labour from region to region- by discussing appropriate age to work, acceptable forms of child work and the will and rights of the street working child.

2.3.1. ILO Minimum Age Convention (No. 138)

According to the   UNICEF (2017b), this convention stipulates the general minimum age for children to be in employment or work. The general conference of the ILO announced this convention in 1973, but it only came into force in 1976. Convention 138 sets the minimum age for light work at 13 years and above, work employment at 15 years and above, hazardous work at 18 years and above (16 under certain strict conditions). Nonetheless, in underdeveloped economies, this Convention allows for a slightly lesser minimum age requirement for work. The general minimum age for employment is set at 15 years, but 14 years for developing countries. This way, in comparison to children in developed economies, children in developing countries can start work earlier to earn in order to support themselves and or families. The minimum age of employment is related to the age of compulsory schooling. ILO argues that it is one of the most effective measures of ensuring children do not start work when they are too young- this way children would focus more on schooling rather than work.

The Convention No. 138 is not explicitly concerned with stopping harmful work; rather it is centred on excluding children below a certain age from labour-force work; whether the work is harmful or not, and regardless of the condition within which they are conducted. According to

Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst (2015), there is no empirical evidence to underpin the notion that work conducted at an age below the specified minimum age standard of employment correlates with harmful work. Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst (2015) further regards Convention 138 as obsolete and criticises it for failing to protect children from harmful work for two reasons. Firstly, harmful work is not only confined to employment. Children can experience harmful and exploitative work while doing unpaid tasks in the home, and in some cases even more so than in paid employment. Secondly, just as the Convention seeks to protect children below minimum age, it consequently neglects children above specific ages from harmful work. This is because the minimum-age standard focuses on age rather than harm, and as such young children relieved from bad working conditions under Convention No. 138, end up returning to the same conditions later after a few years when they are older and above the minimum work age.

Besides, considering the gender discrepancies in child labour practice where boys work more in employment and girls are more involved in domestic work; minimum-age standards further exacerbates this gender discrimination. This is because Convention No. 138 addresses work in employment and not domestic work. As such, the incidence of child labour is significantly reduced among boys than girls. Bear in mind domestic work can be as harmful as work in employment. Girls consequently do not receive alleviation from harm, and continue to combine domestic work with schooling.

Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst (2015) further stated that Convention 138 disregards measures taken by families and children to minimise hazards while participating in work. Culturally, children from a young age are expected to grow into competency as they work alongside adults or older siblings, not unless they have acquired the necessary competence before they work by themselves. Therefore, minimum-age standards interfere with this practice and significantly dismiss not only efforts made by parents to ensure the work is safe, but it also may overlook the ability of the working child.

The ILO Convention 182 specifically protects children against harmful child work. Thus, any other restriction to work by age would only impact on non-harmful work. Arguably so, the importance of enforcement of the Minimum Age Convention is inadvertently left to address work that is not harmful, and in some cases, this may prohibit work that benefits the child- which can work against children's interest especially in difficult situations.

2.3.2. ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182)

According to the UNICEF (2017c), this convention identifies a child as anyone less than 18 years of age, and it is geared towards the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour. Announced in 1999, Convention No. 182 came into force in the year 2000 to complement Convention 138. This convention will be discussed in detail in section 2.7 of this chapter.

2.3.3. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)

Till date, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child or UNCRC is the most widely ratified and complete statement of the rights of every child up to 18 years around the world, regardless of their gender, ethnicity, language, religion, abilities or any other status (UNICEF, 2018). Although the Nigerian constitution does not define who a child is, the Nigerian Child Rights Act, CRA (2003) legislation has a similar definition to the UNCRC. The CRA (2003) defines a child as anyone under the age of 18 years (Abdulraheem-Mustapha, 2016). The UNCRC was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the 20th of November, 1989 (Okoli, 2009). As the first internationally recognised and documented human right code for children, the UNCRC has 54 articles that cover the social, economic, civil, political and cultural rights of children. According to this convention, every single right is as important as the other as they are all linked. For example, the right to education (Article 28) has equal importance as the right for children to be heard and have their views respected (Article 12).

The main aim of the UNCRC is to protect and promote the rights and welfare of children. The UNCRC standards were negotiated throughout 10 years by governmental, non-governmental organisations, social and health workers, religious leaders, educators, lawyers and human rights advocates from all over the world. Today, all countries of the world have ratified this convention excluding the United States of America (USA). Somalia and South Sudan were initially in the same category as the USA but ratified the convention in 2018. Although a human right code for children, the UNCRC greatly stresses that children have equal rights as adults regardless of their age, vulnerability, emotional development (Okoli, 2009).

2.3.4. The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC)

The ACRWC is a declaration on the rights and welfare of the African child, and it was adopted in 1979 by the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity (African Commission on Human and People's Rights, 2019). The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child recognises that due to socioeconomic, traditional, cultural, armed conflict and

natural disasters factors, most African children remain in critical situations. As a result, these children need special safeguarding and care with regards to their physical, mental, moral and social development (African Commission on Human and People, 2018). There are 48 Articles contained in the ACRWC which also covers the socioeconomic, cultural, family, education and health aspects of the African child's life.

2.4. Demographics of Child Labour

The statistics on child labour used in this study is obtained from the ILO Global Estimates on child labour. The ILO (2017b) 2012-2016 Global Estimate on the trend of child labour is the most recent and detailed report on child labour till date. This report concluded there had been a global reduction in the practice between years 2012-2016, and that this calculated reduction continues the reduction trend over the last 16 years since the inception and first publication of ILO Global Estimates on child labour in the year 2000. Aside the fact that the 2016 ILO Global Estimate extrapolated data from 105 national household surveys, covered over 70% of the global children population aged 5-17years as well as covered all world regions, this report is different from past ILO Estimates because it also included data from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries and China for the first time (ILO, 2017b). In addition, the ILO (2017b) 2012-2016 Global Estimate included contributions from the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), the Statistical Office of the European Union (Eurostat) and several other national statistical bodies.

According to the ILO (2017b) there was a significant decline in the statistics of child labour over 12 years period, with the most significant decline between 2008-2013, from 171 to 85 million; with Asia and the Pacific registering the largest absolute decline in child labour practice among 5-17 years within that four years period (2008-2013). Furthermore, girl child labours accounted for the most significant global decline in comparison to boys (ILO, 2013). However, it is interesting to note that Sub-Saharan Africa remains the region with the highest incidence of child labour, despite the recorded decline. Considering girl child labourers account for the highest number of child labour in this region; one would expect that the global decline would be significant in this region. This, however, is not the case.

While there is a recorded global reduction in child labour figures, it is apparent that the reduced incidence is not experienced by every region, as some countries figures are contrary to the trend.

Child labour practice is more prevalent in low-income countries at 19% in comparison to lower-middle-income countries (9 per cent), upper-middle-income countries (7 per cent) and upper-income countries (1 per cent) (ILO, 2017b). It does not mean only low-income countries are affected by child labour practice, as child labour is spread across various economies, but only higher in poorer countries. The ILO Global Estimate agrees, stating that the 152 million child labourers are distributed unevenly around the world. The distribution is as follows: almost half of them are situated in Africa, accounting for 72.1 million, Asia and the Pacific with 62.1 million, the Americas having 10.7 million and the Arab States in Europe and Central Asia accounting for 5.5 million. While every region has between 3 per cent and 7 per cent in terms of prevalence, Africa has the highest prevalence rate of 19.6%. Meaning 1 in every 5 children is involved in child labour in Africa, 1 in 35 children in the Arab States (2.9 per cent), 1 in 25 in Europe and Central Asia (4.1 per cent) and 1 in 14 children in Asia and the Pacific region (7.4 per cent). Rapid population growth, poverty, bad leadership, high rates of unemployment, low wages and corruption have all been identified as likely causes of child labour in Third World Countries (Ndem, Micheal and Awa, 2012). The complex and dynamic nature of child labour facilitates its incidence and prevalence within these economies, and interventions and policies cannot supersede child labour practice solely focusing on poorer countries.

From the most recent ILO report, it is interesting to note that child labour does not principally occur in developing countries. Globally, over 218 million children aged between 5 and 17 years are in employment (ILO, 2017b), *children in employment* comprises of both *children in child labour* and children in other permitted forms of employment involving children of legal working age. Out of the 218 million population of employed children, approximately 152 million are child labourers (UNICEF, 2016; ILO, 2017b). More so, children aged 5-11 years make up almost half of the 152 million child labour population, 12-14 years old account for 28% (42 million); while 15-17 years constitute 24% (37 million) of child labour population. Although this 15-17 years age bracket is above the minimum working age, they are still considered child labourers because they perform hazardous work which is most prevalent among them in comparison to other working age groups (ILO, 2017). Consequently, they suffer higher levels of work-related injury and illness and school dropout in comparison to other *children in employment* in the same age group.

OF THE 152 MILLION CHILDREN IN CHILD LABOUR

152 million

METRICS
- 152 million were in child labour
- Of which, 73 million were in hazardous work

73 million

REGIONAL PREVALENCE OF CHILD LABOUR

- Africa — 19.6%
- Americas — 5.3%
- Arab States — 2.9%
- Asia and the Pacific — 7.4%
- Europe and Central Asia — 4.1%

AGE PROFILE

48%
5-11 years-olds

28%
12-14 years-olds

24%
15-17 years-olds

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

70.9% Agriculture

11.9% Industry

17.2% Services
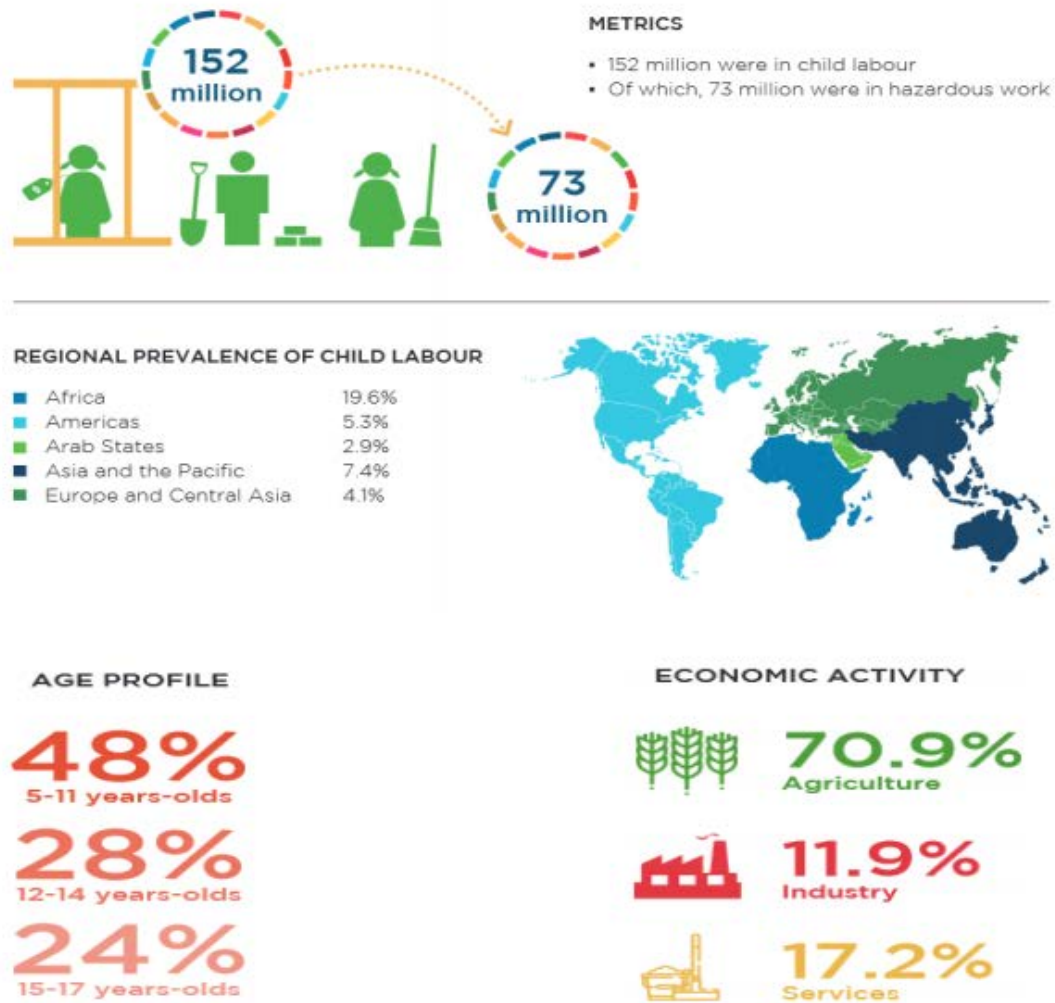
Figure 1: A diagram of ILO (2017) report on child labour statistics among children aged 5-17 on any given day in 2016.

Figure 1- ILO (2017) report on child labour

This study, however, points out that an accurate figure/statistic on child labour does not answer the question 'why children work' and 'why it is more prevalent in some societies than others', neither does it tell the stories/experiences of these working children and how working impacts on their lives. Therefore, future Global Estimates on the trends of child labour should show practical contact with and observation of working children in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon from region to region; instead of mainly basing goals, representation, conclusions and recommendations on the subject matter mainly on numbers and figures.

The social, cultural, economic and geographical defining characteristics of child labour make it more difficult to identify and address accurately. Several published articles and books on the subject matter to this day fail to offer a consensus on the definition of the topic (Srivastava, 2012). Many mostly have focused on the economic aspects of child labour (Edmonds and Pavcnik, 2005; Basu and Vans, 1999), likewise the social aspect (Samonova, 2014). Others have combined both investigating socio-economic features of the phenomenon. One thing can however be agreed on, child labour can and in some cases have resulted in varying levels of harm to the working child, as such, most people investigate child labour practice to improve children's conditions. Therefore, the need to carefully unpick child labour issues is still very much important. This is because it would highlight variances in the cultural, social, economic and geographical presentation of the practice; with the ultimate goal of not only preventing harm from children but also improving the child's living condition.

2.5. Child labour in Africa

Child labour is a global concern, and there exist several works of literature calling for an extinction of the practice. As earlier stated in section 2.4, the global incidence of child labour is more in Sub-Saharan Africa as one fifth in all African children is involved in child labour (IPEC, 2018). Aside from the fact that hazardous work is more predominant in this region, the statistics of child labour in sub-Saharan African countries could also possibly be explained by the lack of a clear definition of child labour and child work in the regions, hence, no clear distinction between both. Progress in addressing child labour phenomenon in Africa appears to have stalled (IPEC, 2018), where other regions make headway. As duly noted by Basu (1999), the main reasons for child labour analyses and discussion are to inform policymaking. Hence, if researchers' analysis and arguments on child labour contrast too much, the usefulness of their analysis may become undermined and redundant to policymakers, given the lack of clear and consistent discourse on the matter to effect positive change (Rogers and Swinnerton, 2002).

Within the context of Nigeria, the perception of child labour may very well vary from that of other regions because of cultural differentialism. The ideas Nigerians have about children working may very well differ from perceptions conceived and held by the Western world and the International community. This difference in perceptions can serve as a barrier to effectively tackling the phenomenon. Nonetheless, Habermas '*lifeworld'* theory gives insight into how such an issue can be reconciled. According to this theory, the direct or indirect experiences of an individual on certain matters (in this case child labour), enormously results in his/her subjective knowledge

about the matter, also referred to 'lay knowledge'. This lay knowledge impacts on their perception on the child labour practice within the context of their everyday life. Therefore, people should be understood through communicative interactions aimed at constructing the definition of a situation, negotiating the meaning of the situation, renegotiating the meaning of the situation, and the process of augmentation- putting forward reasons, listening to others and choosing to proceed with the better argument (Habermas, 1987:145). Although Habermas utilised this theory in analysing health, one can draw reasoning from it to facilitate understanding of child labour practices in diverse contexts. Habermas '*lifeworld*' further grounds arguments presented in section 13.3. of this work.

2.5.1. Gender discrepancies in the region

The ILO (2017a) reported that among ages 5-17 years children, boy's involvement in hazardous work is significantly higher. Boys account for 58% of all children in child labour and 62% of those in hazardous work. Further stating that child labour among boys fell by 25% since the year 2000, compared to 40% for girls. The cultural idealisation of women/ females as being suited for childbearing and home grooming roles is a significant barrier to achieving gender parity in education and child labour. Unfortunately, girls from their early age accept this reality, and any means of changing this idea is frowned upon and seen as problematic by the community and even girls themselves- the effect of such on schooling has been documented in developing countries (Kling et al., 2007). Hence, unlike males, girls are more 'inactive' as they are not encouraged to attend school. As well as the disparity in schooling, Bhalotra (2007) suggested that the reason female children engage in child labour is ambiguous; in comparison to their male counterparts who indulge in the practice due to poverty. This may mostly be because of the socio-cultural norm that exists in the region.

Poverty is documented as the primary factor that determines the type of work children perform and if it affects their educational attainment. In explaining the disparity in gender schooling and child labour in Pakistan, Bhalotra (2007) asserts that girls' are less likely to attend school and more likely to work if their family owned large plots of land as compared to girls in households with smaller landholdings. Thus, suggesting that girls' work is not driven by poverty in the region and families possibly hold a relatively low expected returns to schooling. Therefore, any intervention aimed at facilitating girl child education may have little impact in reducing the incidence of child labour. This is because the facilitation of female child education would comprise of girls that are already 'inactive' at home; as they are less involved in child labour

(Ravallion and Wodon, 2000). Also, from the study, girls' work was perceived as seasonal- as most of the wage employed girls worked on non-household farms. In contrast, boys who were wage employed worked on non-agricultural activities and are more likely to work consistently. Also, Bhalotra (2007) suggests child labour reduction strategies should be gender specific- cash offering to households supplying child labour would effectively encourage schooling and reduce child labour amongst boys. Moreover, for girls, the attitude of girls' education needs to be altered in order to promote gender parity in education.

2.6. Children in Employment

Children carry out various kinds of jobs around the world. *Children in employment* refer to every working child below 18 years. It consists of children who work in any form of market production and certain forms of non-market production (primarily, the production of goods such as agricultural produce for their own consumption). This includes children working in: both formal and informal economy, within or outside family setting, for pay or profit (in kind or cash, part-time or full-time) and lastly domestic work outside household for an employer (paid or unpaid) (ILO, 2017a).

In other words, c*hildren in employment* can be considered a broader term consisting of children who are involved not only in child labour but also consists of those of legal working age who engage in permitted forms of employment (ILO, 2017a). As stated in section 2.4., worldwide, children in employment are estimated to be 218 million, with child labourers accounting for 152 million of that figure, and 66 million children of legal working age in permitted forms of labour.

The permissible forms of employment for children include children in light work and non-hazardous work below stipulated minimum working age of Convention No. 138. Child employment in labour becomes unacceptable when it defies stipulated minimum age or conditions for working. For example, light work is only permissible at a minimum age of 12 or 13 years, of which when conducted below such age, it would be considered child labour. Similarly, the minimum age permissible for non-hazardous work is 15 years and over; below this age, it is also considered child labour for a child to indulge in non-hazardous work.

2.6.1. Light work: Domestic work and household chores

Although notoriously difficult to define, *children in light work* according to Article 7 of the ILO convention No 138 is the engagement of children in work that is not likely to be harmful to their development and health, as well as work that does not compromise their attendance at school, neither does it prejudice their participation in vocational activities approved by a competent authority (ILO, 2017a).

C*hildren performing household chores* or *domestic work* are a group of children who do light work for consumption within the household, engage in domestic and personal services (ILO, 2017). Household chores and productive activities are considered a process of learning that familiarises children with the 'rules' for social interaction and harmonious family relations (Salazar and Glasinovich, cited in International Labour Office, 2004). Examples of household chores include: cooking and serving meals, washing and ironing and or caring for a family member among other domestic tasks. There is no age limit set for when it is acceptable for a child to indulge in domestic practices; this is because domestic work and household chores are not included in the minimum working age legislation (stated in Convention 138), neither are they considered a form of child employment.

Children in performing household chores constitute a 'non-economic' form of production; thus it was statistically recorded for the first time in the ILO's 2016 Global Estimates but not considered a form of child labour in the 2016 ILO Global report on child labour. The 2016 Global Estimate indicates that girls are much more likely to perform household chores than boys, as girls accounted for two-thirds of the 54 million 5-14 years children who perform chores for at least 21 hours a week. Also, girls are more likely to be engaged in double duties- working in employment likewise carrying out household chores. The 2016 Global Estimate indicates that girls are much more likely to perform household chores than boys, as girls accounted for two-thirds of the 54 million 5-14 years children who perform chores for at least 21 hours a week.

In many sub-Saharan African nations, it is socio-culturally acceptable for children to engage in these types of activities. The Nigerian social structure is characterised by institutionalised patriarchy (Aderinto, 1999), the responsibility of the care of disabled, elderly and or chronically ill relatives are usually accorded to family members- children and youth, most especially girls and young women take up this responsibility (Evans, 2010). Although work such as household chores, domestic work undertaken as part of education and work in family establishments are not

included in the *children in employment* statistics. These forms of work can also expose children to cruel treatment, expose them to long working hours or even interfere with their schooling. Furthermore, the fact that they are unregulated makes these tasks often hidden to the public eye. Therefore, although they are not considered in the ILO Conventions 138 and 182, these practices are not necessarily safe, and so need to be addressed as well.

2.7. Child Labour

Children in child labour are a select group of *children in employment* that excludes children who are above minimum working age in non-hazardous and those in permitted light work. Globally, of the estimated 152 million child labourers, approximately 88 million are boys and 64 million girls; which accounts for almost one in ten of every child worldwide (ILO, 2017). Work becomes child labour subject to the age of the child (Convention 138), the type of work/worst form of child labour (Convention, 182), and right of the child to education (UNICEF, 2018).

2.7.1. Worst forms of child labour

The *Worst forms of child labour* are activities children engage in that are detrimental, hazardous to them, likewise morally repugnant. The ILO (2017b) convention No. 182 was produced to address these forms of labour, and it was signed in 1999 by the government of 175 countries that are member states of the International Labour Organisation. Among these member states, there was an international consensus that there are certain forms of work children carry out that profoundly oppose the fundamental human rights of children, and so there was a unanimous decision to make the elimination of these activities a priority. Though signed, countries still have to ratify the Convention; meaning that individual countries must commit to effecting immediate measures to prohibit and eliminate all worst forms of child labour for children aged 18 years and under. Since 1999 to date six more countries have signed this convention, making it a total of 182 countries including Nigeria that have ratified the ILO Convention 182 (ILO, 2017b).

According to Article 3 of the ILO Convention No. 182, activities that are considered *worst forms of child labour* are in four categories:

1. all forms of slavery (sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and forced labour),
2. the use or procurement of children for prostitution (including pornographic performances and production),
3. the use or procuring of children for illicit activities (drug trafficking and production) and,

4. Lastly, category four work which by nature or circumstance within which the work is carried out, the safety, morals or health of the child is likely to be harmed (ILO, 2017).

There are two variations in the *worst forms of child labour* based on article 3 of the ILO convention 182, and they are the unconditional worst forms of child labour and hazardous work. The two variations of the worst forms of child labour are categorised by definition and by condition. The first three categories listed above (slavery, child prostitution and use of children for illicit activities) are considered the worst form of child labour by definition and are also referred to as unconditional worst forms of child labour; while the last category is by condition, also known as hazardous work. Eliminating the first three categories (the unconditional worst forms of child labour) is of utmost priority for many international organisations, as they are the principal target of both action programmes and international researches (ILO, 2017b).

2.7.2. Unconditional worst forms of child labour and Hazardous Work

According to ILO (2017b), child labour by definition is also called the *unconditional worst forms* of child labour, and it is often considered illegal and unacceptable even for adults. These forms of labour have some 'forced' element to it, for example, an estimated 24.8 million children below age 18 are forcefully involved in commercial sexual exploitation and other forms of forced labour and exploitation imposed by individuals and state authorities. Therefore, these are activities that would always be considered a *worst form* of child labour regardless of changes/improvement in the conditions within which they are carried out and age of the child. For example, slavery is not an acceptable form of work, regardless of working condition or age of the child. This is an extreme form of child labour and thus considered an 'unconditional' *worst form of child labour*. The Convention No. 182 offers no room for member countries to contextualise or determine the scope of *unconditional worst form*s of child labour. This is because under no circumstance are these activities an acceptable task for a child. For example, no amount of improvement in working conditions is adequate to make the commercial sexual exploitation of children (or other similar tasks) acceptable.

2.7.3. Hazardous Work

Globally, approximately 73 million of the 152 million child labourers are involved in hazardous work. Hazardous work is the most prevalent form of child labour in Nigeria, likewise the most prevalent in the agricultural and service sectors (ILO, 2017b). Agricultural sector primarily constitutes of livestock herding and commercial farming, and also has the most concentration of

child labourers, accounting for 71% (unlike 17% in services and 12% in the industrial sector) of the global child labour population. As a result, most child labourers in Nigeria are in *hazardous work*.

The other variation in *worst form of child labour* is by condition, and it is called *hazardous work*. This can be defined as any work that compromises the physical, mental or moral well-being of children either due to the condition within which it is carried out or because of its nature. *Hazardous work* makes up the fourth category of *worst form of child labour*. This type of work includes physical work such as street work, carrying heavy load, mining and construction, manufacturing operations or even scavenging; or psychologically stressful situations such as working under pressure to produce something, work that exposes the child to unhealthy adult behaviours (smoking, drinking, gambling), or work that isolate children from their peers. These activities expose children to long working hours, night work, physical, sexual or psychological abuse, work underground, work with dangerous equipment and machinery, handling or transporting of heavy loads among other hazard-prone tasks (ILO, 2017b).

Unlike unconditional worst form of child labour, the ILO Convention No. 182 allows for countries to determine what should be categorised as *hazardous work* for prohibition. Thus, it is also called the *worst form* "by condition". Children should never be permitted to carry out hazardous activities, or at least not the younger children (International Labour Office, 2004). Nevertheless, *hazardous work* can become acceptable for children if the working circumstances change. For instance, if a child of minimum working age works in a factory without appropriate personal protective equipment (PPE), then fitting adequate PPEs may make the task non-hazardous; and thus, ceases to be classified as child labour not only under the Convention 182 but also Convention 138.

Considering each member country has the freedom to determine what type of work constitutes a hazard, laws on what is considered *hazardous work* vary from country to country. Unfortunately, although many countries have a set minimum working age, it is also uncommon to find developing countries clearly specify the parameters for *hazardous work*. Thus, many young children are likely trapped in hazardous activities especially in developing countries where structures and policies are not expertly produced and implemented.
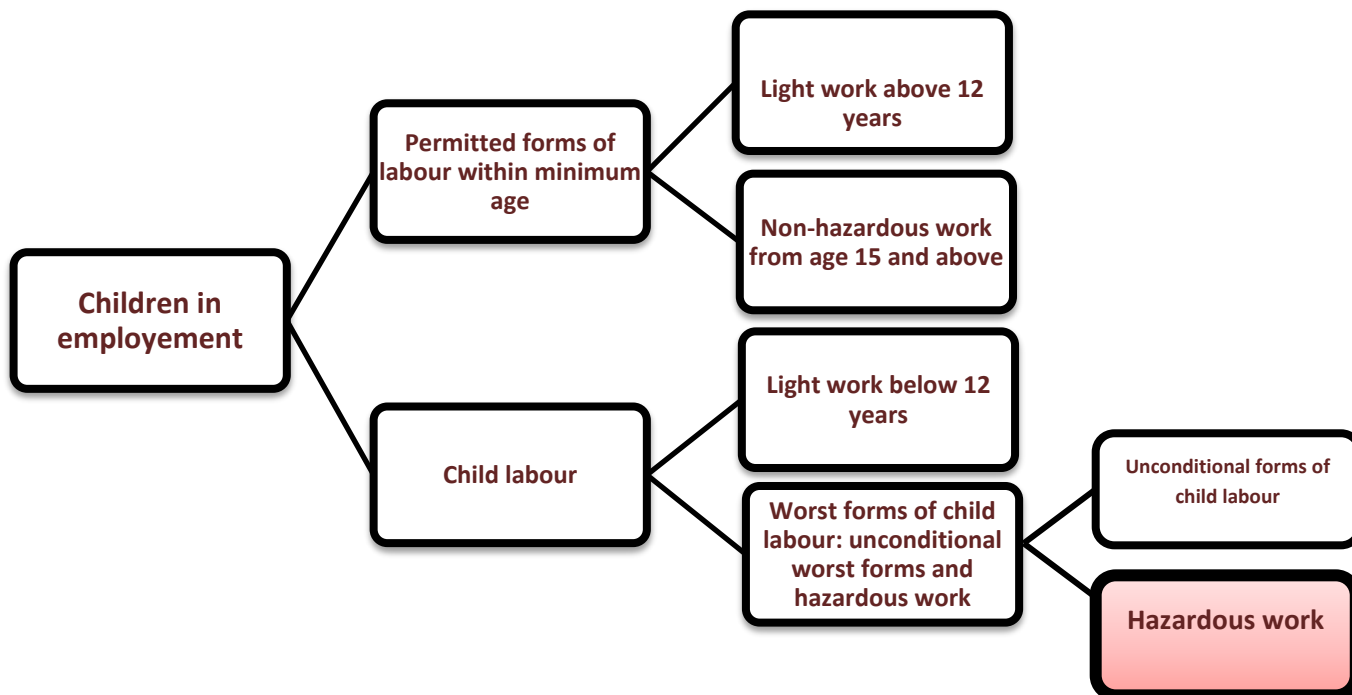
Figure 2- A summary of the ILO Conventions No. 138 (minimum age for work) and 182 (Issues concerning worst form of child labour) in relation to children in employment.

Section Two

2.8. The focus of the study

The main focus of this study is Hazardous work; not only because it accounts for the highest number of the global child labour population, but also because in Nigeria, it is the most predominant and visible form of work children carry out. The scope of child labour in this study is street working children (primarily children *on* the street), as a form of hazardous work. Similar to Abbasi (2013), this study would use the word "street working children", instead of the term "street children". This is because the meaning of the term "street children" is often contested (Okonkwo and Alhaji, 2014) but primarily used to refer to the general population of children aged less than 18 years who earn and dwell on the street with little or no support and supervision. As a result, this general perception of 'street children' often falls short of defining the lives of children on the street.

Also, within the context of Benin City Nigeria, this study confines its attention to issues such as the role of poverty in child labour, child labour-child education relationship and the sociocultural aspects of child work. There are many other significant aspects of child labour which are essential especially around issues involving unconditional worst forms of child labour. However, it does

not seem feasible to take on board several child labour issues without the tendency to lose sight of the research question; which may consequently fail to produce meaningful analysis. Basu and Van (1998) agree with this stating that to make analysis essential and vital in addressing the child labour practice, there is no choice but to divide the phenomenon into separate parts and address it one at a time.

2.9. The Nigerian Context

Child labour practice in Nigeria is prevalent and predominantly in the informal sector, as children often work on family enterprises, commercial farms and as domestic workers (Bureau of International Affairs, 2017). The practice cuts across economic, cultural, social and religious facets of the country (Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity, 2017). ILO (2014) and UNICEF (2006) identified widespread poverty, lack of enforcement of child protection instruments and rapid urbanisation as significant causes of child labour in Nigeria.

As earlier stated in section 2.3, there are three child labour conventions that form the international standards on child labour. There are also regional and local legislative that are aimed at securing the wellbeing of children in Benin City. They are the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (African Commission on Human and People's Rights, 2019), the Federal Child's Rights Act (2003) (Centre for Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 2016) and the Edo State Rights of Children Law, ESRCL, (2014). Within the context of Nigeria, upon these regional and local legislatures, it is generally acceptable for children to assist their parents. There is almost an automatic sense of such expectation from and of the child from birth. Article 31 of the ACRWC states that: children have the responsibility to assist their parents and elders in times of need. Similarly, Section 19 of the ESRCL (2014) titled "Responsibilities of a child" states that "Every child must respect his/her parents or guardians, superiors and serve Edo State and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria with body, mind and soul", and "Work towards cohesion of his family and community".

Both legislations acknowledge the expectation of a child to work within the family in order to foster family cohesion. Therefore, it is considered acceptable by individuals and the government for children to be found working especially within the family. Also, concerning child labour, Article 32, 15, of the UNCRC and ACRWC respectively and section 28 of the ESCRL all clearly state their condemnation of the practice.

UNCRC Article 32 (child labour):

> *"Governments must protect children from economic exploitation and work that is dangerous or might harm their health, development or education. Governments must set a minimum age for children to work and ensure that work conditions are safe and inappropriate".*

ACRWC Article 15 (Child Labour):

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

Both the UNCRC and ACRWC focus on "exploitative work" and "harmful work", but indirectly recognise that children can work. According to Alaraudanjoki (2000) the UNCRC Article 32 recognises the right of the child to work as long as the work is not exploitative. Okoli (2009), further states that the definition of harmful work varies from culture to culture, from society to society, due to differences in child-rearing practices of and expectations from children, the UNCRC however acknowledges the dangers and risk of harm that working predisposes children to.

The main concerns for both legislative frameworks are the safety and protection of every child-which mainly revolves around the minimisation of risks irrespective of their culture or where they reside. Some argue that children do not need exclusive rights as they are already covered by the UN Human Right Act (Article2), while others suggest that children are too immature and vulnerable to understand the concepts of rights, as such they require specially tailored provisions to safeguard their interests (Woodhead and Montgomery, 2002).

In contrast to both the UNCRC and ACRWC, the ESCRL in section 28 states:

> ***"No child shall be forced or subjected to child labour, employed to work in any capacity except by a family member, required to lift heavy objects that would affect his/her physical, mental and spiritual, moral or social development and employed as domestic help outside the child's home or family environment".***

The Edo State legislation on the wellbeing and rights of children clearly does not tolerate hazardous work but allows child work within the family/household.

Nigeria has signed and ratified all conventions and declarations on child labour, but sometimes these conventions contrast each other. For example, excluding the UNCRC, both the ACRWC and ESCRL ascribe responsibility to the child. Consequently, when children work on the street with their families in Benin City Nigeria, it is beyond culturally acceptable, but also legally justified. At the same time, it is the right of the child to rest and play (UNCRC, Article 31), and work performed outside school may hinder the child's right to play and rest. Some authors (Abebe and Bessell, 2011; Nordtveit, 2010) argue that international conventions underpin a definition of childhood that very well may be at odds with the cultural values of some communities. As a result, standards which may not reflect their values and cultural norms are imposed on them (Twum-Danso, 2008).

Although Nigeria has signed and ratified Conventions 138 and 182, by setting a minimum age for hazardous work (18 years). The identification of hazardous activities prohibited for children has not met international standards (United States Department of Labour, 2016). Nonetheless, Nigeria has made significant efforts to address child labour and has ratified 40 ILO Conventions (such as prohibition of child trafficking, prohibition of forced labour, prohibition of commercial sexual exploitation of children and prohibition of using children for illicit activities) with corresponding legislation (such as the Labour Act, Child's Right Act, Trafficking in Persons Prohibition Enforcement and Administration Act and Cybercrimes Act). To facilitate the health and wellbeing of children on the street and gain insight into the situation, one has to understand the life situation and environment of families who practice it. There are no known documented statistics of street working children in Nigeria (Owoaje, Adebiyi and Asuzu, 2009), and caution should also be exercised in addressing labour phenomenon within the region. This is because without an understanding of the place of child labour practice in the real lives of these children and their families, interventions may leave children and their families disadvantaged.

2.10. Street working children

Street working activities constitute *hazardous work* and is the focus of this study. Though present in rural areas, this practise is more predominant in big cities. Street trading accounts for approximately 70% of urban employment in Nigeria, as many Nigerians generate income from entrepreneurial activities; and a significant amount of these activities occur on the street, often along roadside amidst traffic (Emozozo, 2017). Several Nigerian studies conclude that poverty, low standard of living, low income, unemployment and culture results in child street activities (Oluwaleye, 2017; Johnson and Ihesie, 2015; Nduka and Duru, 2014; Dada, 2013; Clark and Yesufu, 2012 ; Ashimolowo, Aromolaran and Inegbedion, 2010; Umar, 2009).

In every African country, children are seen on the street either by themselves or with their families (Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst, 2015). Children on the street predominantly hawk, sell items, and in this study, they include children who work apprenticeship jobs in stalls learning handiwork or craft. It is ubiquitous to find children working on the street; and in some cases, under harsh conditions on the street such as the scorching sun, cold, noise and air pollution.

Street working children are a heterogeneous group; they are present in most forms of child labour practice. For example, they could be found doing street prostitution, dealing of drugs on the street (unconditional worst forms of child labour) or being roadside hawkers (hazardous form of child labour because of the condition within which it is carried out). However, with this said, this study sets out to investigate the lives of street working children who are 'on' the street, with the aim of offering insight into their working practice and highlight the extents to which these activities on the street are hazardous and impact on their lives.

Concerning Convention 138, child street work cannot be restricted as there is no stipulated minimum age for children to appear on the street (Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst, 2015), instead only the minimum age for employment exists. Also, Convention No. 138 does not cover street working children; not only because there is no stipulated age for being on the street, but also because most of these children do not operate in formal employment. However, Convention 182 covers work carried out by street working children because it is likely to be hazardous. It is interesting to note that the Nigerian government are making attempts to clamp down street activities, as street work falls into the country's category of what is and should be considered hazardous work in the country (Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity, 2013). Although the list for hazardous work is not officially endorsed (IPEC, 2014) some states continue to implement measures to get street working children off the street. For example, Lagos State government banned street trading in 2016; street vendors are also similarly being intimidated and harassed on the street by government personnel in Benin City.

These actions, although needed to curb the worst forms of child labour, still falls short for two reasons. Firstly, the government only just produced a document for categories of work activities classified as *hazardous work* for prohibition (as recommended by the ILO Convention 182) in 2013, and this document is yet to be officially endorsed as it functions only as a draft. Nevertheless, following Convention 182, interventions aimed at getting the working child off the street can be seen as going against the UN convention on the right of the child, especially Article

3 (best interest of the child); considering taking them off the street may further marginalise and deprive them of opportunities. Secondly, imposing a ban and the use of intimidation on the street to clamp down on all street activities shows the government's failure to differentiate between the types of street working children and recognise that not every child on the street is necessarily in harm's way. Though the government have concerns about street activities causing overcrowding, disruption and congestion on main roadways (Emozozo, 2017), and concern of higher incidences of road traffic accidents in areas with higher concentration of street traders. Child street work has not officially been classified as hazardous work in Nigeria, even in any of its form. Also, hazardous work is yet to be clearly defined. It is confusing as to what legal and Conventional backing interventions have for getting children *on the street* off the street.

The street working child is not often represented as a diverse group; as it is mostly the case where they are seen and discussed as one group- ignoring their different and unique situations. For example, although differentiated between the groups of street working children, yet, Adewale and Afolabi, (2013) propose that the phenomenon of 'street children' is a menace and an eyesore among major cities that occurs as a result of poor welfare, neglect and faulty upbringing of certain groups of children. This statement is a clear case of how the street working child is generally put across regardless of the form of labour they engage in, likewise the level of support the child receives and the individual situation of street working children.

There are two kinds of children that work on the street in Nigeria: *children of the street* and *children on the street* (Omiyinka, 2009). The former refers to children who typically earn a living and dwell on the streets, with little or no adult supervision. These children run away from home, drop out of school or become orphaned, thus end up in this situation. In contrast, *children on the street* refer to children who carry out activities on the street either on full or part-time bases, under the supervision of their parents/guardian and return to their homes each day, rather than residing/dwelling on the street. Considering there are two types of street working children, it is, therefore, an unfair statement to suggest that street working children are a "…social and environmental menace ….a common eye sore in major cities" as it does not completely reflect the life of every child working on the street.

2.10.1. Children of the street

In Nigeria, street working children are geographically and culturally diverse (Abubakar-Abdullateef, Adedokun and Omigbodun, 2017). Street working children in the Southern part of

Nigeria are typically referred to as "area boys", "street urchins", or the general term "street children'' and they operate in motor parks or markets- either doing legitimate work (hawking, doing menial jobs) and/schooling, or conducting illicit activities (pick-pocketing) alone. In the Northern parts of Nigeria, the Almajirai are found on the street aside from studying Quranic lessons, they typically beg and wander the street and, in some cases, indulge in menial work in exchange for money or food.

Children of the street are boys and girls less than 18 years, who earn a living and reside on the street with inadequate protection and supervision. According to Parveen (2014), the inter-NGO definition of children of the street is "any girl or boy who has not reached adulthood, for whom the street (in the broadest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland) has become her or his habitual abode and/or source of livelihood, and who is inadequately protected, supervised or directed by responsible adults. In Nigeria, these children sleep in unsecured places such as: in market stalls and under bridges. Circumstances like high striking poverty and loss of their parents most times force children to be of the street (Okonkwo and Alhaji, 2014). They roam the streets, car parks, markets in their source for livelihood, and in some case, they employ anti-social survival strategies to sustain themselves. According to (Bhukuth and Ballet, 2015), they also face several difficulties, as they are marginalised and considered pariahs by their societies; and in some cases, businesses are threatened by their presence. As such, businessmen hire police to get rid of them from business vicinities. As a result of all these characteristics, they are particularly regarded as a vulnerable population.

Children of the street are not only classified as worst forms of child labour because it predisposes children to very high risk of injury and abuse as stated in Convention 182, but also specifically fall into the category of unconditional worst forms of child labour because it has the possibility of trapping children in forced labour, child prostitution, use of arms and dealing of drugs. These children either run away or are forced to dwell on and survive on the street. Though predominantly on the street, they sometimes spend time in institutions, or prisons or may temporarily go home (Terre Des Hommes, 2010). They are commonly referred to in the literature as "street children". Other terms used to refer to them are "children without shelter" and "children in especially difficult circumstances". Their living situations expose them to more risk of sexual and physical assault, infections and diseases and mental health issues (anxiety, depression and insomnia); which is mainly because they are not under consistent protection and supervision of their parents/guardian.

Consequently, in some cases, *children of the street* are taken up by other grown up unemployed individuals, who also grew up on the street (Emordi and Osiki, 2008). In Nigeria, these individuals are sometimes referred to as 'Area Boys' or 'Agberos', and they earn their living on the streets doing both illicit and legal activities (Uyieh, 2018). They groom these children on ways to make money on the streets via several means- selfih and in some cases violent means (such as pocket picking, gambling, begging and extortion) as well as legitimate street work (street hawking, trading, and errands among others). These street guardians also serve to protect and act on behalf of these children whenever they get into trouble on the streets in the process of making money (Edewor, 2014).

Children of the street have received enormous attention from both international, NGO's and individual researchers because of the severe impact such lifestyle have on the child's education, physical, psychological and moral well-being (Omiyinka, 2009).

2.10.2. Children on the street

Children on the street refer to children under 18 years who carry out income generating activities on the street either on full or part-time bases, but they return to their homes each day, as they do not dwell on the street, and they often have parental/guardian supervision. They are a group of children who are classified as child labourers either due to their age or conditions under which they work. Their profile varies as some of them either carry out street work on full-time bases (apprenticeship) or combine it with school. Working on the street is a combination of the child's external influence (family and peers) and the child's survival strategies to cope with existing circumstances (Terres Des Hommes, 2010). On the street, these children do not all share similar backgrounds; they possess certain narratives that help them conduct business, form relations and make friends while working on the street.

Children on the street are the largest group of street working children (Bhukuth and Ballet, 2015), as well as constitute the highest statistics of child workers in Nigeria. Ironically, they are less discussed than children *of* the street in Nigerian literature. Eliminating this group of child labour is not a priority for many International organisations, as unconditional worst forms of child labour (as discussed in section 2.7. of this chapter) are the primary target of both action programmes and international researches (ILO, 2017a). Also, as a misconception, children on the street sometimes hold the same controversial meaning as "street children" as earlier stated in section 2.9 of this chapter. As a result, there is the misconception that every child found on the street is

homeless, uneducated, suffering and need saving. As such, the quality of life of *children on the street* is not equally evaluated as they are often either overlooked, misrepresented or not given as much attention to express their opinions, likewise considered as children of the street (regarding intervention).

From the literature and the researcher's experience of the street, this work characterises *children on the street* into two groups: children who combine work with school (Mosabo, 2017; Young Lives, 2016; Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst, 2015) and children who work in informal sectors (Onodugo et al., 2016; Abbasi, 2013), as apprentice (Fajobi et al., 2017).

2.11. Types of street work children engage in within Nigeria

There are different types of work children participate in on the street- some forms of work facilitate situated and experiential learning; some are difficult and demanding, while others are hazardous, exploitative and morally unacceptable (especially unconditional worst forms of child labour). In some extreme situations, children are left to fend for themselves on the street of large cities, in the process get separated from their families and exposed to serious hazards and illnesses (ILO, 2017). In other cases, children routinely do paid, or unpaid forms of work that are not harmful to them (UNICEF, 2016), and significant labour occurs within the family unit (ILO, 2017a). It is crucial to understand that most forms of labour on the street do not occur in an employee-employer relationship, instead they take place in family owned farms and establishments. Such understanding is necessary to develop and facilitate interventions apt for supporting street working children in affected regions.

The ILO (2018) agrees that not every work children indulge in should be classified as child labour to be targeted for elimination. This is because these types of work do not affect the child's personal development and health; neither do they interfere with the child's schooling, as they are conducted outside school hours and during holidays. As such, they can generally be regarded as something positive. These activities include assisting parents with the family business and around the home or earning pocket money outside school hours. In contributing to their family's welfare, children develop skills and acquire experience that prepares them for adult life, which makes them grow up into productive members of the society (ILO, 2018).

The scope, intensity, remuneration and nature of work children in Nigeria has changed (Omokhodion, Omokhodion and Odusote, 2006). In developing countries and large cities, it is common to observe children working on the street without the safety of their parents and

guardians. Traditionally, these children worked with their families, but today they are sometimes forcefully sent to work for their benefit as well as the sustenance of the family; as income earned by the child is considered significant to impoverished families' income.

More so, these jobs that the children do are very diverse, can be tedious and are sometimes carried out in dangerous and uncontrolled environments. Examples of these jobs include beggars, street vendors, shoe shiners and car washers (UNICEF, 2006); others include bus conductors, hairdressers and domestic servants. Furthermore, in Nigeria, girls start working at an earlier age than boys- particularly in rural settings. According to UNICEF (2006), female children suffer triple the burden of paid or unpaid work outside the home, as child domestics are commonly observed in Nigerian homes to be mostly girls.

SOUTH WEST	SOUTH EAST	NORTH WEST	NORTH EAST
Street trading	Street trading	Street trading	Street trading
Apprenticeships	Apprenticeships	Herding	Herding
Domestic service	Domestic service	Farming	Kiosk operating
Hotel attendants	Factory work	Shoe shinning	Shoe shinning
Vending	Vending	Begging	Begging
Car washing	Car washing	Garage boys	Garage boys
Hawking	Hawking	Hawking	Hawking
Vulcanizers	Vulcanizers	Vulcanizers	
Bus conducting	Bus conducting		
Prostitution	Prostitution		
Potage			
Weaving			

Table 1: *The types work street working children carry out in Nigeria by zone (Ndem, Micheal and Awa, 2012).*

Young children are typically found on the streets trading, working on farms and weaving. Unfortunately, some of them are trafficked into Nigeria from neighbouring countries such as Togo, Benin and Niger for prostitution, market traders, domestic servants and child beggars. Poor urban children lack literacy even with the various educational reforms such as the Free Basic Education Programme (UBE) and Free Lunch Feeding Policy (The World Bank in Nigeria, 2018). Fyfe (2000) asserts that the old attitudes about child labour persist in developing countries despite the global change in attitude towards child labour. Furthermore, aside from the outdated perception of child labour as normal in several developing countries, it is also practised due to

rapid population growth, poverty, bad leadership, high rates of unemployment, low wages and corruption (Ndem, Micheal and Awa, 2012; Bass, 2004).

2.12. Child labour and poverty- Theoretical Assumptions: Luxury and Substitute Axiom

A child may work to contribute to the basic survival of the family, most especially in situations of poverty where basic household human needs are unmet. This is a significant stance argued by several researchers, and Basu and Van (1998) has a well-known classical work on this argument. Basu who is an Indian economist and academic and was also the Senior Vice-President and Chief Economist of the World Bank in his 1998 and 2008 work with Van presented arguments on poverty- two crucial assumptions of poverty being the primary cause of child labour. These assumptions are: luxury and substitute axiom.

Although in their analysis of child labour, Basu and Van never precisely defined child labour nor state activities that constitute the phenomenon, instead they stated that in attempt to meet household subsistence needs, children engage in some work activities. Their focus was on the multiple equilibria which they claimed seemed to be an inherent characteristic of the child-labour market – one in which wages are high, and children do not work, and another in which wages are low and children work. This model gives primacy to household wealth as a determinant of child labour.

2.12.1. Luxury Axiom

In their definition, Basu and Van (1998) explained luxury axiom as a situation when a family's income drops very low, and they *only send their child to work* to increase the household income. Luxury axiom can also be described as a situation where non-child labour income is insufficient to meet the daily upkeep of the home; therefore, child labour is necessary to supplement the family's income for daily sustenance (ILO, 2007). Basu and Van argue that when children work, they would be working to have a target income to compliment overall household income. This target income would be the difference between the income needed for running the family and income gotten without child labour.

Child labour is often paralleled to child abuse. When it comes to children working, the practice is typically explained by two assumptions. Firstly, is the idea that parents are selfish and would rather enjoy leisure while their child works; secondly, the phenomenon is taken to be a product

of avaricious entrepreneurs who solicit for cheap labour. According to Basu and Van (1998), the latter is well accurate, but they argue the representation of parents is mischaracterized.

Basu and Van further put forward that children in 'non-poor' households seldom work even when they reside in poor communities because children's 'non-work' or leisure is a 'luxury good' which these households can afford as part of their overall consumption. In contrast, a poor household cannot afford to consume this 'luxury good', rather would do so as soon as household income significantly rises. This part of the argument presented by Basu and Van simply explained child labour assuming that "parents withdraw their children from labour force as soon as they can afford to do so" (p. 415). Again, to capture this idea, Basu and Van cites the work of Claudia Goldin (1979) which concluded that "The higher the father's wage, the lower the probability of the child participating in the labour force." and also: "The father's unemployment sent both boys and girls into the labour force, with a stronger impact on the former." (P. 124). Some other studies (Genicot, 2005; Vincent, 1981) further state that working children do not blame their parents for having to indulge in work activities, instead they believe poverty forced their parents into making such decisions.

Luxury axiom explains the supply of child labour by elucidating the decision-making process within the household. Consequently, grounds for declaring child labour practice illegal becomes significantly weakened- as child labour could be perceived as an act of desperation on the part of parents. If parents' employment prospects and wages were better, it seems reasonable not to expect parents to send their children to work. In luxury axiom, an increase in family wage could potentially reduce child labour- where initially for reasons of survival, parents are forced or compelled to send their children to work.

Furthermore, if subsistence poverty drives child labour, interventions aimed at making child education more accessible and affordable may have little effect in curbing child labour, as the family's basic needs would remain unmet. Instead, policies aimed at compensating households who put their children in school and dissociate from the practice have a better chance of eliminating child labour. For example, the Progresa in Mexico (Skoufias and Parker, 2001), Food-for-Education Programme in Bangladesh (Ravallion and Woden, 2000), and the Bolsa Escola and PETI in Brazil (World Bank, 2001).

2.12.2.   Substitute Axiom

Substitute axiom is a situation where firms make child labour a substitute for adult labour. Under this assumption, if adult wages are higher than child wages in the market, firms will always prefer employing children instead of adults (Bhukuth and Ballet, 2006). Therefore, families would be left to solely rely on child labour as a significant source of the family's income; thus, substituting adult labour for child labour. This hypothesis focuses on the demand side of labour. Assuming every child was banned from working; this would result in a shortage of labour, resulting in a high demand for it (Basu and Van, 1998). Given that child and adult labour are substitutes, a ban on child labour would directly lead to an increase in demand for adult labour and subsequently an increase in adult wages in response to the excess demand for labour (considering adult labour becomes the only available labour to meet up with the labour shortage). Given the above assumption by Basu and Van (1998), it is possible that an increase in adult wages will result in parents not wanting to send their children to work. Consequently, the initial ban subsequently becomes redundant; "In brief, once a ban is imposed, the ban may become unnecessary" (P.413). Basu and Van argue that child labour competes with adult labour in market-oriented activities. Nevertheless, Bhukuth and Ballet (2006) contradict this hypothesis, stating that labour substitution is not always feasible in every market-oriented situation.

2.13. Why do children work?

It is essential that the reasons for child work in Sub-Saharan Africa be rightly identified, considering the global discourse and concern about the rising statistics of the practice with the aim of addressing it. Bourdillon (2014) argues that efforts should be made to understand the fundamental reasons why children work and focus on reducing inequality and achieving equity; instead of focusing on means to stop children from working. Children generally work for many sociocultural and economic reasons. Economically, children from poorer households are most likely to work (Young Lives, 2018); as their parents are faced with the dilemma of balancing the family's immediate survival needs against upholding child education (which carries anticipated future rewards). Therefore, such dilemmas result in either of two consequences for the household: either the child works for education or works for the sustenance of the household.

2.13.1. Economic reasons

Over a decade, child labour practice has been attributed to poverty (Edmonds and Pavcnik, 2005: Edmonds, 2005; (Emerson and Souza, 2003; Ray, 2000; Basu and Tzannatos, 2003; Basu, 1999; Basu and Van, 1998); with the ubiquitous idea in the literature that children would not be sent

out to work by their parents if their parents can afford not to (Basu, Das and Dutta, 2010). The practice of child labour in families is more likely to occur if parents worked as children. This according to the International Labour Office (2004) results in poverty transmission across generations.

In contrast, Bhalotra and Heady (2004) in their study, presents the argument that in developing countries, land possession within households increases the amount of work for a child. Their findings challenged the general notion that poverty is the primary cause of child labour because land (as evident in their study in Ghana and Pakistan) is strongly correlated with wealth/household's income. Thus, suggesting that the incidence of child labour in wealthy homes is higher than that of more impoverished homes. Considering the more land possession a family has, the more likely it is for the child to work. Dumas (2007) also support this finding, likewise the work of Phoumin, Seiicchi and Kana (2008) stating that parents with greater assets involve their children in working for them because they require their assistance for operating those assets as well as an opportunity for the children to gain managerial skills; this situation they termed "Wealth Paradox". Shafiq (2007) supports this assertion, as evidence from his findings also shows that children whose parents have productive assets work more but are more likely to attend school.

Despite the different arguments, the role of economic interest as a factor in child labour is similar to both sides of the arguments- either in the child working because of subsistence or abundance. In Pakistan, Bhalotra (2007) conducted a qualitative study on why children work, to investigate the hypothesis that poverty compels child labour. Previously, no research has been done to investigate the assumption that poverty compels children to work, and this is important in informing policy. This was also a central hypothesis because, if children work because of poverty, a sanction on child labour will tend to impoverish already low-income families significantly. According to Basu, Das and Dutta (2008), initiatives geared at tackling child labour through reducing poverty can make a positive difference to child labour practices. These initiatives include availability of school meals, good schools, or payments of subsidy to parents of schooling children.

2.13.2. Working for Education

Another argument is that children do not necessarily work because of abject poverty wherein they do not have shelter or food; instead, children sometimes work in order to afford an

education for themselves (Okyere, 2012), or their siblings (Young Lives, 2018). Most families place great value on education and have high aspirations for their children (Young Lives, 2019). Formal education is not only considered a means of realising the child's ambition, but it is also seen as a means to eventual escape from a household's low socioeconomic status. For example, children in Ethiopia, Peru (Young Lives, 2018) and Ghana (Okyere, 2012) work in paid jobs to raise funds to pay school-related expenditure- such as buy books, uniforms and pay school fees. Working for education is quintessentially the lives of children on the street who school and work outside school hours. It is quite ironic as it is often argued that child labour negatively impacts on child education but may also be a lifeline that offers several children the opportunity to afford an education, as evident in the work of Okyere (2012).

Studies (Okyere, 2012; Goto, 2011) have expressed that poverty is not the sole reason for child labour, instead attributing the incidence of the practice to the desire for education, production technology, credit constraint and birth order (Edmonds, 2008). In a focused ethnographic study carried out in Ghana by Okyere (2012) explored the relationship between child labour and education within the context of children's experiences and wider life opportunities. He claimed combating poverty is more instrumental in facilitating child education. The study conducted observations and unstructured interviews on 57 children aged 14-17 years who worked in an artisanal gold mining site in Kenyasi, Ghana. Findings from the interview suggested that child education is not threatened by children working, rather the pursuit of education was the reason the children got involved in working ion mines in the first place.

Although it was a 15 weeks study, Okyere stated that child education provides the child with several futuristic opportunities. He did not contest several years of evidences that child labour can negatively impact on children's education and wellbeing (Kazeem, 2013; Fetuga et al., 2011; Bell and Gersbach, 2009; Suryahadi, Priyambada and Sumarto, 2005). The study instead highlighted gender discrimination in job roles at the mining site and poor health and safety regulations- all workers on the site lacked appropriate protective kits needed in such environment. This was a similar finding reported by Yakovleva (2007). Conclusively, Okyere (2012) stated that the children who worked in the Kenyasi gold mine were ambitious and considered working in the mine as a means to an end. They were also uninterested in working long term because of their preference for education; despite the effect on their health, the children disagreed with being stopped from working, some even likened it to chores they do at

home. Okyere argued that his work does not seek to idealise child labour but calls for subtlety in analysis on child labour-child education connection.

In discussing child labour and education, Strulik (2011) argued from his findings that increasing schooling hours reduces and ultimately eliminates child labour, as the children would be attending school. In doing so, parents would become sympathetic and leave the remainder of the child's time to play and leisure. However, in cases where anti-schooling norms exist, parents may not allow their girl child to attend school because of the long hours.

2.13.3. Socio-cultural reasons- cultural differentialism

Social norms had been suggested to be responsible for decision making and matters in labour supply decisions (Goto, 2011) and even tax compliance (Torgler, Schaffner and Macintrye, 2007) to mention a few. Social norms have also been suggested to play a role in the decision-making process of whether families send their children out to work or not (Goto, 2011). Basu (1999, 2005) pointed out the criticality of social norm in the context of child labour and referred to Albert Hirschman's statement, "the decision to send a child to work is partly of social norm"; and according to Aldobrandini and Panisperna (2011), in Dhaka, Bangladesh, children are allocated jobs within the community according to gender and age norms. Furthermore, cultural diffrentialism paradigm argues that regardless of the globalisation process among and between cultures, some lasting differences remain unaffected by the process. Hence, globalisation occurs only on the surface, while the core structures of culture remain intact (Pieterse, 2004). As such, though the clamour by the International community, child work would continue to be practised in certain societies that value them.

In a qualitative study by Goto (2011), a theoretical analysis was made on how social norm affected child labour as well as social inequality; this was the first study done to analyse this relationship. The study stated that parents experienced a conflict between increasing their income (through child labour) and having to face disutility from the community for violating the social norm. The extent of the social stigma decreases when more parents involve their children in child labour, resulting in lesser disutility they suffer from having their child work and vice versa. Similarly, findings from Venezuela and Mexico by Freije and López-Calva (2001) show that parents were more likely to involve their children in child labour when there is was a high incidence of child labour area.

Furthermore, an investigation by Lopez-Calva (2001, 2002) suggested that parents pay a (social) stigma cost as a result of sending their children to work; doing so brings embarrassment and shame to them. Still, they continue the practice due to luxury axiom (Basu and Van, 1998). The conflict between the social stigma and luxury axiom has been argued by Lopez-Calva to be the determinant of the children's working hours. Lindbeck, Nyberg and Weibull (1999) also assumes a similar argument and further suggests that the level of social stigma is dependent on the behaviour of other parents in the community.

Wahba (2006) findings from Egypt identified social norm, inequality and adult wages as contributory factors to child labour. Her findings also showed that parents who were once child labourers engaged their children in the same practice more than those who never worked as children. This can explain the generational existence and trend of child labour. Similarly, in Brazil, Emerson and Souza (2003) showed an "intergenerational effect of child labour which is transmitted through parental education and household income" this they suggested could be explained by social norm. Also, they called for the development of a robust theoretical model that analyses social norm in the context of child labour.

2.14. A summary of street child work discourse in Nigeria
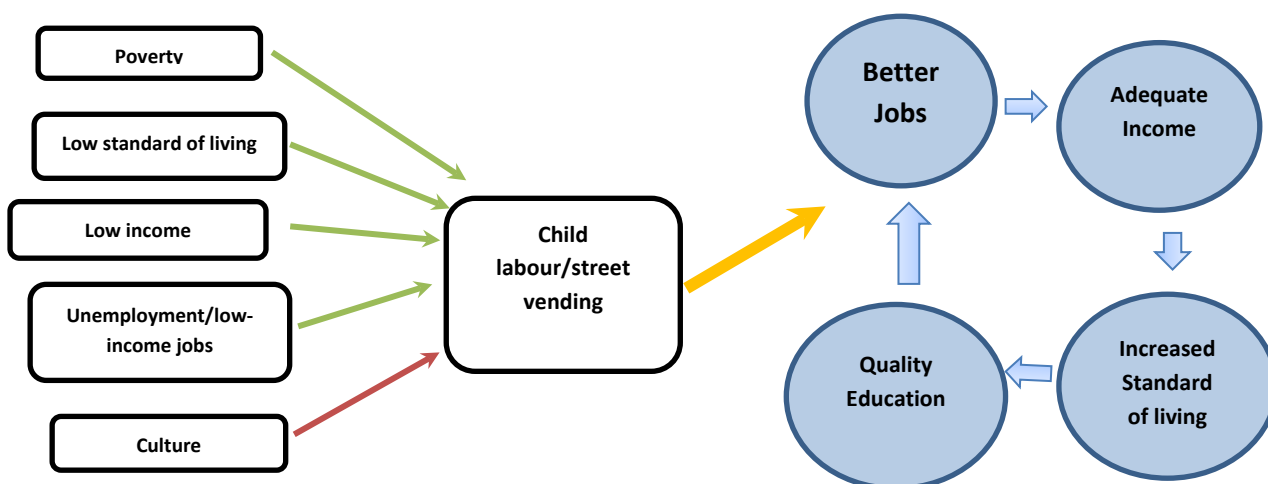
Figure 3- A summary of street child work discourse in Nigeria.

The above diagram depicts a summary of findings from various Nigerian studies on street child activities. Regardless of the group of street working children, these studies suggest that street activities negatively affect children's education and lead to a low standard of living and may even continue the circle of poverty (International Labour Organisation, 2014). These studies however

in their findings fail to differentiate between children 'on' and 'of' the street when discussing their findings, rather they generalise the causes and impact street work has on every child that operates on the street. This gives an incomplete representation of the street working child especially for children on the street.

Most of these researchers thus conclude that if better education for children is facilitated, it will provide better job opportunities for them. This subsequently increases their income and standard of living. Despite these studies, in Nigeria today, many children irrespective of tribe or religion remain in child labour (Kazeem, 2013; ILO, 2014). Seemingly, the supply for child labour has surpasses the supply of it. This may be explained by the exponential population growth of which 45% of the entire population comprises children less than 15 years. Due to limited research on street working children in the region, the picture of children on the street remains partial and inconclusive.

2.16. Child labour and child education

Regardless of whether children embark on work because of economic or socio-cultural reasons, the effect of working is the same and ranges on a spectrum from positives to negatives. Whether work is harmful or beneficial to a child is not determined merely by a straight-forward answer. Child labour has been condemned for its role in stunting children's physical and educational growth, as well as maintaining low socio-class. Subsequently, continuing poverty. It has also been criticised by several researchers (Ndem, Micheal and Awa, 2012; Okunola and Ikuomola, 2010; ILO, 2017a; UNICEF, 2006) for exploiting children

Conversely, the practice has also been stated to offer an opportunity for children to afford school and gain entrepreneurial skills. As such, the impact of working should be ascertained on the consideration of certain factors such as education attainment, culture (value systems), health and wellbeing and rights of children; and measured on a continuum- a broad scale between two extreme points of negative and positive. Starting with the former, some researchers argue that working negatively impacts on children's education (Kana, Phoumin and Seiichi, 2010), physical health and psychological wellbeing; while others assert that working provides them with an opportunity to afford school (Okyere, 2012).

Child labour is often associated with educational marginalization (ILO, 2017). Although primary education is officially compulsory and free in Nigeria, only 61% of 6-11 years old children regularly attend primary school; while 10.5 million 5-14 years children are not in school, especially in the

north, which accounts for the lowest school attendance rate in the country and mostly among girls (United Nations International Children's Education Fund, 2018a). Studies (ILO, 2017a; Alfa and Abd Karim, 2016) have claimed that the time and energy children involved in child labour expend on work interferes with their ability to derive educational benefits during their classroom hours, likewise find time for independent study outside the classroom. Consequently, these children tend to fall behind other non-working peers in grade progression, as well as perform relatively poorly. Fetuga et al. (2007) further maintained that children who engage in family and market work possess lower odds of becoming appropriate students/pupils than those who do not work, as they may go to class already tired and occasionally doze off while the class is in session. Kazeem (2013) in his findings from Nigeria propounds that child labour practice compromises and jeopardises children's ability to concentrate, understand and master the materials being taught in school. Child labour also reduces children's available time for homework as they also work after school hours (Suryahadi, Priyambada and Sumarto, 2005).

Furthermore, according to Abubakar-Abdullateef and Adedokun (2017), Nigerian children who work usually perform poorly in school and often become dropouts for several reasons which include: continuous responsibility of earning income for the family, school truancy, risky sexual behaviours and drug and alcohol misuse resulting from their exposure and acquaintance it. Poor educational performance, however, could result from many reasons, and not only the fact that the child works. Young Lives (2018) explains that education becomes less attractive to working children if schools become an unwelcoming environment coupled with poor infrastructure and teaching. Working children can further be discouraged from continuing school if there is violence. For example, in the four countries where Young Lives (2018) conducted their study, teachers sometimes often used corporal punishment to correct children who miss school for work. Also, Okyere (2012) stated that a unique relationship exists between child labour and child education. This is because findings from his study were suggestive that children typically worked in a gold mine in Ghana so that they can afford an education

In 2004, the Nigerian government in response to this situation introduced the compulsory, free Universal Basic Education (UBE) Act. This was introduced to fight illiteracy and reduce inequality-by providing educational opportunities to all children in the country. Once again, the UBE programme is overwhelmed by the number of children. The numbers of teachers, facilities and schools for basic education remain inadequate to meet the needs of the children. These conditions consequently affect teaching and learning expectations and outcomes respectively.

Surprisingly, in recent years, there has been a significant increase in net enrolment rate in the country; however, there is still a shocking 4.7 million children of primary school age still not enrolled in school. The qualities of education, learning and standards provided by schools have been challenged by the increase in enrolment rates. This is because the resources allocated by the government to these schools are spread more thinly across the students. For example, it is common to see 100 pupils to one teacher or to observe learning take place outside with children sitting under trees due to the lack of adequate classroom structure (UNICEF, 2007).

2.17. Impact of working

2.17.1. Physical impact

According to WHO (2007), occupational health-related injuries and diseases expose the children to various hazards and risks such as vulnerability to toxic agents, predisposition to impaired physical, social and mental development resulting from limited resting/play time. Interestingly, child labour has also been identified for its role in directly compromising the child's height (Etiler et al., 2011; Duyar and Ozener, 2005). It results in a reduction in a person's physiological capital and can be a biological representation of inequality and social injustice. A heavy workload can reduce bone elasticity and strength thereby resulting in musculoskeletal symptoms among child labourers. Child sex workers are also predisposed to incidences of sexually transmitted diseases (ILO, 2013a), mental and physical abuse (ECPAT, 2006a), teenage and undesired pregnancy (ECPAT, 2006b), drug addiction (Rafferty, 2008) and AIDS. Street working children are exposed to several vices; Omokhodion, Omokhodion and Odusote (2005) stated that ill health and exposure to road traffic accidents were among the top three disadvantages children perceived as disadvantages of working on the street.

2.17.2. Psychological impact

The mental health implication resulting from child labour is an area that is less frequently researched (Srivastava, 2012). ILO (2017a), ILO (2017b) harshly condemned child labour most especially the 'unconditional worst' forms of child labour; such as the use of children for drug trafficking and pornography, child combat, prostitution. They are perceived as a gross violation of human rights, dignity and self-esteem. Many children are at their psychosocial development stage, which is crucial in the development of identity, future aspirations, self-confidence and esteem. The development of street working children could be moulded and affected positively or negatively by their child labour experiences (Omokhodion, Omokhodion and Odusote, 2005),

and puts children at risk of low self-esteem, deceptive behaviours that may predispose them to in social vices.

2.17.3. Acquisition of transferable skills and a sense of accomplishment and responsibility

Despite the above-mentioned negative impacts of working on children's education, the working child gains considerable knowledge, practical and social skills through working (Young Lives, 2018). Robson (2004) argues that children who hawk or work as street vendors develop entrepreneur skills and become more creative. Katz (2004) also suggests that working children serves as a valuable source of help to married mothers who are in seclusion in rural Northern Nigeria. Similarly, she finds that as a norm, children in Sudan, especially boys who herd possess vast knowledge about agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry. As well as gaining knowledge, they communicate information amongst themselves to cater for their animals. In essence, they acquire the spirit of cooperation. This practice is accepted and recognised as their culture and norm.

Working can also give children a sense of accomplishment, as they may become proud of their contribution to the household (Young Lives, 2018). In the study by Young Lives (2018), children believed that it was essential to support their families as it is an attribute of being a 'good child'. Also, engaging in paid work in the labour market offers children a back-up in case education eventually does not pay off. Such jobs provide children with a foothold and experience in the labour market. This can be a strategic plan for families, especially those in an economy such as Nigeria- where there are exceptionally high rates of unemployment. However, one has to be aware and cautious that parents may begin to doubt the benefits of education (considering factors such as unemployment), as such, work may undermine the child's educational ambitions (Young Lives, 2018).

2.18. Selected groups of children on the street included in this study

The two main groups of street working children identified in this study are: children in apprenticeship and children who combine school and work.

2.18.1. Informal Apprentice

Informal apprenticeship is a form of education and training (Fajobi et al., 2017), that exists in different sectors whereby private business owners train apprentices (usually for a fee) in traditional skills over a period of three years or more. After the contracted period of

apprenticeship, the apprentice is subsequently settled by the business owner (in the form of cash, equipment's and similar endeavours). An example of such practice is in manufacturing-which produces skills in metal work, sewing and carpentry. Traditional apprenticeship in West Africa is a more important form of training than vocational educational systems (Adams, Johansson de Silva and Razmara, 2013). The role of apprenticeship training has been investigated to alleviate poverty (Igwe and Oragwu, 2014), supply occupational skills (Wallis, 2008) and promise youth employment. "The illiterate of the 21st century will not be those who cannot read or write, but those who cannot learn, unlearn and relearn" (ILO, 2009).

Informal apprenticeship is quite popular in most urban cities in Nigeria, as it accounts for 85% of skill transfer and training across the country (Fajobi et al., 2017). Aside from being a significant source of livelihood, it is a means of employment in an economically worthwhile venture. Nigeria is a country believed to have a significant amount of labour force that is not being adequately utilised, thus the country has one of the highest rates of youth unemployment in the world. This is partly due to the lack of employment skills (which creates a wide skills gap) (Fajobi et al., 2017) and failure of the government to initiate and provide adequate services and opportunities for its citizens both in the informal and formal sectors.

Apprenticeship is a universal practice that empowers youth and adolescents through skills acquisition and training in the ever-changing realities of globalisation (ILO, 2017: 2012). This is no different in Nigeria, where apprenticeship is a significant driver for employment generation and poverty reduction at low investment costs (Fajobi et al., 2017). Thus, improving not only the economy, but also the wellbeing of citizens, as such Fajobi et al. (2017) further suggest that the practice should be given reasonable consideration in the country as it affords young people the opportunity to contribute to several sectors of the economy such as fashion, carpentry among other related endeavours.

The set minimum age for an apprenticeship in Nigeria is 13 years (Nigerian Labour Act, Article 49), and the Federal Child's Right Act (2003) provides criminal sanctions for violation of this law (US Department of Labour, 2007). However, this law is only legally binding when adopted by an individual Nigerian State. So far, of the 36 Nigerian States, only eight states have adopted the law. Therefore, the potential of apprenticeship for growth and development in Nigeria is not duly exploited; and the pattern of decline in the apprenticeship has increased through the socio-cultural process in Nigeria (Adekola, 2013; Ayadike, Emeh and Ukah, 2012). Young people in

Nigeria have a negative attitude towards apprenticeship- as it is considered a low-class career path, one which is meant for people who cannot perform well in school or those whose parents cannot afford formal education (Adekola, 2013); likewise, a path which significantly offers lower prospects than academic training in higher education or the university (Fajobi et al., 2017). As such, young people in Nigeria do not consider or respect informal apprenticeship not unless circumstance forces them to take it up.

Also, the practice among children in Nigeria most often falls under child labour category as underpinned by the three Conventions: 138, 182 and UNCRC Rights of Children. Article 14 of the Nigerian Labour Act is not signed by every state, and the official document of hazardous work is yet to be produced by the government. As a result, young children may end up learning and be trained to be productive in economic sectors in harmful and unacceptable conditions; which consequently affects their wellbeing and education.

Fajobi et al. (2017) further explain that in the bid to facilitate the employment of young people outside the inadequate formal sector, informal apprenticeship offers employment below stipulated minimum age of work; as a result, the age of apprentice to master in Nigeria is 11 to 60 years (varies from establishment to establishment). Therefore, children as young as 10 to 14 years work as an apprentice in some parts of Nigeria. According to (Fajobi et al. (2017), a majority of these children would end up being street hawkers (to make ends meet) if they are not in informal apprenticeship. It, therefore, may be likely that the government allows young children to indulge in the practice, rather than to have them wander the streets.

One can condemn apprenticeship practice based on child labour conventions and the right of children. However, in Nigeria, informal apprenticeship most often provides an alternative to formal education because when families are in positions where they cannot afford schooling for the child, families consider it strategic and reasonable for the child to be sent out to acquire skills that would make them employable in the society, as well as secure future independence. It is the right of the child for adults to do what is in their best interest when making decisions (Article 3, UNCRC); but apprenticeship in place of formal education can also be considered a breach of Article 12 (right to education).

2.18.2. Schooling children

Today, skills of numeracy and literacy are essential and are empowering tools in the social, economic and political domains (Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst, 2015). For this study,

schooling children are a set of children on the street who combine work on the street and schooling. This situation is often seen in developing countries as large numbers of children engage in various forms of work alongside their schooling (Young Lives, 2018). Children work in difficult situations, and one common argument on child labour is that the practice hinders child education. However, it is important to note that several other factors aside working can constrain a child's performance in school. Research evidence from a longitudinal study of 12,000 children in poor communities in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam conducted by Young Lives (2018) highlighted children's experiences in the discussion on how policymakers respond to children's work. Findings from this study showed that to help sustain household survival many children work as part of their daily lives. The benefits of the acquisition and development of skills useful to everyday life (such as time management, teamwork) cannot be overemphasised especially when the work is safe; not to mention that these children also get socialised into their various families and communities. Though the study stated the need for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour, it further suggested that measures (such as strengthened social protection) should be provided to ensure flexibility so that children can better combine work and schooling. By so doing, the incidence of hazardous work could potentially decrease, maybe also reduce child labour statistics in these regions where the 'ideal' living situations are not always present. Considering children are sometimes trapped in difficult situations, likewise parents in compromising positions. Orkin (2010) strongly agrees, stating that when children work because of poverty or other family situations, schooling should be made flexible to facilitate compatibility with working.

This approach of facilitating flexible measures to allow children to combine work and school (in regions where 'ideal' living situations are absent), could potentially be beneficial to developing countries. One could argue 'how realistic is the compatibility between working and schooling?' as full-time work would prevent schooling- this also includes unpaid work for long hours in the home. In response to this, Bourdillon et al. (2011) suggest that time children use for working is usually taken out of their leisure or play time rather than from the time spent on schoolwork. This is interesting because measures aimed at reducing child labour through increasing school attendance would not always reduce child work as children already attend school and mostly work after school hours. Similarly, where there is a reduction in child work, it does not necessarily mirror an increase in school participation (de Hoop and Rosati, 2014). The approach of combining work and school, however, hinders children's right to rest and play (Article 31, UNCRC); but

disclaiming it will likewise hinder the right to the Article 3 (best interest for the child), as working in some situations may be more beneficial than harmful.

Instead of 'child labour', Young Lives (2018) terms the routine of child work and schooling 'children's work' because children mostly work within their households and communities, and such routine is considered an integral part of their everyday lives within a continuum of other activities. This, therefore, draws attention to the 'why' children work and further facilitates the identification of key issues that can help policymakers address children's work in a "more child-sensitive way" (Young Lives, 2018, p. 1). Across the four countries used in Young Lives (2018) research, children commonly engage in unpaid work within family establishments as it "reflects strong cultural values that emphasise intergenerational dependence" (P. 2). On the contrary, when they combine school with paid work, it becomes more difficult. This is because such work is typically more demanding as it requires more continuous hours and offers less flexibility. This is not to say unpaid working and schooling is perfect, as it can also put children under pressure (Young Lives, 2018).

It is also important to be aware that while schooling is capable of enabling a few children to break out of the circle of poverty, it, however, cannot guarantee this same outcome for working children. On the contrary, work experience can help young people develop skills needed for life and work (Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst, 2015). Besides, the effect of work on children's education depends on several factors such as hours of work, nature of the job, relationship with the employer, flexibility of schooling system, aptitude of the child and the quality of schooling (Bourdillon et al., 2011).

2.19. Selected groups of street working children excluded from this study

Two groups of street working children were excluded from this study. They are the Almajiri children and the children of the street. Within this study, the Almajiri group of children are not considered children of the street because they have some level of supervision. Children of the street were excluded because the researcher had no ethical clearance and no access to guardians. Also, these groups of children are well researched.

2.19.1. The Almajiri phenomenon

The term 'Almajiri' is an adulterated Arabic word 'AlMuhajir' meaning a person who migrates for the reason of propagating Islamic knowledge or learning of it (Aghedo and Eke, 2013). The Hausa tribe of Nigeria refer to Almajiri as children who are beggars or students (Okonkwo and Alhaji,

2014). Almajiris are children and adolescent who are sent far away from home to study in an Islamic school under the guidance of a Muslim scholar also known as a Mallam (Abubakar-Abdullateef and Adedokun, 2017). According to (Oladosu, 2012), school children aged five years and over, are handed over to a Mallam to teach them how to read and write Arabic alphabets. This is done yearly among people living in particular neighbourhoods. They remain with the Mallam for 10-15 years, depending on their mastering speed of the curriculum (Usman, 2008). The Mallam serves as a role model to the children and an in loco parentis- implementing the curriculum process and policies. The children are usually taken to a camp away from their home, and the Mallam does this in an attempt to help the child escape from the distractions of life. Regardless of the location, the Quran is the central text resource- they develop gross motor skills through repeated writing of Arabic inscriptions. Also, oral recitations are learnt through teacher scaffolding- in a sing-song model.

Nigeria has a significant population of Almajirai. Other few West African countries such as Senegal, Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali with a sizeable Muslim population have Almajirai as well. The Almajiri system was imported into the Northern part of Nigeria from North Africa. During the pre-colonial era, the Kanem-Borno Empire of Northern Nigeria established the Almajiri education system which was initially called Tsangaya (Sebastine and Obeta, 2015). It was set-up as a comprehensive educational system that facilitated the learning of Islamic values, principles and theology. As well as getting support from the community, this educational system was funded by the state treasury under the control of the traditional rulers- the Emirs. Traditionally, Mallams had various farms from which they would harvest and feed the pupils and even their own families. Besides, because Mallams were highly revered in their communities, they also got gifts from members of the community; and these gifts were used to run the household and the Quranic schools.

After the British invasion and colonisation of Northern Nigeria in 1904, the Almajiri educational system was no longer recognised and was abolished by the colonisers, replacing them with Western Education. They took control of the state treasury and disposed of any Emir who resisted foreign rule. Funding for Quranic schools was therefore lost; still, local scholars took over responsibility for the children and deemed it their religious and moral duty to educate pupils for the sake of Allah.

Following the loss of funding from state treasury and Emirs, at that time, these schools received support from communities. Though the enormous number of pupils to cater for, begging was not a norm, as the pupil relied on odd menial jobs for survival (Okonkwo and Alhaji, 2014). Consequently, throughout that time to date, Mallams and the people have animosity and antagonism for the operating preference of Western education in place of Almajiri system. This is made worse by the belief that Western education (boko) is of Christian European Origin and thus anti-Islam. This belief is also underpinned by the fear that in embracing *boko*, children would grow up to embrace vices that oppose Islam principles and values, such as alcoholism, indecent dressing, abandoning prayers and fasting (Okonkwo and Alhaji, 2014).

In contemporary times, with the increase of poverty in the country, there has been a decline in the ability of Mallams to cater for the children (Abubakar-Abdullateef and Adedokun, 2017) because of the lack of support they usually receive (Gomment and Esomchi, 2017). In times of shortage of food in the camp, the Quranic teacher would send the pupils out to beg for food from nearby residents, and whatever gotten is returned to the camp and eaten by all. The practice of soliciting for food by the Almajirai is known as 'almajiranchi'- a practice meant to strengthen and prepare them for the struggles of life. After school hours, these children leave the Islamic school, head to the street and use songs to beg for aid from members of the public (Usman, 2008); they do so to earn a living. As a result, the Almajiri child spends significant time predominantly begging on the street, and at times, they carry out menial work on the street (Abubakar-Abdullateef and Adedokun, 2017).

Though some Almajiri children live on the street, this group of children are slightly set apart from children of the street because they have a religious undertone to their practice. The benefits of these Koranic schools/practices are basic religious literacy and moral education (UNICEF, 1998). Separating them from other children of the street further highlights the heterogeneity of street working children.

2.20. Conclusion

This chapter set out to provide a review of existing international and local literature on child labour, especially discussing the subject matter within the context of child street work in Nigeria. Irrespective of the difficulty and complex nature of the phenomenon, child labour can be defined using International conventions as any work that compromises the child's physical, mental, social, moral wellbeing, likewise the child's educational attainment. There are several tasks

children perform while in employment. Some jobs are classified as unconditional worst forms of child labour while others are merely hazardous jobs. As such, there is the need to 'unpick' these groups of street working children and how working impacts on them.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN

3.0 Overview

This chapter discusses the framework of this study's inquiry- methodological consideration, philosophical and theoretical assumptions. This expert by experience approach identifies that the researcher cannot put away past experiences of the street and common-sense knowledge of its social structures; and as such, this work defiles the positivist interest of objectivity, impartiality and neutrality- which supposedly prevents data from being contaminated by the researcher and vice versa. Nevertheless, the street experiences and understanding of the researcher facilitated data collection and analysis, with potential bias(s) explored and stated. For example, *children on the street* have varying levels of reading and writing because of the difference in the quality of education they receive. As a result, aside from being underpinned by adopted methodology, selected data collection and analysis methods were tailored to suit the participants as well as highlight the researcher's epistemological stance.

3.1 Introduction

In designing a study, a framework should be adopted to provide guidance on every facet of the work, from general philosophical assumptions behind inquiry to the methods of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2013; 2003). This guides the entire research process and how the study's research question is answered (Jackson, 2013). Although different designs exist in the literature, there are three major types: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed research (a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods). This study adopted a qualitative design to answer the research question. According to Creswell (2009), each of these designs constitutes and frames three elements differently:

- Philosophical assumption/paradigm: what constitutes knowledge claims

- The procedure of inquiry: the general strategy of research

- Methods: detailed data collection, analysis and writing procedures.

3.2. Philosophical Assumption

During research inquiry, 'knowledge claims' presents certain assumptions to what and how the researcher will learn and achieve their goal. These claims are a fundamental belief system that guides action. There exist different interpretations of these sets of beliefs in the literature. It is also known as a philosophical worldview (Creswell, 2013), epistemology and ontology (Scotland, 2012), paradigms (Lincoln and Guba, 2000) and even methodologies (Neuman, 2000). Establishing a research paradigm is crucial, considering it determines the entire research process (Creswell, 2013); as researchers make claims about what is knowledge (ontology), how we know it (epistemology), how we write about it (rhetoric), likewise the process for studying it (methodology) (Creswell, 2003). Although the research process inadvertently hides these attributes (Stutchbury and Fox, 2009), the choice of paradigm as well as guides researchers in "ontological and epistemological ways" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 105), it is reflected in decision making and underpins the researcher's actions throughout the research process. Simply put, paradigm is a 'set of beliefs about the way in which particular problems exist and a set of agreements on how such problems can be investigated' (Fraser and Robinson, 2004: p. 59). It is therefore vital that this study selects an appropriate paradigm that influences methodology to accommodate the inclusion of the street working child and also shape our perception of children (Mukherji and Albon, 2014).

In qualitative research design, with the combination of interpretivism, the typical set of beliefs is social constructivism. According to Sica (2016), social constructivist worldview came from Karl Mannhein and the works of Berger and Luckmann (1967) *the social construction of reality*, as well as Lincoln and Guba (1985) *naturalistic inquiry*. Schwandt (2007), Neuman (2000), Lincoln and Guba (1985) among more writers have also summarised this worldview.

Social constructivism assumes the position "that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work" (Creswell, 2003; 8), likewise develop subjective meanings of their experiences. It further rejects the idea of objective reality and expounds that these subjective meanings are multiple, varied and negotiated socially and historically (Mertens, 2015). Creswell (2013) reckons that adopting this stance encourages the researcher to seek for complexities of views, instead of narrowing meanings into a few categories, with the intention to reveal the different interpreted meanings others attribute to the world.

As a philosophical worldview adopted for this study, social constructivism provides an approach that depends as much as possible on participants' views of the subject matter and how they develop subjective meanings from their street experiences. By doing so, the questions asked in this study are broad and general not only to help answer the research question but also allow participants to construct the personal meaning of street work; which they have created through interaction with other people and their environment. Also, the selection and use of open-ended questions allowed the researcher ample opportunity to carefully identify and elucidate what participants say or do in their life settings.

Furthermore, social constructivism propounds that participant's subjective meanings are not merely embedded in them, but these meanings are formed through interaction with historical and cultural norms within the context of their lives likewise the interaction with others (Creswell, 2010). Thus, this study focuses on understanding the historical and cultural setting of Benin City, and the process of interaction among participants who live and work in the city. Consequently, data, interpretation and outcome are submerged in the context and the researcher (Mertens, 2015). Similarly, this stance requires the researcher to acknowledge that her/his personal, cultural and historical background also influences interpretation. Therefore, the background experiences of the researcher would be subsequently discussed in this chapter.

According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), social constructivism is anti-realist and has a relativist stance, thus mainly criticised for not recognising an objective reality (Burry, 1986). Over time, it has become increasingly ubiquitous and widespread for critiques (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Schwandt, 2003; Craib, 1997) to question the usefulness of social constructivist findings especially in health care, given the multiplicity of meanings/accounts produced are considered valid. If all accounts can claim legitimacy, then nothing can be known for definite, and there is no possibility of absolute knowledge. It thus becomes scientifically unusable because it cannot state what is true. Social constructivism has also been criticised for being politically un-obliging because it cannot determine what is good and bad (Jorgensen and Louise, 2002).

The opposite of social constructivism is the positivist set of belief, which assumes the only legitimate means of human understanding and extending knowledge is through experimentation, reasoning and observation of human behaviour (Kivunja and Kuyini, 2017), 2017). As such, it employs systematic and scientific approach to research (Mukherji and Albon, 2014). Aside from positivist and interpretivist philosophies, there is also a philosophical principle

called Pragmatism. This principle emphasises doing what works, rather than blindly adhering to philosophical or theoretical principles (Strübing, 2007). Pragmatism movement claims that a proposition is true if it works, hence, suggesting impracticable ideas are rejected (McDermid, 2008, 2006).

3.2.1. Ontology

Ontology is the study of being (Crotty, 1998, p. 10). It questions the form and nature of reality- what is there and what can be known about it (Guba and Lincoln, 1994), and is concerned with what constitutes reality. Ontological assumptions concern *what is*, how things really are and how things work (Scotland, 2012). The ontological position of this study is relativism, which propounds that reality is individually constructed, thus multiple realities (Oktay, 2012; Scotland, 2012). Relativism is the view that reality is subjective and differs from person to person (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.110). Our human senses mediate our realities- without consciousness, the world is meaningless (Scotland, 2012; Crotty, 1998).

Although not used for this study, a post positivist ontological stance is one of realism which challenges the ideologies of relativism by accepting and concluding that there is a single reality, which is not mediated by human senses but discoverable. It expresses that truth is discovered by the researcher, rather than constructed, and objects have an existence independent of the knower (Cohen, 2007). This position was ruled out for this study because the experiences of study's participants are mediated through their individual senses, and their beliefs and viewpoints are products of their conscious interaction with the street. Adopting a realist stance would mean child labour phenomena in Benin City a single existing reality awaiting discovery by the researchers (Scotland, 2012), which the researcher strongly disagrees with because such stance disregards the unique experience of each street working child, likewise fail to appreciate the heterogeneous nature of the street.

3.2.2. Epistemology

Epistemology is the study of knowledge acquisition- seeking to discover what is known and how it is known. It questions the nature of the relation between the knower and what can be known (Guba and Lincoln, 1994), and is concerned with the nature and form of knowledge (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). Epistemological assumptions concern the nature and form of knowledge (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007); in other words, what it means to know- how knowledge can be created, acquired and communicated (Scotland, 2012). The answer already

given to ontological questions constrains researcher's answer to epistemological questions. For instance, in assuming a relativist ontological stance, then the researcher must assume a subjective position (epistemology) in order to seek for and interpret complexities of participant's realities. Using the example of a tree, Crotty (1998, p.43) elucidates further,

"We need to remind ourselves here that it is human beings who have constructed it as a tree, given it the name, and attributed to it the associations we make with trees."

Upon the premise of subjectivism, a tree, therefore, is not a tree without someone to call it a tree (Scotland, 2012); as a result, it is not discovered, instead constructed between consciousness and the world through interaction. An individual construct of reality can be elicited and understood through interaction between the participants and the researcher (Guba and Lincoln, 1994), with the participants being relied on as much as possible (Creswell, 2010). Thus, yielding understanding and insight into behaviour, as well as elucidate reasons for participant's actions from their various perspectives, while also trying not to dominate the participants.

Conversely, post positivist epistemology is one of objectivism- discovering absolute knowledge about an absolute reality (Scotland, 2012), with the researcher and the researched assuming and maintaining independent entities discovering absolute knowledge about an objective reality. For example, Crotty (1998, p. 8) elaborates using the existence of a tree:

"A tree in the forest is a tree, regardless of whether anyone is aware of whether anyone is aware of its existence or not. As an object of that kind, it carries the intrinsic meaning of treeness. When human beings recognise it as a tree, they are simply discovering a meaning that has been lying in wait for them all along."

Thus, a positivist position was not adopted for this study. This study nevertheless recognises that the researcher/participants cannot be separated from her/his knowledge. As expressed by (Steedman, 1991), 'Knowledge cannot be separated from the knower'. Therefore, this study acknowledges the subjective nature of the researcher in interpreting realities; with the aim of understanding the phenomenon from an individual's perspective and examining interaction among individuals within the cultural and historical context which people dwell (Creswell, 2010).

The epistemological position of this study is one of subjectivism, which argues that the world does not independently exist without our knowledge (Grix, 2010, 2004), and meaning solely resides in the consciousness of the researcher. There are several information/opinion about child

labour and street working children upheld by researchers and authors, many of which may well be governed by good reason, empirical findings and expert authority. Considering the researcher was once a street working child, it becomes increasingly important not to let that experience dominate 'what can be known' about street work. Therefore, the *street* experiences of the researcher does not provide an overall knowledge of the subject matter, as such, engaging with participants and their experiences significantly increases what can be known of child street work. Also considering researcher's epistemological stance, the researcher cannot be separated from the study, and her perspective is equally valuable as that of the respondents (Oktay, 2012; Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

3.3   Strategy for inquiry

This study focuses on opinions, experiences, beliefs and ideas of participants in Nigeria regarding child labour- child street work; hence, it solely adopts qualitative research methods. A qualitative approach focuses on giving an account of a phenomenon under study (Gelo, Braakmann and Benetka, 2008). Qualitative research examines subjective human experiences utilising non-statistical methods (Ingham-Broomfield, 2015; Borbasi and Jackson, 2012). It similarly recognises and appreciates the socially constructed nature of reality and seeks to answer how meanings are attributed to social experiences and how these experiences are created (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). For addressing the research question, this study considered it necessary to tell stories about the experiences of street working children and their families, and the meaning they attached to these experiences. This would provide an insight into what working means to them, likewise state the impact on children's education and wellbeing.

A quantitative approach was ruled out as a strategy of inquiry for this study because it represents research methods and designs that produce numeric data (Gerrish and Lacey, 2010), and this approach could either be experimental or non-experimental (Meadows, 2003). Quantitative researchers seek to answer what, where, when and who questions (Srivastava and Thomson, 2009). According to Polit and Hungler (2013) and Mesel (2013), such an approach examines relationships among variables and not processes. For this study, in exploring the causes and impact of child labour, the oldest form of qualitative research- grounded theory was adopted for this study. This method was chosen not only because of the aim of theory development to explain the situation of street working children, but also because the issue of child labour in Nigeria has no strong theoretical consensus, and existing concepts about child labour in Nigeria are either conflicting or not robust enough.

Grounded theory, GT was first introduced by Glazer and Strauss in 1967 and is aimed at developing a theory. According to Morse et al. (2009), grounded theory is a way of thinking about data- conceptualising and theorising from it through interviews and observations that were carried out on everyday life situations. Characteristically, grounded theory aims to:

- Develop a theory

- Be underpinned by symbolic interaction

- Include a multistage process of data collection and analysis

- Include the four major principles of GT: theoretical sensitivity, constant comparison, theoretical sampling and theoretical saturation.

GT was designed to develop theories that are driven empirically from real-world situations (Oktay, 2012). It also shares its root in symbolic interaction and pragmatism. According to Oktay (2012), symbolic interaction theory postulates that humans act towards things based on the meaning they give to them, and this meaning is formed and modified through interaction with their environment. Also, because reality is dynamic and ever-changing, meanings formed are also subject to change. Once again, grounded theory techniques prove to be useful and well suited for this research, as the subject matter of this research has several social components which may or may not have changed over time. The primary emphasis of GT approach 'is on a continuous data collection process is interlaced with periodic pauses for analysis' Walliman, 2011, p. 102). O'Connor, Netting and Thomas (2008) posit that these processes are the characteristic of grounded theory. Grounded theory method differs from other qualitative method because it does not only seek to describe a culture or setting (Ethnography), or find meanings individuals give to aspects of their lives or culture (Phenomenology), or describe and analyse respondents' story (narrative), instead its primary goal is to build a theory (Oktay, 2012).

There are several modifications to GT, for example, Situational Analysis; Fulton and Hayes (2012) and Charmaz (2005) argue that regardless of the variations to GT, to achieve the fundamental goal of theory development, when conducting GT investigation, the researcher is required to oblige to specific structures and critical principles of GT such as theoretical sensitivity, constant comparison, theoretical sampling and theoretical saturation. The use of these principles facilitated the researcher's ability to achieve theoretical sensitivity on the subject matter and subsequently investigate the study's research question. Besides, the process of constant

comparison of participants' stories facilitated the developments of concepts, and the theoretical sensitivity of the researcher promoted the understanding of these concepts.

The process of theory generation (inductive) and theory testing (deductive) is a back and forth process in grounded theory, which makes it abductive (Reichertz, 2010; Locke, Golden-Biddle and Feldman, 2008). Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) identifies with abduction and called this modification to GT *Multi-Grounded Theory*- combining certain aspects of deductivism and inductivism through use of pre-existing theories with GT approach. In its orthodox form, GT follows a strict inductive approach of generating categories from empirical data (Strauss and Corbin, 1967, P. 5). In order to synthesize and integrate knowledge, Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) assert that extant theories be actively used to compare and contrast empirical findings and abstractions. Further, stating that there is the risk of knowledge isolation in a pure inductive abstraction. According to Bryant and Charmaz (2007), contemporary GT is a mature approach that has evolved beyond the variations of its original founders. Therefore, the orthodox GT is not the approach adopted by this study- this study rather utilised several theories in the discussion of child labour phenomenon prior to data collection to increase *theoretical sensitivity*, likewise during data analysis alongside the four major GT principles, to either challenge or underpin some of the abstractions made. Existing theories can serve as building blocks that underpins the empirical data forming the new emergent theory (Goldkuhl and Cronholm, 2010). Consequently, emerging theory is both empirically and theoretically grounded.

Theoretical and empirical groundings allowed the researcher to not only describe the experiences of street children, talk about the meaning of street work to children and families, tell stories of their experiences, but also develop a theory to explain the phenomenon in Nigeria-developing a theoretical base on the reasons for and effects of street work on children in Benin City, Nigeria.
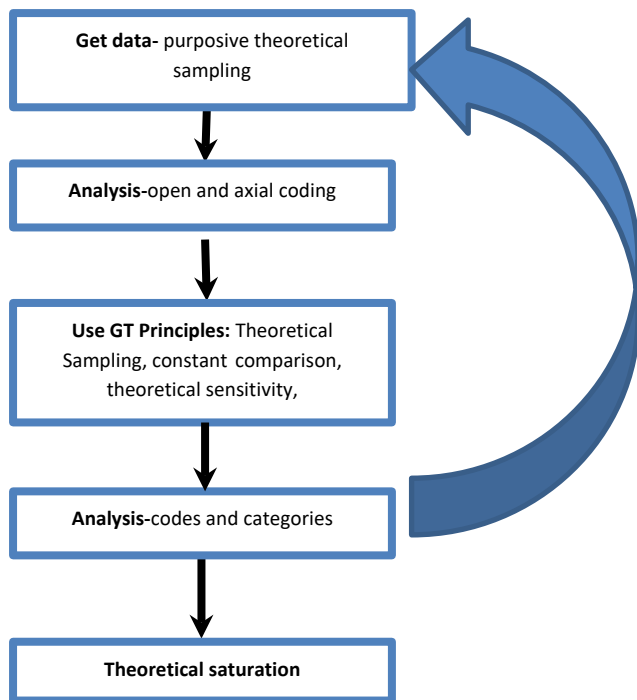
Figure 4- Data collection and analysis process

3.4 Study Population

Street working children and their parents/guardians in Benin City, Nigeria were the target population of this study. Nigeria is divided into six geopolitical zones namely: South-South, South-East, South-West, North-Central, North-East and North-West (Okinono, Din and Salleh, 2015). Data was collected from the South-South region of Nigeria- Benin City, the capital of Edo state. South-South Nigeria which is also known as Niger Delta comprises all oil-producing states in Nigeria. Also, two main markets were selected for presenting features of street activities: Oba market and New Benin market. Adults and children who conduct several activities (excluding unconditional worse form of child labour) on the street were considered ideal sources of rich information on the subject matter- they possess first-hand experience of the practice. As stated in chapter two, there are different forms of child labour, and this study focuses on street working children who carry out different activities on the street; for example, hawking, begging, stall trading, apprenticeship, bus conducting and vulcanising. Also, children were involved because it would be unethical to exclude them in matters that not only concern them but are directly about them. The study's decision to include children does not only recognise children as the vital subjects but also appreciate their rights; most especially that of Article 12 of the UNCRC (respect for the views of the child) Every child has the right to express their views, feelings and wishes in

all matters affecting them, and to have their views considered and taken seriously (UNICEF, 2018). Also, among the limited qualitative studies on this scope of child labour in the region, only a few studies have included children and respective parents/guardian in data collection.

Benin City is in the South-South of Nigeria, a country located in sub-Saharan Africa. Nigeria is commonly referred to as a key regional player in West Africa, with a population of approximately 184 million people (47 per cent of West Africa's population) (The World Bank, 2018). Between 2006 and 2016, Nigeria experienced a GDP growth of an average rate of 5.7% per year. With a population of 40 million children, such growth has seen some recent improvements in the situation of children. Although this economy has surpassed growth in previous years, according to the World Bank (2018), the volatility of the country's growth continuously imposes significant welfare cost on households. Also, Nigeria continues to experience significant developmental challenges such as insufficient infrastructure, unemployment, governance issues, diversifying the economy, addressing the living conditions of the population among other issues (World Bank, 2008).

Given that there are 10.5 million out-of-school children in the region; Nigeria is also the country with the world's highest number of out-of-school children. The current economic state results in continuous hardship in the country, poverty, lack of adequate infrastructure and service and high levels of out-of-school children thus creating a conducive environment for child labour to thrive. Most especially children's involvements in street activities, considering an estimated 10.5 million of them are not in school.

The decision to study this population is supported by:

• Street activities as a form of hazardous child labour, and is the focus of this study, and it is the most visible and one of the most common forms of child labour in Benin City, Nigeria (Clark and Yesufu, 2012; Ikechebelu et al., 2008; Omiyinka, 2009).

• The last available child labour survey in Nigeria was conducted in 2000-2001. This survey was aimed at generating reliable and valid quantitative and qualitative data on child labour in the region likewise develop an effective intervention for the practice. Since the conclusion and dissemination of the findings and recommendation of this survey, child labour in Nigeria remains a significant concern (UNICEF, 2018a), as approximately 50.8 % of children between five and 17

are still involved in the practice (Bureau of International Affairs, 2017), and the government is yet to officially determine by law the type of hazardous work prohibited for children.

• Africa ranks the highest in number of children in child labour (72 million) and percentage of children in child labour (1 in 5 children or 19.6%) (ILO, 2017), and child labour in Sub-Saharan Africa went up over the periods 2012 to 2016. Nigeria, being the most populous African nation also accounts for the highest incidence of child labour in the continent, with an estimated 15 million children under age 14 still involved in the practice.

• Child labour is most prevalent in low-income countries (ILO, 2017a: 2016) as poverty has been argued to be the primary cause of child labour. Nigeria is a periphery country that is characterised by high levels of poverty despite the recent increase in economic GDP. According to the World Bank (2014), 46.0% of the country's population live below the World Bank poverty line of $1.25 daily.

3.5. Methods

Research methods are the techniques and tools used for conducting research (Walliman, 2011). Before selecting appropriate methods, several factors were taken into consideration to facilitate the data collection process. They are considerations whether to include children in the study or not. The researcher decided to include children for two main reasons: first, because it would be unethical to exclude children in matters that directly concerns them, and secondly because the researcher was once a 'child labourer' and had a keen interest in the subject matter. Another consideration was on how to gain assent and consent from the child and parent/guardian respectively and designing ethically appropriate data collection methods for children. The adopted methods of data collection for this study were observation, storytelling and semi-structured interview for children and adult street workers. Five tools facilitated the data collection process- comic leaflet, -participant information sheet, emotion chart, market women facilitators and government participation.

3.6. The justification for selected methods

Selected methods in this study aimed to elicit knowledge, interpret it and create understanding about child labour practices in Nigeria. Where there is a need for in-depth understanding of the participant's beliefs, opinion and realities, qualitative methods are the most appropriate approach in answering the research question (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). In addition, methods were chosen to provide a rich understanding of children's experiences and privilege children's

voices for reasons highlighted in section 1.2. Also, considering the lack of qualitative research on and child participation in child labour research in the region, qualitative methods are ideal to elucidate the experiences of participants and provide insight into child street work practice.

Qualitative methods chosen for this study are observation, interview and storytelling; these methods help answer research questions which mainly focus on experiences, perspectives and meanings from the participant's standpoint (Hammarberg, Kirkman and Lacey, 2016). These methods were selected because its application is greatly underpinned by the researcher's philosophical assumptions of relativism and subjectivism, likewise the researcher's past experience with street working children.

3.7. Instruments of data collection

There are several methods of qualitative data collection methods, such as observations (participatory and non-participatory) and interviews (individuals, groups and telephone), focus group, storytelling among others (Gill et al., 2008). This study utilised observation, individual interview and storytelling techniques to obtain data from participants. Similar to other qualitative research methods, grounded theory uses interviews and observation as a fundamental tool for data collection (Oktay, 2012). In this study, the researcher utilised both tools to gather data to facilitate the development of a theory. Initial questions asked were broad; consequently, upon the coding process, more focused questions were asked following GT principles of theoretical sampling and constant comparison.

Furthermore, there are several physical, emotional, developmental and intellectual challenges children encounter because of their position in the community (Berman et al., 2016). These positions include age, religion, ethnicity, socio-economic status and other factors that hinder their status in the community. This was a challenge the researcher had to navigate through, carefully noting that each child was different, and also that children are not a homogenous group (Feinstein and O'Kane, 2008), and in this case, street working children. Also, considering that in the context of the research, children's voice is less consulted on issues, regardless if it is affecting them or not. Parents/guardians typically expect to be consulted on issues instead of the child. Therefore, the researcher needed a method of data collection that would not only be ethical but also accepted by the parents/guardians and suitable for the children (considering literacy varied among the selected groups of children)

3.7.1. Observation

Observation as a qualitative research data collection method is ubiquitous. It is essential for understanding people's roles, behaviours and actions (Walshe, Ewing and Griffiths, 2012), beyond what they say. It is a data collection process through literal observation rather than asking questions (Walliman, 2011). Observation of participants on the street was carried out during every interaction with participants and even observation of the street/environment. This method complimented the use of semi-structured interview/storytelling, considering some children and adults might romanticise their street experiences, observation assisted the researcher not only in being aware of what participants said but also what they left out.

Observations were also useful in gaining additional insight into the structure and process of working children, as the street was observed early in the mornings, during and after school hours, likewise during the close of market at night. Aside from senses of sight and hearing, senses of smell and touch assisted the researcher in evaluating information about events and activities on the street, market structures and the distinct characteristics of each group of children on the street. Thus, providing a holistic sense of the street. A field note (memo), voice recorder and camera were used to document observations.

3.7.2. Storytelling

Storytelling is a form of narrative inquiry that offers a different way of investigating and knowing the lived experiences of individuals, likewise exploring subjectivity (National Centre for Research Methods, NCRM, 2018). Based upon social constructionist assumptions, this method of data collection allows for construction of participant's realities, the meaning they afford to their experiences. This method also supports the researcher's epistemological stance- as it encourages co-construction of meaning between research participants and the researcher. Similar to the study by Davis (2007) that utilised storytelling in investigating reading practice among seven- and eight-years old children, storytelling shifts the power difference from the researcher to the storyteller- as dominance in dialogue shifts to the child and stories can be in third person format. In addition, from the researcher's experience, some children on the street are not in school, storytelling was chosen because children with poor literacy can usually tell a story even when they might not be able to write it down, not unless they have certain communication difficulties.

After explaining the content of the comic leaflet to the children and obtaining dual consent, the children were told that they should tell a story titled 'the lives of children working on the street'.

Also, by adhering to the above-listed steps, the researcher ensured children understood that it was not an interview. However, before they commenced, the researcher asked them to tell a favourite story. This was used as an ice breaker. Also, the children became more relaxed and had an idea of how to proceed with telling their story of life on the street. Using storytelling method, these children were able to speak freely; some even used third person references to tell stories about street working children.

3.7.3. Semi-structured interview

Inquiry required participants to disclose personal experiences of street work which the researcher considered sensitive, as such focus group interview was not considered pertinent and thus ruled out. Therefore, for adult participants, semi-structured interviews were selected as opposed to a group interview because of its ability to satisfy ethics- offer confidentiality. Semi-structured interview consisted of several broad key questions that helped define the researched subject, and it also offered flexibility to interviewee or interviewer to pursue other ideas in detail. In comparison to a structured interview, this approach allows for the discovery of information vital to research participants that the researcher initially did not consider relevant (Gill et al., 2008).

The choice to utilise semi-structured interview for adult participants is underpinned by the purpose of this study to explore the experiences, views and beliefs of children and parents/guardians in Benin City who engage in street activities; to elicit the causes and impact of such work. In order to avoid the risk of jeopardising the health, wellbeing and rights of children, parents and guardians have significant roles to play in safeguarding and protecting it. For that reason, the use of open-ended questions was adopted to facilitate flexibility during interview sessions. This approach greatly relied on the parents/guardians to construct their realities through meaningful interaction with the researcher; and this underlines the epistemological approach of this study.

3.8. Other facilitators of the data collection process

Five tools facilitated the data collection process- comic leaflet, -participant information sheet, emotion chart, market women facilitators and government participation.

3.8.1. Comic leaflet

The children in this study were of different academic backgrounds. Some were active school children, while others were children who had dropped out of school. Also, the quality of

education they received varied across the group given that some attend quality private schools and other government schools. This research had to consider street working children's varying reading and writing abilities to establish effective communication, facilitate the children's understanding of this study and their role in it. Therefore, a comic leaflet was explicitly designed for child participants' in-place of a participant information sheet. This was handed out to participants before every storytelling session, and in most situations at least 24 hours before the interview to initiate rapport and understanding with the children, as well as give them time to think it through. Gill et al. (2008) stated that establishing rapport before an interview can have a positive effect on the subsequent development of the interview.

3.8.2   Participant information sheet

A participant information sheet provides potential research participants' information such as the research purpose, methods, benefits, risks of participating and planned use of data collected (Ennis and Wykes, 2016). This assisted research participants decide whether or not to partake in the research (Walliman, 2011); as a result, this was handed to adult participants before every interview session, and in most cases at least 24 hours before the interview.

3.8.3 Emotional chart

The ability to recognise others emotions is central to interpersonal encounters (Oleszkiewicz et al., 2017) and this was the function of the emotional chart. It was used to facilitate a willing and comfortable storytelling session for the children. Though emotions may vary among cultures, there is however substantial evidence to suggest the existence of primary and universal emotions (Oleskiewicz, Frackowiak and Sorokowska, 2017). These include happiness, fear, anger, surprise and disgust (Tracy and Randles, 2011).

Designed for this study, an emotional chart is a collection of a range of different basic/universal graphical facial expressions (emoticons), with each expression having an underlying citation. In observing the children (from first interaction to end of the session), and during storytelling, facial emotions were recognised, and the researcher subsequently matched children's emotions with the emotional cue chart. Aside from being used as a tool for reflection-on-action, it served as a guide to ensure a willing and comfortable session for each child. For example, while telling their stories, some of the children's facial expressions matched up with the happy emoticon, while others ranged between emotions. However, children that were observed to match up with fear

emoticon were mostly reassured and told they could stop at any point. A withdrawal form with a protocol was used alongside the emotional chat.

3.8.4 Market women facilitators

Heads/leaders of the two markets used were informed of this research work. Upon asking several questions about the research, they stated their willingness to assist the research. These market women leaders showed the researchers around the market, likewise introduced the researcher to market security personnel. This facilitated access to an empty stall and recruitment of research participants.

3.8.5 Government participation

On request, the Edo State Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Development provided simplified copies of the State's child's rights law. This was distributed to participating families, with the child having a personal copy. This researcher did not only hand out the simplified copies to children but also read it through with them (with the consent of their parents/guardians). Doing so maintained UNCRC Article 5- the right to be informed of her/his rights.

3.9. Sampling

Participants for qualitative research are chosen with the aim of getting rich information for study (Draper and Swift, 2013; Fulton and Hayes, 2012; Patton, 2007). The selected sample/sampling framework cannot be determined in advance when conducting grounded theory research (Oktay, 2012). This is because doing so would risk producing a sample that is incapable of further developing the emerging theory. Nevertheless, the initial sampling strategy of this study employed purposive sampling techniques to recruit participants who would provide rich data. According to Patton (Patton, 2014), purposive sampling is the strategic selection and recruitment of participants who can provide rich and accurate information on the subject under investigation. Participants were thus selected based on their experiences and interaction with the street, which provides them with the ability to present in-depth and valuable information on the reasons why children work on the street, likewise how it impacts children and families. Therefore, the inclusion criteria for this study were:

• Children aged 5-17 years in Benin City who actively participate in street activities

• Parent/guardian who reside in Benin City and have children aged 5-17yrs who actively participate in street activities

This study sampled children and their respective parents/guardians as a family unit. In cases of difficulty, the researcher also utilised snowballing technique to recruit samples for the study. Oktay (2012) suggests that snowballing techniques be employed if the population is 'underground'. More so, the understanding that street working children are a heterogeneous group facilitated the identification of several groups of children on the street and sampling. Although all are working, they possess different educational status, socio-economic status and different levels of family support. Therefore, the researcher was able to group these children into three groups based on these criteria and not merely classified them as the same because they all work on the street.

Also, considering qualitative research aims at achieving an in-depth understanding of phenomena, 17 participants were recruited for this study to provide a rich information on child labour practice in this specific region. Although this size was not determined before data collection, as grounded theory method ensured sampling size was ascertained only when saturation was reached. Eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with parents/guardians of 9 street-working children. Participants for the study included children aged 5-17 years old children who participated in several street vending activities and their parents/guardian.

One novel aspect of this study is the inclusion of both the parent/guardian and child and not one or the other and also the chosen methods by which they were included in this study. This inclusion strategy provided significant holistic insight into child working practices. According to Berman et al. (2016) Berman et al. (2016), Gibbs et al. (2013) and Cahill et al.(2010), researchers, evaluation and data collection programmes that involve children in humanitarian research have duly noted that child-involved researches are relatively underdeveloped- with a lack of knowledge in and evidence on them. Clarke et al. (2014) also argue that in order to fully appreciate children's lives, health, attitude, behaviour adequate and appropriate ethical research is necessary. Berman et al. (2016) further suggest that that children's participation in decision making on issues that affect them is vital, and therefore they should be involved in the process of generating evidence that informs such decisions.

The researcher deliberated on these arguments and on whether to exclude children from the study. Upon three reasons, this study resolved to involve children in trying to ascertain the causes and impact of street working activities among families and children themselves. The first reason

was that it would have been unethical to exclude children, considering it is a subject matter affecting them. Secondly, although adults may have valuable insights into children's issues, children also have significant experiences that would provide similar understanding. Berman et al. (2016) agree with this notion. Thirdly, excluding children goes against Article 12 of the UNCRC. These reasons served as a logical backing for the researcher's action to include both parent/guardian and children in the study rather than only children or adults.

The researcher also acknowledges that the lack of, and underdevelopment of research involving children (within the context of this study) may limit understanding of risk to children, likewise affect the development of effective coping strategies/protocol. However, several steps were taken to meet these challenges ethically.

3.10. Data collection

Upon literature review and the researcher's knowledge of the street, groups of children were identified. Through theoretical sampling, data was systematically gathered from them to develop further, verify and clarify the concepts of child street work in Benin City. Data collection involved the audio recording of each interview/storytelling session and the use of interview notes (for observations). The use of digital audio recorders enhanced the quality of sound (when played back) likewise the handling and use of the audio files. These recorded interviews were stored in a password protected memory stick. Data process continued until theoretical saturation was achieved- meaning no additional data is found (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

3.10.1. Use of Interview guide

Interview protocol is one of the essential areas of qualitative research design, as they offer rich information about the experiences and viewpoints of research participants on a subject matter (Turner, 2010). There are different types of qualitative interview approaches that can be designed to produce thick and rich data (Creswell, 2013). In effectively conducting an in-depth qualitative interview, this study explored three qualitative interview approaches but selected one. These interview approaches are summarised by (Gall, Gall and Borg, no date) as informal conversation interview, standardised open-ended interview and general interview guide approach.

The informal conversation interview design requires the researcher to spontaneously generate questions during interview interaction (Turner, 2007). The researcher had no predesigned set of questions for the session, and as such the interview occurs utilising "off the head" natural

interaction. The researcher does not ask specific questions, instead relies on participant interaction as a guide (McNamara, 2009). Each interviewee provides an entirely different transcript and as such, transcripts are heterogeneous. The lack of structure in this approach offers flexibility, which many consider an advantage. However, this approach has been criticised for making data coding difficult, because it provides inconsistency in interview questions (Turner, 2010).

Conversely, standardised open-ended interview approach possesses structured and worded open-ended questions. Every participant is asked the same open-ended questions (Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003), that allows the respondents to express as much of their viewpoint as they please, likewise allow the researcher to ask a probing follow-up question. Comparably to informal conversation interviews, standardised open-ended interview design has been criticised for also making data coding difficult (Creswell, 2007). This is because the open-endedness of the questions accommodates free detailed expression of each participant's experience; although the uniformity in questions asked, transcripts are heterogeneous, making it difficult to extract similar themes. Although this approach offers flexibility, it is also time-consuming, as the researcher has to sift through every narrative response in order to establish an overarching perspective (through coding) of interview responses.

Lastly is the general interview guide approach. It is similar to both informal conversational and structured open-ended approach in that it offers both structure and flexibility (Gall, Gall and Borg, 20013). Unlike structured open-ended interviews, although the researcher has an outline of issues of interest to be covered because this design allows the researcher to word the question as they please. This approach has been criticised for resulting in inconsistencies in the manner the interview questions are posed (Turner, 2010). This study, however, adopted the interview guide approach because it offered a systematic and focused interview session- a balance between the other two approaches. Questions posed during interviews inevitably changed upon simultaneous data collection and analysis; therefore, the criticism of this approach was negligible in this study. The manner of interview questions is bound to change following grounded theory- as previous interview responses upon analysis inform subsequent interview questions. Alongside the interview guide, materials used to facilitate the interview session included: a consent form, two digital audio recorders (one as a back-up), a note pad and a pen.

3.10.2. Interview location sites

Participants were recruited from two main markets in Benin City- Oba Market and New Benin Market. Interview sessions were conducted in two specific locations within these markets- a church and a stall (within the market). Consent to use church building was obtained from pastors of the churches, while the market women facilitators provided an empty stall. Upon receiving a participant information sheet, most participants that worked within the markets provided appointment times when they would be able to partake in the interview. Some preferred taking a stroll to the researcher's stall at the said time or walking to the church after working hours. While other participants insisted that the session is conducted in their stalls during working hours. For example, based on the agreed interview time, a participant prepared her stall for the interview by providing an extra chair for the researcher. During the interview, the participant sold peppers and onions to customers who occasionally patronised her business.

3.11. Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis constitutes a reflexive and iterative process that commences at the start of data collection rather than the end (Stake, 1995). In conducting data analysis, the researcher sought to describe textual data in a manner that reflects the setting within which the data was produced and the participants who produced the text, rather than describe the data regarding a predefined hypothesis. The method of analysis of this study is incorporated in grounded theory. Analysing in line with overarching research strategy ensures the production of a consistent and orderly qualitative work (Yin, 2011). Therefore, the analysis did not focus on the data per se; instead, it focused more on concept development from data; and doing so follows a grounded theory approach (Holton, 2010).

Although controversial, literature review was conducted before data collection, as such this is not a classical GT. Glaser's idea of an objective stance and reality advocates for data collection before literature review because through data collection and analysis, a theory is developed; and reality is discovered. However, Strauss's constructionist approach, which is adopted in this study, suggests for literature review to be conducted before data collection. This is because literature review increases the theoretical sensitivity of the researcher, helping the researcher to be aware of the different perspectives of child labour practice.

Therefore, this qualitative data analysis at some point was an inductive process- involving the identification of categories and establishing patterns and relationships to develop a theory from

data. However, due to concurrent data collection, analysis, constant comparison and even theoretical sensitisation, insight from previous data shaped further data collection; as a result, Peirce (1979), argues that the process is not purely inductive, but rather an 'abduction'. Also, GT analysis is based on constant comparatives in which the data is continuously compared and categorised across every interview, which then allows for the development of theoretical categories (Chapman, Hadfield and Chapman, 2015).

During the analysis process, the researcher used a constant comparative method to continuously compare between collected data to establish emerging differences and similarities; this further facilitated the development of ideas/concepts. Furthermore, throughout the analysis, writing notes to oneself (memo) was done to allow the researcher to express ideas as they occur, as well as expand and elaborate on them, especially as they relate to the researcher's street experience. In the end, a theory can be co-constructed through the interaction between the researcher and research participants considering the philosophical underpinnings of this research (Charmaz, 2017, 2008). Further, the process of data analysis acknowledged that there is no single reality, as reality is constructed, and the researcher could not maintain objectivity but instead used reflexivity to make her subjective interpretations visible. Within this study, the analysis of data followed four steps- transcribing, coding, categorisation and theory formation.

3.11.1   Transcribing

In the analysis process, audio recorded interviews, observation and interview notes and was individually transcribed verbatim. Transcribing these materials is crucial in reflecting and capturing all verbal and non-verbal features of interviews and observations (Mehmetoglu and Altinay, 2006). In order not to lose meaning in translation, transcripts of interviews that contained Nigerian Pigin English (NPE) were sent out to an English teacher in Benin City. The English teacher is conversant with Pigin English and the context within which it was used in the transcripts; she then offered translation from NPE to English on some of these transcripts. Confidentiality was maintained throughout this process, as the transcripts were anonymised. Individual transcripts were also linked with corresponding interview observation notes.

3.11.2   Coding

Coding is an analytical tool that facilitates the management of raw amounts of data- through breaking down text data into smaller chunks and grouping based on similarities (Walker and Myrick, 2006). In the attempt to get familiarised with the data, after transcription, without

preconceptions, the researcher read transcript text and listened to audio tapes, then jotted down notes of events of interest in both; this is the first step in qualitative coding (Braun and Clarke, no date). Transcripts, notes and audio tapes were subsequently re-read which instigated some of the initial thoughts that emerged before coding; likewise, accelerated the process of identifying concepts and their relationship. This process immersed the researcher in the data likewise facilitated familiarisation with the data.

Next, the transcripts were coded. This process was done with the aid of computer software. Transcripts were typed into Quirkos- a qualitative data analysis software. Quirkos offered the researcher a visual and straightforward method to conduct the analysis. Although a software, Quirkos required the researcher to produce every code form the raw text manually, the same way coding would have been done with a pen and paper. The only difference being that the researcher used an electronic device (a laptop, instead of paper) and bubbles (representing codes and categories, instead of markers). Aside Quirkos, during coding, the researcher utilised the principles of GT (constant comparison, theoretical sampling, theoretical sensitivity and saturation) and a systematic GT method of analysis in handling the data and developing categories. A systematic GT analysis includes open, axial and selective coding.

Open coding is "the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, contextualising and categorising data" Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 61). As such, the researcher broke down, and compared responses (text), and then similar texts were grouped and labelled as codes. Furthermore, after open coding, the researcher dated and defined generated codes in a sentence or two. This was done so that the researcher remembers what each code meant, in an attempt to maintain consistency when applying them throughout the data. Open coding divides the data into concepts and categories (Mehmetoglu and Altinay, 2006).

When the initial interview was conducted, it had to be transcribed and analysed, before the next interview. This served as a foundation for theoretical sampling, constant comparison and subsequent saturation. This also ensured analytical codes and categories were derived from data. Throughout the open coding process, using the help of memos, connections between conceptual categories and data was maintained through constant comparison. At the point where the possible narratives on child street work were exhausted, and no new variation emerged after constant comparison and theoretical sampling, this study stopped the process of open coding as it attained saturation.

Axial coding was the next step applied to the data collected. Unlike open coding that generates codes and conceptual categories, axial coding rearranges data into category and subcategories (Dey, 1999). At every stage of axial coding, information from each participant was compared with that of other informants. Initially defined and labelled codes were compared to identify similarities in concepts and grouped under a conceptual label, and the process of grouping concepts at an abstract level is called categorising (Punch, 1998). For example, a fair amount of text was a thick description of working children's situation of either living with parents or living with a guardian. Thus, similar codes representing this description were conceptually labelled 'living situation', which later formed part of a bigger category-'family dynamics' during axial coding.

Stories/narratives	Codes	Concepts		Categories
Child's story: *I am here also, my parents are...my parents are in my village, so I come here, I stay here and manage the stall with him (guardian).*	Living situation	Family dynamics		Resolve to work
		Decision making		
Guardian: "…*some people have no money to train them, to even eat their own daily bread is very difficult*"…	Family income	Stall trade		
	Child education	Out-of-stall trade		
	Lack of parental support	Luxury axiom		
	Child education	Benefit to child		
Child's story: "*I work here because I want to be a best knowledge and the knowledge to understand, to understand the good life, to learn the work well*"…	Apprenticeship			
	Family sustenance			consequences of working
	Physical exertion	Risk of harm		
Child's story: "*When they boy was crossing that place with a full train of orange, a motor knocked him down*"…	Road traffic accident			
	Sexually transmitted diseases			

Figure 5- Deriving categories from codes

Axial coding process differentiated and refined already defined codes into the status of categories and sub-categories. Upon theoretical sensitivity about the subject matter, four factors were analysed in making connections between codes and establishing a network of relationships around each category, which are:

• The conditions within which child labour occurs on the street in Benin City- events, incidences and stories

• The interaction between people and the street. Who is involved and how are they involved- children, stall traders, out-of-stall traders, customer

• The strategies participants employed to change their situations likewise measures to address issues arising while conducting street activities

• The consequences of respondent's action- outcomes of working on the street
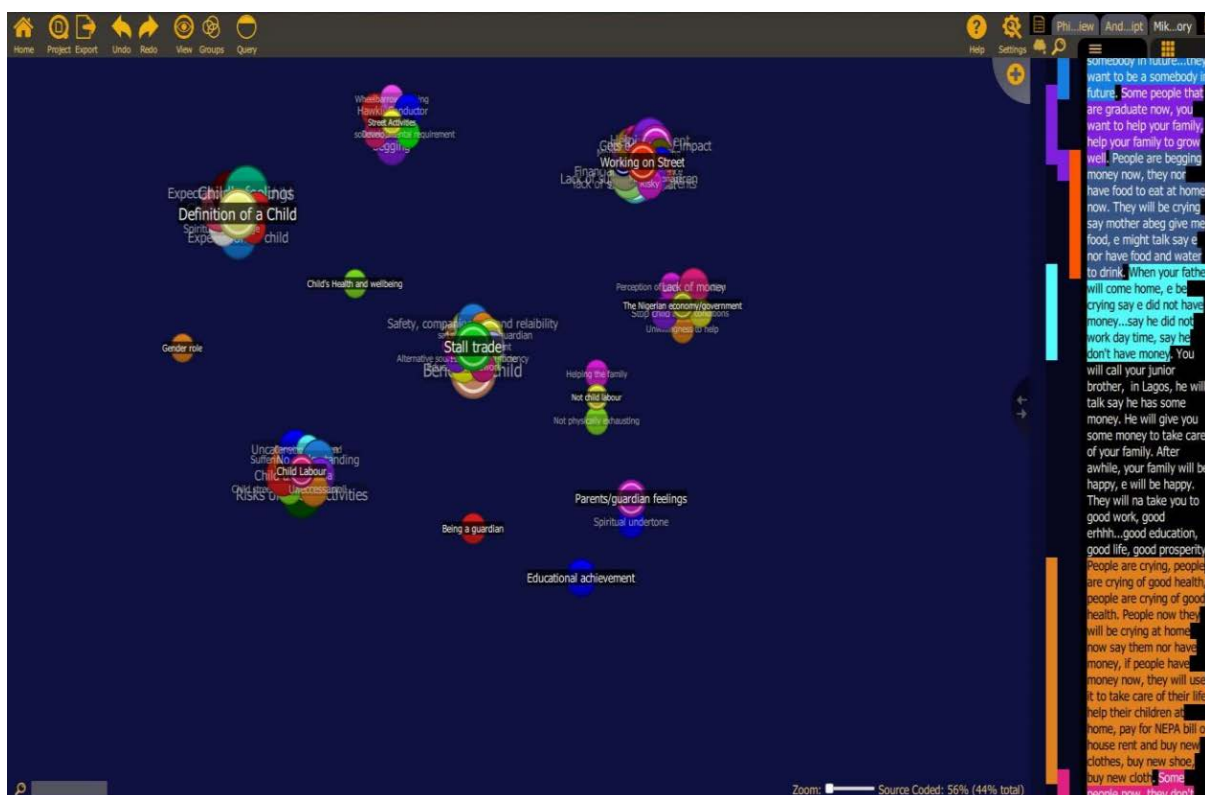
Figure 6- Coding process using Quirkos- highlighting the codes off the transcripts, and how they form categories and subcategories.

The third stage of systematic GT analysis was selective coding which entailed the researcher to identify and select particular categories that form a core idea. This was a complicated process, as selected categories would elucidate various aspects of child street work in Benin City. The process of selecting the final categories that reflects the children's narrative of life on the street is greatly

influenced and facilitated by the researcher's own experiences of the street. The core concept formed by selected categories is The Contextual Supply of Child Labour, around which a narrative was built on the reason children and families work on the street and how working impacts their lives. This core concept was also able to show the relationship between categories and the context within which they occurred.

3.11.3.   Evaluative Criteria- Trustworthiness

The worth of a study is evaluated by the trustworthiness of that study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Trustworthiness is established by credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility can be defined as the confidence that can be placed in the findings of a study (Korstjens and Moser, 2018), likewise establishes 'whether the research findings represent plausible information drawn from the participants' original data and is a correct interpretation of the participants' original views' (p. 121). This is equivalent to validity in quantitative research. In achieving credibility, this study employed triangulation in the adopted strategy of inquiry, sampling and data analysis. According to Patton (1999), credibility issues in a qualitative work entails three related but distinct elements. First, is the thoroughness and rigour of the study's strategy for inquiry; this includes high-quality data collection and analysis with regards to validity, triangulation and reliability.

GT was adopted for this study because its process seeks to identify and explain the *why* and *how* people behave in various contexts (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Similar to the work of Foley and Timonen (2015), GT enabled the researcher capture the experiences of participants. Four different methods of data collection (semi-structured interviews, storytelling, memo writing and observation) were done based on the logic of triangulation; which operates on the premise that a single method cannot adequately solve conflicting matters (Patton, 1999). This is because each applied method elucidates different aspects of the situation under study. Thus, a combination of several strategies for inquiry provides better insight into the phenomenon under study. Triangulation principle was applied during recruitment of participants- as sampling approach adopted by study cuts across purposive sampling and theoretical sampling. This was made possible by GT approach. Further, during data analysis, constant comparison and multiple theories were used to interpret and discuss data.

Second is the credibility of the researcher. The researcher's background and familiarity with the research setting were crucial in understanding and establishing the context of the participant's

stories- their lifestyle, culture, language and street working practices. Lastly is the appreciation for the qualitative philosophical assumption. Therefore, this study did not seek for the generalisation of a single truth of child labour practice in Benin City; instead, it sought for an in-depth understanding of the several realities of children working on the street the region from several perspectives and experiences. Unfortunately, member checking was not possible because of low levels of literacy among study's participants.

Unlike credibility, transferability is the equivalent of external validity in quantitative research. Transferability refers to the extent to which the research finding can be transferred to other contexts. Qualitative research has been criticised for its limitation on generalisation because samples are small and likely unrepresentative. This criticism is however inconsequential, as qualitative studies do not aim to generalise; instead it seeks to provide an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon from rich sources; thus, quality over quantity. Nevertheless, this study provides a thick description of not only things that were said, but also things that were unsaid and rather observed. Although this study's sample is small, it sufficed to answer the research question and offer insight into people's beliefs, opinions and attitude on street work. This is a primary attribute of qualitative research methodology.

Confirmability, on the other hand, refers to 'the degree to which the findings of the research study could be confirmed by other researchers' (Korstjens and Moser, 2018, p. 121). This was a guiding standard for the researcher throughout data analysis- making efforts to maintain transparency and consistency throughout the process. Finally, dependability refers to the stability or consistency of study's findings over time. It is also referred to as internal consistency. This was achieved by keeping to the systematic rigour of a GT approach.

3.12. Ethics

There are critical areas for ethical consideration when carrying out research. They include harm and benefit, informed consent, privacy and confidentiality (Graham et al., 2013). Harm to children vary across international contexts- low or middle-income countries consider child safety, distress and discrimination when planning to involve children in research especially in sensitive topics, and researchers solely depend on their ethical judgement. In contrast, high-income countries consider consent/gatekeepers/access issues and have overly-protective ethical review processes (Powell et al., 2011). Therefore Graham et al. (2013) are of the opinion that in such

areas with relatively low regulatory mechanisms, there is an increased likelihood of researchers carrying out risky research.

Therefore, it is essential that the researcher can justify why the research is being done, likewise why and how children are being included or excluded in the study. The researcher reckons children have valuable insight into issues primarily affecting them. It is unfair to exclude them from the discourse on issues directly affecting their wellbeing when they actively participate in the practice. For whatever reason, street working children conduct activities on the street, and this study considers it unethical for them not to be consulted on/contribute to the discussion of child street work. Else, they are included in the child labour process but excluded as it pertains to discussions on the issue which affects them. Aside from others, the core ethical principles that underpinned this study's data collection approach for children are justice, respect and benefit. These principles further uphold the UNCRC in terms of the central aim to respect for child's rights, well-being and their human dignity, especially articles 12 (right to be heard), 3 (best interest of the child). Research with children is crucial for understanding children's lives as it ensures their perspectives and experiences closely inform the study (Graham et al., 2013).

According to Graham et al. (2013), in terms of ethical research, focus has shifted from the protectionist approach of regarding children as vulnerable individuals who require safeguarding by adults/researchers, to that of participatory approach (which is adopted in this study) which recognises children's competency and agency and highlights the child's participation rights.

Respect

In line with the international Ethical Research Involving Children (ERIC) project by Graham et al. (2013), respect means valuing the child participant and the context of his/her life, likewise recognising their dignity. In order to respect the child, as suggested by the ERIC project, the researcher had to know the child (through rapport), understand their cultural context and how it shapes their experiences, perspectives and capabilities. Also, this study upheld respect by assuming that the experiences and perspectives of children are valid and should be taken into consideration especially on matters that concern them. This study values the contribution of children to this research, likewise provided them with the comic leaflet for at least 24 hours to decide whether they want to participate or not.

Benefit

This ethical principle is applied in two ways: non-maleficence and beneficence. The former required the researcher to ensure no child was harmed or injured through their participation in the study either by omission or commission. Considering child participation in research holds several possibilities (Gallagher and Elsley, 2008), the researcher utilised a robust methodology (GT) in a safe environment (a stall and empty church). Also gaining dual consent (section 3.12.1.) ensured parents agreed to child participation and as such the likelihood of retribution from parents/guardian is reduced if not completely eliminated. On the other hand, the principle of beneficence means children, their families and or local communities should receive something in return for the information they provide (Graham et al., 2013). This principle obliged the researcher to improve the status, rights and/or wellbeing of participating children. This study observed this principle through undertaking this research in an attentive, caring and responsible manner to ensure the children felt they were being heard; and their input is respected and valuable to a course. Also, in keeping to this principle and UNCRC article 42 (right to knowledge of rights), this study provided each child a copy of the Edo State Child's Law (a simplified copy) as well as contact details of key government offices/individuals concerned with child welfare and protection.

Justice

Justice ensures that children are treated equitably and fairly (Graham et al., 2013), and this includes issues around inclusion and exclusion as well as paying attention to the power imbalance between researcher and child participants. Based on chosen methodology, criteria for selecting research participants was wide, allowing for more children to be sampled without discrimination on the basis of disability, literacy, gender, ethnicity or language. Also, the development and use of the comic leaflet also ensure that not only children who can read and write participated in the study. The comic leaflet (3.8.1) was designed in such a way to be interactive and easily understood among children that could not adequately read or were unschooled. In addition, the use of storytelling method attended to any power differences inherent in adult/child relationships, as its application ensured the children took control of the process with the researcher acting as an active respectful listener. The researcher also dressed in a simple manner and in some cases spoke Pigin English (section 5.1.2) in an attempt to further breakdown any power differences.

3.12.1. The Notion of Participatory Parity

Drawing upon Nancy Fraser's (2007) work on social justice, issues of representation, recognition and distribution among street working children is examined to address socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic issues of child labour. Central to social justice is the idea of 'parity in participation' on political, cultural and economic institutions of society. 'Justice requires social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life. In the view of justice as participatory parity, overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalised obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interaction. (Fraser, 2007, p. 17). This theory does not only fulfil ethical considerations in research involving children, it is also relevant in underpinning the researcher's decision to include children's voices in answering the research question.

3.12.2. Gaining Consent from children

Informed consent has four attributes: it must be given voluntarily without coercion, must involve an explicit act (written or verbal agreement), must be renegotiable so that children could withdraw at any point of the process), and can only be given if participants are informed about and have an understanding of the research (Graham et al., 2013; Gallaher, 2009). Upon the recommendations of Elemraid et al. (2013) and Lambert and Glacken (2011), stated below are two key steps the researcher took to include children in this research; likewise measures to prevent and reduce the risk of harm to the children:

1. This study sought for initial informed consent from the key gatekeepers (parents/guardians) to allow the child to participate in this study, to ensure children's willingness to participate, likewise respect their opinion and treat them with respect. This consent did not automatically mean the child had consented to participate in the study as well. Therefore, assent was also sought from the child.

2. To facilitate child understanding of study before obtaining assent, the researcher:

• Provided written detailed information (comic leaflet)

• Verbally explained the information contained in the comic leaflet clearly and in a simple manner to the children.

• Parents/guardians were also encouraged to be present at the first interaction with the child, to assist with passing information.

- The researcher applied no pressure on children to participate and asked for their decision in two periods: in the presence and absence of their parents/guardian.

One challenge researchers' face with gaining assent/consent from children is whether all child participants are capable of providing consent (Graham et al., 2013). In resolving this issue, the researcher paid less attention to determining children's evolving capabilities and more on the researcher's abilities to creatively provide children information, and suit the consent process to meet the child's needs.

Also, aside from handing information contained in the comic leaflet, the researcher also provided the children time to think about the decision. In most cases, the comic leaflet and participant information sheet were handed out to the participants at least 24 hours before the day of the interview. Ethical considerations utilised in this study are divided into three parts and discussed below. These considerations were applied before, during and after data collection.

3.12.3. Ethics before data collection

In involving children in this study, their safety was put into consideration from the onset. Just as it is the responsibility of the researcher to protect research participants from social, physical and emotional harm (Laws and Mann, 2004), it is also their responsibility to anticipate any potential consequences for their participation (Graham et al., 2013); and this should reflect in the research design- sampling and data collection method. As a result, this study significantly reflected considerations in choosing methods for data collection.

The most crucial requirement for getting ethical approval from the University of Sunderland Ethics Committee was the provision of an appropriate method of data collection (concerning language and style). This was required to ensure the children would understand the research and their role in it. Further, the intention behind the development and subsequent use of the comic leaflet was to fulfil ethical requirements of justice and respect of participating children. Firstly, it facilitated an understanding of the study across the different groups of children. Considering some of the children were unschooled and their ages varied across five to sixteen, the comic leaflet detailed creative images and writings to facilitate child involvement in and understanding of the research work. Secondly, considering some of the children were dropouts or did not possess adequate reading skills, the comic leaflet was designed to eliminate discrimination in inclusion criteria. As such, it was used to engage both schooling and unschooling children, not only to foster their understanding of the study but also to gain assent/consent. Besides,

parents/guardians were included in the study in such a way that their role extended beyond giving interviews to reading the comic leaflet with the child and ensuring the child understood. By doing so, parents/guardians showed support for the child's involvement in this study; and mitigated against household retribution from family members after the child's participation in the study.

Furthermore, the child's consent to participate in this study determined the involvement of any participating family. The consent of parents/guardians did not suffice for child participation. Despite giving consent, parents/guardians were denied participation in this study whenever the child refused to participate. In such situations, the ethical principle of respect was explained to the parents, posed questions were answered, and the family was subsequently withdrawn from this study. Consent from the child was also sought not only in the presence but also in the absence of parents/guardian. This was an attempt to ensure the child was not intimidated or forced into accepting or refusing to participate. Therefore, dual consent was sought from parent/guardian and child before data collection.

Additionally, to minimise distress and anxiety for participating children, a comic leaflet (which served as a participant information sheet) was made and in most cases given to the children at least 24 hours before the day of their storytelling. This significantly made them familiar with the study, gave them time to think about their role in the study and came up with questions about the study. They appeared seemingly relaxed and excited to participate in the study. Children who did not want to participate in the research for any reason easily withdrew after going through the comic leaflet.

Nyambedha (2008) opines that in some contexts, such as low-income settings, participants may participate in the research with false high expectations (of how the study will benefit them or their family) and when unmet it is a form of harm. Therefore, at first interaction, parent/guardian and children were aware there is no direct/material benefit for their participation in the study, and the only benefit was to the research work in terms of answering the research question, publication, filling of the identified research gap and ultimately future-oriented benefit for the children as a social group. Therefore, no expectation was created or held for personal gain. The principle of reciprocated beneficence applies to children (Graham et al., 2013), as well as making contributions to the study; children should gain something for their participation though there

are situations where it is unlikely for children to have personal gain from participating in a study, in all research.

Consequently, the children got to keep their copies of the comic leaflet. After the storytelling session, the children were told that they could keep their copy of the comic leaflet, this made them excited, and many verbalised gratitude and considered it a direct gain for participating. Also, each child received a copy of their rights in Edo State and the contact details of individuals to call in cases of emergency or inquiry. Another benefit for the children was the experience-knowing their views and opinions were valued, appreciated and listened to. Although the benefit of their participation to possibly incite change or inform policymaking was not assertively mentioned to participants in order not to create high expectations, doing so might be a form of harm in the sense that when such does not happen, their hopes may become ruined.

More so, in responding to any child safety concerns, the researcher contacted the Edo State Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Protection. They provided significant information on how to go about recruiting child participants and also a simplified book on Edo State Laws on children's rights. This book also has contact details of significant agencies that handle different aspects of child rights and abuse in the state.

Under Article 2 of the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), researchers are required to include children without discrimination (Graham et al., 2013), 2013). Before data collection, the Almajiri group of children were however excluded from data collection due to the lack of ethical approval concerning the researcher's safety. Furthermore, with the uprising of Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria during the period of data collection, this group remained excluded from the study.

3.12.4. During data collection

The researcher had to ensure that children were not harmed as a consequence of their participation, either physically or in the form of punishment. Alderson and Morrow (2011) propound that anxiety, distress, physical retribution and loss of self-esteem are forms of potential risks and harm that can occur in social research with children. According to Graham et al. (2013), physical retribution may come from within the household. Hence, several strategies were put in place to prevent this. For example, interviews were conducted in a stall and a church, which were safe environments, and provided privacy for them (away from their parents or guardian) and also confidentiality of their stories.

In ensuring respect for participating children, the researcher recognised the power relationship that exists between children and adults; thus, an adequate method was employed in the data collection process, which allowed for the child to take control of the process. The use of storytelling method enabled children to take control of the session, comfortably tell their stories, and in some cases, some told stories in third person format.

3.12.5.   After data collection

After the storytelling, the children that participated in this study were told about the existence and functions of government and NGO child agencies and were handed a copy of the Edo State Child Rights Law (simplified copy), a copy was also left for the family's use. Also, contact details of the various governmental child agencies were available on the book's back cover. The contact details of the researcher and ethics committee were also handed to the children/families in case of any issue or question relating to the study.

Furthermore, during storytelling, some children revealed child abuse concerns in third person form. At the end of the session, the researcher sensitively referred them to appropriate agencies that were earlier identified because there were no indications of abuse (scars or marks, fear) or even direct verbalisation of being abused. In further preventing harm to the children and their parents/guardian, their identities and location in the market were concealed throughout the writing up of findings, as pseudonyms were used when reporting their demographics in this study (anonymity).

3.13.   Personal Background/subjective stance and Reflexivity

In conducting qualitative research, there is the risk of the researcher's bias especially if she/he has a personal life experience relating to the chosen topic. Hence, Padgett (2008) asserts that researchers must consider how she/he can hinder or help the proposed study; more so, be reflexive.

I was born and grew up in Benin City, Edo State. My primary, secondary and tertiary education were all done in Benin City. As a teenager, I worked alongside my mother at New Benin market as a stall trader. Most weekdays after school, my father would drop me off at the market to trade with my mother. While in the stall, I would spend between three to four hours selling African prints and running errands for my mother as well as other market women who were her friends. Upon reflection, especially before data collection, I realised that my presence in the market went against Conventions 138 (minimum age to work) and 182 (hazardous work), UNCRC Articles 31

(right to leisure and play); and by the ILO and International conventions, I was a child labourer. Up until that point, I never considered myself one- I knew I worked, but my parents did not ask me to because of substitute or luxury axiom. They only decided so because they considered it to be in my best interest, as I get to learn business and socialisation skills while trading with my mother.

Therefore, before data collection, my research design had to be accommodated for a wide scope of children. The research question was broad as reflected by the inclusion and exclusion criteria. This approach was taken for two reasons. Firstly, it is underpinned by grounded theory methodology, and secondly, it allows for more street working children to be sampled. At this stage with continuous literature review, I was bemused but curious about what I would find. The puzzling sense felt resulted from me realising that I was a 'child labourer' and at that time, several NGO's and government officials were working to stop 'child labour' activities, stop me from working in my mother's stall. Considering the reported negative impacts of child labour, I was leaning more towards an abolitionist- seeing the need to eradicate all forms of child labour. I penned these feelings to paper and did it as a way to be aware of my personal bias and as an attempt to put them away from the research. Also, as suggested by Oktay (2012), with the use of traditional paper and pencil, I continuously drew up concept maps. From the start of the study, throughout the literature review (before data collection) up to the end of data collection and analysis. Doing this helped me to reflect on action and see to what extent initial perceptions may have affected the analysis.

During data collection, while on the field, my personal street experiences facilitated my ability to interact with the market women, traders and children. I understand the native language and Pigin English, as such, communicated easily with individuals who did not speak English. I also dressed very casually, because I did not want my appearance to be a barrier in creating and maintaining rapport throughout data collection. When I started transcribing and coming up with concepts, it was interesting, I was surprised to know about other kinds of jobs children do on the street and how it affects them. Also, following GT, I was able to pursue concepts- generating theory from the data.

My understanding and experience of the street aided the forming of categories and subcategories, likewise understanding the experiences of the children. These experiences also facilitated my access to and understanding of the street and its actors. At the point of category

saturation and theoretical saturation, and with the emergence of the conceptual supply of child labour, I had reservations about my abolitionist stance and penned it to a memo. In discussing my finding, and relating them to other literature, it became clear to me that working was not the problem; instead, children's working conditions. The children talked about the ST and OST, children *on* and *of* the street, and some even took pride in their work. Also, not every 'child labourer' within the scope of this study gets harmed or turns out worse. I worked, if anything I gained valuable life skills from the street. Now, after going through the process and having a work that challenges the dominant ideology on child labour, I firmly believe listening to the voice of children is crucial in understanding the phenomenon under study and there is need to appreciate the benefits of working rather than promulgate an outright ban.

3.15. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

According to Grant and Osanloo (2014), the theoretical framework of a research study is the most important part of the research process, as it is the foundation on which knowledge is literally and metaphorically constructed for the study. It also goes along to support the purpose, rationale and significance of the study likewise the research question (Grant and Osanloo, 2014).This section of the work explains the conceptual and theoretical frameworks adopted for this study. The ILO Conventions on child labour and the UNCRC, some of Marxists capitalist ideas were utilised as the conceptual framework for this study.

This is because in contemporary times, the global interaction between individuals is becoming ubiquitous and globalisation is greatly supported by capitalism. The impact of such globalisation is experienced differently within several societies. Thus, in relation to this study, the impact of globalisation on child labour would be discussed, likewise the role of core countries in child labour practices among countries in the world-system. Globalisation theories (such as World-System theory, neoliberalism and cultural differentialism) were chosen because it is related to the themes and scope of this study. Economic and cultural globalisation are therefore extensively discussed within this section. Some of Marx's ideas were also discussed because globalisation is largely underpinned by capitalism, as a result, it is useful to include Marx's criticism of the system.

Also, from a Marxist point of view, this capitalist system is exploitative, oppressive and produces inequality of wealth which benefits the ruling elites. The role of economic interest as a factor in child labour is uncontested. Hence, Marxism, globalisation theories were adopted to explain and create an understanding of child labour practice in Sub-Saharan Africa.

3.16. Globalisation

Globalisation over the years has facilitated and maintained the capitalist system (Robson, 2008). Globalisation is a key concept in the 21st century, and its definition is highly contested (Robinson, 2007). However, it can be defined as the spread of worldwide practices, consciousness, relations and organisations of social life (Ritzer and Stepnisky, 2013). Globalisation process operates with a capitalist ideology (Robinson, 2008), either facilitating homogeneity or heterogeneity of culture, politics and economy. There are certain ideas about globalisation that most researchers' share- firstly, there has been a drastic increase in the pace of social change in the 21st century; secondly, increasing connectivity among people and countries worldwide affects this social change. Ergo, the focus on globalisation by researchers is on its concept (theorising the nature of the process) and specific issues relating to it (Robinson 2007).

Although globalisation process has been praised for creating democracy, freedom, prosperity and emancipation worldwide, it has also been criticised for increasing global inequality, a new form of domination, exploitation, and economic holocaust (Ritzer, 2007). There are several forms of globalisation, and this work focuses on the cultural and economic aspects. This study focuses on the supply of child labour and less on the demand side of it. As a result, other contributory factors to the phenomena that are not relating to the family unit and economic interest together, but can influence the supply of child labour were not extensively explored; for example, technological changes, proliferation/deterioration of industries, trading policies and legislation. Nonetheless, in discussing globalisation and the Marxist critique of capitalism, neoliberalist economic policies would be briefly highlighted when discussing economic globalisation.

3.16.1. Economic Globalisation

There are several economic theories of globalisation. However, from a sociological stance, the most important perspectives are usually those associated with Marxian theory, which is neo-Marxian in nature. A major example of this is transnational capitalism- this was discussed in detail by Sklair (2002). A Marxist theorist, Lesie Sklair (2002) presented three arguments as follows:

Firstly, Sklair emphasis was on transnational practices, as he argued that transnational corporations are shifting away from international to a global perspective- making the nation or state less significant and far from the reach of any specific region (through neoliberalism). According to Dicken (2007), transnational corporations are the shapers and movers of the global

economy. Secondly, aside from these corporations, Sklair also imperatively emphasised on the political aspect of transnational practice also referred to as transnational capitalist class (TCC). He explained that TCC was dominating the transnational practice and divided them into four factions:

- The Corporate faction: these are executives of transnational corporations and their local affiliates.
- The State faction: this includes globalising states with their bureaucrats and politicians.
- The Technical faction: this includes globalising professionals.
- The Consumerist faction: includes media executives and merchants.

These factions collectively share global and local interests. They also seek to exert various controls in and across nations/states by exerting political control in both international and domestic politics, thus exercising economic control in workplaces (Klassen and Carroll, 2015). Although these factions are from several geographical regions, they consider themselves citizens of the world, and thus a global view on a wide range of issues. Lastly, they share similar lifestyles regardless of time and place especially in terms of consuming goods and services.

Thirdly, Sklair argued that transnational practices gave importance to culture-ideology of consumerism. Thus, the drastic increase in the ability of transnational corporations to exert ideological control over several people all around the world; this they achieved through sophisticated advertising and media coverage. This helps to market consumer goods and produce *grobalisation*. Ultimately, through the TCC especially the consumerist faction, transnational corporations serve to create a mood for individuals around the world to consume their goods and thus profit from it. Form a Marxist point of view; transnational corporations use TCC to develop and solidify the culture and ideology of consumers to continuously maintain the capitalist system of production.

The activities of transnational corporations and other capitalists through neoliberalism have been argued to either bring about economic growth and prosperity or poverty and inequality, especially in developing nations. Studies on the relationship between globalisation and child labour emphases the effect of economic growth, free direct investment (FDI) and open trade on child labour. These arguments are greatly linked to impact of neoliberalism and one which has no straight forward answer, and are more connected to the demand side of child labour.

Neoliberalism is a political economic theory which proposes that the wellbeing of humans can be advanced through maximizing entrepreneurial freedom within an institutional framework characterised by free trade, free market, individual freedom and private property rights (Ettinger, 2013). This theory also states the function of the state should be nothing more than to create and preserve this framework. It is imperative to note whether positive or negative, the impact of neoliberalism is experienced by children all around the world, especially those in the workforce. As such, a polarised answer of the impact of neoliberalism on child labour is redundant. This is because its impact varies among countries and outcomes should be expressed with consideration for other social factors (such as child labour policies, programs and interventions) and the complexity of child labour practice.

3.16.2. Cultural Globalisation

The globalisation of culture can either be considered a transitional extension of common practices and codes (Homogeneity), or a process of interaction of many local and global cultures to create a blend, producing a variety of cultural mixtures (heterogeneity). Trends towards the former can be associated with cultural imperialism. Pieterse (2004) in analysing cultural globalisation theory identified three major paradigms in theorising cultural globalisation: cultural differentialism, cultural convergence and cultural hybridisation.

Cultural differentialism paradigm argues that regardless of the globalisation process among and between cultures, some lasting differences remain unaffected by the globalisation process. Hence, globalisation occurs only on the surface, while the core structures of culture are largely maintained, but it is not totally unaffected. The most popular and controversial example of cultural differentialism is the *Clash of Civilisation and Remaking World Order* by Huntington (1996). Huntington blamed the current World situation on the end of the Cold war; considering it led to the reformation of the world- from one differentiated on political-economic bases (totalitarian/communist versus democratic/capitalist) to one based on cultural differences. Though these differences were present before the cold war, they were however submerged by the political-economic difference of the Cold war epoch.

Pieterse illustrated this claim on cultural differentialism with billiard ball images bouncing off each other, with the ball representing several cultures. However, with this example, he warns of the possibility of a potentially catastrophic collision among and between world cultures. The paradigm has gained several attention especially with the September 11 incidence in America-

which many considered a clash between Islamic and Western cultures, and the cultural differences between them.

Conversely, cultural convergence is a paradigm deeply grounded in the idea of lasting differences among and between cultures because of globalisation. This is a direct opposite of cultural differentialism. Also, this paradigm argues that the idea of globalisation leads to homogeneity throughout the world. Unlike cultural differentialism and Huntington's assumptions, supporters of cultural convergence argue that culture sometimes changes even radically in the face of globalisation. According to Lechner and Boli (2012), these supporters operate on cultural imperialism perspective, global capitalism, Westernisation, McDonaldization, Americanisation and World culture.

Ritzer's (2014; 2006) work focuses on cultural convergence and argues that the global process is bringing homogeneity through a global phenomenon called McDonaldization. This is the process by which the principles of fast-food restaurants are emerging to dominate several sectors of the American society as well as the globe through means of efficiency, calculability, predictability, control by means of technology and irrationality of rationality (Ritzer and Stephnisky, 2014). This brings about the concept of *Grobalisation* which is the desire and ambition of nations, and transnational corporations produce to impose themselves (culture, lifestyle) on various geographical regions for the sole purpose of growing power, influence and in some cases profit making (Ritzer, 2007).

Lastly is the cultural hybridisation paradigm which emphasises on the integration of both local and global cultures via globalisation, and culture cannot simply be reduced to either local or global forms. Therefore, the concept of McDonaldisation occurs superficially, interacting with local cultures to form a new hybrid of culture, indicative of heterogenization rather than homogenization. This process produces views of globalisation as creating new cultural realities and reproducing heterogeneity among different locales. Cultural hybridisation brings about the concept of *Glocalization* which is a transnational process defined as the interpenetration of both the local and global producing a unique result in different geographical regions. An example of *Glocalization*, cultural hybridization and heterogenization would be a Ugandan tourist travelling to Amsterdam to watch Morrocan female Thai boxing.

Economic globalisation and neoliberalism highlight the role of capitalism on child labour practice across the world. Economic globalisation produces a high demand for child labour as previously

discussed in section 3.16.1 individuals with means of production make profit because of the capitalist system, while individuals of a lower socio-economic class are exploited in the process. In this case, it produces substitute axiom and luxury axiom. Cultural globalisation, on the other hand, highlights why the idea of child work varies among regions.

3.16.4.   World-System Theory

This theory generously highlights political globalisation in relation to the other types of globalisation as discussed above. Developed by Immanuel Wallerstein, an American sociologist-who criticised modernisation theory for its idea that a brighter future could be available to 'less developed' countries if only they borrowed from successful western countries. Wallerstein (1974) expresses that the World system is divided into world empire and world economy. The former is described as a large bureaucratic structure with one political centre and an axial division of labour and multiple cultures. The latter is described as a large axial division of labour, multiple political centres and cultures.

There is a shift from the world economy to a capitalist world economy, and this transition has been a crucial one. This shift is considered Eurocentric-a practice whereby European perspective and beliefs are considered the viewpoint of the world, consciously and subconsciously making Europeans dominant or superior. Consequently, periphery nations are inevitably positioned as a source of labour power in the production of commodities for core countries. The World-System Theory (WST) criticises capitalism- stating that globalisation is an expansionary system that has a key structure of 'capitalist-world system'(Clark, 2013). The capitalist-world system divides the world into three tiers: the core, semi-periphery and periphery.

Wallerstein argues that core countries exert control on periphery nations through trade, means of production and cost of the commodity. Further, he analysed the role of the semi-periphery and concluded it serves to maintain both the core and periphery in place- the fall of core countries ensures the move to semi-periphery and not periphery; likewise, the potential upward movement of periphery nations to semi-periphery positions instead of instant core status. In relation to child labour, core countries exploit the unskilled labour force in periphery countries. This is often disguised by neoliberalism and competitive advantage.

3.17. Marxism

'The Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways. The point, however, is to change it'.

(Marx, 1945).

Capitalism is an economic system underpinned by the production of marketable goods through investments made by individuals (Schweickart, 2011). According to the French historian Fernard Braudel, it is impossible to study economic history without capitalism; in reverse, this is equally true: we cannot understand capitalism with economic history (Adelman and Levy, 2014).

According to (Koddenbrock, 2017), since the 17th century, capitalist represented capital-rich individuals endowed with great wealth and cash monies, someone who can live on his/her rents and interests. This did not only include bankers, merchants and others who deal/broker in capital, rather, it also represents anyone who engaged in wealth acquisition (if they accumulate more than their consumption, and use the surplus for production and labour). In the late 18th century, capitalists were increasingly seen as the outright opposite of workers and considered the class of wage masters (factory entrepreneurs, merchant and merchant employers).

Karl Marx, a German philosopher, gave a diagnosis of capitalism ills, and in his socio-economic analysis, he critiqued capitalism and suggested that capitalism needs to be reformed to enable the world to traverse to a more promising future. Marxism is a theory and practice of long-term historical changes (Eagleton, 2011, p 36). From a Marxist point of view, a capitalist system is exploitative, oppressive and produces inequality of wealth which benefits the ruling elites. Marx described this exploitation, oppression and wealth inequality as being brought about by means of production and class struggle throughout history (a novel idea of Karl Marx) (Eagleton, 2011). The means of production is a combination of certain forces of production (any means /instrument by which individuals go to work on the world so as to reproduce material life) with certain relationships of production. A force of production includes everything that promotes human mastery of and control over nature for production motive, for example, computers, donkeys, human labour.

Marx further explains that the existence of these production forces is bound up by certain relations between social classes; otherwise production forces would never exist in the raw. For example, one social class may own and control the means of production, while another may find itself exploited by it (Eagleton, 2011: 37). Capitalism results in an uneven access to and control of the means of production (Marx, 1867) and Lynch, Stretesky and Long, (2016) argue that this inequality in access to production is the basis of capitalism's class system, and it is conditioned by established and unequal division of resources in the previous stage of human development.

Also, the compulsion to improve production forces for wealth, power and influence attainment by elites (e.g. transnational corporations) is imperatively specific to capitalism.

Furthermore, Marx asserts that the fact that corrupt people are at the helm of affairs (which is arguably true to human hierarchy) is not the biggest evil of capitalism, rather, it is the fact that capitalism ideology teaches all to be competitive, conformist and politically complacent. Marxism does not only outline what is wrong with capitalism but also encourages action to be taken to secure a better future for us all; likewise provided a glimpse of what the ideal utopian future (communist/socialist society) would be like as described in Marx's communist manifesto.

More so, capitalism succeeds at the detriment of the working class- they must be maintained in a state where their lives revolve and depends on money, and it is impossible for them to reproduce themselves outside its relation to capital or capitalism (Lynch Stretesky and Long, 2016). Thus, it is a basic requirement in capitalism that workers be kept at an economic level where according to (Eagleton, 2011; Marx, 1867) they can only reproduce themselves as workers, likewise prevent them from accumulating sufficient wealth to change the existing class structure. In addition, Marx states that to understand any society, one must understand how economic surplus is pumped into the pockets of the ruling class of owners (exploiters) from the hands of the working class and declares that his chief aim in studying capitalism was to "to lay bare its law of motion" (Ollman, 2014).

It is true to say Marx had several ideas about capitalism; however, this study would highlight five Marxist ideas about capitalism and how it relates to child labour- in terms of elucidating and discussing the discourse about causes and effects of child labour. These ideas include:

- Workers get paid little, while capitalists get rich
- Capitalism is bad for capitalists
- Modern work is alienated
- Modern work is insecure
- Capitalism is very unstable.

The first two points are effective in explaining the causes of child labour, while the last three relates to the impact of work.

3.17.1 Workers get paid little while capitalists get rich

This can be considered the most obvious problem Marx had with capitalism. This is because, according to Marxism, capitalists diminish the wages of workers as much as possible so as to accumulate a wider profit margin (Eagleton, 2011). This action according to Marxism is called *capital accumulation*. Although the term *primitive accumulation* in its traditional Marxist concept indicates the historical process by which a sector of the population was created and left with no other means of livelihood than their labour power which they sold. Seda-Irizarry and Bhattacharya (2014) suggest *primitive accumulation* is not pre-historic and only occurring within developing nations, but rather an on-going process that accompanies *capital accumulation* (the concept of reproduction of capital) and is to be understood as a continuous phenomenon in a capitalist mode of production all around the world. This idea links to Basu and Van (1998) assumption of substitute axiom. Capitalists consider profit to be a form of reward for their technological talent and ingenuity. Marx, in contrast, considered profit making as theft- the act of stealing the hard work and talents of one's workforce; likewise called it a fancy word for exploitation. A crude example of this is selling something at a higher price and paying the worker who made it a much lower wage.

In relationship to child labour, *primitive accumulation* and *capital accumulation* explains the greed of investors and their exploitative undertone within a neo-liberal global economy. For example, when doing business, core developed countries such as the United States of America have a rich supply of investors who according to Kucera (2002) do not consider child labour as a bad criteria before investing, rather, investors appreciate the unskilled and cheap labour (competitive advantage- discussed further below) available in periphery developing countries. This is because they could shrink the labour wages in these countries to amass wealth/profit. This desire by business owners and private investors to make profit results in low wages for workers which consequently causes child labour and reinforces Basu and Van's 1998 assumptions of substitute axiom- as the fundamental causes of child labour.

Without *primitive accumulation,* regardless of economic globalisation and neoliberalism, families in periphery nations would not be exploited in the form of low wages. This is because investors would not seek to amass as much profit by seeking for cheap labour. Workers would be adequately paid and family's income would increase. Children would also not get paying jobs, as adults would take them. Thus, preventing both luxury and substitute axioms. This further goes to show how the drive for making profit by bourgeois individuals results in exploitation and

oppression of the proletariats, a typical example of the operation of the mode of production and the inevitable class struggle.

3.17.2. Capitalism is bad for capitalists

According to Marx, the economic system has a subtle way of influencing the sort of ideas individuals end up having in life- generating an ideology. This psychological tendency according to Marx is called *commodity fetishism*- as it causes individuals to value things that have no objective value (Nguyen, 2015), and be greedy (Ollman, 2014). For example, the possession of several belongings would make an individual happy/happier, a jobless person is perceived as worthless. Hence, individuals (of all social classes) are forced by the capitalist system to put economic interest before honest and deep relationships. Thus, a capitalist society is one where individuals both rich and poor believe anything that is value-based and relates back to the economic system, reproducing dispossession of workers (Ollman, 2014).

This psychological tendency (*commodity fetishism*) further goes along to influence child labour in two ways. Firstly, bourgeois individuals with the obsession for economic gain would have little or no remorse in their hearts as they continuously exploit their workers for economically profitable reasons. Marxism also acutely recognises the sorrows of bourgeoisie families and argued that they are usually plagued with tension, resentment and oppression; with individuals doing things and forming relationships, not for love, rather for financial reasons.

Secondly, proletariats also inevitably ensue this path- parents would send their children out to work whether due to the psychological tendency to desire economically value based possessions- as their action is underpinned by the need for an economic/financial outcome. *Commodity fetishism* causes and forces them to consider and accept money/income vital to the modern world, despite the source being child labour. However, upon this point, in the case of a norm, if the interest is to help the child grow into a responsible adult, without any emphasis or need for financial gain; then it can be a genuine action free from the shackles of capitalism.

3.17.3. Modern work is insecure

Considering human beings are just one factor amongst the forces of production, capitalism makes human beings utterly expendable. This is because, a capitalist system due to cost rise, can easily let go of workers and utilise technology to make savings. For the owners of such businesses, such a move is crucial, especially if it benefits them financially. Neoliberalism and economic

globalisation indirectly encourage this characteristic in the global market, not only from individuals/entrepreneurs but also from the state (in form of competitive advantage).

This, however, reduces working standards, and this idea makes working an all-inclusive standard for children. Since anyone is dispensable in the working area to save cost, this also gives children a chance to be considered for jobs if adults refuse it. On the other hand, this can greatly affect families- they are not guaranteed a consistent and stable job/income which would enable them to plan and take care of their needs. Also, it may lead to the decision by parents to send their children to work, to increase the odds of the family to maintain a stable source of income.

Marx further goes to criticise this attribute of capitalism, suggesting that deep down human beings are terrified of being let go, and do not want to be arbitrarily let go of. Also, according to Maslow hierarchy of needs (1943), a sense of love and belonging is needed for individuals to reach their full potential and attain self-actualisation; families, children and individuals in a capitalist system are thus denied this. Therefore, children may grow up working and living with a sense of insecurity about themselves and the world they live in.

3.17.4.   Modern work is alienating

According to Marx, the work that humans do can be the source of one of their greatest joys, and for one to be fulfilled, workers need to see themselves in the object/service that they have created. Unfortunately, this is extremely rare in the modern world or the capitalist system- the workers are told what to and what not to do by capitalists to reproduce material life or make a profit. This is because the modern world is increasingly specialised- these specialised jobs makes modernised society highly efficient. However positive as it sounds, this state of efficiency deprives individual workers the ability and drive to externalise a genuine contribution they may make to meet the real needs of humanity. Marx, therefore, argues that modern work leads to *alienation entfremdung*- a feeling of disconnection between an individual's daily work and whom they feel they really are, likewise what individuals ideally feel they will be able to contribute to human existence. Upon this argument, it is interesting to note that concerning child labour, children suffer a great deal of *alienation entfremdung*, as they are subjected to doing various work which they really may not want to do, but however do it because they make an income.

3.17.5.   Capitalism is very unstable

This is the last Marxist idea this study would adopt to discuss child labour practice in Nigeria. Marx opined that capitalism is plagued and characterised by a series of crises. Children should be

allowed to grow and develop in an environment where they can be adequately guided to do whatever they want with this freedom from work (leisure); for example, educational and vocational purposes. Marx further goes along to add that this freedom should not be regarded as unemployment, but rather leisure.

Conclusively, the aim of these five Marxist ideas is for people to be free from economic/financial constraints for them to at least begin to make healthy and sensible choices in their relationships or daily lives. Although capitalism is a kind of economy that dominates the Western world, it is however becoming global through the help of globalisation, thus making Marxist ideas relevant in the analysis of issues on global child labour. Capitalism trades in futures, and it is therefore imperative to denounce the present situation of greed, corruption and power-mongering (as seen in world-systems, grobalisation and transnational practices).
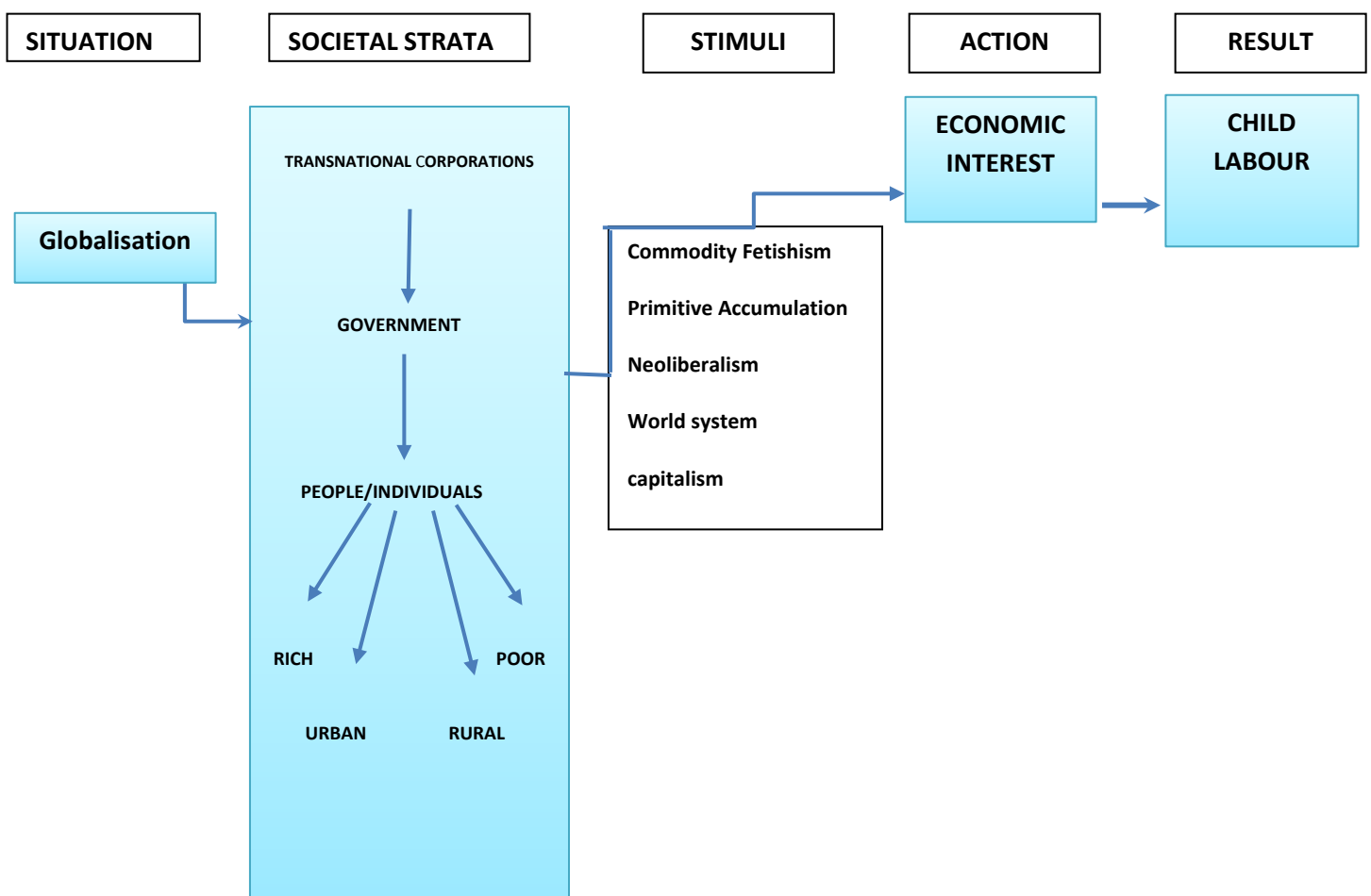
Figure 7- Economic Globalisation and child labour

The above diagram shows how globalisation through neoliberalism and world system compels individuals, societal institutions and structures to get involved in child labour. Marxist analysis and the uncovering of the tendencies of capitalism is crucial not only for the understanding of the present or how the future is likely to develop, rather it is very important to develop a point of action to increase the likelihood of having a better and preferred outcome and decreasing the likelihood of the worst outcome.

3.18. Conclusion

This study adopts a qualitative research method, which offers a rich analysis and description of the issue under study using samples from Nigeria. Ground theory methods were selected and used to systematically analyse data and produce a theory. Aside GT methods, other factors facilitated data collection and analysis processes to ensure children were carefully considered and included in the research work. In addition, the ILO Conventions on child labour and UNCRC serve as conceptual framework for this study; while certain globalisation theory was adopted as a theoretical base for arguments.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

4.0. OVERVIEW

The results chapter is divided into sections- the context, the situation, stories and interpretation of stories of working children. The chapter presents the stories told by children, highlighting their multiple realities; likewise offers a 'thick' description of the research context and findings. The application of thick description in this study as theorised by Geertz (1973), is to specify the many details of the context, elucidate existing conceptual structures on the street, like the meaning participants ascribe to events on the street. This offers an in-depth understanding of the culture of the participants and how it influences child work incidences and impact.

Also considering child labour practice is complexly layered, offering factual accounts or a thin description may likely not suffice to produce meaning and it may also be misleading. On the other hand, a thick description consists of facts and commentary which extracts meanings embedded in complexly layered phenomena. Geertz cites Ryle's scenario of boys rapidly contracting their eyelid, from 'an I-am-a-camera, "phenomenalistic" observation' (P. 6), one could not tell which contraction was a twitch, a wink, parody or a rehearsal. As such, there is meaning embedded in background information, before the phenomenon itself is directly examined. Geertz (1973) thick description appreciates symbolic interaction and interpretivism, key foundations for grounded theory and this study's adopted philosophical assumptions.

Lastly, this chapter reports findings considering two related concepts: the understanding of the street based on the researcher personal experiences of the street; and those of the participants, the way in which participants make meaning of their street experience. The former significantly facilitates the construction of the *street* context, while the later produces stories of the lives of children on the street. Together, both concepts are crucial for the interpretation of findings and production of the meaning of street work.

4.1. Setting the scene: the contextual setting

4.1.1. Introduction

This section of chapter five discusses the context within which this study was carried out- Benin City- the history, lifestyle and language of the populations is described. Also, the *street* is

discussed, and its characteristics elucidated to facilitate reader's understanding of child labour practice (street trading) in the region, likewise contextualise study findings.

Picture 1: A map of Nigeria, highlighting Edo State, Benin City.

BENIN: An African Kingdom

The kingdom of Benin was one of the major powers in West Africa up until the late 19th century. In the 15th century onwards, she was in control of trade between inland people and Europeans on the coast (The British Museum, 2011). The Beni people also killed British envoys when they tried to expand on their trade, therefore in 1897 British armed expedition captured the king of Benin (the Oba), took large quantities of artworks and destroyed his palace. Before its destruction, Benin was divided into the palace where the Oba and palace chief lived, the town where artisans and town chiefs resided (The British Museum, 2011). Today, Benin City is the capital of Edo state and is located in the South-south of Nigeria (Aziegbe, 2007), with an estimated population of 4 million people (Edo State Government, 2017). Edo state is one of the 36 states in Nigeria. It consists of three major ethnic groups: Binis, Esan and Afemai; likewise, a mixture of other ethnic groups and the standard mode of communication is Pigin English (Ezedinma et al., 2007).

Benin City is a commercial city with over 20 markets with the major markets being: Oba market and New Benin Market. These markets are major locations for economic transactions; they are also located in significant transit areas, with a substantial amount of human and motor traffic. Thus, these markets are common vending sites and so are used by adults and children to carry out trading activities regardless of the season. The city is located in a tropical equatorial zone characterised by wet seasons (April to October) and dry seasons (November to March) (Balogun and Orimoogunje, 2015). Furthermore, temperatures in Benin City are high throughout the year,

with a mean average of 27°C- which permits for high demand and supply for cold sachet water, soft drinks and ice cream (Omofonmwan et al., 2009).

4.1.2 The Nigerian Pigin English

Nigerian Pigin English (NPE) is an English-based broken English spoken as a type of lingua franca across Nigeria, which started and has developed gradually as a result of language contact between indigenes and the British colonists (Idiagbon, 2010) during trade and the colonisation of Nigeria. It is a common language spoken at kiosks, relaxation joints, playgrounds and other places where social interaction occurs.

In Nigeria, NPE is sometimes considered an indication of an individual's level of literacy as well as used to mark one's level of English proficiency (Akande and Salami, 2010). Nevertheless, NPE is spoken not only among illiterates but also among educated people such as graduates, professors, lawyers and journalists (Akande, 2008). Therefore, the claim that it is language only for non-literate does not entirely follow the Nigerian reality, as several educated speakers can use both NPE and Standard English proficiently; while poorly educated or uneducated speakers can use NPE or their local dialect to communicate competently.

4.1.3. Definition of terms

Terms used in describing the street were mostly derived from the researcher's personal experience of the street; alongside information gotten from literature review.

Terms	Meaning
Street working children	For this study, *street working children* can be defined as children who indulge in several forms of work activities in clustered and open street spaces.
Stall Trade	This is trading activity conducted in a stall or a formed structure. It restricts the movement of the trader as business is conducted in the stall. Examples are apprenticeship work, clothing stalls

Out-of-stall Trade	This is trading activity conducted outside a stall or a formed structure. The vendor is has less restriction on business conducted. Examples includes hawking, rendering services (wheelbarrow pushing)
Permanent Structures	These are structures (made of materials such as brick, wood or metal shipping containers) that are not easily dismantled/moved.
Temporary Structures	These are structures that are easily dismantled and moved. An example of this would is a setup of a table with stool with or without an umbrella (for shade) for trading along motor ways. Stall can be made up of temporary structures.
Open Space	An open space is a vending arena where economic activities takes place. It is characterised by the presence of sparsely distributed temporary or permanent structures alongside residential areas and motor ways. There is good ventilation and although not typically a market-type setting, it also constitutes part of the *street*. An example of open space includes: the roadside, a street lane. Basically, anywhere there is flow of pedestrians and motor vehicles.
Clustered street space	A clustered space is a vending arena where economic activities occur and is characterised by the presence of densely

	distributed permanent and temporary structures and poor ventilation. It constitutes part of the *street*. Examples of clustered space includes: market place, shopping complexes, and anywhere there is traffic of buyers and sellers but no motor traffic.
Pure Water	This is sachet water. The sources of the water vary, but any water put in a nylon sachet/sealed plastic bag and sold for a price is popularly referred to as *pure water*.
Oga	Nigerian Pigin English used to address a man who is in charge of a worker(s), a business or organisation.
Madam	Nigerian Pigin English used to address a woman who is in charge of a worker(s), a business or organisation.

Table 2: Definition of terms

4.1.4. The 'Street'

Within the context of this study, the word 'street' represents trading/vending arenas. It encourages and facilitates the coordination of economic activities (especially in the clustered spaces where buying and selling is the sole aim of most individuals present there). This is because the street environment incites competition amongst the traders, as there is no monopoly in the sales of goods and services, so each trader tries to out-sell the other. In other words, the street is an environment where children and adults carry out buying and selling activities, either in open or cluttered spaces. An example is a market place and its surroundings.

Picture 3: Oba Market- child and adult street workers hawking and in temporary ST.

A market place is a clustered 'street' space because of the presence and systematic arrangement of stalls; while the roadside is an open 'street' space due to the flow of pedestrians and motor. Also, a street/housing lane constitutes the 'street' (open space). Economic activities occur in both spaces and street vending is a common feature in many Nigerian cities. It is a source of employment for urban residents, especially poor rural migrants who consider it a means of survival and in some cases an entry point to the urban economy (Onodugo, 2016).
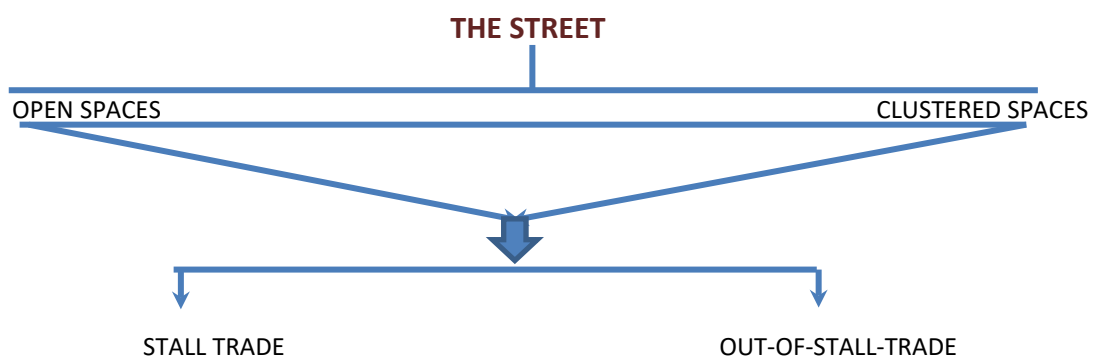
Figure 8- A breakdown of the street

Clustered and open spaces

The *street* is a 'clustered' space when there is the presence and systematic arrangement of stalls and structures with little or no motor/bike access. Clustered spaces have structures/stalls located close to each other, and sometimes rolls of structures face each other with a gutter and walking

lane separating them. Buyers, hawkers and pedestrians pass through the interstice between structures in cluttered spaces.

Picture 4: An overview of the street space with permanent stalls and temporary stalls

In contrast, an open *street* space is one where there are fewer stalls/structures with no systematic arrangement and possesses a more extensive space available to pedestrians and motor cars and motorbikes. Open street spaces are sometimes scanty as they do not have structures (temporal or permanent) closely knitted. This may be the reason why it constitutes mostly of out-of-stall traders than stall traders, considering out-of-stall traders are mobile and can hawk goods or get patronised by individuals in cars, buses, motorbikes, likewise pedestrians just passing through the street. The factors that decide whether or not the *street* is an open or clustered space are the presence of systematically arranged stalls and the space available and accessible to motor vehicles.

Nevertheless, whether clustered or open, the *street* is usually busy- overflowing with human and motor traffic. The human traffic constitutes of buyers, pedestrians, bus drivers and conductors, other drivers, sellers of goods and services. Therefore, there is a myriad of activities all happening at the same place, with different underlying intentions of the people present in that space at that particular time; buyers buying, sellers selling and pedestrians passing through or by the *street* without any economic reason.

Although both spaces are exposed to traffic (human and motor traffic in the open spaces and only human traffic in clustered spaces), they both have different exposure to the weather- rain,

wind and sunshine due to the presence/absence and arrangement of structures. For example, when it rains heavily, open 'street' spaces have limited trading considering some traders do not hawk in the rain as water can destroy their commodities. Therefore, only traders with stalls can continue trading goods regardless of the torrential downpour. Also, clustered street spaces usually have an opening and closing time. Traders in open street spaces usually dictate their working hours with strategic customer routines. For example, markets in Benin City usually close by 6 pm, hawkers can, however, continue to trade along the roadside beyond this time. As a result, although they are locked out of the market space, out-of-stall traders continue to make sales to individuals who are returning from work, going out or even just passing through.

Picture 5: An open street space with out-of-stall vendors (teenage wheelbarrow pushers), stall traders (temporary structures) and motor traffic.

These characteristics make individuals aware of the best location to buy/sell goods and services at certain times and conditions. For example, from personal experience and observation, when thirsty during fieldwork, the researcher did not think of going inside the market to purchase *pure water*. The knowledge that *out-of-stall* traders operate on the street and usually hawk commodities resulted in the researcher's decision to remain sat in a public bus and waited to arrive at a busy area (heavy traffic) to buy *pure water* while sat on the bus rather than alighting to buy water from a supermarket or the market. Furthermore, sometimes traders that offer similar goods and services own stalls (permanent or temporary) in specific locations of the street; as such customers are attracted to certain parts of the street depending on what they want to buy.

On several occasions when the researcher was on the street- sat in front and inside of different markets, standing along roadsides two observations were apparent. Firstly, business patronages that occurred in open 'street' spaces were less intense as compared to business transactions that occur in cluttered spaces. These transactions are fast with minimal interaction between the buyer and seller (not unless when transactions were conducted in a permanent structure). Thorough and more extensive trading is usually carried out in clustered spaces especially inside markets. Examples of such business activities include tailoring, sales of meat and other proteins, sales of African commodities among other goods and services. On the other hand, items sold/purchased in open spaces are usually hawked, or sold in mini shades; transactions conducted in open spaces include vulcanising, cobbling, wheelbarrow pushing, *pure water* sales, call recharge card sales, other junk/snack and finger foods hawking among other roadside businesses. Therefore, customers patronised clustered street spaces for grocery shopping amongst other major household or personal shopping and did casual buying of goods and services from open 'street' spaces.

Secondly, aside from being a place of business, the street is also a place of socialisation- both as a space for activities that facilitate social mixing of people and a space for the process of learning how to behave in a socially acceptable manner. Considering the street is accessible to everyone, there is no age and social class restriction to who participates in street activities either in buying or selling.

4.1.5. Characteristics of the Street

Financial Involvement

Traders pay to participate in street activities in two ways. Firstly, traders in the market place pay rent monthly for their stalls. Stalls are owned by individuals who may or may not be traders themselves but rent them out to other traders on the *street*. One determining factor for traders to go for ST or OST is the financial implication of getting and maintaining a stall. Some traders cannot afford to pay monthly rent on stalls and thus decide to hawk their goods. Secondly, others may rent a stall and still participate in OST by sending the child to hawk some of the goods; whenever the child runs out, he/she returns to the stall to restock. By so doing, the family optimises their sales.

Picture 6: Closed stalls in a clustered street space (inside Oba market during closing hours).

Additionally, stall owners need to be able to not only afford to own/rent and maintain a stall, but they also have to be able to pay taxes for owning a stall. This tax is from the local government revenue office, and their officials usually parade the street to collect dues from street participants. As a result, some children carry out profitable activities on the street because their parents cannot afford to own a stall. Besides, it is more cost -effective as they maximise their profits because they do not have to spend part of it on paying stall rent.

Types of work children do on the street

In conducting ST or OST, children carry out a variety of activities. Children on the street of Benin City predominantly hawk, sell items in stalls, do apprenticeship and beg. Depending on the type of trade, the risk of harm varies. For example, some children may work along roadsides endowed with heavy motor and human traffic, and be predisposed to road traffic accidents. Also, there is a significant difference in the levels of physical and mental stress, mobility, supervision, education, nutrition, education and the child's appearance. The determining factor to whether a child experiences more or less of each impact depends on the type of business the family operates, especially the level of supervision the child receives.

Some families own large stalls in the market or alongside motor roads; as a result, the child ultimately ends up in a ST. On the other hand, when family businesses are operated in temporary structures, the child may be asked to conduct OST by carrying goods on the street to hawk. In cases where the parent(s) are hawkers, the child may inevitably continue in that line of trade. As a result, children are commonly observed on the street conducting sorts of activities ranging from

hawking goods, providing services (such as carrying customer's bought goods to their cars, pumping car tires) to vending in stalls, and being an apprentice.

The Street Hierarchy

Several vendors present on the street conducting different lines of trade or business. Some sellers are into service provision such as vulcanising, tailoring, while others are strictly into buying and selling of goods. Regardless of what they do, how they do it (ST or OST), how successful the business is, there is a hierarchy to how the street operates. A trader's socio-economic status mostly determines a seller's place on the hierarchy. Therefore, businesses that generate substantial income in comparison to others possess more street credibility, street respect, higher income levels and social network. These traders are at the top of the seller's hierarchy and are mostly stall traders. Socio-economic status affects the amount of capital invested in a trade, which consequently affects the profit margin of the business.

A   **B**

*Picture 7: **A**- Temporary structures made of wood and umbrella in a clustered street space in Oba Market. **B**- Permanent structures in a clustered street space in Oba Market*

The pictures above show the build of both types of street structures. While temporary structures are easier to set up and carry fewer goods, temporary structures can contain more goods. As such, it requires more set-up effort and time. There is also variation in the level of protection both structures offer from harsh weather such as scorching sun and heavy rain; permanent structures offer more shield and comfort in comparison to temporary structures. Consequently, permanent structures are more expensive to own and maintain. Families that cannot afford to own or even maintain a stall settle for temporary structures or even end up becoming out-of-stall traders.

Night Market

Although the market is busy and very active during the day, at night, the markets get busy again. However, this time the main market gates are closed but traders set up shades around the market and along the road. They sell a wide range of goods, offering little or no services. Items sold include a wide variety of cooked food (rice, plantain, pork, and beans), fresh fruits, bread, soft drinks, alcohol and other local foods. These traders are mostly adults, who manage the shades/temporary structures with no hawking activity. The 17 participants included in this study did not make mention of having any night trading activity. Nonetheless, it exists and caters to the needs of night customers such as bus drivers and conductors and passengers.

These bus drivers and conductors carry passengers who are returning from work or just transiting home late. Therefore, the night market is not busy because people leave their houses to purchase goods. Instead the night market is busy because it serves the needs of individuals transiting home, going out and the people who provide transportations (bus drivers, conductors, taxi drivers).

Street smart

In both living situations and types of trade (stall and out-of-stall), the children's ability to trade, interact and negotiate a price with different customers and in the case of *out-of-street trade*, decide on where to carry out trading (and at what particular time potential customers commute) is astounding. These children exhibit skills and intelligence that is locally referred to as being "*street smart*". Being *street smart* comes with the children's various interactions with the street. This includes interactions with customers (of different age, gender, social class and occupation), other traders (adults and children), and government officials who collect tax from them. Over time, these children receive some level of trust from their parents and guardian alike.

From the children's narratives, they have a sense of commitment and ownership of their parents/guardian business- and with that a sense of responsibility for sales to improve. Although being *street smart* does not make them invulnerable, it only gives parents a sense of security and reassurance that the child would be able to handle the challenges of working on the street. Although some parents/guardians and children advocate for *ST*, as they explained that children can be supervised and observed while in the stall. Also, they stated that ST children were more vulnerable on the street regardless of how *street* smart they were.

Street Security

The street can be a relatively safe place for working children. Security guards usually watch over the main entrances and exits of clustered street spaces. On the other hand, security in open street space is mostly left to the individuals who live, have businesses or are commuting through. This is one main reason why most parents and children on the street consider OST trade riskier and more likely to cause harm to the child.

Street working children are typically exposed to risky situations such as road traffic accidents, physical and sexual abuse. However, children on the street are under supervision, some are at risk more than others depending on the type of trade (stall or out-of-stall) they conduct. The idea that children who work on the street carryout hazardous activities and are deprived of education is one of the fundamental reasons why street working children are classified as child labourers. Thus, the criticism and outcry for the elimination of street work by both the International community and Nigerian government in some states.

No doubt the street is no place for a child to live, as in the case of children of the street and the Almajiris. However, due to the close social and business relationship that exists between vendors, children are usually watched over and supervised not only by their parents/guardian but also by other adults who operate in the scene. Nevertheless, because children who hawk can make autonomous decisions on where to vend, they might conduct business in locations they are unfamiliar with other vendors. As a result, hawking children have a higher risk of being harmed. From observations, the idea of actual harm is not synonymous with children on the street; instead, there is always the risk of being harmed regardless of whether they engage in a ST or OST. Nevertheless, the risk of harm to children is present in the school, playgroups and among other children who do not work on the street but arguably less likely.

Therefore, the argument that street working children on the street should be stopped because of the risk of harm is unjustified; considering in a place like Nigeria where there is a high rate of crime, unemployment and poverty, risk of harm is imminent to children regardless if they are in inside their homes, in school or outside. The idea is even more so excessive when stopping these children from working can result in actual harm as some of them may not be able to afford an education- which is their right.

4.2. The Situation of the Children on Street

Children on the street have been grouped into four groups depending on their living situation and attainment of formal and informal education and type of overall street activity they engage in.

Circumstances of children aged 5-16 years		Schooling children	Alhamajiri	Apprentice	Disconnected children (children of the street)
1.	Living with parent or guardian	Either with parents or a guardian	Guardian (Mallam)	Either with parents or a guardian	No parental or official guardian supervision.
2.	Education	Attending school	No formal education	School dropouts, no more formal education	Mostly School drop-outs or no history of formal education
3.	Stall or out-of-stall trade. Examples of type of work	Both stall and out-of-stall trade. E.g. Hawking goods, vend items in stall	Out-of-stall. E.g. Begging	Stall trade. E.g. Apprentice-hairdressers, cobblers, business entrepreneur	Out-of-stall trade, e.g. hawking, begging. Illicit activities. E.g. pocket picking.
4.	Open or clustered spaces	Open and clustered space	Predominantly open spaces	Mostly Clustered spaces, permanent structures	Mostly open spaces

Table 3: characteristic of the different types of children on the street discussed in this study

4.2.1. The Living situation- parent or guardian

The living situation of children on the street varies. Some children live and work alongside their parents while others do likewise with their respective guardians. The implication of this affects not only the child's education and physical health; it also psychologically impacts on the child.

Children living with parents verbalised they get significant love and support from their parents. This transcends into genuine care for the child's education, physical wellbeing, nutrition and self-esteem. As a result, most decisions parents take concerning the child is done for the best interest of the child. For example, Jane, 14 years like other street working children who live with their

parents, was well groomed and dressed and appeared adequately nourished. She spoke with confidence and properly articulated herself. Children who live with their parents have a sense of satisfaction and accomplishment in being able to assist their parents with the running of the family business.

In contrast, children living with a guardian appeared timid and inadequately groomed. These children do not receive as much emotional support, care and encouragement from their guardian as much as they would have got if they lived at home with their parents. Aside from getting lesser support, they also perform more chores than children who reside with their parents and leave home to live with a guardian because of situations of abject poverty or education. Households, especially those in rural settings, sometimes struggle for survival, as such they now and again give their children out to strangers through the help of and or introduction by middlemen (relatives or friends). In other cases, the guardian may not be a stranger; instead, they may be an extended family member or close family friend. Due to the substantial lack of income within the household, guardians seek or are sought for to either help sustain the child's needs or specifically sponsor the child's education.

As a result, some guardians may capitalise on this and treat the child as a contract- where they feed, clothe and sponsor the child's schooling in exchange for the child's obedience to their demands. Some guardians may also consider this a favour to the child's family and thus hold it as leverage over the child and family. When the child is leaving home or during planned visits back home, parents/families insistently advise the child to listen to and obey the words and instructions of their guardians. This puts the child in a situation where they cannot complain about much but are left to tolerate unpredictable living conditions. Therefore, this may lead to considerable levels of abuse for the child, especially verbal and physical abuse. Psychologically, guardians may in some cases threaten to stop the child from school and return them to their parents if they do not religiously adhere to their instructions. The child could potentially be forced to pay the price of living in an unsuitable harsh condition for the achievement of education and even basic survival.

Concerning child education, in such situations, the child's education may be affected in many ways than one; and this may not necessarily be because they work before and or after school. Their educational performance is compromised because of the background living situation which is not apparent. As a result, it is easier to blame street work as a reason for a child's poor academic

performance as it is the only clear narrative and obvious answer. This is not to say that every guardian would subject a child to abuse and harsh living conditions, however, when the child lives in the same household as the guardian, it is more likely to occur. Also, there are street activities children engage in that does not require complete relocation- as there are cases where the guardian only looks after the child at work. An example is apprenticeship arrangements. Here, the family may or may not decide to allow the child to live with the guardian in order to learn vital, useful skills.

Although the living situation of *children on the street* may not be ideal in some cases, it is important to note that their counterpart *children of the street* live in more difficult conditions; an example would be the Disconnected children who have no parental or legal guardian supervision, and they reside solely on the street.

4.2.2. Education: formal and informal

Regardless of their living situation or mode of trade (ST or OST), children on the street attend school or apprenticeship work either before or after these activities and in some cases both before and after school. It is routine for children in formal education to work on the *street* during school term and sometimes during holidays. They take breaks whenever the *street* is closed for business (on Sundays or major public holidays), whenever their *Oga/Madam* closes the stall for any other reason. In addition to this working routine, they also carry out chores at home. These chores include sweeping, dishwashing, laundry and fetching water among other domestic chores.

Aside from formal education, some children on the street engage in informal education- in this case, apprenticeship. They learn through experiential and situated learning although learning occurs outside the structured curriculum of formal education. In the process of working as an apprentice, they acquire transferable skills; likewise, earn settlement after a certain period- usually 2-5 years. This settlement is monetary and may or may not include other material benefits. For example, an apprentice in a tailoring stall learns how to cut, sew and mend clothes. She/he does this with the owner of the business, and at the end of the agreed term of apprenticeship, the child gets a financial settlement, and the *Oga/Madam* can also decide to assist with the child with sewing machines and a stall; in order to facilitate the start-up process for the child.

A child apprentice can either live with their parents or guardians. In cases where they live with a guardian, they are engaged in apprenticeship work, which they engage with from the start of the

day/open of the business to the close of work for that day. Thus, working up to 10 hours daily, within which they usually have a break to eat or use the toilet. Also, likewise schooling children, these trained children run errands for their *Oga/Madam*; and with their permission, the children can also run errands for neighbouring adult traders on the *street*. Apprenticeships work ranges from tailoring, hair stylist, mechanics, business entrepreneurs to shoemaking and repairs among other types of handiwork.

For many schooling children on the street, education is a privilege and not an opportunity, as the main reason they operate on the street despite its ills, is because of their desire for an education. They also work because of the cultural and religious obligations to assist their parents for the continuous functioning of the home. Both students and child apprentices are aware of the situation of Disconnected and Almajiri children; they consider this cohort of children as one which requires intervention.

Neither apprenticeships nor formal education is accessible to Disconnected children. Being independent as a person is a construct that is perceived as positive and admired. However, for children, its meaning can be a different thing. Thus, Disconnected children are a group of children who because they carry out vending, begging and other illicit activities on the street without having the consent and supervision of their parent or guardian are considered to be at the bottom of the street hierarchy. Likewise, the Almajiri children, these children are either school drop-outs, have never attended school or even engage in an informal mode of education.

4.2.3.   Stall and out-of-stall trade

As earlier stated in section 5.1.5, the socioeconomic status of households determines the level of respect, street credibility, social network traders possess likewise dictates how they participate in street activities and conduct business. Basically, it determines whether or not children are stall traders or out-of-stall street vendors and whether or not they operate in permanent or temporary structures on the street. Stall traders conduct business mostly in clustered street spaces in either temporary or permanent structures. On the other hand, out-of-stall traders carry out business both in open and clustered street spaces, but they predominantly dominate open street space.

In *ST*, children on the street sometimes have the obligations of trading before school. Consequently, they assist their parents/guardians in not only opening the stall but also help arrange goods, clean and set up the stall for business. Similarly, at the close of school, these

children return to the stall to assist their parent/guardian with sales and running of the business. During their time on the *street*, they may run errands within the *street space* for their parents/guardians; and for other adults with permission from their parents/guardian. Also, they have their lunch in the stalls with their parents/guardian. At the end of business hours, schooling children assist in closing the stall.

In contrast, children on the street that are involved in OST do not usually participate in any trade activity before school because they do not have a stall to open for business. Therefore, they or their parent/guardian do not need to set up a structure, clean and arrange the business site as they operate an open street space. Thus, they start their work on the street after school. They also rarely run errands for other adults in the market because they need to make the most of their energy, time and probability of selling their goods/services to customers, considering they roam about the *street*. Similarly to ST, these children take out time during the day to have their lunch and toilet breaks on the *street*.

It is interesting to note that most children in this study identified child labour with out-of-stall street activities. This is because they held the opinion that children in OST have no protection from the risk of physical and sexual harm and abuse. This is because OST working children make autonomous decisions and, in the process, may be taken advantage of by adultS (traders, bus drivers, bus conductors). Also, child apprentice and their respective *ogas* and *Madams* are of the opinion that hawkers are the group of children involved in child labour because of their exposure to social vices and lack of adequate supervision.

4.2.4. Parent perceptions

Parents/guardians and children alike who are out-of-stall traders acknowledged that there is risk attached to their activities. However, they continue to conduct such activities mostly to raise funds for the child's education. Also, these parents believe that they are better off than children of the street and Almajiri children who are also exposed to similar risks but for no discernible benefit such as child education. Children of the street are also perceived to be 'touts' and 'miscreants' because they make money and some sort of living off the *street* by either selling stolen goods to unsuspecting customers or pickpocketing.

Parents are also of the opinion that children should contribute to the overall achievements of the household. This assistance is not necessarily financial, rather one that ranges from how the child spends her/his time to their performance in school and even their mannerism. As a result, some

children on the street work not necessarily because their parents need the extra money (luxury axiom). Instead, they are instructed to work because they believe the child would pick up useful life skills. However, children on the street that live with a guardian usually work on the street for the opportunity to access and afford an education. This can be likened to a case of trade by barter- the child works in exchange for an education.

4.2.5. Gender differences

In this study, females accounted for not only the majority of observed but also sampled children on the street. Out of the nine children sampled in this study, only 22% were males. Also, in comparison to their counterpart female traders on the street, male presence was lesser in street activities. The main areas where males dominated the street was within the Almajiri group and Disconnected children; as most children on the street in Benin City were female.

4.2.6. Daily routines for schooling children

According to the schooling child, weekdays are divided into morning 'before school', 'after school hours' and evening 'pack-up' hours. Household chores are daily routines for children who work on the *street*. They wake as early as 5:00 a.m. to 6:00 a.m. to certain household obligations; such as sweeping the house, doing leftover dishes and in some cases cooking/reheating leftover food. These chores are allocated to them by their parents/guardian. Similar to Mabel (a 9 years old living and trading with a guardian) who thinks "*a child supposed to respect his parents, needs to respect his elders, not to disobey his* (*Pigin English* meaning his/her) *parents*", other children think it is part of their role to do such chores without questioning. For Sarah, she fully agrees with children doing household chores and further stated that "*Because am a girl, one day I will surely get married if I do not practice it now, it would be very difficult for me*".

Female children stated they mostly sweep and clean the house. The practice of engaging children in household chores is ubiquitous among households in Benin City. Every child participant in this study engaged in household chores regardless of age and gender. Mekus, a 14 years old male apprentice stated he helps his mother to fetch water, wash plates, do his laundry and also goes to the sawmill (with his mother) to collect sawdust (for household use). Osas, a 12 years male child also had similar chores including sweeping the compound. Aside from chores, children have obligations to street work in the mornings and this includes setting up the business and, in some cases, operating it (if they do not attend school).

Morning 'Before school': chores and work

"*First and foremost, for morning I do sweeping, I clean, mop, clean (dust) the television… remove cobwebs in the house in the morning*".

(Sarah, 14 years, living with a guardian).

After doing routine morning chores, some street working partake in business activities before school. These children are mainly involved in ST. As a result, they get dressed from home and go on the street with their parents/guardian, where they assist in opening the stall, arranging goods, sweeping and cleaning the environment. After these activities, they then head for school either through public transport, or they walk to school with their peers. School resumption time varies, but ranges from 8:00 a.m. to 8:30 a.m. Schools usually have a ground assembly for 30 minutes where they pass information, pray and address the students. Considering the markets open by 8:00 a.m., these children may be late for assembly gathering but not necessarily late for the start of classes.

The only groups of children seen on the street before and during school hours were Disconnected children, Almajiri children and trained children (doing apprenticeship in stalls). Every other child on the street was in school during schooling hours.

After School Hours: work and lessons

At the end of school hours, every street working child returns to the market in their uniforms. Some of them change into casual home wear before they begin work. While trading, they find time out to eat and those that work in stalls may read or do homework. The market is much busier during this time- the increase in hawkers, contribute to the increase in commercial activities. It appeared to be the peak time of trading.

Out-of-stall street working children were observed on the street in relatively large numbers, some working alongside parents or peers. These children would move in and around the market to make sales. When they run out of goods, they restock either from a stall (as in the case of Mary) or are done for the day (as in the case of Maya).

Stall working children maximise their time on the street. They have the opportunity to do their homework, rest and even read a book while in the stall. This convenience is not available to hawkers, wheelbarrow pushers, conductors because they are mobile and always on the move.

Although, they occasionally take periods to rest in particular parts of the street (where there is a shade, a place to sit), eat and use the toilet.

Nevertheless, one common aspect of street trade peculiar to both stall and out-of-stall street trading children after school hours is the involvement in the sphere of socialisation. They make friends on the street that they usually play and communicate with during and in some cases throughout street working hours. Hawkers befriend other hawkers, and stall traders make friends with their neighbours whom they interact with and in some cases together, make independent trading decisions.

Sleep is not considered part of street activities, and so, it is not encouraged nor tolerated. Parents do not expect the child to sleep while on the street, even in ST. This is because they want the child to learn and be aware of dealings happening in the environment. They also would rather the child read a book or play with a peer in the stall rather than sleep. However, when the child is ill or verbalises being tired, parents/guardians use their discretion to facilitate and encourage sleep. Unfortunately, for out-of-street working children, sleeping is not an option, as there is no facility to allow for it. In cases where the child is ill, they do not work but stay at home.

Demographics for Children Research Participants

	Name	Religion	Age	Sex	Living Situation	Education	Trade Type	Highest Level of Education	Work Routine
1	Mekus	Christian	13	M	Parents	Apprentice	Stall	Primary 5	Full-Time
2	Jane	Christian	14	F	Parents	Schooling	Stall	SS 2	Part-Time
3	Mabel	Muslim	9	F	Guardian	Schooling	Stall	Primary 5	Part-Time
4	Sarah	Christian	15	F	Guardian	Schooling	Stall	SS 2	Part-Time
5	Cherry	Christian	16	F	Guardian	Drop-out	Stall	JSS 3	Full-Time
6	Ede	Christian	16	F	Parents	Schooling	Stall	SS 3	Part-Time
7	Osas	Christian	12	M	Guardian	Drop-Out	Stall	Primary 6	Full-Time
8	Maya	Christian	7	F	Parents	Schooling	Out-Of-Stall	Primary 4	Part-Time
9	Mary	Christian	13	F	Parents	Schooling	Out-Of-Stall	JSS 2	Part-Time

Table 4: Demographics of children

SS- Senior Secondary

4.3. The world of *street* children: voices and character

4.3.0. Overview

This section of the findings chapter presents narratives/stories of working children in Benin City, Edo State. These enduring stories capture aspects of a working child's activities while on the street. These stories also give insight into the child's life and facilitate understanding of children's environment, culture and routines. Therefore, this understanding frames the subsequent interpretation of their stories within the right context children and families experience working. Through telling stories about themselves, their thoughts and experiences, we are invited inside a participant's life (Denning, 2000). These are stories that children on the *street* shared repeatedly, and these stories are told alongside observations made by the researcher.

4.3.1. The Children's Responses

Findings are based partly on the stories of 9 children. The starting point for the children's story was to explore the way the children regard and understand the practice of working. Children were interviewed in an empty market stall in *Oba* Market. Most of the children clearly articulated what they thought and felt; while others that do not attend school or have stopped attending school expressed themselves in *Pigin* English mixed with the English language.

Most stories are coherent and have a conventional structure (Holloway and Jefferson, 2008). However, in telling the experiences of participant children, the researcher took into consideration the holistic content and form/structure (ordering and phrasing) of their stories (Lieblich et al., 1998); as this draws particular attention to the importance they place on situations surrounding the working child.

When asked 'Can you please tell me a story about children working' by the researcher, 67% of the children (6 children) started their story by describing a particular condition of the child's immediate family unit- the parents and household. 33% of the children described the similar issue of the state of the immediate family unit; however, it was not the first association they made with the thought of children working. Aside from talking about the immediate family unit and how it contributes to children having to work, from the children's point of view, other themes were highlighted. These themes include:

Relational theme: in their stories children always referred to other children. The children compared themselves with other street children and portraying themselves as different. Identified differences ranged from being able to attend school, working with their parents, working in a stall and looking well-groomed. These differences were also criteria some of the chid used to distinguish child labourers amongst street working children. For instance, Jane, 14 years a stall worker stated in her story that because she attends school as well as work in a stall, she is better off than other street working children who are exposed to more risk of harm because they hawk. This comparison gave them a sense of betterment and contentment regardless of their situation, as they each thought their situation to be preferable in one way or the other to some other street working child.

A sense of belonging: children highlighted the fact that being part of the family unit goes beyond being born into a family. As a result, they acknowledge that their role of contributing to the running of the family is important. The idea of being able to support the household through involvement in parent's business makes these working children feel they truly belong to the family because their effort is well recognised, accepted and in most cases appreciated by their parents. Being able to participate in a similar business venture as their parents in order to overcome the family's struggles and challenges underpins their perception of being part of the family.

Job mobility: Children stated they moved about because of parent's desire to make more sales and the lack of financial resources to rent a stall. The appearance and presentation of children who hawk and carry out OST were also of concern to children. They also described some children involved in OST as looking 'dirty' (child's word).

The meaning of work: children talked about the job they do; some with pride, joy and laughter; while other children were seemingly indifferent, shy or in the case of Cherry sad. Cherry is a 16 years old girl who works in a stall, likewise, live with her guardian. While telling her story, she appeared sad- with her head down most of the time, her voice low in pitch and little eye contact with the researcher. Among the participants, despite being the oldest child, Cherry gave the shortest storytelling time. She stated children worked "*maybe because the parents do not have anything*". This lack of financial resources resulted in her leaving her family in the village and working in a stall to make money which she sends home every month.

Children's first response to: 'Can you please tell me a story about children working on the street or market'

- *Okay. First of all, there is a boy in my place, actually in my street. The mother, not that the mother is the person that gave birth to this boy oh! But she adopted the boy, the mother of the boy passed on or so…* (Jane, 13 years).
- *The children that works in the street, some of them they don't have homes, they don't have parents, they use to work on the street, they don't (have) anywhere to stay* (Mabel, 14 years).
- *Children that is working on the street, they are helping their mother* (Maya, nine years).
- *A child working is that, maybe your parents did not have anything, so he want to use that one to comfort himself, he can work for anybody, whether street or in the stall. So, that is why I am here also. My parents are, my parents are in my village* (Cherry, 16 years).

These are four examples out of the six excerpts elicited from the 67% of the children whose first response in the storytelling session were to talk about the immediate family unit. The other 33% of children who also talked about family dynamics started with different responses. Such as:

- *Working for here as children, we sell many things* (Osas, 11 years).
- *Because I work in a stall and children working in stalls is beneficial to the child when they grow up* (Sarah, 14 years)
- *Children that is working on the street, they are helping their mother* (Mary, 14 years).

Although they did not start with describing the state of the immediate family unit concerning children working, they, however, ended up describing it as their stories progressed.

4.3.2. Mekus: An Apprentice and a Hopeful Entrepreneur.

On the 5th of October, at 7:00 am, at the heart of the city centre of Benin City- Ring Road, the street was quiet with few motor vehicles moving to various destinations. The temperature for that day was forecasted to be about 25^0C, and traders gradually made their way to *Oba Market*. The market opened at 8:00 am, therefore, when traders (and even buyers) got to the market they had to wait for the gates to be opened. Children also accompanied their parent/guardian to the market to set up their various businesses. Some of the children were dressed in their school uniforms while assisting in setting up for the day.

At 9:00 am, the sun was out, the temperature was 29^{0}C but felt like 35^{0}C (World Weather Online, 2016), and trading activities had started. However, not every child had gone to school. Some children stayed and traded on the *street*, while others went to school. Under the 73% humidity, these children worked either in a stall as an apprentice or OST- wheelbarrow pushing or being bus conductors.

Picture 8: A collage of some wheelbarrow pushers outside Oba *Market waiting for customers who gladly posed for the researcher's camera.*

Picture 7 is a collage of out-of-stall vendors- wheelbarrow pushers. Wheelbarrow pushers render services to buyers and traders alike by helping them move goods from one location to another. For instance, after the purchase of heavy goods, these wheelbarrow pushers are beckoned upon by buyers to carry the goods to their cars in the parking lot, or any specified location. After which they are paid for their services depending on the weight of the goods and distance covered. There is no set fee, as the price is negotiated between the wheelbarrow pusher and the customer. These children are either schooling or are children of the street. Schooling children perform

wheelbarrow pushing activities after school, while Disconnected children are seen throughout the day, from market opening to closing times.

Along the roadside, adjacent to *Oba* Market is a queue of children and adults standing, lined up holding wheelbarrows waiting for customers. These children carry loads/goods of buyers from the market to the customer's cars or any other destination within the market area. In appearance, they were unkempt and their flip flop footwear worn out, with mud and dust smeared on their legs. Aside from these wheelbarrow pushers, hawkers and bus conductors, some children were working in stalls within and around the market.

A five-minute walk away from the queue (but still within the commercial area of the city centre) was a cobbler's stall where shoes are handmade and repaired. The stall was made of bricks, and it had a shed extension at the front- to increase the size of the structure likewise make provision for the display of goods. Sat inside and shaded from the sun were two individuals working on shoes- one holding a chisel, and the other sandpaper. Mr Ibe and Mekus were both holding a pair of shoes, working across each other, with only a huge square wooden table separating them. They were both decently dressed and seemed relaxed; Mr Ibe owned the stall, while Mekus was his youngest apprentice. While welcoming the researcher, a man walked in and asked when his shoes were going to be ready; Mekus attended to him and asked him to check back before the end of the day. Following ethical procedures (use of comic leaflet, consent form, participant information sheet, questions and answers), while inside the stall, Mekus told his story while Mr Ibe sat at the neighbour's veranda.

Mekus is a 13 years old boy who lives with his parents but works for a guardian in shoemaking/repair stall as an apprentice. He appeared pleased and excited to talk to the researcher. He gladly told the story of how the tortoise broke his shell (as an ice breaker to the storytelling session). Although his attempt to speak English was a mixture of *Pigin* English and correct grammar, he stated he was pleased to be working as an apprentice. According to Mekus, "some *Hausa* children beg for money on the *street*", and some families do have sufficient money to feed, clothe, or even cater to their children. Therefore, some children work on farms or do other types of jobs to earn money so they can help their family. Also, children want to become "*somebody*" in the future, have a "*good*" life, "*good* education" and become prosperous individuals.

"Some Hause na, they are begging for money now, some Hausa people they are begging for money now, some people go to work, go to farm, go to church.... all these thing. The people work their money, work their money to help their family. They want to be a somebody in future, they want to be a somebody in future. Some people that are graduate now when e (the child) *work, you want to help your family, help your family to grow well. After a while, your family will be happy, e* (Pigin English meaning the child in this context) *will be happy. They (*the child) *will na have good work, good erhhh...good education, good life, good prosperity"*

Also, Mekus stated that when some parents cannot afford an education for their children due to lack of money, and the child gets work to self-sponsor their education, the parents would be very proud of that child.

"Their children come home daytime, started worrying their parents say, take me to education err... knowledge, they will say they don't have money. Their children will, their family will be crying say they did not have money. They will, their children, their brother will be working, they (the parents) *will be clapping for you say you trying for the education"*

Mekus made this statement not only about himself (being an apprentice) but also as a general statement affecting street working children. Furthermore, he said he finished primary 5 and stopped schooling at that level, and currently works in the stall to get the "best knowledge" he can understand in order to get "the good life" he wants. Fighting and running away from school coupled with the fact that his parents did not have enough funds to continue paying for his schooling, Mekus said this was the reason why his father decided to send him to apprentice handiwork. According to him, his father also believed that learning such work would "*help*" his life.

When asked if he had heard about child labour, he replied *"yes"*, saying it meant child abuse. While elaborating, Mekus said children that: smoke *"Igbo"* (marijuana) and cigarettes, cult members, and rape girls are the children involved in child labour. From his understanding, child labour and child abuse are the same thing, and it denotes unruly and unacceptable behaviour by children. Interestingly, aside from being cult members and smoking, Mekus shares similar thought on child labour as his *Oga*, Mr Ibe. Mr Ibe's ideas also identify child labour as sexual abuse of children. After stating he did not know what it meant, Mekus later said he had heard of it on the television, and he thinks it means child abuse. When asked what he meant by child abuse, both Mekus and Mr Ibe considered child abuse as the act of rape. There was no clarity as

to why they both held this understanding, other than Mr Ibe unconvincingly stating he heard it on television.

As for Mekus, he does not consider himself a child labourer. Going on about his routines, he stated that when he wakes up, "*I fetching water, I washing some plate, I wash my clothes, I clean the house, I go to sawdust with my mum*". After that, he goes to work as a cobbler apprentice. Then in the evening, he goes back home to his parents. When asked how he felt about working as an apprentice in the cobbler stall, he replied: "*I feel better*".

Furthermore, Mekus stated that people are surprised he is doing well for himself through his apprentice work. He explained how customers walk into the stall and give them work to do, after which he gets paid for it. From the money made for the day, his *Oga* Mr Ibe gives him some money saying "*young man you have finished your duty*".

Mekus stated he only "*feel better*" from working and nothing else. Likewise himself, he cited some other young people who sell rubber and made money out of it to support their siblings in university, pay the family's rent. He further stated that such actions brings about a "*good home*". Lastly, in his story, Mekus said if parents had money, they would give to the children and offer them a better future. He said: "*If they have the money now, you will give to them, you will train them to a better future*". In conclusion, he said in cases where the parents are financially undermined, children support their parents with the work they do- "*Children will be working say from morning till night, after working, they will come, prepare food for their father to eat. After hawking to* (they) *buy something from the shop*".

Picture 9: Mekus and Oga *Mr Ibe in the shoe making and repair stall.*

4.3.3. Sarah: Strong, Enduring and Educated

Besides the market, was a confectionary stall owned by Mrs Philo, a 67 year old retired civil servant. On a hot sunny morning, Mrs Philo met the researcher and stated that she had two children called Sarah and Mabel living and trading with her. She asked the researcher to return to the stall at 2:00 pm, to talk to the girls because they had gone to school and would return to the stall after the close of school. While at the stall, the structure seemed like a single bedroom house, with one side of the wall broken down to create a wider opening. It had metal-railed gates at each side of the opening, with a massive padlock with metal chains hanging down the corners. The inside had a large table upon which various food items were stocked meticulously. These items included biscuits, sweets, chewing gum and other snacks. Also situated in the stall/remodelled bedroom was a refrigerator, which contained soft drinks and bags of pure water sachets. There were also sachets of alcoholic drinks kept on a shelf, alongside different packets of cigarettes. A small kerosene stove was also kept on the floor, further into the stall. The general appearance of the stall seemed cluttered. Several wooden benches were also occupying space within.

From observation, that morning, hawkers seen were adult females, and male wheelbarrow pushers (both young children and adults). In the afternoon, the market was busy with buying and selling activities both inside and within the market vicinity. While making way back to Mrs Philo's stall, the traffic and sound of honks from motor vehicles, conversations between buyers and sellers, traffic of pedestrians moving about and music blasting from a nearby music stall all made

the market place very noisy. Two wooden benches had been moved outside the stall to allow Mrs Philo sit and interact with customers.

Inside the stall were two children: one selling cold drinks of Coca-Cola to a customer, and the other sat holding a book. They just finished their lunch of *Eba* and *Egusi Soup* (Traditional delicacy made with processed cassava and the soup made of melon seeds and vegetables). Some plates were on the floor with a bowl for and washing; right at the corner, a pot was on top of the stove. The children introduced themselves in English language, appeared well-dressed and were not sweating as much, as the stall provided shade from the hot sun. When settled, they proceeded to tell their stories in turns (following similar ethical procedures as mentioned above).

Sarah is a 15 years old schooling child who lives with her guardian and works in the stall selling confectionery items after school hours. She used to live with her parents in a rural area of Benin City but said she had to leave home because her parents could not continue to afford her education. Therefore, her guardian asked the parents to allow Sarah to live with her, and in return, while acting as a guardian, Mrs Philo would take up the responsibility of putting Sarah through secondary school. Sarah said she cried when she left home, and for the last four years, she had lived, schooled and worked with her guardian (Mrs Philo) in a stall.

Sarah wakes up every morning at about 6:00 am every day, and "*for morning I do sweeping, I clean, mop, clean the television*". Then she has breakfast and goes to the stall in her school uniform to help her *Iye* (Benin dialect meaning mother) set up the stall for business before heading to school. After school, Sarah returns to the stall at 2:00 pm to assist in the selling of goods. There in the stall, she has her lunch- sometimes makes easy meals or reheats food with the help of the mini kerosene stove.

Sarah who spoke English started her story by talking about *ST, "because I work in a stall and children working in stalls is beneficial to the child when they grow up"*. According to Sarah, the Nigerian economy is not dependable, "*you cannot just depend on only the government work alone, you have to look for any business to start with*". Therefore, when children work with their parents in a stall, they learn various skills. "*when it is stall the children help and even know how to sell and when they may be the children... the child will read maybe business administration when he or she grows up, it would help, he would gain that ability, that knowledge of what he or she have passed through in the stall to catch up in everything*", Sarah said.

Sarah verbalised "*I love this stall very much I love being in this stall...when I grow up now, I can... if I like I can just decide to open a shop like this and I start erhh... business and this business is very helpful. Working in the government house or whatever, there is some months they would not pay them, and as that time you have stall, you can still earn a living without the work that you are doing, and that is why I love*".

Working in a stall also has its disadvantages, Sarah calls them "*stress*". This "*stress*" is the various distractions that happen whenever in the stall. She cited an example of how sometimes she may be having her lunch, and a customer patronises the stall saying "*I want to buy something*"; she would then have to stop eating her food in order to attend to business. "*if you* (referring to herself) *don't want to go, mum* (her guardian/*Iye*) *would just shout, just shout at you... go! go!! and give them. I don't like that one. Because of that one, I hate the stall (Laughs), and with all those things in the stall someone cannot rest*".

According to Sarah, working in the stall does not affect her studies in any manner, except that she would rather use the after school hours to attend extra school lessons. She, however, tried to underplay that desire for after school lessons by saying "*let me just say... as the case is now, I have to manage it... I have to bare it, and.... and.... (Smiles) that is that*".

Although Sarah stated she supports children working, she was however strongly against children conducting OST. For Sarah, "*it can cause harmful things, it can cause abuse to the child*", and she reckons parents unwillingly allow their children to do such because the economy is favourable to them. Lastly, "*no matter what the economic says* (the economic situation) *you should try as much as possible to just open a shops, put your children there don't allow them to go and sell on the street*". When asked what she thought children should normally do, she replied: "*Well, first of all, children should help their parents because that is what God says first*".

Returning to her daily routines, at 6:00 pm, under the supervision of her guardian, Sarah packs up the goods alongside two other children (who live with Mrs Philo). The gates are shut and padlocked. They all head home and have dinner, and if there are no chores to be done, Sarah said she either watches television or reads her books before heading to bed. Subsequently, the same routine ensues daily, with slight changes to weekends and holidays because schools are shut. Therefore, she spends her time mostly selling in the stall. Also, during school holidays, she does not get to see her parents, and she said she is supposed to see them on festive holidays,

but this arrangement is not guaranteed every festive season and is subject to guardian's discretion.

Picture 10: A cross-sectional view of the outer surrounding of the market.

4.3.4. Mabel

Mabel is a nine years schooling child who just like Sarah lives and works with Mrs Philo. She works in a confectionary stall after school hours. Mrs Philo is a retired Civil servant, and her children wanted someone young to stay with their ageing mother to take care of her and assist with the business. Therefore, they help families who are struggling financially by promising to cater for the child's education on the condition that the child would live with their mother. This is the case of Mabel. Similar to Sarah, Mabel works and lives with Mrs Philo, and in return, her education is sponsored by Mrs Philo and her children. "*I feel bad, feel bad that I am not staying with my biological parents that I am staying with another person*" Mabel said. She lived in the village with her parents but left them to live with Mrs Philo because of her education. Her parents could not afford quality education for her in the village; thus they handed her care over to Mr Philo's daughter who promised to enrol her in school in Benin City.

Although Mrs Philo's children do not live with them because they are all working adults married with kids and living with their significant other, they still have control over what occurs in their mother's house. According to Mabel, "*they* (Mrs Philo's children) *will say that they will help me if I...if I respect them* (the whole family)".

Mabel's daily routine consists of morning chores like sweeping the floor, then heading to the market to help set up the stall and shade goods. After that, she goes to school, and when she returns she sells in the stall. At the close of the market by 6:00 pm, she helps the other young children and her guardian (Mrs Philo) to pack up the stall and "w*hen we get home we will cook,*

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eat and sleep. In the morning we will still wake up and do the same work (routine)". She also reckons she does such routines because "I *am staying with a person that is not related to me, that is why*" She said. "*How I wish I was staying with my mother, I will not be doing this, but I will be sweeping at home. This stall, I will not be sell...I will not be shading, I will not be opening store*", Mabel continued. Likewise feeling "*bad*" that she does not live with her biological parents and she also feels she does not get fairly treated by her guardian.

Another reason Mabel feels "*bad*" for working and living with her *Iye* (her guardian- Mrs Philo) is the fact that Mrs Philo "*can lie on your head* (tell a lie about you), *that is the bad...the first thing that I hate about her*". Also "*she can make you do what...would...erh...provoke her children that they would take you back to where you came from*". She continued by saying "*If they tell me that I should go to my village, because of my education I will be begging them*". Mabel further explains that when children live in such conditions they "*can always get maltreated*" and "*I don't like it*". Also, in such conditions, Mabel reckons that the child can even get physically and verbally abused by the guardian and family when the child angers them. She said, "*they could be angry with you that they will be so angry that they will just beat you, injure you anywhere* (any part of the body)". She, however, did not say that her *Iye* beats or maltreats her but suggested it is a possibility for other children living with a guardian.

Concerning children that work on the street, Mabel said: "*The children that works in the street, some of them they don't have homes, they don't have parents they use to work on the street, they don't have anywhere to stay*". Mabel talked about different types of activities children do on the street. She started with children who beg on the street, "*many people use to beat them every time*" and "*many people will be insulting them, they will not give them money*". Mabel then continued to talk about children who are conductors and hawkers. "*Many of them use to do conductor, and they use to wear rough clothes*" she said, and some children "*would be hawking pure water, and that* (hawking) *pure water is very bad*".

Mabel assumed people do not like the practice as "*it is very dangerous to the children's health*". She expressed concern for the child's safety while hawking and mentioned an incident when a young girl was hawking pure water and got hit by a car which resulted in her death. Mabel said working in a stall is different from working OST "*because you can look at who is in the stall from head to toe the person is not that dirty. If you see a child that is working on the street you will see*

that the back of his/her cloth has tore (torn), (the) *front has tore* (torn). *His body would be so dirty that you would not even like to even near the child*".

For these reasons she dislikes hawking. "*That is why since that day if my mum (her Iye) tell me I should go and sell water, I would be angry; I don't like selling pure water*". Her guardian, however, gets angry with her when Mabel refuses to go hawk *pure water.* According to Mabel, her Guardian Mrs Philo always complains that "*I don't want to sell pure water, but I use to eat*"; meaning Mabel does not like to hawk for her (Mrs Philo) but would not mind being feed by her. "*I na* (then) *told her that even though I don't use to sell pure water, am better than those that are selling pure water*". Mrs Philo always talks to Mabel and the other children about wanting them to hawk but "*none of us will answer her*". She said she and her sisters (the other young children living with Mrs Philo) always laugh at the situation, especially when their *Iye* gets angry about it. They also try to make her laugh by doing by doing and saying funny things. Sometimes it works while other times, Mrs Philo remains angry and persistently has feelings of disapproval towards them.

They (her and the other girls) have found ways to calm down their *Iye* and peacefully live with her. Mabel told stories of several funny incidents that happen in the market place and how they all indulge in an enjoyable recollection of these events and laugh on their way home and even when they get home. If their guardian is angry, they tell stories of these funny events and "*if she is just angry, she will just be happy...she will just be laughing*". Over times, Mrs Philo stopped asking the girls to start hawking pure water. According to Mabel, one of the girls who once lived with them used to hawk, but "*because of this hawking of a thing when she get back to our village she...she got married and gave birth*".

Further elaborating on the story of the pregnant girl, Mabel stated that bus conductors in the market place were soliciting for the girl's attention, and some of them would even sexually harass and touch her. The girl got gifts and presents from them Mabel said, "*if she just come back from school, she will not even eat oh! She will just carry pure water* (to hawk)". Due to her behaviour, Mrs Philo sent her back to her parents in the village, and the girl consequently had to stop schooling. "*Six months later, she na get pregnant*" and "*gave birth to (for) a carpenter, she married a carpenter*".

As for her education, "*I would prefer to be going to lesson after school*" instead of staying in the stall. She enjoys going to school and appreciates the opportunity. She says working in the stall

does not affect her schooling, and she only stays in the stall all day during holiday periods. Although Mrs Philo did not register her in after school lessons," *I don't use to worry because my elder sister* (referring to Sarah) *use to teach me at home*" Mabel said.

4.3.5. Osas: Vulcanising and Optimistic

It was heavily raining and with little or no human traffic on the streets along New Benin Market. This could be because it was 5:30 pm and traders were beginning to pack up and get ready for the close of the market. It may also be because of the heavy downpour of rain. Whichever the case, there was heavy motor traffic, bus drivers and conductors usually encounter a high volume of passengers who are traders, customers, school children and workers alike. These people use buses to get home as it is one of the three major means of transportation in Benin City, the others being private cars and motorbikes. The bus drivers and conductors were constantly shouting out different destinations that they were heading, as they each did not have it written on the bus.

Picture 11: A conductor standing on the bus, while beckoning for customers who are heading the bus's direction.

Several drivers drove roughly and parked at the centre of the road to pick up customers who were heading that direction. The conductors had different styles of attracting customers. Some conductors (both teenagers and adults) either stood or sat in the bus with the door slid open and shouting for customers (as shown in picture 4), while others closed the door but stuck their head and an arm out through the window, shouting and gesturing with the hand at the same time. The rest of them stood at the entrance of the bus with the door slide wide open, also shouting destination and holding onto the roof of the bus with one hand and gesturing to customers with the other. These buses were yellow, a colour code assigned by the government to indicate commercial buses. The buses also ranged from 12 to 14 sitters.

Osas attends to these bus drivers and conductors, likewise other motor vehicles. Osas is a 12 years boy who is a full-time worker in a vulcanising tyre shop, and just like Mekus he is an apprentice and does not acquire formal education. Tyre Vulcanising stalls typically fix damaged motor tires by adding new raw rubber to damaged areas of a tyre to enhance the tyre's road life. These stalls also check tyre pressure and gauge them for certain fees (depending on the location). Osas works under his *Oga* in a small brick stall, which opens into a veranda. Two wooden benches were placed on each side of the veranda, and Osas usually sits on either bench paying attention to customers who need to get their tires pumped, changed or gauged. Osas spoke Nigerian Pigin English fluently and also appeared unkempt- dressed wearing a worn-out shirt and shorts with an old pair of flip-flops. Osas lives with his guardian Mr Adamu, who also is his *Oga*- owner of the stall. Considering how busy and central the location of the stall is, several buses and private cars patronise Mr Adamu services. Living with Mr Adamu has its perks and disadvantages. It requires Osas to work full-time in the stall.

Although he learns vulcanising skills, *"I go like* (I would like to) *go school*", (Osas said). Also, while working in the stall, from the veranda, he watches children walk to and fro from school, both children who work in the market or not. "*When dem dey* (they) *enter bus, I dey see them well well, some of them dey waka* (walk) *go school*". He stated that he stopped going to school at primary six because "*My papa say make I go* (I should go) *learn work*" because "*him nor fit pay for* (cannot afford to pay for) *secondary school*". Osas does chores in the morning before leaving the house for the market. He has his breakfast and lunch in the stall and then heads home with his *Oga* at the close of market.

Osas continued talking and (while pointing to the main road) stated "w*orking for here* (the market) *as children, we dey sell and do many things*. A taxi driver suddenly parked his car in front of the stall, and in a little while, Osas went outside to attend to the customer. Osas pulled a rope that was attached to the car tyre air pump and gauge machine- in an attempt to pull-start it. Each time, he pulled the rope away from the machine, the machine made a sound like that of a generator. After several tries, he finally put in on and asked the driver the level of tire pressure he wanted. Osas bent down on one knee and inserted the gauging nozzle into the tyre valves. He did that for the four tires rotating from tire to tire, while the driver sat inside the car. After his services, Osa was given 150 Naira for his services. The driver slowly drove off minding the motor traffic, while Osas returned to the storytelling session.

Although he did not say much, Osas looked cold, as he was not adequately dressed considering the heavy rain and strong wind. *"Make una do round up* (quickly round up)", stated Mr Adamu (who slowly walked into the session); *market don dey close* (the market is closing)*, make we dey go house* (Pigin English- let us go home), Mr Adamu then returned to the neighbour's stall where he sat till the end of the interview. Osas concluded by stating he wished he did something different, *"another kind job"* and he hopes to return to school someday. They packed up at 6:15 pm, Mr Adamu pushed the tyre air pumping and gauging machine, while Osas swept the veranda and locked up the stall after Mr Adamu stepped out. They both proceeded toward the bus stop under one umbrella to get a bus home.

4.3.6. Cherry: The Breadwinner

Located along the market street is a confectionary stall. The stall was built with wood and had only two openings. One was the door, and the other a large open-fronted window, from which items were displayed and sold. On approaching the stall, a young girl sat inside, and another woman sat on a wooden bench outside the stall. When approached and told about the research, the woman identified herself as Mrs Hope and stated she would want to participate but cannot speak good English. She was reassured that is not a problem and gave consent for the girl sitting in the stall to be talked to as well.

The girl in the stall though properly dressed, appeared shy and timid. She introduced herself as Cherry. Cherry is a 16 years old girl who works in the stall owned by Mrs Hope. When given the comic leaflet and told about the research, Cherry verbally consented to participate and asked if her *madam* (Mrs Hope) would have to listen in. She was reassured that the storytelling session would happen confidentially. While talking with her, Mrs Hope walked into the stall and asked us to go have the session on the corridor of her house which was located just behind the stall. She stated that customers would most likely interrupt the session when they advance to the stall to purchase items. Cherry took the lead and headed towards the house corridor. She then brought out wooden stools for us to sit.

After settling in, cherry began to tell her story. In telling her story, Cherry had flights of ideas and talked about different issues without any coherent structure or flow. Cherry started by saying that she lives in Benin City alone with her guardian (Madam Hope). Her parents live in the village, and she left them back home in order to make money. Therefore, she lives with her *madam* and her family, while also getting paid for sitting and working in the stall and selling items (such as

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pure water, sweets, bread) to customers. According to Cherry, children may work because their parents do not have *"anything"*. Therefore, the child works to *"comfort"* and help himself by working for *"anybody whether street or in the stall"*. Cherry who spoke English fairly (with some grammatical errors) said *"I come here to make money, in this stall here. I stay and manage the stall with him* (her/Mrs Hope)*"*. Cherry sends money home to her parents every month when she gets paid.

She does not spend on feeding and shelter as Mrs Hope has been the one who feeds and provides shelter for her for the past two years she has lived in Benin City. Being fully employed means Cherry has to be physically present in the stall every day and be dedicated to managing the business. This meant that she had to make money and forfeit her education. Cherry does not attend school anymore, although she did when she lived with her parents in the village. However, coming to the City to work at Mrs Hope Stall meant she had to forgo pursuing formal education. When she is not in the stall, she *"help her inside the home"*. *"A child must labour before he goes to bed. If he* (a child) *wake up in the morning, he must work na"* said cherry. Continuing her story, she said children should do chores in the morning such as *"sweep the floor in the morning, wash plate and if clothes is dirty, wash it"*. She further goes on to say *"I don't feel anything"* about working in the stall or doing house chores.

As for child labour, cherry stated: *"what comes in my mind is they want to make money"*. When talking about child labour, cherry said children are supposed to be engaged in *"labour (researcher: silence) (cherry laughs out) no! Sorry education"* with their time. Although she appeared not to be bothered by the fact that she does not attend school anymore, she, however, suggested children should be allowed formal education. Nonetheless, she stated differences between the types of work children engaged in; *"the child hawking pure water in the street, sun will be touching him, but staying in the stall, you will feel comfortable"*.

Just at the end of the storytelling, four police officers walked to the stall and started chatting with Mrs Hope. They appeared to be her regular customers who patronise her business every time they are on shift. They bought cold pure water (Pigin English meaning sachet water), and as we approached the stall, they began talking loudly with Cherry. Cherry has a relationship with her customers, seeing she is in a stall, she can maintain relationships with buyers who frequently patronise Mrs Hope. She walked into the stall and continued interacting with them.

4.3.7. Mary: Strong and resilient

Mrs Lillian participated in the study and after her interview, wanted her daughter Mary to participate too. Mrs Lillian is a vegetable trader. *"Mary don go school now* (Pigin English meaning Mary has gone to school)" she said. Mrs Lillian, however, stated that she would be back from school by 2:00 pm that afternoon. Vegetable sellers vend perishable vegetables such as tomatoes, green and red pepper, onion and okra.

At 2:20 pm, inside *Oba* Market was busy as usual, making way towards the vegetable sellers, it seemed to get busier. This is usually one of the busiest parts of the market, with buyers and sellers negotiating or hawkers walking through the lanes and yelling out calling for people to buy the goods they carry on their heads. Also usually situated amongst these sellers is a grinder. A grinder has a large mechanical grinding machine; he/she offers services to customers who want to blend their vegetables (and other food items) there in the market after purchase. In the process of blending/grinding, the machine makes excessive noise, and it makes traders and customers speak loudly. In the midst of these group of traders was sat Mrs Lillian, who has tomatoes and pepper arranged on a table and shaded from direct sunlight by an umbrella. She sat on a wooden stool, staring at her goods, catching sight of the researcher, she stated Mary had returned but had to carry some goods out to sell in order to boost sales.

Later that day at 5:32 pm, Mary was done with hawking, the market was less busy but still noisy mostly due to the grinders. Due to the noise, the storytelling session therefore took place in a church, just beside the market. Mary is a 13 years old girl who helps her mother sell perishable vegetables in the market. She looked small in stature and wore a dress which had some stains on it. Her flip flop was partially disintegrated, and her toes and the sole of her feet were stained with mud. After telling a folktale about why the tortoise is bald, Mary started her story on children working by saying "*Children that is working on the street, they are helping their mother*".

Aside from helping out mothers, she also stated that some children are on the street because "Some (some children) *did not have mother, some did not have father*". She further goes on to state that some children work on the street not because they are "*poor*", rather because "*they feel like selling that is why they are selling*". In trying to explain who a child is, she made an example using herself. She considers herself still a child because she is not as grown as the researcher or her "*mummy.*" Mary works in order to help her parents pay for her school fees. According to Mary, "*if they* (some children) *are not helping their parents they will not go to*

school". Working with her mum makes her "*feel good*", and she said it does not affect her education "*at all, at all* (in any way)". Also, business is not blooming for her mother at her business location, "*if she leave the onions now (*Pigin English meaning for example)*, the onions will be spoil*"; therefore she had to give her mother a helping hand to carry some of the goods to Lagos street "*that many people full* (full of human traffic)".

Highlighting the difference between child hawkers/out-of-stall traders and child stall traders, Mary stated hawkers have more reach and better access to customers. This is because they can sell goods and services at the customer's convenience. "*Like now* (for instance) *is that place now* (points away to somewhere on the street) *you will walk to go and meet the person* (the customer)*"*; unlike ST where "*the person* (the customer) *need to come and buy here in the stall*". Despite this difference, Mary maintains there is a difference between children hawking in the street and children working in the stall.

According to her, child hawkers are "*selling*", and child labour means "*a child that is selling*". She goes on to state that child stall workers are not child labourers "*because he* (or she) *is just sitting down, he is not hawking. If somebody wants to buy, he will bring it and give the person (*from within the stall)". For Mary, what makes child work child labour is when "*somebody* (a child) *carry heavy load on his head*". This is one distinction children that work in a stall draw between acceptable child work and child labour.

Further describing the work she does, Mary stated that she goes to school every morning during term time, and after school hours she returns to her mother's stall in the market. From there she carries tomatoes and pepper on her head (on a tray) to Lagos Street (the outer side of the market) where she arranges them on a wooden table. Although Mary eventually sets up a shade in Lagos Street, she considers herself no different from other hawkers who move about selling goods off their heads or arms. This is because while carrying the goods to set up at the other location, Mary admits people "*buy in my head* (from the tray on her head)" before she gets to Lagos Street. Whenever she finishes selling the vegetables, she goes back to her mother's stall inside the market to restock and heads back to Lagos Street to continue sales.

However, "*I feel good I am not hawking*" throughout the day she said. Mary's mother reckons "*If pikin* (Pigin English meaning a child) *dey* (is) *help e* (his/her) *mama dey* (to) *sell, that one doesn't mean child labour*". "*E* (the child) *dey* (is) *help so that that market...e... go still dey grow very well, e go* (the market will) *still dey move very well* (blossom). *As e* (Mary) *come from school, I let her*

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go school, after school, if e (Mary) *come, if na to tie* (if it is to tie the goods in nylon*), e go yur tie am... (She will do it)*". The tied goods can be priced at 50 Naira per nylon for Mary to sell at Lagos Street. According to Mrs Lillian, doing so is not only beneficial to her and her business, rather to Mary as well, as Mary can help her raise more funds to support her education finally; even when Mary's father fails to provide money needed for Mary's education.

4.3.8. Jane: Building skills and responsibility

At 4:16 PM, while sitting in the interview stall inside the market, a young girl and a young woman walked in and introduced herself. *"My name is Jane,"* she said, and she explained that her mother (who came along with her) had asked her if she wanted to participate in the research. Therefore she came to find out what the research is about. Jane appeared well dressed and spoke good English. After receiving the comic leaflet and the research explained to her by the researcher in the presence of her mother, after Jane asked questions, the mother left so Jane could decide whether to participate or not. After her mother left, she agreed to tell her story.

Jane is 14 years old and a senior secondary school student. She works with her mother in a stall inside the market selling fresh food produce. Jane told a very long but exciting story of a man who had five wives, and his family endured several challenges. While giggling, she talked about how she had read it from a Nigerian novel. Jane started her story on child labour by citing an example of a boy who lives on her street. She talked about how the biological mother of the boy died, and a lady talked to the boy's family and told them she wants to adopt him and "*that she wants to put this boy in school in Benin*". However, when he was given out to her, she "*started telling him to go and work on the street*". Sadly, something tragic happened to the boy; while crossing one of the busiest roads in Benin City with a full tray of oranges, "*a motor knocked him down, and he died on that spot (silence) he died on the spot. That is a story of child labour*".

According to Jane, "*child labour is the act of giving a child...or over labouring the child...or should I say...uummmm...the job you know the child cannot do, but you have to force the child to do it*". She also considers children of ages five or six who hawk pure water on their heads while their mates are in school learning as child labour. So for her, it is not only the intensity of labour but also the lack of child education that makes working child labour. Talking about herself, she said she goes to school in the mornings, after which she attends computer lectures "*, and after that, I will come to the shop to help my mother. Then, let me say by six in the evening, we are on our way home*". She continues talking about herself and her feelings about helping out and working

with her mother; "*I feel good, I feel happy, I feel good*" she said. "*I feel happy because I am helping my mum and I feel happy that I am making her happy. Sometimes when she did not have the chance* (time to attend to the stall)*, she will tell me to come and help her. So, and also, I do gain knowledge from this*".

Jane wants to study accounting at the university, and she explains that in the process of "*calculating money*", she gains mathematical knowledge. Even presently, when she is asked to solve mathematical problems, "*when I remember the things I (giggles)... I do in the market*", she solves the mathematical addition, subtraction, multiplication and division without much difficulty. However, English and civic are her favourite subjects in school.

In addition to helping her with mathematical problems in school, working in the stall with her mother helps to make money. Helping her mother to sell the goods in the stall promotes sales of goods which subsequently means money making. So if her mother is not able to attend to the business, she mostly steps in to sell the goods and make money for that day. However, she pointed out an issue with working with her mother. "*If my mum is having too much load in the store, she might tell me not to go to school, that I should help her to sell all those...errr...goods before they get spoilt. That's another disadvantage in this*".

Jane continued by stating that she thinks a child "*must always respect the elders*". Likewise, assist their parents at home especially doing chores such as "*sweeping and washing of their clothes*", and if the parents have a stall where they sell, the child can assist in running the business, "*provided it is not child labour*". Jane emphasised on the fact that "*over stressing the child on what he is not capable of doing and forcing him or her to do it*" is child labour.

In concluding her story, Jane said she works to "*ease her* (her mother) *stress*". "*Sometimes when she feels tired, ehn, she can tell me that I should please just help her to sell the goods. Sometimes when she is not feeling fine, she will say I should help her to sell the goods instead of them getting spoilt*". Therefore, her work with her mother is not child labour because she is capable of doing it, is happy to do it and she also goes to school. She further states that children who do not have their parents usually work to earn money for survival, and for those whose parents are alive, the parents should be blamed for sending the children "*to hustle money for them*".

For Jane, children carrying out hawking/OST in busy areas such as Ring Road is dangerous. She sees herself as being different from them because working with her mother in a stall is not

physically tasking, it offers protection and supervision and does not expose her to as much risk of harm present on the street. She cited an example of a six years old child who while hawking pure water, had an argument about paying 20 Naira to a ticket person, and the ticket person thrust a pen in the child's ear. "*If the mother of the boy is* (was) *there, she will not allow the ticket boy to dip biro inside the boy's ear*". Therefore, Jane recommended that parents must be there to protect and supervise their children while they hawk.

4.3.9. Maya: Intelligent and Ambitious

Maya's house is located about 0.3 miles from New Benin Market; therefore, it is busy with both human and motor traffic. The house is a two-story building with several one-bedroom apartments on each floor. These houses are locally called "face-me-I-face-you" houses because each apartment entrance door faces each other along a walkway which leads to the main entrance of the building. At 2:00 pm, Maya and her siblings were not back from school. Several hawkers roamed the street, some carrying food items or goods on their heads, some pushing it in wheelbarrows, while others display items on their arms. These hawkers wear a waist pack around their waist, which serves the purpose of a cash register- sellers place money made from sales of items in them, likewise produce change for their customers from the waist pack.

Maya is a seven years old child who lives and hawks bitter kola for her mother, Mrs Ormon. She grew up without her father. Maya's father left before she was born, and Mrs Ormon has had to cater for Maya and her other older siblings. Although her father was unaware of her birth because of animosity between Mrs Ormon and her in-laws, when he later found out, he made promises to help Mrs Ormon take care of her. Still, although the father tries, Maya's mother stated that Maya still has to hawk to increase the family income. After returning from school, Maya told her story. Every day, she prays during morning devotion with her mother and siblings, and then she has breakfast and walks about a mile to school.

She is a primary four pupil, after school, Maya walks back home with her siblings, and they all have lunch. Mrs Ormon is a trader at New Benin Market, sells seasonal foods such as yam, plantain and potatoes on the roadside next to the market. She prepares the goods to be hawked before or by the time the children return from school. Bitter Kola is tied in a nylon bag according to different weight and quantity and therefore sold at varying prices. The price for each item is explained to Maya by her mother, and after eating and resting for a while, Maya goes out to hawk a tray of bitter Kola on her head. She does this every day after school, except on Sundays.

Recounting her experience hawking on the street, Maya said: "*some people* (children) *boys will call them, and they will go, and it is not good*". She suggested the children hawk on the street because "*their parents did not have money*", so their mothers send them out to go make sales and profit. "*I feel bad*" about hawking "*because I will be* (I am) *afraid that somebody will go and take me that armed robbers will come and take me*". She, however, said she needs to help her mother as much as she can so that her mother can take care of her education, and that of her siblings.

Maya loves going to school. She always comes top of the class despite her hawking activities. "*I came first last exam*," Maya said, and "*last exam, I came first too*". During her interview, Mrs Ormon said the lowest Maya has ever been in school (regarding grading) is a second; "*she always beat her mates* (classmates) *for report cards*" Mrs Ormon goes on to say. Maya wants to be a doctor when she grows up. She also stated that the help she renders to her mother is necessary to raise the money she would need for her education, likewise to provide support to her single struggling mother.

While rounding up the interview, it started to rain heavily outside. Therefore, Maya could not go out to hawk bitter kola. Mrs Ormon then stated, "*Dem* (the children) *go just stay house, this one wey rain dey fall* (considering it is raining)".

4.3.10. Ede: Experienced and Hardworking

Ede is a 16 years old girl; she works in a stall with both her parents. The family sells snacks, drinks, cigarettes and other random household and bathroom items such as light bulbs, bathing sponge. The stall is located along New Benin Market road and is surrounded by heavy human and motor traffic. Sat in the stall is Mrs Asemota. Mrs Asemota runs the business with the help of her husband and daughter Ede. In appearance, the family looked well-groomed and spoke good English. When starting her story, Ede made eye contact and appeared relaxed. At 16, she had finished secondary school and was attending lectures for The Joint Admissions and Matriculations Board (JAMB), which is a Nigerian entrance examination for tertiary-level institutions. These lectures are meant to assist students pass the JAMB entrance exams into universities.

Every morning "*I say my prayers because we are Witnesses, we are Jehovah Witnesses*". Then, as early as 6:00 am in the morning, Ede leaves for the bakery to pick fresh bread and then supply them to local stalls. She stated, "I get home by 10, 11:00 am" after the supply. Ede stated she repeatedly showers afterwards because of the sweet and dirt or muddy roads. She then proceeds

to have her breakfast and rest. She said she would require rest because "*I have been trekking around town*". After resting, Ede has the day to herself, and she said "if I have somewhere going to, I will go" and return by 4:00 pm. Ede uses that time to visit friends or attend lectures. She then sits at her mother's shop for the rest of the day, until it is closing hour. "*I don't cook regularly because I am always at the shop*", so when the shop closes, she eats and then retires to bed.

"*I am happy helping my parents at my young age*", and she believes when she has children, they would also help her out just like she has been helpful to her parents. Ede nonetheless stated, "*although I don't want my children to suffer the way I have suffered*". After stating this, Ede quickly adds *"but am always happy helping my parents"*. She said working in her mother's shop has *"a lot of benefits"*; Ede gets several incentives from family members and friends as they always say to her *"you are hard-working, so take this, take that"*. Also, she said because she is so helpful to her parents, they always pray for her, and these prayers "*guide me a lot*" Ede said. She also stated she has the mentality that it is right to be hard working, *"if you have this feeling that if you can work hard, I believe later on you're not going to suffer*". Ede reckons it is crucial for one to be hardworking and working with her mother in the stall has helped her build that quality.

Ede said *"to me child labour is…erm, I will use myself as an example"*. She has been helping her parents manage the business for nine years, and she holds the opinion that children should help their parents provide for them especially if they are not financially buoyant. Ede added she interprets child labour is "*just to help your parents with things you can do"*, *"like hawking if they* (parents) *ask you to hawk*". She continues by stating that some children work OST while others sit in stalls but there however is "*no significant difference*". The only difference she sees is that those who hawk only do so because they do not have shops/stalls; which may be because "*they may not have that money at that particular time to get a shop"*.

Also, after Ede sells and makes a profit for her mother, she stated whenever she asks her parents for money, "*they will not hesitate"* to give her because she has worked hard and made gains for the family. *"So I believe when I need anything I can go and ask them because I am also assisting them too,"* Ede said. When talking about children and their routines, Ede further said "*every child should have their daily work"*; and this should start with prayers in the morning, doing morning and evening chores, attend school if they can, help their parents out in the market, eat and sleep.

4.4. Interpretation of stories

This section of the findings chapter provides an interpretation of the children's and families' stories within the context they were told. The main focus is however on the stories of street working children on the street.

Categories

Three categories emerged from data analysis through the coding process. These categories explain the '*Why*', *'How'* and *'What'* of children street work and the subsequent impact of such work on the child and family. They include:

i.   Resolve to work- the How and What

ii.   Working beyond education-the Why

iii. The implication for the family- the Impact
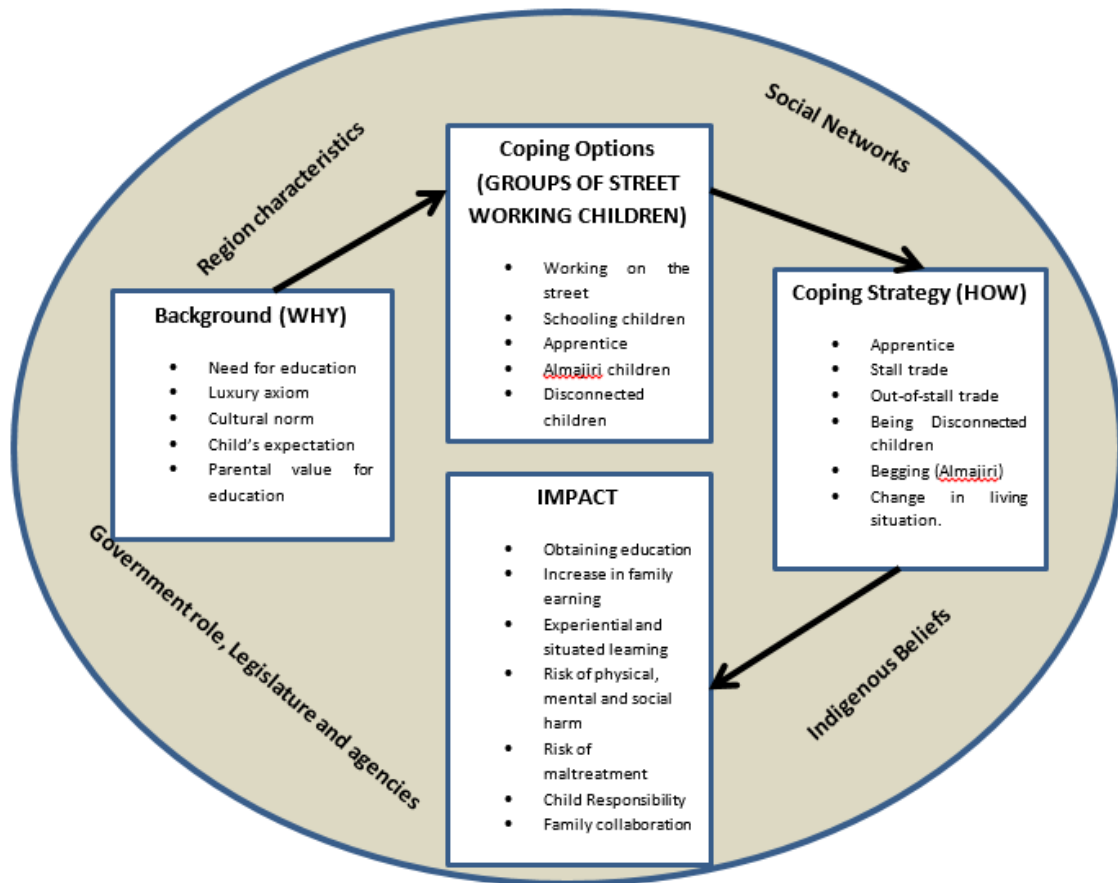
Figure 9-Diagrammatic representation of Categories across every group of children on the street.

5.3.0. An overview of each categories

- The conditions within which child labour occurs on the *street* in Benin City- events, incidences and stories — Resolve to work

- The interaction between people and the *street*. Who is involved and how they are involved- children, stall traders, OST traders, customer — Working beyond education

- The strategies participants employed to change their situations, likewise measures to address issues arising while conducting *street* activities

- The consequences of respondent's action- outcomes of working on the street — Implication for the family

4.4.1. RESOLVING TO WORK- The 'How' and 'What' of street trading

The decision for a child to work solely lies with the parents. Parents consider it their obligation to make most of, if not all decisions concerning the welfare of their child/children. The feelings and opinions of the child are not entirely considered when a decision is made for the child to work. Although parents decide to send their child out to work, not all of them do so because they want them to work. The reasons parents give for deciding to make their child work vary across the categories.

However, regardless of the group of children, family dynamics is a crucial factor that affects how parents conclude to make their children work. It also dictates what kind of job the children do. Here, family dynamics refers to the living situation of the child- whether a child is living with his/her parents or living with a guardian. It is the primary basis for telling how street children start working, the environment within which they work and the nature of the job they would do. Some children live with their parents, while others live with guardians. Either way, this living situation plays an essential role in the decision-making process by parents and guardians for a child to work.

A Child living with parents

In cases where the decision for the child to work is initiated by parents, the child lives with his/her parents, and works alongside them. These children go to school likewise assist in their parent's business. Therefore, the children who live with their parents are mostly children who work and school. Children living with parents rarely do not do apprenticeship jobs, which would require full-time attendance, and therefore no time to attend school. This is because a majority of them are students. However, in cases where they do apprenticeship jobs, they either combine it with school or forgo school and do it full-time (as in the case of Mekus). In whichever case, they still learn skills while partly assisting with the business.

Both parents usually take the decision for the child to assist in the business. It is interesting to note that although both parents agree to the decision, mothers are usually the ones that actively indulge the child in working. A majority of the shop owners at the marketplace are women and a few men in comparison. Thus, the mothers, therefore, groom the children in street trading activities, while fathers play a role mostly in decision making. Once her/his parents take the decision for the child (who is living with the parents) to work, their education is maintained. Furthermore, in working with or for their parents, these children get involved in either ST or OST.

Stall Trade and Out-of Stall Trade

ST is buying and selling activities that take place in a stall situated in the market or roadside. The practice of being a *stall trader* requires the child to stay in the stall and retail goods to customers. ST includes trading activities such as apprenticeship, tyre vulcanising, operating confectionery stall, selling fresh food produce and amongst others. It is any trading activity done in a particular space or location. The stall is usually a cubicle that varies in size and structure (permanent or temporary) depending on the location- it is more prominent when located inside the marketplace and smaller when located on the roadside. Also, when on the roadside, it can be made up of just a table, chair and an umbrella (which is optional to provide shade from the sun), and in some cases a mat (on the floor), an umbrella and chair.

Children that carry out ST mostly found in market stalls or stationed along busy walkways or roads. Children living and working with parents in stalls (ST) expressed that they were more relaxed- as they were shaded from the sun and did not have to lift or carry heavy objects. Also, from researcher's observations, children who indulge in ST looked well cared for and better dressed in appearance as compared to children who carry out OST. Aside from the researcher's observations, children that work in stalls perceived out-of-stall workers to be dirty and unpleasant looking. Jane a 14 years old participant in her story stated that:

"The children that works in the street…many of them use to do conductor, and they use to wear rough clothes."

Also, there were indications that the children who partake in ST are more comfortable in comparison to those that conduct OST. These indications include the opportunity for the child to study in the stall, minimal perspiration, neat appearance and easy availability of time to participate in the research. The children vocalised that although they spent their after school hours in the stall, they try to maximise their time either by studying in the stall, learning skills from the trade to better their academic performance or learn skills to equip them for their future or dream jobs. Below are three examples of how two children and a parent verbalised they maximise the time they spend in the stall.

First is Jane, she is 14 years old and stays in the stall to trade with her mother (ST), she expresses how trading in a stall facilitated her learning in school:

"... in the process of calculating money and all that, I gain some knowledge from there (stall trade). Even in school, calculating money in market is also helping me in school when I was in school then. Sometimes when they give us five hundred plus five hundred in class, when I remember the things I (giggles)... I do in the market, then I put it together and write it down...one thousand".

Secondly, Sarah, 15 years gave an example of how working can help equip children for their future ambitions:

"But when it is stall the children help and even know how to sell and when they maybe the children... the child will read maybe business administration when he or she grows up, it would help, he would gain that ability, that knowledge of what he or she have passed through in the stall to catch up in everything".

Thirdly, concerning how the children can study school work while they stay in the stall, Lillian had this to say:

*"They can at the same time be reading novel, be relaxing, reading or doing other things that they want. But those on the street (*OST)*, do you know that they pay hundred per cent to what they are doing"*.

There is a sense of community among the market traders, therefore, sometimes when the parent/guardian has an appointment/commitment somewhere else; the child is left alone in the stall. Other traders take it upon themselves to look after the child in the stall and observe and supervise his/her activities. Also stall trading children verbalised concern for out-of-stall trading children (wheelbarrow pushers, hawkers, beggars) not only because of the amount of stress and physical exertion it requires but also because it puts them at a higher risk of harm. They also consider these children child labourers on the premise of the intensity of the labour, untidy appearance, low-level of supervision and parental/guardian protection.

On the other hand, some parents do not go for ST instead they involve their children in out-of-stall trade. OST is buying and selling activities that operate without a stall, within the marketplace or roadside. This requires the child to move about and retail goods to customers. This includes activities such as hawking, wheelbarrow pushing, conductors and any trading activity that is done without any particular location or space. However, *out-of-stall* traders are mostly found perambulating about busy places with heavy car and human traffic such as main markets and major roads.

These children do not appear well cared for and better dressed in appearance as much as stall trading children. They appear sweaty, with dirty feet and some with damaged footwear. Although they take instructions from their parents on the price of goods and area to sell, these children are in control of the business and make autonomous decisions on how they sell their produce; for example, the decision on what street to visit first or what part of the market to go last. They make these decisions based on where the sales impact, peer resolve or personal preference.

Unlike children who carry out ST, *out-of-stall traders* move about the market place and in-between car traffic on the road. Thus, they have more access to customers, sell their goods faster and have less supervision. As a result, parents/guardians and children in *stall trades* believe ST children are safer on the street. This is because the children are under the supervision of their parents/guardian when they are in the stall, who see and observe whatever the child is doing. Some parents carry out *OST* with their children and at the end of the day, convene at a location to head home together. While other parents manage a stall, and the child takes goods from the stall to hawk. In that case, the family does both *stall trade* and *out-of-stall-trade*.

Also, although parents can either be a stall or out-of-stall trader, some children operate as both. For example, Mary, a nine years old child, sells tomatoes and pepper with her mother. She does this after school by carrying some of the goods with a tray on her head to another part of the market and sets up a stall (*stall trade*). Also, in the process of transporting the goods to the other location of the market, she sells/hawks some of the goods off her head (*out-of-stall trade*). Describing her task, she said:

"I will carry it (tomatoes and pepper) and go and sell it in Lagos street …I still use to carry it on my head, I still use to carry it there (Lagos street). Lagos street is still far from here (Oba market)…I can be going now, somebody can buy in my head".

Children living with guardian

In contrast to children who live with their parents (who are usually students), it is typical for children who live with a guardian to either be schooling children or apprentices, working full-time or part-time. This means that they may have their education compromised, as they may not go to school and engage in either stall trade or out-of-stall trade. In cases where the guardian initiates the decision to make the child work, the child does not live with his/her parents.

Some parents get approached by family members/ friends to allow their child to live with them, with the promise of education for the child or an opportunity for the child to be a breadwinner (as in the case of Cherry). This arrangement may seem to be only beneficial for the child, but it also benefits the guardian. These family members/friends routinely demand the child to help within the house (chores) and business (stall or out-of-stall trade) or seek for companionship and the child acting as caregivers (like in the case of Mrs Philo). This can be considered free labour within the house and business (although guardians did not admit to this). They do not consider it to be beneficial to them; instead they see themselves as saviours- providing help (education, shelter and food) to the child, one they may never get if left with their parents. They also did not consider the idea of it being free labour because they pay for the help (education, feeding and shelter) the child gets. Although guardians did not admit to any financial gain (cheap or free labour), they acknowledge the child's presence is meaningful- the child provides companionship, helps with chores and runs errands.

When the child's parents agree, the child then works for or with the guardian either as a schooling child or an apprentice. For example, the child could learn a trade or a skill full-time (apprenticeship) from the guardian and not go to school, or go to school and work for/with the guardian before and after school hours.

Schooling children living with guardian

These groups of children operate similarly to how children who live with their parents operate. They go to school, assist with *stall trade* or *out-of-stall trade*. The difference between schooling children who live with their parents and those who live with a guardian is not significant in the process of carrying out the trade. However, some of the children verbalised that they would prefer living and with their parents. Sarah and Mabel, 14 years and nine years respectively, live with a guardian. Although they are not sisters, they live together with the guardian and work in her stall before and after school, including weekends. In her story, Mabel said:

> *"…I feel bad. Feel bad that I am not staying with my biological parents that I am staying with another person..."*

As much as they live with a guardian and may prefer living with their parents, these children still maximise the time in the shop. Sarah had the following to say:

> *"…Yes, I stay in the stall, so my is to come to the stall and help my parents and my guardians...and in that case it is not because.... it is not because she... it is not because I don't want to stop, but as I am in the stall now and all these things that I am doing now I am learning great example from it. So when I grow up now, I can... if I like I can just decide to open a shop like this and I start erhh... business and this business is very helpful..."*

Trained children living with a guardian

These groups of children are mostly apprentices. Thus, they are stall workers and learn from their '*Oga*' or '*Madam*'- a local term meaning a male or female boss respectively. Considering it is a stall trade, these children are shaded from the sun, and spend their day in the shop/stall, learning handwork. These handiworks include vulcanising, shoemaking, selling goods amongst other activities carried out within a stall. These children are appropriately dressed and are appreciative of the opportunity offered to them to learn a trade. Mekus, a 14 years old boy, who finished primary 5 and is currently learning how to make and repair shoes, stated that he wants the best life for himself, considering he has dropped out of school, and thus he is learning how to be a shoemaker. According to Mekus:

> *"I finish primary 5…I work here because I want to be a best knowledge and the knowledge to understand… to understand the good life, to learn the work well*."

Mekus also expressed that people are surprised he is doing well learning a trade, as he explains what he does in the shop.

> *"…people surprise for me say I am doing fine from the job I do. Some people (customers) now, they will come now, they will be walking, they will give us work, we will do it, we will na do it now they will give us the money…"*

Furthermore, children that are in apprenticeship should get a settlement at the end of their training. This training could be from 2 to 5 years or longer, depending on the parent's decision. The children learn the trade and then proceed to open their shops and manage it. In whichever the case, either living with parents or guardian, the child stays within the group of schooling children one or apprenticeship. They do not end up being children of the street (Disconnected children) who are homeless and unsupervised workers on the street.

4.4.2. WORKING BEYOND EDUCATION: the 'Why' children work on the street

Across all the groups of children, there are several reasons why children work, these reasons serve as 'justifications" as to why parents/guardians in each group of street work consider it acceptable for the children to work.

Expectation from children

Children are expected to participate in the running of the home. This expectation is on a spectrum- from doing chores, this expectation stretches out to include a contribution to how the family earns income. Several factors influence the expectations held by parents for their children. This includes parental support, formal education and informal education. As much as parents have such expectations from children, children also have such expectations for themselves- most of the children gave religious reasons why they are obliged to help out their parents.

Maya, nine years states:

> "…Well, first of all, children should help their parents because that is what God says first…God will surely help you, he would make a way for you…the bible said once you exhort yourself, you will be humble... and the first thing for a child you must be humble yourself before your parents and before God so that God will exhort you…because God knows why he create you, he knows why he gave you to your father and your mother…"

Some children also feel they are obliged to help their parents out. Jane, 14 years states:

> "…a child must always respect the elders. And also, in the home, a child must assist the parents, the mother especially by sweeping and washing of their clothes and all that. Uhmmm...if the mother or the father...ermmm... have a shop or a place they do sell, and if the child can do it…they can assist..."

Mabel, a nine years old Muslim child had this to say:

> "…A child suppose to respect his parents, needs to respect his elders, not to disobey his parents because if you disobey your parents, it is not good...so, a child should respect his parents, any senior person that is senior to he/she (him or her)…"

Parental support

Due to the lack of parental support required to gratify the child's needs, some parents lack income needed for the family's sustenance. Parental support includes job employment, stable income and financial support from the Federal or State Government. The current recession in the country worsens this situation, and in such cases, they as well as the child work on the street with the parents or be given out to a guardian. Also, if the child is not given out to a guardian, the availability of funds determines if the family works in a stall or out of a stall. Working in a stall would require them to pay rent which is an additional expenditure some families may or may not be able to afford. Availability of money is a factor that determines *stall trade* or *out-of-stall trade*. Therefore, these children work for luxury axiom- a situation when a family's income drops very low (below their required level of sustenance), and they only send their child to work to increase the household income.

More so, under such financial constraints, the child is given out to a guardian to be catered for. In this situation, the child ends up as an apprentice and does not attend school. Cherry, 16 years stated she stays in a stall and helps her *madam* look after the stall. While living with the guardian and running the stall business, she is fed and sheltered, and she makes money which she sends home to her parents. According to her:

> "…a child working is that maybe your parents did not have anything...so he (the child) want to use that one to comfort himself. He can work for anybody, whether street or in the stall. So, that is why I am here also. My parents are...my parents are in my village, so I come here to make money, in this stall here, I stay here and manage the stall with him (the guardian). I didn't hawk in the street, only to stay in the stall and help her inside the home, that's all."

Consequently, as a result of hardship, the child is expected to contribute either to the welfare and upkeep of the entire family and forfeit education or contribute to the welfare of him/herself living with a guardian while learning a trade. This hardship affects not merely their ability to pay for an education for the child, but rather the hardship threatens their sustenance. Therefore, the child is expected to work to contribute to the survival of the family or just him/herself, and the parents take the decision to either send the child to work either while living with them or living with a guardian.

Formal education

Some families experience hardship, but can however afford to feed, clothe and provide shelter for the child. Aside from parental lack of support, another reason why most parents send their children to work is that they want them to attain an education. Although a struggle in some cases, the family can feed, clothe and shelter the child. As a result, they decide that their children would work with them (stall or out of stall trade) to raise more money to pay their school fees. Some children also want to help their parents out, considering the hardship the family is facing. Mary, 14 years wanted to help her mother to raise more money for the family. She stated the reason children work is:

> "…because they (children), they...they want to help their parents so that they will pay their school fees… because if they (children) are not helping their parents, they will not go to school…"

In this case, family members/friends also approach the family and encourage them to allow the child to live with them on the promise that they would provide the child with an education. This need to give the child an education tally with the promises guardians make when they initiate the decision to change the child's living situation (family dynamics). On agreeing to such, once again, family dynamics come into play. The guardian can then decide that the child should partake in his/her trade. These children end up going to school and conduct ST or OST.

 Although direct narratives were not gotten from these parents, narratives from the children and guardians suggest that parents ask guardians to allow the child to live with them because they struggle and are incapable of taking care of the child's education, which also comes with provision of necessities. In doing so they expect a better outcome for the children as compared to the outcome the child has and potentially will have in their current situation; and also believe the child would get better welfare from living with the guardian. Therefore, they send the child away because of expected benefit to the child, ranging from feeding and clothing, and mostly attainment of education. Mrs Philo, a guardian, stated the following:

> "…Like this girl now (pointing to a child sat in her stall), when I saw it (her) with the parents, they have no financing to train her, so I asked them to bring her to me. At this time, he (she) would go to the farm not going to school. I asked the parents that this one is too junior (too young), it's (she is) too junior (too young) to go to farm like this, left her with me in the education way. That's why the mother bring her to me to help her, to train her…"

Beyond education- responsibility, informal education, social interaction and assistance

There are also families that can afford to cater to the wellbeing and education of their children, but still, have them work. The reasons behind such a decision range from the occasional need for assistance in the trade, to inculcating morals and responsibility to the child. Children in these situations go to school and are appropriately dressed and presented in appearance, in comparison to children who work for the reason of attainment of upkeep and welfare or education. These children live with their parents and indulge in *stall-trade*. They also speak better English language and are schooling children. The assistance they render to their parents in the trade is similar to that of other children in the same group, and are often seen in the market after school trading.

These children did not verbalise anything wrong with this practice. Instead, they expressed that they are better than children that work *out-of-stall trade*. This is because they consider themselves as better dressed, educated, less stressed physically and shielded from the risk of harm (because they are in a stall and mostly supervised). They also pointed out that from their understanding, children who carry out OST were the ones involved in child labour because they carried heavy loads on their heads, trek about, are exposed to the heat intensity of the sun, are exposed to harm and social vices, and they looked unkempt.

When describing the differences stall and out-of-stall traders, Mabel 9 years, said the following:

"*…because you can look at who is in the stall from head to toe the person is not that dirty. If you see a child that is working on the street you will see that the back of his/her cloth has tore, front has tore. His body would be so dirty that you would not even like to even near the child.*"

Thus, considered what they were doing as less stressful, harmful and better. Also, from their narratives, they voiced that they stayed in the stall in order to render needed assistance to their parents.

From the parent's point of view, beyond formal education, a child needs to learn how to be responsible. Furthermore, they stated school education does not teach children manners, respect and the right attitude towards life. Thus, in their dealings with customers and other traders, these children are observed, and any rude or unacceptable behaviour is immediately condemned. Parents also stated that by learning how much effort is required to make money, the child would appreciate what he/she has and understand the value of money. This they can

learn from watching their parents' lives- both at home and work.In running their businesses, these parents have other personal or business-related appointments to meet up with; such as church fellowship, business trips, and hospital appointments among others. Therefore, in their absence, they need someone to run the business instead of closing for that day or time.

Nebulous definition of child labour

Most parents vaguely understand the idea of child labour. They each gave varying definitions as to what they considered child labour. Although the lack of consensus in the definition of child labour, the understanding of it varied among participants- ranging from child/sexual abuse of children, physical exhaustion, to child miscreant. Parents of schooling children are mostly educated, and thus better articulate the definition of child. It is quite interesting to note that there were similar descriptions or definitions of child labour amongst the participants in similar categories. It is also interesting to note that for each group of children on the street, although they did not clearly define child labour, they however did not consider their actions as child labour. This is because they have several justifications as to why what they did on the street is not child labour.

Parents and guardian of schooling children in stall traders stated that they do not consider their actions as child labour because the child attends school, is supervised, does not lift or carry heavy loads of goods and is not exposed to the dangers of *out-of-stall trade*. Further fascinating is the fact that, schooling children on the street and their parents/guardian did not give a clear definition of child labour, they stated that OST is child labour; thus classifying schooling and unenrolled children that engage in out-of-stall trading as child labour because of the nature of the work, appearance and risk involved.

Mrs Philo, 65 years, a guardian to two children who go to school and work with her before and after school in her confectionary stall said the following:

> *"The one (the child) is selling in the street is child labour, the one is selling on the stall is more reliable."*

From the parent's narrative, after school, the out-of-stall trading child carries heavy goods on their head and walks about under the scorching sun, and they also appear unkempt and not adequately dressed in appearance. Also, some of them carry out such activities during school

hours. For example, Mrs Lillian, a fresh food produce business owner who has her daughter in the stall after school hours expressed that then the following about child labour:

> "…Child labour in the sense that the way children are, the way people are using their children in doing so many labour, hard labour… you will see a child that suppose to be in school at a particular time, the mates are in school, then the child would be hawking pure water or selling things around the corners… these children that we are talking about, apart from them hawking on the street, you know doing conductor and all sort of thing, that they are also exposed outside the world."

Schooling children had a similar classification of child labour; having similar reasons with their parents/guardian why they are not child labourers. These reasons include their school attendance, parental/guardian supervision, not lifting or carrying heavy loads of goods and not being exposed to the dangers of *out-of-stall trade*. Thus, they (likewise their parents/guardians) consider other children who do not meet these criteria as child labourers. This includes schooling children who conduct out-of-stall trade, apprentices because they do not attend school and Disconnected children because they do not attend school and conduct OST.

Schooling children who are out-of-stall traders acknowledge that although it can be risky for the child, at least the child attends school and they only work to assist parents in paying their school fees. They however stated that they are pleased to be able to help out in paying their fees and that their work pays off. Maya, a seven years old girl who hawks kola nuts and bitter kola after school, in her story about hawking told the researcher:

> "I sell kola nut after school; I do not go far, I only move around the area…by selling bitter kola too, I make more money for my mother to pay my school fees…"

Although she hawks and after school, her mother (a single mother) mentioned to the researcher how Maya consecutively comes top of her class every year; re-emphasising the point that Maya works to assist her in raising funds for her school fees, and the job does not disturb Maya's academic performance.

In contrast, schooling OST children classify children in apprenticeships and Disconnected children as child labourers. Mary, a child who does both stall and out-of-stall trading however agrees with stall traders that *OST* is child labour. According to her, from her story, the fact that OST involves

physical exertion makes it child labour. She tells this idea as in her story when talking about both types of trade:

> "*Because he (the child in a stall trade) is just sitting down, he is not hawking it is not child labour…and it is child labour because somebody carry heavy load on his head*".

However, her mother, Hope, although not giving a clear definition of child labour, justified Mary's activity as not child labour practice because Mary goes to school and only needs to work in order to pay for school fees. Hope as well as other participants, therefore, justify their working practice on the grounds of the child gaining an education. Furthermore, they categorically stated that children who do not go to school and work (*out-of-stall trade*) are child labourers (trained and Disconnected children).

For children in apprenticeship, while schooling children consider their practice a case of child labour, they did not consider their practice as one. An example of apprenticeship work includes vulcanising, shoemaking, hair making and other learnt handy-work. From narratives of children in apprenticeships, though they do not go to school, these children do not think they are child labourers because they learn transferable skills. Thus, they still learn even though it is not in formal schools.

 The skill and knowledge equip the child for the future. As earlier mentioned, Mekus, a 14 years old who works in a shoemaking stall as an apprentice said he was not performing well in school, and his parents could no longer afford formal education, therefore sent him to learn from his *Oga* how to make and repair shoes. Children in apprenticeship contracts justify their practice and categorise Disconnected children as a case of child labour because these children work on the street that does not benefit them or their families.

Lastly, in as much as there are different justifications and descriptions of child labour, especially according to each group of children, there were also some participants who did not understand what child labour means in any context. They, however, stated that they have heard the word but do not know what it means. For example, when asked on his thoughts about child labour, Mr Andy, a 60 years old cobbler who has a stall and trains apprentice for a living said the following:

> "*…e (pigin English referring to child labour) nor get much thinking of it apart from...err...I don't even understand what I will answer from the question child*

labour… as we (referring to people like himself) who doesn't go to school very well… ehen! (pigin English sound asking if the interviewer is following through)…child labour now what is the meaning?... Child labour I don't know what it mean. I dey (pigin English meaning 'use to' in this context) hear am but I don't know the meaning."

Also, although some participants did not understand what child labour is, they have heard about it from government advertisements.

4.4.3.   IMPLICATION FOR THE FAMILY: the children, parents and guardian

Narratives from both parents/guardians and the children provided insight into different aspects of children's working lives and how it consequently impacts on them and their families. Three main themes ensued from both stories from the children and adults' narratives. They include benefits to the child, risk of harm and child education. There were several benefits of child work participants stated in their narratives and stories. These benefits varied between the different categories.

Schooling children

Parents with schooling children stated that although the children worked, they gained both formal and informal education through working. Children that live with their parents voiced their experience that working with their parents gave them a sense of responsibility, social network/friendship and improvement of their mathematical abilities. Schooling children who live with a guardian stated that although they work with/for the Guardian, they at least get an education which they desire. Guardians also expressed a sense of companionship they get from having the children around and also having them help out with work around the house. For example, Mrs Philo, 65 years old guardian (to three children from different parents) whose children are grown and have left the house stated that:

"*…When they are in here, I will be much happy, I would be happy because there is many of them helping me to do my...work*..."

Though some children stated that they would have preferred using after school hours for extra school lessons, and not use the time for play because they get to play in school and while trading.

Trained Children

Participants stated that although the child does not go to school, he/she learns transferable skills and is settled (paid money) at the end of the apprenticeship- this is the case of *stall trade* children. *OST* children work with their parents in order to contribute to the family's income (luxury axiom). This work is needed to sustain the family's sustenance. Thus, although the child is not working to go to school, they instead work to contribute to the welfare of the family unit.

Likewise the benefits, children in both groups told stories of how working could potentially put them in a situation involving exposure to danger. Also, parents/guardians acknowledged this possibility and weighed it against the *benefit to the child*. Participants in each group, however, had different ideas to which groups are in such risky positions as compared to others.

Schooling children

These strongly justify their practice because the child attains an education. They reckon that although the child works, it does not affect his/her educational performance; instead it produces critical thinking, mathematical and social interaction skills. However, schooling children who participate in *stall trade* stress that *OST* work exposes them to harm and specific risks, because of the nature of the job they do. Therefore, condemned *OST* even if the child goes to school.

Firstly, this is because the nature of work involved in *OST* imposes varying levels of physical stress and demand on the child. An example of such physical demands includes carrying a load on the head, walking long distances, and working under the scorching sun, likewise lifting and pushing goods which may be heavy in some cases. Mrs Lilian a stall trader and parent in schooling child in her interview stated the following:

> *"..you find out that they (out-of-stall traders) over strain them (children) even it will even retardant (retard) their growth. The children that are suppose to have grows (grown), the way they are being laboured, they are suppose to grow to some extent then, but because of the labour, the hard labour they are doing, you know it will now retardant their growth (growth retardation)…"*

She and other parents/guardians emphasised such activities impacts on the child's development and growth. Also, they stress that OST has more consequences for Disconnected children because they suffer such physical stress and still do not attend school.

Secondly, schooling children who worked in a stall also condemn *OST* because it makes children vulnerable to risk and dangers on the street. From their stories, the children stated that while

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carrying out out-of-stall activities, especially hawking children may in the course of trade encounter harm; such as road traffic accident, social vices, physical and sexual abuse. This situation is worsened by the fact that there is no supervision when they are working. According to Mabel, when hawking, children meet customers and other adults who have businesses in and around the market (for example bus drivers, conductors among others) and may get harassed sexually by them.

Mabel further tells a story of a 16 years old girl called Ese who hawked and once lived with them (her and her guardian). According to Mabel, on occasions when she went out with Ese, Ese got several sexual advances from bus drivers and conductors while hawking pure water (portable packaged sachet water); and on some occasions, they touched Ese, and it appeared Ese liked the attention and money she got from them. Therefore, the guardian sent her home back to her parents for her behaviours.

> "when she was hawking..uhmm, if she is passing those conductors they will be calling her, they will be touching her, she don't even have mouth to even talk, she will just keep quiet and be laughing. Her eye is too open (Open- meaning wise in pigin English)…"

Sarah, a 14 years old, lives with a guardian, also agrees, and in her story stressed on the fact that customers may also be deceitful and lure children into places where they can take advantage of them sexually. Aside from the possibility for sexual abuse, children also voiced the risk of physical harm/abuse, as the children walk about and could get knocked down by a moving vehicle. More so, unlike stall trading children, they are exposed to more people and cover more ground space, thus they may indulge in social vices and may get into arguments/fights with others (children or adults in the marketplace or roadside) without their parents/guardian there to help, and may even get beat up. Jane, 13 years in her story also highlighted an incident that happened to a six years old hawker.

> "…hawking...yes...in those busy areas like in ring road (city centre). There were a time that a child was hawking pure water, that a ticket boy (local tax person) dip (insert) biro inside his ear, just because the boy did not pay twenty Naira. Yes! So if the mother of the boy is there, she will not allow the ticket boy to dip biro inside the boy's ear…"

Participants, therefore, stated that these conditions might consequently lead to teenage pregnancy, infection and spread of sexually transmitted diseases, verbal abuse, bruises, physical injuries and even death of the child, depending on the severity of the incidence. Although ST schooling children did not associate physical stress and risk to the nature of the job they do in the stall. This group of children (both stall and out-of-stall) recommended that parents should try and get a stall for trading activities. Likewise other children, Sarah voiced the following:

"..I advise the stall one (stall trade), because that is very important, the child will not go anywhere and the and in that case of the street children... some of the children enter some of the these bad gathering- they get raped, and all those things and I don't like all those ones… and in my addition to it is that as a parent no matter what the economic says (economic situation) you should try as much as possible to just open a shop, put your children there don't allow them to go and sell on the street. Because it is not good, it is not advisable. And in that process, some kidnappers can kidnap your child. So I don't advise that one, it is only the one in the stall that I advise…"

Some children however highlighted the fact that although they are more relaxed in the stall, they are also distracted. Some of them use the time in the stall to read their books or do homework, however, they would need to stop intermittently to attend to customers and do not get to concentrate. This distraction may also happen whenever they are eating or doing other activities of their choice in the stall.

On the other hand, OST schooling children acknowledged the existence of these risks and stated the *benefit to the child* outweighs the risk associated with out-of-stall child work. Therefore, participants- children and parents in *OST justified* their actions. Also, the children living with their parents expressed delight in living with and helping their parents although the risks. However, regardless of the type of trade (stall trade or OST), schooling children who live with guardians stated the possibility of them being maltreated by their guardians. In third person form, this group of children expressed the potential for cruel treatment and neglect from their guardians both in the stall and at home. Thus, they stated that they would have preferred living with their parents while getting an education. More so, they mentioned the fact that whenever they behave in certain ways the guardian does not approve of, children may get threatened (by the guardian) that they would be taken back to their parents, which subsequently means the end of their education. Therefore, they may end up tolerating and enduring specific treatment while living with a guardian in order to continue going to school.

Trained children

Similarly to schooling children on the street, ST and OST dictate the nature of work the child does and subsequently the potential to be in an environment that exposes them to harm. Children in apprenticeship acknowledged the physical demands and risks of *OST* and stated that such does not occur in their practice. They stated their activities involve supervision while they learn. Thus, pointed out that Disconnected children and OST activities carry risk and physical stress. Furthermore, unlike schooling children, these children did not express any form of maltreatment. Lastly, they stated that good behaviour was required of them in order to carry on being an apprentice.

	FAMILY DYNAMICS		EDUCATION		DECISION TO WORK		NATURE OF WORK
	Parents	guardian	Formal	Informal	Parents	Guardian	
			Schooling Children				
Stall Trade	√	-	√	√	√	-	Sales activities in a stall, apprenticeship.
	-	√	√	-	-	√	Sales activities in a stall.
Out-of-stall trade	√	-	√	-	√	-	Hawking, street vending, wheelbarrow pushing
	-	√	√	-	-	√	Street vending activities
			Trained children				
Stall Trade	√ -		-	-	√	-	Cannot afford stalls.
	- √		-	√	√	-	Apprenticeship
Out-of-stall Trade	√ -		-	-	√	-	Bus conductor, wheelbarrow pushing, hawking, street vending activities
	-	√	-	-	-	-	Children live with guardians and work on the promise of either formal or informal education

Table 5: A Tabular representation of how family dynamics and child education impacts on the children working and the nature of jobs they do.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.0. Introduction

This chapter aims to discuss findings from this qualitative study, and it is worthwhile to mention that a large sample size does not underpin the arguments presented in this chapter. Instead, arguments are made to provide an in-depth understanding of the lives of street working children and families in Benin City, Nigeria. Child work is a highly contested issue. Arguments on the subject matter range from support for the practice as an intrinsic and essential part of childhood and survival in poorer countries to the abolitionists who consider the practice detrimental to children's right to education and leisure. Furthermore, aligning findings from this study with that of existing works of literature on child labour. This chapter provides insight into the practice of child street work in Nigeria and its public health implications.

Within this chapter, findings will be discussed in five main headings, each addressing an argument that is underpinned by participants' response, children's views and the researcher's experience of the street. The first heading presents arguments that underpins this study's conceptualisation of 'harm' and 'acceptable work'. This serves the foundation for subsequent arguments upheld by this study, as it concerns the impact of street work on children. The next heading discusses the scope of the study (children on the street) and the misrepresentation of street working children. This section aims to highlight the differences between the groups of children who carry out street working activities. Also, this section of the chapter presents arguments that are crucial to establishing the causes of child work and its relative impact on the lives of street working children, especially as it concerns children on the street.

The third section presents the views and opinions of children on the street and their parents/guardians. This is crucial because the ontological and epistemological consideration of this study hinges on the perceptions and opinion of children- considering they are the main actors in child labour practice. In addressing the views of children on the street, the relationship between child labour, child education and poverty are also discussed. This is because child education and poverty debates are the two major aspects of child labour this study focuses on.

Fourthly, the laws on child labour are discussed concerning street work; and its implications on the lives of children and families.

The fourth heading discusses the core category or theory generated from findings. The Contextual supply of child labour is a theory that emerged from this study's data. It attempts to reconcile the concept connection gaps (especially that of child labour and child education) that exist in the broader debates on child labour. This model is divided into three levels (the Micro, Meso and Macro level) and each addressed different facets of child labour practice. It aims to contextualise the practice and offer a simplistic but empirical approach to understanding child labour practice.

Finally, the last heading discusses the rights of children about working. The UNCRC and the Edo State Child's Right Law (ESCRL) were analysed to give insights into the local and international rights street working children have; and how they underpin this study's position on child street work.

Throughout the chapter, this study's overall argument is highlighted continuously. This study's stance on child labour is against the popular abolitionist approach to ban all work children conduct. The abolitionist approach does not only ignore the circumstance/context of street work and appreciate the family's effort to support the child. It likewise fails to recognise the working child's voice; and thus, goes against two of the special rights of every child- the right to be heard (Article 12, UNCRC) and best interest of the child (Article 3, UNCRC). Also, a ban on their activities may further marginalise them or deny them the opportunity for education; and in extreme cases, it may force them into *unconditional worst forms* of child labour (as detailed in chapter two, section 2.7.2). This study only agrees with the ban of every unconditional worst forms of child labour stated in section 2.7.1.

Also, this study contends that the ubiquitous discourse on child labour phenomenon in developing regions is misleading to interventions and policies. This is because it focuses on the potential harm in child work while neglecting the benefits children on the street derive from work.

5.1. The conceptualisation of harm: what should be acceptable, what is indeed

5.1.1. Child Labour V Child Work: harmful

Organisations and researchers have long argued the concept of child labour and child work. Still, no clear distinction has been made between both. Both terms are often used interchangeably to denote a child's participation in activities (both paid work and unpaid informal and formal employment). In traditional Nigerian settings, child work is considered part of the child's training and upbringing to be responsible adults (Nkurlu, 2000). Unlike child labour which exploits and causes physical, mental, moral and social harm to children, child work in Nigeria is considered as part of the upbringing of the child. It is believed it helps children grow up to become responsible adults. The binary arguments on harmful 'child labour' and harmless 'child work' is problematic in establishing child labour concepts because it ignores social relations and other situations around the children's work (Okyere, 2013). Bourdillon et al. (2010) however suggest that the practice of child work should be considered a continuum ranging from intolerable to beneficial.

5.1.2. A coping strategy or is work unacceptable?

Child work is not opposed by UNICEF, as long as the work is positive and does not interfere with children's health and development, likewise negatively affecting their education. In saying this, there is no clear documentation from UNICEF of specific examples of such forms of acceptable child work. The broad characterisations of acceptable work and varying legislation (from country to country) of hazardous child labour give child work an ambiguous, and most often a negative connotation (Hesketh, Gamlin and Woodhead, 2006). On the other hand, generally, child labour is defined as work that violates the ILO Conventions No. 138 and 182 as well as is prohibited by UN Convention on the rights of children, Article 32. Unlike child labour which exploits and causes physical, mental, moral and social harm to children; child work in Nigeria is considered to be a part of the child's upbringing, and it is perceived to helps children grow up to become responsible adults (Okoli, 2009). Therefore, the practice of children working either in their homes or family businesses is widely accepted and in the country.

The natural reaction of people as they become informed about child labour is to seek ways to ban the practice. People automatically assume the easiest way to address it or so it seems is to ban it (Basu and Van, 1998b; Terre Des Hommes, 2010). According to Article no 32 of the UNCRC, it is the right of the child to be protected from "exploitative work" and "dangerous work"; clearly stating that workplace conditions should be safe and appropriate, with a minimum working age set by the government. Going by this article, no doubt the *unconditional worst forms of child*

labour (such as child prostitution, dealing of drugs and child trafficking) needs urgent attention (Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst, 2015) and it cannot be categorised as child work because it is exploitative and results in severe physical, mental, social and educational harm to the child. In as much as one can agree these forms of child labour are not to be accepted within any social and geographical context, other forms of child work should be recognised and addressed differently especially when there is a potential benefit for the child.

Also, findings from this work suggest that children on the street do not perceive themselves as child labourers. Among working families, street work is not seen as a problem; instead, some families consider it a coping strategy for difficult living situations, while others think it is a traditional norm. Therefore, attention should shift to situations causing children to work on the street since "the street child" is not the problem (Terre Des Hommes, 2010). Similar to parents, children on the street do not consider working a problem, instead, they have concerns about the conditions under which they work. Changes in the conditions within which certain jobs are conducted can sometimes make work benign and beneficial to the child, rather than hazardous. Such a measure would not only be a more effective means of ending *hazardous work*, but it will also maximise working benefits to the child. It is a more thoughtful approach than merely prohibiting work, as it eliminates work-related hazards. This approach could also potentially help narrow the scope and definition of child labour; thus, strengthen focus only on the unconditional worst forms of child labour. It also could provide a clearer distinction between child work and child labour- by eliminating the ambiguous fourth category of child labour and offering clarity into the child labour-child work arguments.

Nonetheless, upon Article 31 of the UNCRC (right to leisure and play), it is unacceptable for children to work, especially when they spend out of school hours working on the street. Though, findings were indicative that street working children form and maintain a social network of friends with whom they play and roam the street. Therefore, Article 31 may be limited but not utterly obsolete to the lives of street working children, as by working on the street these children develop friendship and play with peers who conduct similar street work. Also going by the rights of children, Article 28 (right to education) and 12 (respect for the views of the child), when children in these situations agree with the decision to work for educational attainment, as seen in the work of Okyere (2012), it should be acceptable. Preventing work in these circumstances goes against Article 12, especially if the child rightfully considers working a means to afford an education they so truly desire.

Furthermore, instead of child work classified under child labour, many people have attempted to categorise child work into harmful child labour and benign child work (Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst, 2015). The former being exploitative and harmful, while the latter considered work conducted in the household as part of child rearing (p. 2). Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst (2015) further suggested that instead of classifying children's work into 'harmful' and 'benign', child work should be assessed by the 'net harm' and 'net benefits'. They suggested this approach because a job that carries the risk of harm may also offer benefits that outweigh the harm.

Therefore, with this assessment of overall harm and benefit, one can make an equitable conclusion on what is child work and what should be considered child labour of the child. Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst (2015) provide examples of this as if a child is starving, income generated from working can be so significant it outweighs considerable risks or harm of working. Another example is, "if a child has little aptitude for school, a positive experience outside school can be important for self-esteem and development, and for building up relations within the family; if, on the other hand, a child is doing so well at school to have potential for a professional career, even a little work could be damaging" (P.3).

Approaching child work and child labour with this understanding makes it easier to differentiate between both concepts as well as adopt an individualistic approach to addressing the issue. It recognises that the same work can have a different impact on children of similar age, as work can both be beneficial and harmful to the child depending on the situation. Thus, instead of using generalised standards (such as Convention 182, UNCRC Article 38) to determine whether particular activities are "harmful child work" (child labour) or "benign child work", (Bourdillon et al., 2011) suggest the assessment of benefits and harm at the local level is more reliable.

Still, following the international conventions on child labour, both benign and harmful child labour is supposed to be banned in Nigeria's legislation, because Nigeria has ratified Conventions 138 and 182. No doubt harmful and hazardous work is detrimental to every child. However, based on the criticism of Convention 138 posed by Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst (2015) (section 2.3.1, chapter two), this study agrees that any work that is prohibited solely on the grounds of age is not necessarily harmful to the child. Instead, the child can benefit from such, especially in difficult situations (such as poverty, education and skills acquisition); therefore, with regards to Article 3 (best interest of the child), Article 28 (right to education) and Article12 (right to give opinion) such forms of work should be acceptable.

Omokhodion, Omokhodion and Odusote (2006) carried out a cross-sectional survey of 225 8-17 years old working children working in a large market in Ibadan, Nigeria- the second largest city in Nigeria. The study defined child labour as work done outside the confines of the home and was aimed at determining street working children's attitude and perception of themselves as child labourers and their future aspirations. Findings showed 46 per cent (103) of respondents combined school with work, while 52 per cent (117) were school drop-outs and solely engaged in work, and 2 per cent (5) had never attended school before. Findings from the study also revealed that a total of 115 (51%) child respondents thought children should work as opposed to the 104 (46%) of them who thought children should not. Some children perceived the benefits of working as the means of providing a source of income for themselves (81 respondents), others as the means of helping their parents (56 respondents), while 39 of them believed working was a part of home training to become responsible adults. None of these participants stated there were no benefits of working. Although some do not think they should be working, they nevertheless agree with child working practice for the above-listed reasons.

Also, 55 children of the 225 participants thought that child labour was a sign of deprivation and 106 of them perceived themselves as less fortunate than their peers. This study recorded this perception of deprivation more among working children whose highest educational level was primary school education; and among those who earned very little and had worked longer than six months. Interestingly, the study also reported that when asked what they would rather do instead of working, 103 respondents indicated they would attend full-time education while 69 children would instead learn a trade. Only 46 children would rather spend their time playing. Conversely, although they desire education, only a few of the children aspired to achieve professional or office jobs (45 respondents), as a majority of their aspirations geared towards being artisans and traders (121 respondents) and others (48 respondents) had no definite answer to their career aspirations.

The study then concluded that although it is desirable to abolish child labour practice in Nigeria, the reality of this is that many families due to economic constraints are forced to end their children to work. The reason for this Omokhodion, Omokhodion and Odusote (2005) suggested is economical- either money for school or money for parents were identified by the children as the leading indexes for working, regardless of gender, age and educational status. Lastly, 50 per cent of participants (112 children) desired and recommended free state-funded full-time education to assist working children. While the others desired government provision of

vocational training, loans to start a trade, financial support for their parents and general improvement of the country's economy.

5.1.3. What is harmful?

It is crucial to recognise the impact of work on the lives of children living in developing parts of the world, and in this case, more so on the lives of children who work on the street. Labour, work or employment in this sense should be addressed with the child as the central focus. The word 'harm' and definition of 'hazardous' work are loosely defined by the ILO Convention 182 and the UNCRC - as they do not stress on excluding the child from work, instead emphasises on protecting the child from harm.

A discussion on harm is only relevant to the topic of interest if there is a risk of it happening to children who work on the street, and in this case, there is. This study uses the work of Ulrich Beck's (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* to conceptualise risk. Beck (1992) recognised the change in society from pre-industrial era to industrial society, and now modern times or a risky society. The transition of society throughout these epochs resulted in a change in the meaning of risk. Gone are the days where 'risk' meant threat and harm in everyday language (Lupton, 1999) or a 'synonym for peril or danger, for some unhappy event which may happen to someone' (Ewald, 1991:1). Modern times encapsulated in capitalist world systems firmly couples risk with the economic world- inextricably linking the notion of probability and uncertainty (Mythen, 2004), and the street as a capitalist market cannot be sustained without risk. Nowadays, risks are decision-contingent (Beck, 1992).

Under this banner and within this study, 'risk' is defined in accordance to the modern society, and Wilkinson (2001:91) states that it relates to the balance between acquisition of opportunities and potential danger; and these risks exists locally in diverse areas of parenting, employment health, crime and transport (Mythen, 2004). Lupon (1999) defined risk in modern times as dangers or hazards associated with future outcomes.

Today, Nigeria is a periphery country, and as such manufactured risks manifest in a different form in comparison to Western societies (core countries). Unlike the West where manufactured risks are mainly due to capitalist mass production and techno-scientific development, developing countries are plagued with risks associated with poverty, corruption and unemployment. This explains why families will risk their children working on the street for various reasons of claims of benefit to the family and child. The awareness of the risk of children working on the street is

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not only influenced by cultural norms but also by extension the mass media. Low level of perceived risk and knowledge can arguably be the reason why parents do not seem bothered to engage in a more secure means to manage the expectation of the family.

A child is predisposed to forms of harm whether they work on the street or not, even when they are in school, in playgroups or at home. Based on personal experience, the presence of hazard on the street does not necessarily mean the child will be harmed by it. Aside from the Unconditional worst forms of child labour, it becomes problematic to distinctively identify harmful child work because the ILO Conventions and the UNCRC do not explicitly state the kinds of work that are harmful to the child. Hesketh, Gamlin and Woodhead (2006) agree with this, stating there is a 'big gap between the rhetoric of international conventions and reality' (p. 721). The conventions fail to put effort into better working conditions for children, rather can be perceived to promote the western culture of childhood which is dominated by education and leisure. Hesketh, Gamlin and Woodhead (2006) add that these conventions ignore the context of child work- where families sometimes have to depend on child's earning, schools are expensive and the general living situations of families.

Due to globalization and elements of neoliberalism, according to Beck (2004), the shift to a capitalist economy (reflexive modernity), resulted in situations where individuals are left to assess risks and manage them instead of the government. This is because the government's role has been eroded by reflexive modernity, and individuals assume greater responsibilities for the consequences of their actions and choices. In developed nations, in relation to risk, it seems that 'the more we know, the less we understand' (Van Loon, 2000:173), while developing nations seem to know less but understand better. As a result, this paradox, facilitates the understanding and appreciation of why families that work on the street possibly have shorter and unhealthier life expectations whilst simultaneously feeling safe and secure; in comparison to individuals who live in the West who live longer and healthier lives but simultaneously feel less safe and secure (Sparks, 2003). Caplan (2000) similarly asserts that risk perception will invariably differ between social groups and individuals. As a result, what is considered risky for some, can be interpreted as opportunity by others. In this era, and within the context of this study, families routinely make decisions about employment and education, and as such, children end up working on the street and exposed to risks; while it may be considered as doom for many people, it is interpreted as an opportunity for these children.

In reflection, from the researcher's personal experience, working in a stall felt 'safe' as there was constant monitoring and supervision from parents and other adults in the marketplace. Also, children on the street and their parents/guardian consider their activities safe due to the level of supervision and guidance they get, especially for children who work in stalls. They mostly work alongside their parents/guardians (Bhukuth and Ballet, 2015); thus, the perceived risk of harm is reduced even if not eliminated. Although these children are street smart and make autonomous decisions especially in cases where they conduct OST, they still work with adult instructions and most importantly do not dwell on the street as observed among groups of children *of* the street.

The practice of working with adult supervision and having adequate shelter underpins parents' notion that the child is not being harmed by working on the street. Although stall traders believe out-of-stall trading children are more likely to get abused on the street because they occasionally roam the street without their parent(s) or guardian; parents who are out-of-stall traders disagree. Families who conduct out-of-stall (OST) street activities argue that while working on the street and being mobile, they give specific timing for the child to trade, and they have social networks in and around the marketplace. These social networks serve as surveillance and serve to protect the child. Furthermore, OST trading parents instead of not having the child in school would rather take the chance and have the child work on the street to afford an education. These parents believe that it is better for the child to work on the street, as they cannot guarantee any harm would not come to the child on the street but are convinced actual harm would be done if the child does not attend school because of insufficient household income to fund education. Equally, they believe that their child is not being harmed because the benefits of working (child education) far outweighs the risk of being harmed while on the street. Thus they decide to allow the child to work for her/his best interest. Securing the best interest of the child is the right of every child (UNCRC, Article 3), and it also serves as one of the four special and general principles upon which other rights are interpreted.

Although the process of modernisation has resulted in a unique situation of humanly manufactured risk, it is however interesting to note that families put effort into making street work practices less hazardous and relatively safer (through the purchase of stalls, parental/adult supervision, provide breaks for child's physiological needs and very importantly provide shelter after working hours). Still, children on the street are considered child laborers. This is so either because of minimum working age or by the ambiguous definition of hazardous work.

Nevertheless, addressing the issue of 'risk'/harm and abuse is of significant importance in the practice of child labour- whether by children 'on' or 'of' the street. This raises the question as to who is affected by the practice, who takes responsibility for the consequences, and whether or not measurers of precaution has been put in place to control manufactured risks (Beck, 2000). As a result, although within the context of their lives, parents have a valid reason for allowing their child to work on the street (best interest of child), it is also vital to point out that these children could be directly affected by the practice. For example, they could be physically and sexually abused. Therefore, while it is necessary for children on the street (especially OST children) to be provided formal/informal education, it is also paramount that they are offered more safety. This is also within the context of their best interest rights. Although parents/guardians stated putting various measures in place to safeguard children 'on' the street, more could possibly be done to protect these working children, and while they have a valid reasons for putting the child on the street, it would not suffice if a child is actually harmed on the street.

Bourdillon (2014) argues that unlike the meaning of 'child labour' which denotes 'harmful work', 'exploitative work' interferes with the overall child development and is often referred to as 'worst form of child labour', another meaning of child labour is work that breaches Convention 138 (Minimum age for employment) (Bourdillon, 2014). The latter is only classified as child labour not because it is necessarily harmful work, rather it is termed child labour because children below a certain age are in the labour-force, irrespective of the conditions they work in.

In a study by Edmonds and Shrestha (2012) involving 59 countries, findings showed that minimum age based child labour policies had minimal impact on children's school attendance and employment. Several children on the street are classified as child labourers not because they participate in any unconditional worst forms of labour (such as slavery/forced labour, the use and procurement of children for prostitution and or illicit activities), rather because they breach Convention 138, and also to some extent because of Convention 182- hazardous work (although the meaning remains vague). As a result, it is unfortunate to argue that even if conditions within which these children on the street operate were improved, some of them would still be classified as child labourers due to their age as stipulated by Convention No. 138. A complete ban may subtly force them to become 'of' the street and indulge in unconditional worst forms of child labour.

Policies aimed at addressing child labour if not correctly suited to the context may become detrimental to them, as against providing beneficial outcomes for this group of street working children. These children are being grouped and treated as children of the street (who quintessentially engage in the unconditional worst form of child labour). Children on the street of Benin work in markets and corner stalls, and a ban on their activities may result in more harm than good. For example, Bharadwaj, Lakdawala and Li (2013) argued that a ban on child labour practice in India in the 1980s resulted in children being forced to working children into illicit work, where they get into less paying jobs but more work routines in order to meet the family's need.

Findings from this work agree with Bharadwaj et al. (2013), excluding unconditional worst form of child labour, a ban on activities children on the street may leave them worse off, further marginalise them and hinder their opportunity to obtain an education. This argument is further backed up by the consideration that activities children on the street get involved with are way less likely to cause harm than those conducted by children of the street and other unconditional forms of child labour.

5.2. Groups of children on the street

 "*No child should undertake work that is likely to harm their health, safety, development or wellbeing, or that prevents them from attending school. However, attempts to ban child labour should be undertaken with care – to avoid unintended consequences, such as displacing children into less visible, and even more dangerous, employment. Not all work is detrimental. Governments should therefore aim to support working children*"
-Young Lives, 2018.

Children carry out lucrative and non-lucrative activities within and outside their homes as a cultural norm in Nigeria, and it is an integral and embedded part of life in Nigeria, characterised and framed by complexity. The work includes: assisting family business, household chores, working as an apprentice for non-family members or even working independently on the street (Abbasi, 2013). The practice of children working is one with several complexities, characterised by constant change and diversity on a daily basis.

From this study's findings, *childre*n on the street have a myriad of background stories and aspirations whe*re*by they often consider the street as a space of opportunity. This is similar to Panter-Brick (2002) argument that the street is made of different children with various backgrounds and stories. The existing documentation of the aetiology and impact of *street* child

labour in Nigeria are quite generalised and not meticulously contextualised. For example, Oluwaleye (2017) conducted a study in Ekiti State (Nigeria) to examine the causes and effects of hawking on children in the city. The study suggested that child street traders are "Children engaging in street trading are exposed to sexual harassment or rape, with its attendance risks such as sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS, unwanted pregnancy" (p. 2212) and poor academic performance (p. 2210). This study, likewise several others, fails to elucidate that there is a significant difference on how working on the street impacts on the child depending on that street status ('on' or 'of' the street). Children on the street have adult supervision, attend school, and also do not reside on the street. As such, even though they work on the street, the risk of harm they face is not profound in comparison to children of the street who do the same job but with minimal or no adult supervision, appropriate place of residence and education.

In contrast to this, this study provides an insight into the understanding of the groups of children who work on the *street*, the processes and circumstances that lead-up to them working in several vocational activities. More so, it highlights the impact of such work on children and their families in Benin City, Nigeria, likewise the need for understanding and effort to address the issue. The study is significant to those who can operationalise support for street working children from strategic level design of policies.

The future of any society largely depends upon the development and well-being of its children. The inclusion of children in this research project provides an understanding of what children do, how they do it, why they do it, how it makes them feel and subsequently how it impacts on families, especially the children themselves. Furthermore, understanding these stories requires contextualisation, and as such this study provides an insight into children on the street and the different facets of its operation within the context of the *street* and Benin City. Such insight is significant in explaining the dynamic lives of *street* working children in Benin. Children do not usually have a platform and are not given a voice, especially in matters that concern them and particularly children living in poverty (International Labour Organisation, 2018).

Prior to data collection three sets of children were identified: schooling, trained and Alhamajiri children. The identification of these groups was significantly facilitated by the researcher's own experience of and interaction with the street as a child stall trader. The Disconnected children although discussed within this chapter, were not initially considered for data collection because the researcher had no experience of life 'of the street', coupled with the ambiguous literature

distinction between working children 'on' and 'of' the street in Nigeria. As such, this group of children were only clearly identified during data collection (especially during constant comparison and theoretical sampling). Due to lack of ethical clearance and planning, the Disconnected group of children could not be sampled for this study. Upon GT principles, two groups of children that work on the street Benin City were identified. They are schooling children and trained children. These groups have been made on the premise of several factors such as education and type of *street* activity they carry out.

5.2.1. Schooling children

This group as detailed in section 2.18 of chapter two are children who are grouped as one because they either carry out vending activities of goods and services on the street and attend school or only work without schooling. This practice of children working and schooling has been reported in several documents (Orrnert and Seed, 2018; Pankhurst and Tafere, 2015) and Bourdillon, Crivello and Pankhurst (2015) stated similar findings of children on the street combining schooling with work. Findings show that some children live with their parents while others live with a guardian. These guardians could be family members or individuals with no ties to the household but have been linked to the child on the bases of education sponsorship. The arrangement being the child lives with the guardian, help out with household chores and business activity, while the guardian pays for schooling and living expenses. In the process, some also trade in stalls while others are *out-of-stall* traders (discussed in chapter four, section 4.1.3). They go to school either before or after street commitments and in some cases both before and after school.

The schooling child assists the parent/guardian to attend to obligations of the trade before school, and this usually occurs in stall trade. Schooling children assist their parents/guardian in not only opening the stall but also help arrange goods, clean and set up the stall for business. Similarly, at the close of school, these children return to the stall to assist their parent/guardian with sales in and running of the business. During their time on the *street*, they also run errands within the *street space* for their parents/guardians; likewise for other adults with permission from their parents/guardian. Furthermore, they have their lunch in the stalls with their parents/guardian.

In contrast to stall trade, schooling children that are involved in *OST* do not usually participate in any trade activity before school because either their parents/guardian do not own a stall, thus do not need to set up a structure, clean and arrange the business site as they operate mobile

businesses. Thus, they typically start their work on the street after school. They also run errands for their parents/guardian but rarely run errands for other adults in the market because they need to make the most of their time selling their goods/services to customers, considering they roam about the *street*. Similarly to stall trade children, these children take out time during the day to have their lunch on the *street*. Furthermore, it is routine for school children to work on the *street* during school term and sometimes during holidays alike. In addition to this working routine, schooling children also engage in chores in their homes. These chores include sweeping, dishwashing, laundry and fetching water among other domestic chores.

5.2.2. Trained children

Trained children are a group of children who carry out vending activities of goods and services on the street, learn transferable skills while having informal education. In the process of working, these children learn outside the structured curriculum of formal education. This group of children can either live with their parents or guardians. In cases where they live with a guardian, they are engaged in apprenticeship work, which they participate in at the start of the day/open of the business to the close of work for that day. Thus, working up to approximately 10 hours daily, in-between they take breaks to eat or use the toilet. Additionally, likewise schooling children, trained children run errands for their *Oga/Madam*; and with their permission, the children can also run errands for neighbouring adult traders on the *street*.

Also, because apprenticeships are conducted in a permanent structure, these children are typically stall traders. In the process of working as an apprentice, they learn transferable skills and some get settled after a certain period- usually 2-5 years. This settlement is monetary and may or may not include other material benefits. For example, an apprentice in a tailoring stall learns how to cut, sew and mend clothes. He/she does this with the owner of the business, and at the end of the agreed term of apprenticeship, the child gets a financial settlement, and the *Oga/Madam* can also decide to assist with the child with sewing machines and a stall; in order to facilitate the start-up process for the child. As much as these children are not working according to school calendars, they take breaks whenever the *street* is closed for business (on Sundays), whenever their *Oga/Madam* closes the stall for personal or any other reason. Also, they can take a break when they are sick or need help with family matters.

5.2.3. Disconnected children

Although being independent as a person is a construct that is perceived as positive and admired in society, for children its meaning can be an entirely different thing. In this case, disconnected children are a group of children who are placed as a group because they carry out vending, begging and other illicit activities on the street without going to school, have the consent and supervision of their parents or guardian, and they dwell on the street. From the findings, these children take independent decisions to get involved with some typical *street* vending activities but provide more of *street* services such as wheelbarrows pushing. They are disconnected from their families and reside on the street. They make money and some sort of living off the *street* by either selling stolen goods to unsuspecting customers or pickpocketing or rendering services to other people who need it in the process of carrying out their vending activities. For example, paid services for wheelbarrow pushing- to carry goods from one point to another within the *street*. Therefore, participants in this study considered them as 'touts' and 'miscreants' and considered the true representation of 'child labourers' amongst the street working community.

In order to help Disconnected children, Cumber and Tsoka-Gwegweni (2015) recommended that interventions should aim at primary prevention to improve the health status of street working children. This includes the provision of safe shelter, proper nutrition among other physical and sexual health interventions. According to Cumber and Tsoka-Gwegweni (2015), their homeless lifestyle predisposes them to the risk of carrying a higher disease burden. After conducting a systematic review of 16 countries and 17 databases, Cumber and Tsoke-Gwgweni (2015) assert that this homelessness, violence and risky health behaviour predispose them to poor health status. This includes physical injuries, nutritional disorders, communicable and sexual diseases, mental health issues and substance abuse, sexual abuse and violence. According to UNICEF (2012), areas with inadequate services combined with a significant concentration of extreme poverty results in high urban child mortality rates- a situation Disconnected street working children find themselves.

The living situation and the homeless lifestyle of some of these children are highly detrimental to their overall health and wellbeing (Schimmel, 2008). Poverty, abuse within the home or neighbourhood (Cumber and Tsoka-Gwegweni, 2015), and even parental death (Young, 2004) make them resolve to run away from home. They sleep under bridges, in the open air, abandoned and half-destroyed houses (Cumber and Tsoke-Gwgweni, 2015; UNICEF, 2012), and in and around marketplaces and dark places (McAlpine et al., 2010). It is important to note that although

disconnected children do not attend school, similar to children on the street, they are street smart (chapter four, section 4.1.4), and have a phenomenal social network on the street. These children possess a remarkable ability to find practical and innovative means of survival likewise have an incredible capacity for resilience (ToyBox, 2017). Street smartness transcends these biological and physical factors; as a result, Disconnected street working children strive to develop their street smartness and credibility in order to cope with the harsh nature of the street and the iniquities that abound within it.

5.2.4. under-represented children (schooling and trained children) vs disconnected children

Street working children are labelled *children in difficult circumstances* by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). In the world of *street* vending, this is not the circumstance of every child on the *street;* from this study, three groups of children exist on the *street* scene. Identified as Disconnected children in this study, these children take the spotlight in discussions of child labour, particularly with regards to the *street* and the children who operate on this scene. Also, they are commonly referred to as 'street children' or 'children of the street' by researchers (Bassey, Baghedo and Otu, 2012); disconnected children make children on the *street* under-represented in public health research and broader child labour discourse.

The term "street children" has different definitions and literature categories. The Inter-Ngo cited in UNICEF (2001) states that the most ubiquitous definition of a street child is "any girl or boy who has not reached adulthood, for whom the street (in the broadest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland, etc.) has become her or his habitual abode and/or sources of livelihood, and who is inadequately protected, supervised or directed by responsible adults". This definition reflects mostly the situation of disconnected *street* working children in Benin City because they are the only group of children in this study without any parental/family supervision, likewise take up residence on the *street*.

Therefore, as defined in chapter four, within the context of this study, the word '*street*' represents trading/vending areas; and a *street* child is anyone aged six to 17 years who participate in the reproduction of the *street*. Thus, any child who participates in *street* activities (such as vending, apprenticeship, begging) is considered a *street* working child in this study, regardless of their living situation, working activity and or parental/guardian supervision. This way, every participating child is included in the discourse of child work, as opposed to being addressed as a homogenous group. Panter-Brick (2002) agrees, stating that 'street children' are

not a homogenous group as they possess varying experiences due to their different life style and circumstances

UNICEF (2001) however highlights two groups of street working children. They are children "of the street" and "on the street". The former meaning homeless children who dwell on urban streets, and the latter children who earn a living or beg for money on the street (but returns home at night). Similar grouping has been reported in several studies (Bhukuth and Ballet, 2015; Adewale and Afolabi, 2013; Hillis et al., 2012; Thomas de Benítez, 2011; Nieminen, 2010; Nada and Suliman, 2010) among different *street* working children population. In Harare Zimbabwe, the "of the street" children refer to themselves as "*multi-bumba*" (Dube, Kamvura and Bourdillon, 1996) and in Lima Peru, they are the "*mancha or batteria*" (Strehl, 2010). Still within these groups, Trained and Schooling children remain underrepresented, as it is still assumed that every child who works on the *street* is homeless. This work argues that these studies in their conclusion are deficient in highlighting the vital difference these characteristics play in the overall impact of street work and also the reasons for *street* work. This is interesting because, a great majority-well over three-quarters and as many as 90% of the children on the streets in various developing countries work on the streets but live at home (Aptekar, 1994).

Globally, tens of millions of children have been estimated to work and live on the street (UNICEF, 2012). In Nigeria, the issue of street working children cannot be limited to a single cause (Omiyinka, 2009) and street hawking is the most dominant form of child labour (Oli, 2017). There are limited studies on *street working* children in Benin City, but *street* activities are one of the most ubiquitous forms of work in the City. Urban areas in Benin City are the ideal location for impoverished families to send their children to either to find employment or to become domestic workers (UNICEF, 2018a). According to Clark and Yesufu (2012), children aged between ages seven to sixteen are street traders in Oredo Local Government Area of Edo State. One of the markets used in this study is located at the same Local Government Area.

The experiences of female disconnected *street* working children are more severe than disconnected boys. Girls are more taken off the *street* than boys because they could get deceived to fall in a relationship with a *sugar daddy* (Cumber and Tsoka-Gwegweni, 2015), be recruited as a sex worker or be recruited by institutions. The term "*sugar daddy*" generally describes wealthy middle-aged men who seek sexual favours and companionship from young females and in-turn lavishes them with gifts and money (Sulekh, 2016; Luke, 2005). Consequently, females become

less visible on the street than boys. Sadly, being less visible does not mean they have better lives than their *counterpart male. Inste*ad, these children may be involved in other risky activities that could potentially be 'worst forms of child labour'.

Major studies (Cumber and Tsoka-Gwegweni, 2015; UNICEF, 2012) conducted on *street* working children focus on the disconnected *street* working children, and the group is well researched. They receive significant attention because they not only work but also live on the *street*. However, this attention overshadows the other groups of children who, likewise, work on the *street*. As a result, the opinions and view held about children who work on the *street* is that which primarily reflects the lives of Disconnected children, with little recognition for Trained and Schooling children who also work on the *street*. For example, Oli (2017) asserts that without doubt, child hawkers are less likely to contribute significantly to society because they lack education. This may be true of Disconnected and Almajiri children, but quite a misleading representation of the entire child hawking population and remarkably unfair to schooling children who hawk on the *street* as well, as would be explained further in this chapter.

Many participants in this study referred to disconnected children as the group of street working children who are child labourers because of their street living and working situations as well as harm to th*eir* physical and mental health. Studies conducted in Nigeria did not report this difference in the street trading arena either as it is the reason why children operate on the street or the impact of the work. Oli (2017), Humphries (2012) and Humbert (2009), stated collectively, *street* hawking children experience teenage pregnancy, high rates of illiteracy, road traffic accidents, rape (both male and female hawkers by customers or strangers), drug addiction among other criminal behaviours.

Another study of 100 female hawkers by Ikechebelu et al. (2008) reported similar findings, stating that out of 186 participants 69.9% (130) had been sexually abused, and in an earlier study, more than 15.4 % of female adolescent hawkers had experienced rape, gotten pregnant without knowing male to hold responsible, had procured abortion at least twice and even contracted STDs (including HIV) (p.113). In Oyo State Nigeria, a study by Busari (2016) involving 280 female hawkers showed 67% (188) respondents had sexually been abused through penetrative sexual intercourse. Aderinto (2000) further expresses that some of these children encounter atrocious events such as kidnapping and being used for money ritual. Kidnapping is a major security concern in Nigeria (Oyewole, 2016), and kidnapping for ritual means abducted individuals are

killed and their body parts severed and used as a sacrifice for purposes of acquiring money (money-ritual), success, favour and even power (Oyewole, 2016).

This study argues that considering the level of surveillance children on the street have, the likelihood of such happening is low in comparison to children 'of' the street. No participant in this study highlighted sexual abuse as an experience but pointed out that hawkers are much more predisposed to it. They explained this is because during working hours children that hawk roams the street and are exposed to such. As a result, it is perceived that in the process of conducting their business on the street and making autonomous decisions, they likely become targets for sexual predators; unlike children in stall trade who stay in the store with their parents/guardian. Schooling children in this study who hawk did not highlight this issue. This may be because although they roam the street, they spend minimal time on the street (approximately four hours-after school until close of market) and have daily target of goods to sell before they eventually return to their parent/guardian; and despite the lack of constant adult supervision, the street itself operates as a busy surveillance system. Traders, bus drivers, customers and pedestrians all observing what is occurring around them. Also considering it daytime, these hawking children are well known on the street, and other traders know their parents/guardians (because it is a close-knit community); as a result, their activities are being observed by others. This may be a deterrent for individuals with negative intentions. Unlike this study's findings, the above-stated studies do not highlight the impact of street work with regards to children's street status ('on' or 'of' the street).

Furthermore, compared to Disconnected *street* working children, Trained and Schooling children do learn from carrying out trading with or without their parents. These types of learning are not only situated but also experiential. Additionally, by working alongside parents, learning is facilitated when the children mirror their parent's actions in a business space- the *Street*. This type of learning can be likened to be situated learn - where the children acquire the knowledge to practice a trade by learning job-specific skills and develop a basic knowledge from which they would become an expert in that field. Similar to the vast nature of research carried out on Disconnected children, more research should be centred on children on the street, as their practice is safer and beneficial. The attribute of situated and experiential learning should be fostered and encouraged by way of extensive research on the subject matter. Furthermore, in as much as these types of learning should be encouraged, health promotion and protection interventions should be created for *street* working children on the street while they work. It is

crucial that structures, facilities and policies are put in place for Trained and Schooling *street* working children to be adequately catered for with regards to their education/apprenticeship and well-being. Especially for Schooling children, so they do not end up being Disconnected children.

5.3. Children's opinions on Street work

5.3.1. Choices available to children and Family's views on Street work

Street working children experience some levels of pressure to contribute towards the running of the home, but such pressure is reduced by their personal expectations to help their parents and families; likewise, considering working as a means of obtaining an education. Thus, at certain points, when families are challenged the cost of education for the child, children on the street from low-income business families are faced with the dilemma of either dropping out of school or working with parents/guardian to cover schooling costs. Findings from this study show that due to the value parents place on education, and the expectation children have for themselves, families resolve to include the child in the family business in order to make extra income. The child willingly accepts because of their self-expectations and aspirations, which are often grounded in rote spiritual and cultural beliefs that have been inculcated in them from birth by their parents and environment (Afrocentric child rearing practice).

From findings, unlike the Alhamajiris and Disconnected children, adults within the households take sole responsibility for meeting basic needs, and every other expense comes secondary to it. Once these needs are met consistently, Griffin, Sparks and Ledbetter (2014) argue that they no longer exist and present no pressure or motivation; therefore, families focus on covering the educational cost. On the other hand, Alhamajiris and Disconnected children who are on the *street* have persistent basic physiological needs which are not guaranteed daily. Therefore, they continue to prioritise basic needs and act under pressure to satisfy them. Consequently, in order to afford food, shelter and healthcare they get involved with child work as a means of gratifying needs.

In the 1970s, the Nigeria Government introduced the first nationwide 'free and compulsory' schooling called the Universal Primary Education Policy (UPE) (Bassey, Baghedo and Otu, 2012) to facilitate the education of every Nigerian child. However, the policy was submerged with implementation chaos, which rendered the policy ineffective in facilitating school attendance of children nationwide (Denga, 2000). The Federal Government of Nigeria then signed and

implemented the Universal Basic Education (UBE) Act in 2004 (Reuben, Odey and Egodi, 2012; Universal Basic Education Commission, 2017). The UBE programme is a nine-year basic education program aimed at facilitating free and compulsory primary and three years Junior Secondary education for every Nigerian child (UBEC, 2017; Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2000). This policy was introduced in response to the global United Nations Millennium Development Goal (MDG, 2006) targeted at disadvantaged and marginalised children such as the Almajiris.

Three years after UBE was established in Nigeria, Aluede (2006) asserts that the UBE programme though laudable is plagued by a lack of proper planning and organisation. This he explained is reflected in the programme's lack of estimated number of students to be enrolled, lack of the number of teachers required to effect the programme, inability to provide the estimated cost of learning facilities and school buildings and the overall financial implication of the programme. Aluede (2006) further argues that these issues could potentially result in the complete failure of the programme. In a 2009-2010 survey, the Global competitiveness report stated that Nigeria's educational level was ranked 132nd out of 133 surveyed countries (Ejere, 2011).

Furthermore, in 2011, Ejere primarily attributed the seeming failure of the UBE programme to implementation failure. This offers some explanation why this study's participants (both children and parents/guardians) did not state any benefit of UBE to them, nor did they acknowledge its existence. Although, the programme initiated the 'free lunch' programme to all school attending children. According to Usman (2008), this initiative is commendable and innovative in Nigeria's educational history. Brophy (2004) also pointed out the significance of the initiative by stating the recommendations of Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs- identifying the satisfaction of hunger as a significant physiological need for all child learners. However, the Almajiri boys perceived the food as foreign, expressing dissatisfaction with the quantity and variety of the free lunch, and would instead prefer traditional solid corn meals and soup.

These children consider the satisfaction of hunger as a top priority essential for their daily survival. Hence, after the free lunch, the children leave school and head for the street in search of the next meal. Thus, splits their learning attention and is a setback for the UBE program implementation (Usman, 2008). A phenomenological study, Usman (2008) examines how Nigeria's Universal Basic Education (UBE) on primary schooling targets Almajiri street boys for basic literacy. Findings from the study concluded that the free lunch feeding policy motivated partial school attendance among Almajiri street boys. Ineffective collaboration and

communication between communities and stakeholders, cultural sensitivity and poor instructional supervision were also identified as UBE management shortcomings which hindered the participation of Almajiri street boys in the UBE program. The government's UBE programme would be more beneficial to families who indulge in luxury axiom as a result of insufficient adult income to cover the cost of education and not demands of daily living. As stated in section 5.8, families living in abject poverty would not entirely benefit from the programme because they would instead focus on gratifying basic physiological needs.

5.3.2. Child street worker routines

Street working children combine work with school. This education can be formal (schooling) or informal (apprenticeship). Formal education among *street* working children in Benin is ubiquitous in households. Children engage in *street* activities before and or after school hours. As a result, they approximately work between four to five hours daily. Alfa and Karim (2016) had similar findings from their observation of 845 primary school pupils 10 to 14 years in Suleja, Niger State Nigeria. Their findings contend that a majority of participants (460) worked for four to five hours daily, with an average working time of 2.0462 hours per day.

It becomes a dilemma for this study to categorically label schooling and trained children child labourers; because it is every child's right to acquire quality education (Article 28) and efforts that facilitate education should not be condemned. On the other hand, such routines can be detrimental to the health of the child. Therefore, this study maintains that, with adequate child work-related health promotion and protection interventions, children would be safeguarded while allowed to work, likewise achieve education and not be labelled child labourers. In stating this, this study does not seek to promote or idealise child labour. Rather, similarly to Okyere (2012) ethnographic study in Ghana, this study emphasis on the need for better analysis of the relationship between child labour and child education.

5.3.3. Child labour-child education nexus in the lives of children on the street

Across the world, child education is prioritised not only because it is a right of every child or a tool for personal and national growth and development, instead, because it is also a means to address child labour (Allais and Hageman, 2008). According to Okyere (2012), several educational-related campaigns have been aimed towards getting children out of the labour market. Most documented analysis of the child labour-child education nexus greatly focuses on elucidating the adverse impact of child work on child education. Thus, several studies conclude

that it is a negative relationship. For example, Alfa and Karim (2016) expressed that excessive child work/labour impairs children's educational performance as it leads to repeating classes and dropout cases. On the contrary, this study's findings recorded no cases of class repetition or dropout cases as a result of working. Rather, children in this study stated their performance in school was assisted, likewise harmed in other ways. For example, while children obtained mathematical skills while vending, they also criticised the inability to study while working (especially OST working children). Working gives them access to education, and does not necessarily mean they would perform poorly in school, neither does it ensure that they are the best in their class.

Education is not a primary need for human survival (Maslow, 1989 cited in Skirrow and Ewan, 2009), and children who drop out of school do so mainly because their parents/guardians are struggling with demands of daily living (not limited to educational cost alone). It is imperative that the experiences of *street* working families, especially those of the working children are understood. These experiences in and out of school, in the market and on the *street* shape children's aspirations concerning securing their future, work and their well-being. Disconnected children do not attend school, although some of them may have either never attended school or have had to drop out because their families could not afford school fees. More than 70% of them attended primary school (UNICEF, 2012) at a point in their lives, but dropped out because of lack household income as most of these children are from big families and polygamous homes (Cumber and Tsoke-Gwgweni, 2015).

As found in this study, school drop-outs such as Disconnected children may likely have underlying issues of lack of shelter, food, clothes and family support system, and these issues may make the rehabilitation process slow if not futile. Regardless of poor family's' value for education, because they do not consistently meet their basic needs, some children may start and drop out eventually, while others do not even start at all and continue working or begging on the *street*. One can argue that educational interventions should focus on keeping school children in school, rather than rehabilitating drop-outs. A different approach aimed at supporting these families in achieving daily sustenance should thus be considered first. When they subsequently can gratify their basic needs, then educational intervention could be implemented to enrol and keep these children in school. According to Ananga (2011), it would be wasteful and irresponsible to develop interventions aimed at rehabilitating drop-outs back into the educational system. Within the

context of families/children who work to make ends meet, this study supports Ananga (2011) conclusions.

For over two decades researchers (Okyere, 2012; Levison et al., 2001; Lieten, 2002; White, 1996) have called for a more nuanced approach towards child labour debates. It is hardly contestable that child labour can negatively impact on child education as there is evidence to support the relationship (Quattri and Watkins, 2016). However, in the research with a group of artisanal gold mining children in Ghana, Okyere (2012) argued that the relationship between child labour and child education is not entirely negative. This agrees with findings from this study, as the relationship is interdependent and to some extent symbiotic. Other authors (Bass, 2004; Psacharopoulos, 1997) further infers that work is a principal means for children to attain their right to education in developing West African countries. Similarly to these finding and contrary to popular view, in a bid to generate extra household income to meet educational cost, children worked alongside their parents/guardian on the street.

The high value for education is the reason why families allow children to work on the street to make extra income to cover up the cost of schooling. Similarly to Basu and Van, this study argues that in some cases, child labour in less-developed countries does not reflect the attitudes of parents; instead, it is much more a reflection of stark poverty. Fetuga, Njokama and Olowu (2005) agrees, as findings from their cross-sectional interview study of 1675 school children in Nigeria aged 5-18 years stated that most of the children indulged in the practice as a result of carrying out instructions from one or both parents for luxury axiom.

Families attach significant value to the relevance and societal approval of education. Schooling children and their parents/guardians in this study stated education could potentially help the family escape from the harsh reality in Nigeria, as it enlightens children and makes them employable in the future. There is a significant positive attitude families have towards child education and in many cases the reason the child works on the *street*. It is also interesting to note that even when parents have little or no education, they remain dedicated to finding ways to enrol the child in school, likewise maintain child education. Therefore, the need for child education comes just after the basic need, and similarly, they act under the pressure of gratifying the child's educational needs. Thus, measures taken to achieve child education needs are similar to those taken to gratify basic needs, and this includes child work (OST or stall trade), change in family dynamics (living with a guardian) or solely adult work.

Findings from this study are also suggestive that the cost of education is a crucial factor in parents' and guardians' decision to send the child to work or live with a guardian, and this transcends the demand for child labour. Adults in a household mostly work on the *street* for subsistence of the family - feeding, house rent/shelter, health and other household running expenditure except for educational and other non-human basic costs; while the child works in large part for extra income to cover up for any incurred cost of attending school. The cost of education is not prioritised along with other costs among low-income earning families because more emphasis is placed on gratifying biological and physiological needs. According to Maslow (1984), these needs are necessary, and these families especially prioritise the need for food and shelter. Furthermore, when these needs are unmet, individuals feel thirst, fatigue, the distressing tension of hunger or breathing and discomfort (Griffin, Sparks and Ledbetter, 2014). This inevitably compels families to seek the missing need in order to achieve homeostasis.

Figure 10- Maslow's (1984) Hierarchy of human needs

Accordingly, child education juxtaposes against child work, leads to a situation of luxury axiom as a result of educational cost. The child works to add extra income that contributes to adult income for the entire household expenditure. Findings are further suggestive that substitute axiom does not exist among families that work on the *street*; rather luxury axiom is observed among these families. Not only does luxury axiom gratify basic human needs but also to meet the child's educational needs. The decision to send children to work can thus be explained by Maslow's (1984) hierarchy of needs, as these families work with the aim of progressing along the hierarchy, and not just attaining basic needs (as other works have argued). The first three needs on Maslow hierarchy are categorised as deficiency needs- physiological needs, security, friendship and love which these families already have relatively satisfied. Families on the street can afford basic

needs, share and receive love and friendship within themselves and others in the community, and depend on available government security for their lives and properties.

Therefore, in the attempt to strive for constant betterment and achieve new status (need for esteem) families are motivated to move higher the hierarchy of needs. As a result, emphasis is placed on child education because it is highly reverenced in the society and families subscribe to its capabilities of facilitating movement up the hierarchy. Through education, families believe that both child and parent would achieve self-esteem within the community, and ultimately a secure future and self-actualisation for that child. Consequently, children are asked to work to assist parents to achieve this goal.

5.3.4. Educational Performance and family dynamics

Child performance in school has been linked to child labour (ILO, 2018b; Kana, Phoumin and Seiichi, 2010). This link however fails to establish the role maltreatment resulting from fostering can potentially play in a child's poor performance in school. Studies (Alfa and Abd Karim, 2016; Bhalotra and Heady, 2004) have argued that on the subject of a child's time for work, leisure and study, fostered children/children living with a guardian usually attain two out of three conditions which is time for work and time for school. While on the other hand, biological children usually get time for school and leisure. Findings suggest children living with guardians do not get as much support for their education in comparison to children who live with their biological parents. Aside from paying for school fees, guardians may not feel obliged to assist the child further in her/his educational performance. In contrast, children living with their parents receive enormous educational support and encouragement from their parents- who genuinely have a keen interest in their performance in school, rather than consider the child as a source of labour.

Based on findings, children on the street are much more likely to be subjected to unsupportive environments when they are living with a guardian. Maltreatment can be neglect, exploitation, physical and mental ill-treatment (Uzodimma et al., 2013), and guardians use it either as a guise of punishment or discipline. Beating (90%) accounts for the most prevalent form of physical violence in Nigeria (The African Child Policy Forum, APCF, 2010), and a study by Nuhu and Nuhu (2010) reported half of the respondents in their study utilised physical beating in disciplining their child. Closely followed by beating is hitting (84%), kicking (55%) and denial of food (51%) (ACPF, 2010). Furthermore, the most prevalent form of psychological maltreatment includes: being shouted or glared at (85%), being insulted (84%), being embarrassed in front of others (73%),

witnessing severe beating/hitting of others (62%) and being ignored (36%) (Bammeke and Fakunmoju, 2016). Advice, warning and threats, food and material deprivation are also other prevalent forms of maltreatment in Nigeria. Such practices predispose children to physical impairments, neurological and psychological damages (Bammeke and Fakunmoju, 2016), all of which can have a negative impact on the child's performance in school.

The health and wellbeing of a child depends on the safety and quality of their physical environment, and a supportive environment is essential to the positive development of children (Ayotunde, 2013). Therefore, arguments that have blamed child labour for poor school performance may have actually failed to recognise the critical impact of unfavourable living environments on child education, as cases of maltreatment mostly occur as a result of a change in family dynamics. According to Agbo (2017), some poor and large families send their child to live and work with employers, and these employers/guardians physically and emotionally abuse the child. Thus, poor performance in school does not start and end with child labour; rather it also stems from a more profound relationship the child has with her/his parent/guardian. Furthermore, this study argues from a psychological perspective that the act of separating a child from his/her loved ones would lead to child dissatisfaction, which may likely impede on their educational performance.

According to *Attachment Theory* (Bowlby, 1959, cited in Bretherton, 1995), a child experiences a healthy attachment when they are assured that their caregiver would gratify their needs. As a result, the child is confident and develops a sense of self-esteem, likewise explore his/her environment (Child Protection Resource, 2014). The consistent and natural love and bond that exists between parents and their children offers children a sense of stability and confidence to achieve activities of daily living, likewise a sense of security and satisfaction. However, when the family dynamics change and the child leaves home to reside and work with a guardian, the development of a healthy bond is not always guaranteed. This is either as a result of the guardian being unresponsive, inconsistent, or just the plain fact that they are not the biological parents. Children in this study verbalised feeling anxious and depressed about being detached from parents/home. Such anxiety is worsened when the guardian does not consistently respond to the needs/care of the child (Child Protection Resource, 2014). Thus resulting in a hostile, unsupportive and anxious living environment where maltreatment can thrive. Unfortunately, among other harms, this environment may likely predispose the child to decrease in cognitive ability which hinders educational performance. This argument is not to suggest that child labour

cannot impact on child education. It can, although child work does not always negatively impact on the child's performance; in the case where the child lives with a guardian, working may overstress the already fragile living and learning situation of that child.

5.3.5. Poverty, Child education and Rights of Street working Children

Poverty and child labour

In a cross-sectional study in Pakistan conducted by Naeem, Shaukat and Ahmed (2011) to correlate child labour and poverty, findings attributed poverty as the root cause of child labour, as it forces parents to engage their child in work as a result of poverty. In contrast, findings from this study stressed nuances in the relationship between child street work and poverty; and further argues that the poverty argument is only applicable in cases of 'abject' poverty, which fosters the situation of children of the street. In comparison, children on street work for luxury axiom- mostly to gratify educational needs and for cultural purposes.

Sixty-six per cent of participants (6 children) in this study sent their child to work on the *street* not because of poverty per se instead they are primarily forced to do so because they want their child to achieve an education. Similarly, Okyere (2012) conducted a study in an artisan gold mining site in Ghana, and when working children were questioned about their motivation to work, over 80% of the 57 children stated that they worked in order to fund their education. This nevertheless indirectly links to poverty- luxury axiom. The family income is insufficient to achieve the desire for child education. Thus, an extra source of income is sought for through child work. Otherwise, these families can provide basic needs and live their lives without the need for extra income from child work to maintain the status quo.

The popular idea that children work as a result of poverty is not absolute and is truly debatable. It is crucial to establish the meaning of poverty and its nexus to child labour. The meaning of poverty in child labour context needs to be clearly defined, in order to know the extent of its influence on street work. There is also a need to establish the measure of poverty in Nigeria as it concerns child labour, to recognise if it is a factual cause of the issue in Benin City. Nevertheless, this becomes problematic because just like the definition of child labour, there is no consensus on the true meaning of poverty. It varies from being constructed, and what it means depends on who asks the question, how it is understood and who responds to the question (Chambers, 2006). Equally, it has a historical point of view as being related to income (Expert Group on Poverty

Statistics (Rio Group) and Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 2006), it likewise has a moral definition (Edward, 2006).

Historically, poverty has been related to income, and it remains the core concept today (Townsend, 2006). Most researchers rely on income/consumption-based measure of poverty when discussing child labour. This measure of poverty proposes people are poor when they are unable to meet obligations and participate both in relationships and their society because they are deprived of resources and income needed to obtain and maintain conditions of life; such as diet, material goods, standards, services and amenities. The degree to which people are said to be in poverty depends on the income threshold below which they are found to be socially and materially deprived. Thus, the application of this measure of poverty allows for its analysis across different countries. This measure also depends substantially on the ideas of basic need, subsistence and relative deprivation (Townsend, in United Nations Development Programme, UNDP, 2006)

Findings from this study, however, suggest that the relationship between child labour and poverty is bipartite- abject poverty and relative poverty. When families are living in a state of extremely poor, with little or no income to feed and shelter themselves among other basic human needs the child works to provide income for self and family sustenance. Further, this study also recognises Alhamaji and Disconnected children as actual victims of the effect of extreme poverty. Outside these groups of children, study participants who work for the sole purpose of gratifying their basic human needs were negligible, just one child participant.

According to Basu and van's (1998) theory of luxury and substitute axiom households would prefer to send their children to school once household income rises above subsistence needs of the family. This further explains why Disconnected and Almajiri children would continue to work rather than attend school. Street working children whose household income is above subsistence need can therefore pursue education; unlike households where subsistence needs are unmet, child education is considered a luxury. On the other hand, considering most participants (89 per cent) in this study could achieve their basic day-to-day needs, and the child mostly worked to pay for child education (67 per cent) or culture (22 per cent), it is safe to infer that these families do not live in abject poverty. Instead, they feed, clothe and shelter themselves without the need for child labour income. Usually, a child's attainment of education is correlative of the parent's duty to send their child to school, but in these situations, they share such responsibility with their

parents. These set of street working children engaged in luxury axiom; they indeed worked for a higher need.

These findings are however incongruent to Ekpenyong and Sibiri (2011), whose study asserts that child labour reflects a situation of chronic urban poverty that compels families to send school-age children to work in order to boost household income. Also, in a study conducted in Akwa Ibom state, Nigeria, (Johnson and Ihesie, 2015) maintained that children engage in OST particularly hawking as a result of lack of income. Contrary to this, findings from this study do not in any way suggest families do not work because of poverty; instead it maintains that abject poverty accounts for the situation of Disconnected and Almajiri children while children on the street seek for extra income from the street because of education.

Several studies (Chiwaula, 2010; Edmonds, Pavcnik and Topalova, 2010; Yang, 2008; Cogneau and Jedwab, 2008; Dammert, 2008) however conclude that wealthier households are less likely to send their children to work; consequently, children work less in rich households. Edmonds and Schady (2012) carried out a study to examine whether the economic status of a family influences the decision to send their child to work. Findings from the study claim that paying families 15 dollars per month, there was a reduction in all kinds of work children do; the study thus recorded a decline in child employment. This approach will not be effective in Benin City, considering not every child on the street work due to the lack of money for household sustenance.

This study's finding thus concludes that there is no wrong on right answer on this subject matter, rather an understanding of child work within different contexts - this approach provides consideration for their work principles, desires and highlights heterogeneity as it in relation to child labour discussion and analysis. It then becomes problematic when researchers continuously present child labour arguments to support or oppose the notion that children work for money. Each side of the argument fails to recognise the different narratives of these working families, especially of those that work on the street. With recognition and understanding, each side of the argument is valid and is right depending on the family's situation. Furthermore, it helps reconcile the differences in opinions which over time have generated several arguments in child labour discourse.

Families also stated and condemned the general public's idea that children who work (especially OST) are 'suffering', 'suffering' because their families lack sufficient income to cover the day-to-day running of the household. 'Suffering' means, in this instance, that they have little or nothing

to eat, drink, substandard education, unkempt appearance and are vulnerable to physical harm and sexual exploitation. From observation and interaction with participants, the notion of 'suffering' and working for money does not exactly represent the situation of every street working family. Some families make a significant income- they have large stalls and considerable patronage, yet, the child works. In these situations, families condemn the notion that their child works because of money or the lack of it, and reinforce their opinion that their child is 'not' 'suffering'. Interestingly, there were also cases where it is evident from the look of the business that the family does not earn enough, but they still condemn the notion that street vending children are 'suffering'. Furthermore, they do not contest the fact that luxury axiom operate in the household, but they challenge the notion that their child is 'suffering'.

It is therefore clear that among street vending families, there are situations of luxury axiom where the child works (in extreme cases the child works extensively: little break/rest, carry heavy) and the notion of 'suffering' is right even when such families do not agree. However, such a narrative is not absolute, as there are also families that do not always operate under luxury axiom but still ask the child to work. In this case, the notion of 'suffering' does not apply, and the family's opinion should be respected.

5.3.6. Impact of children working: physical, mental, social and education

It is interesting to note that although children carry out similar kinds of work on the street, the impacts of these jobs are partly influenced by the family dynamics or the living situation of the child. The overall well-being and education of *street* working children are not entirely compromised due to the heterogeneity of the circumstances of these working children. In both living situations (with parents or guardians), their wellbeing and education is endangered but in varying intensity. Aside from being at risk of harm, in some cases, they are also actually being harmed by working. For example, a child's physical health can be compromised when they routinely carry heavy loads (hawk) and trekking for long hours. There is evidence to show that children who hawk are prone to stunted growth, they also endure body pains, thirst and hunger due to sweating profusely and trekking long distances (Oli, 2017). Although some parents and guardians own stalls where they sell goods and or services, even in this case, the heat levels in the stalls are significant, and with poor ventilation. This can cause irritation and damage to the skin such as skin rash.

Street working children also experience varying levels of exhaustion, especially children who live with their guardians because they go through more extreme and excessive work routines as compared to children who live with their parents. For instance, a child who works in a stall is mostly sat and shaded from unfavourable weather (heavy drain pour and sun). As a result, it is less physically demanding. In contrast, children who perform OST, barely sit still as they walk and carry out various activities regardless of hot and humid weather conditions. This routine makes them more predisposed to physical exhaustion than children who work in stalls. Furthermore, from observations, some *street* working children appear physically fit. Fit appearance may be attributed to activities such as walking/trekking, lifting and pushing goods. There is sufficient evidence to support physical activity and physical fitness. Nonetheless, there is no conclusive evidence to underpin physical fitness and *street* working activities.

Findings suggest that stall traders label OST routines of work child labour, because it is stressful, overburdening and it most especially exposes both male and female children to the risk of physical harm and sexual abuse. Okojie (2007) agrees with these risk associated with OST. The consequences of these abuses include unwanted pregnancies, HIV infection and STDs, illegal and unsafe abortion and psychological trauma (Oli, 2017). However, in comparison to children of the street, the risk is minimal when children live and work with their parents. Conversely, traders in OST acknowledge the dangers of their routines; nevertheless, they also defend them; although some of the children in this study walked miles while hawking, tolerated harsh weather conditions while carrying heavy goods on their heads, likewise in some cases did such without proper shoes, appropriate shelter and convenient environment for eating.

Likewise physical wellbeing, the social health of the child is also affected when children work. When living with either parents or a guardian, children who participate in OST have a network of friends who participate in a similar line of trade. Stall traders also have peers in stalls that they talk to and socialise with; such social interaction however cannot be compared to that of OST children. This is because children who perform OST cover more grounds, meet more people (both customers other OST children), make independent decisions (while working), they, therefore, have the liberty to make friends, share old and make new experiences with other children who perform OST on the *street*. Moreover, OST children have less supervision than stall trading children. This is also a contributory factor to their level of social interaction on the *street*.

Furthermore, it can also be argued that children who live with a guardian have more difficulty maintaining a meaningful relationship among their peers in school or the street or even making new ones. This is because guardians often like parents, do not appreciate the child engaging in social activities and thus do not encourage it. In addition to this, guardians assign excessive work-related responsibility to the child, therefore shrinking the chances for a healthy social life for the child. Equally, children who live with their parents have more moral and emotional support. Thus, the impact of working is mostly physical, which, and such positive encouragement builds the child's confidence and determination. In contrast, children who live with guardians are prone to develop anxiety and depression as a result of excessive working or stress and or living away from home; thus affecting their mental wellbeing.

5. 4.   The Contextual Supply of Child Labour

This is a 'findings driven' representation of hazardous work in Benin City. The contextual supply of child labour model draws upon the reasoning offered by social world/arena theory by Strauss (Clarke, 2015). It puts across a range of family, regional and global factors to explain child labour. The theory aims to analyse child labour from a contextual point of view, as well as worldviews and globalisation. This analysis shows how the incidence of child labour is greatly influenced by families, the government and the general representation of the practice.   Furthermore, it highlights the differences of opinions on child labour and offers explanations as to why these differences may occur. The contextual supply of child labour model facilitates the assessment of reasons why children work from the primary point- the family unit. It provides significant insight into street working practice among children- situations when a child works, the type of work the child does, the intensity of the work and the impact of working on the street.

Furthermore, these distinctive features influence not only the cause and impact of street work, but existing work in this region may also be advancing the constant misrepresentation of street work in Nigeria. Over time, studies conducted in Nigeria (Agbo, 2017; Busari, 2016; Inyang and Ralph, 2015; Omokhodion, Omokhodion and Odusote, 2006; Aderinto and Okunola, 1998), have incomplete analysis of the causes of *street* activities and the varied impact of these activities on children and their families. For example, "working children are the epitome of abuse and exploitation" stated Ndem, Micheal and Awa (2012). Statements like this fail to highlight distinctive micro and meso features of child labour (discussed in details in the following heading). This may likely be because the study lacked distinction among the working groups of children. The lack of a clear definition of child labour/hazardous work and the subsequent under-

representation/misrepresentation of Schooling and Trained child in various data collection and analyses in the region results in a contextual misrepresentation of child labour in Nigeria. Panter-Brick (2002) is in support of this argument, criticising studies of 'street children' that a simple focus on the street promotes a one-dimensional account of the lives of children; one that does no justice to their wider social network and actual behaviour.

Although, some of these studies (Omiyinka, 2009; Nte, Eke and Igbanibo, 2009) adopted criteria set out by International Organisations in making distinctions among *street* working children. Therefore, this work points out the need for emphasising differences in children's circumstances and highlights three issues with studies that have been conducted on street working children particularly children on the street.

Firstly, with regards to the causes of child labour mainly street vending, some Nigerian researchers have identified factors such as rapid population growth (Oli, 2017), high rates of unemployment, inflation, low wages (Ekpenyong and Sibiri, 2011) as the reason why children are forced to help support their families. These conclusions paint an incomplete picture. It explains why children perform OST and not necessarily ST. It substantially fails to consider children whose families are not poor yet work on the street. Thus, it is wide off the mark in providing a thorough answer to why families engaged in work/child labour.

Secondly, as earlier stated, these studies generalise the impact of *street* vending among *street* working children failing to highlight the difference between trading children *on* and *of* the street. Similarly to several authors (Udoh and Joseph, 2012; Aderinto and Okunola, 1998), Aderinto (2000) consider *street* trading children in Nigeria to be exposed to various health risks and hazards. However, findings from this study show that some forms of labour are detrimental to *the street* working children, but the overall health and educational impact varies among four groups of *street* working children (Schooling, Trained, Almajiri and Disconnected children). It is noteworthy to mention that different Nigerian governmental regimes have attempted to address the wellbeing of   *street* working children in the country, but are still yet to produce significant measures (Omiyinka, 2009). Furthermore, recent studies (Oli, 2017; Agbo, 2017) continue with similar narratives to past studies and are yet to categorically elucidate the crucial role of family dynamics in recounting the impact of *street* activities on children and families. The inclusion of new evidence-based narratives would increase understanding of the issue, likewise underpin interventions.

Lastly, most Nigerian documented literature infer that many OST vending children do not attend school. Contrary to this, findings from this study show that every child *on* the street that engages in OST attended school. From observations made, children who do not school in Benin City are mainly the Almajiris and Disconnected children. Upon these three points, there is much misconception about *street* trading children and these issues among others would be addressed by the contextual supply of child labour through four levels of analysis.

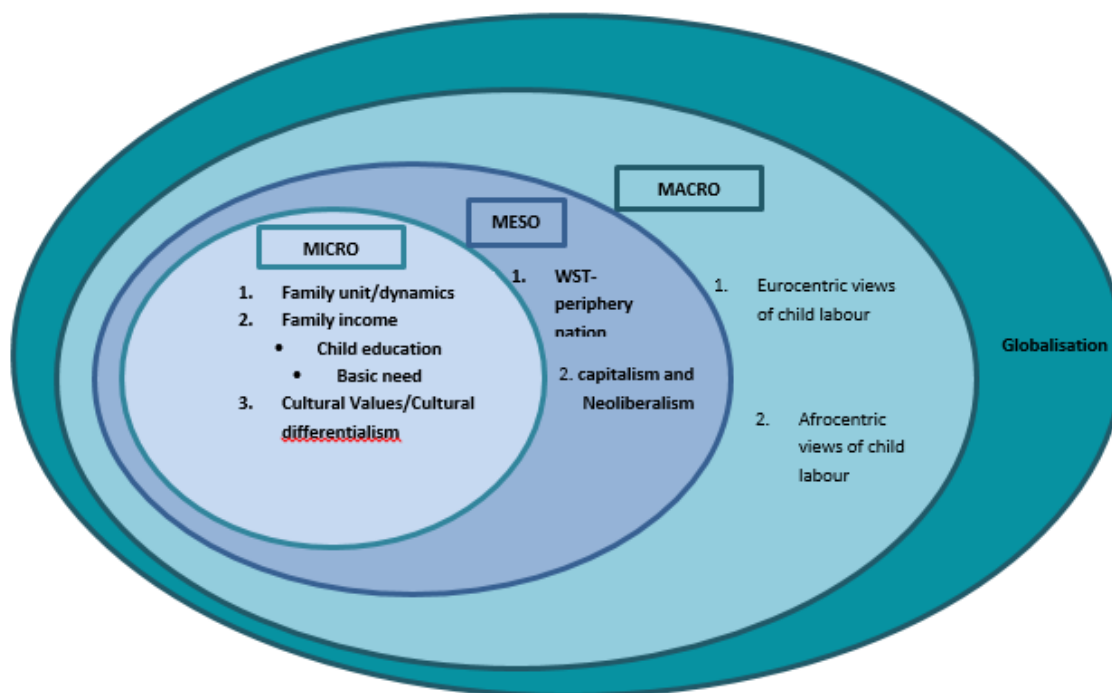**The contextual supply of child labour model**

Figure 11- This study's theory- the contextual supply of child labour showing circumstances on three levels that influence the when, how and why a child would end up on the street, likewise the kind of activity they would carry out.

5.4.1. Micro- Family Level

Families greatly influence the commonness and supply of child labour in Benin City. The power to send the child to work, or stop the child from working lies with families. It is vital to research family structures and relationships, likewise, the dynamics that exist in ordinary families (Steyn et al., 1987). The micro-level of this theory draws particular attention to how certain factors within the family lead-up to the decision for the child to work. One or a combination of these factors can result in the supply of child work. Also, in times of stress, families do not respond passively; instead they implement behavioural and cognitive strategies to survive (Greeff, 2000).

Family Dynamic and the incidence of children working

As earlier mentioned in chapter four, family dynamics refers to the living situation of the child-whether the child resides with parents or guardians. Not only does it dictate the nature of work the child does and the environment within which such work is carried out, but it also tells a backdrop story to how children start working.

Families introduce children to the idea of working through the allocation of daily chores, as many children do light work as an integral part of growing up. The concept of work ethics is ubiquitous to every culture, but its attribute and values vary across cultures (Geren, 2011). According to the ILO (2018a), when children undertake chores at home under reasonable conditions and adequate supervision by a family member or someone close to them, such light work/household chore is an integral part of family life, likewise, growing up. Street vending children may live with their parents or be sent out to live with a guardian, regardless of whom they live with, the notion that the child should be involved in chores is upheld. However, several studies (Alfa and Karim, 2016; Alfa et al., 2012; Bhalotra and Heady, 2003) argue that children living with a guardian work more hours than children living with parents, likewise have minimal time for leisure.

Living with a Guardian

Guardians provide shelter, food and education for children living with them, and in exchange, these children work for them domestically and in some cases work as street vendors in ST or OST. Findings indicate that for the child, doing chores may become more than necessary or reasonable. Ushie et al. (2016) argued that the type of work a child does when he/she is living with a guardian is excessive, more stressful and damaging to the health and wellbeing of the child- in which case it can be considered child abuse. This does not mean that every form of work children carry out in fostered homes is abusive, instead sets the scene of the type of environment children living with guardians are predisposed to.

Nonetheless, Bhalotra and Heady (2003) comparative study (between Ghana and Pakistan) found significant differences in work allocation between children living with biological and non-biological parents respectively. In Ghana, Bhalotra and Heady concluded that children living with their biological parents are less likely to work. This is similar to findings, as children who lived with parents did not only seem more relaxed, they also only ever worked after school. Unlike them, children who lived with a guardian had to perform more chores and *street*-related activities. For instance, some of the children living with a guardian had to open the shop (owned by the guardian) in the mornings before school, and then return to the stall after school, likewise

assist the guardian to close the stall at the end of business hours. Aside from *street* commitments, these children also verbalised carrying out abundant duties of chores in the home before and after school.

Ordinarily, domestic work is not hazardous, but Emeka and Okafor (2010) opine that when children are in arrangements of domestic servitude while living with a guardian, they are poorly catered for. Consequently, a child who lives with a guardian sometimes gets unfavourable treatment that they usually would not if they lived with their parents. Aside from beating, shouting and verbal abuse, overloading with work and household chores are examples of such maltreatment. Children who live with guardians can either be schooling or learning a trade (trained children) - meaning either they combine school and work, or they only work as an apprentice.

Parents do not desire their child to be taken away, but they give up the responsibility of the child to a guardian for reasons of abject poverty, substitute axiom or cost of child education. When they do, they have no decision-making power to decide the working fate of that child when he/she begins to live with the guardian. Nonetheless, when the child is handed over for apprenticeship, the family intends for the child to learn work beyond carrying out light chores. Nevertheless, many families do not want their children engaging in work outside the home (with the exception to light work). Families agree to the idea and consequently send the child to work because they have to- in order to pay school fees or health bills (ILO, 2013).

This is not entirely a bad situation for the child, as working children in the process of trading learn life skills, and by working on the street, they become *street smart*. Being *street smart* helps young children avoid certain dangers on the *street*, make autonomous decisions, likewise facilitate networking with *street* stakeholders (traders, service providers and other children). Leadership, communication, time management, prioritisation, listening and decision-making skills are all part of the training they get in their various street works. These, in turn, makes them ingenious and provides them with the ability to carry out several tasks and navigate through life effectively; given the disadvantaged background of some children, it seems a better option to the children themselves and parents alike. In addition to learning transferable skills, while working, several children desire to own their business when they become adults. This is similar to findings from Omokhodion, Omokhodion and Odusote (2005) findings, where 69 children out of 225 would want to learn a trade when asked what they would rather do instead of working, and

interestingly, only 46 children would rather spend their time playing. Children who work as an apprentice have a contract (Olulu and Udeorah, 2018), and most likely end up in the same trade/business as their bosses. At the end of their apprenticeship, depending on the agreement, Liadi and Olutayo (2017) state that the apprentice get a settlement from their bosses for them to start up a similar business.

Furthermore, considering the economic state and level of unemployment in Nigeria, findings from this study suggests apprenticeship can be considered a means of 'beating the system'. Mekus (a participant child apprentice), described how he aspires to achieve stability someday, support his family, and become a successful entrepreneur when he grows up. He like many others has lost faith in the Nigerian government. This finding is supported by Eusebius and Chigbo (2014), as they express that apprenticeship practice are designed to create jobs, enhance development and personal income. Therefore, working as an apprentice, is not necessarily detrimental to the child, as it mostly leads to the child owning their business, and putting their learnt skills into practice.

Although families have esteem regards for formal child education, they also consider an apprenticeship to be a respectable path to success in society. Furthermore, some children who are not apprenticing but work on the street also gets business ideas and entrepreneurship skills which some may grow up to use as entrepreneurs (whether or not they attain an education in business or not).

Living with parents

Children who live with their parents are mostly schooling children. Likewise children who live with guardians, they are routinely engaged in household chores/light work, which their parents consider a form of informal education and a means of teaching children responsibility. Similar to children who dwell with guardians, many children living with their parents possess a certain expectation from themselves. They believe it is expected of them to: be obedient, hardworking and support their parents whichever way they can. Most importantly, many of them think it is the will and command of God for children to help and obey their parents- asking little or no questions about the tasks and actions required of them. Although sometimes, they feel unhappy to commit to the work, they continue to work because they feel obliged to do so.

Unlike children who live with guardians, these children have moral support and continuous encouragement from their parents. Therefore, findings from this study show that children living

and working with their parents are better cared for- they appear better dressed and groomed, more confident, happier and pleased about working, dedicate more time to their education, receive more praises for work done and were more adequately nourished. These children also attended school regularly, as their parents stated they had no tolerance for absenteeism, considering some families send their children to work on the *street* for the primary reason of affording education. Alfa and Abd Karim (2016) and Alfa et al. (2012) had similar findings in Nigeria, stating that there is a positive relationship between school attendances and being a biological child of a household.

Family Income

The relationship between a family's income and the incidence of child labour is well established by several authors (Edmonds and Schady, 2012; Naeem, Shaukat and Ahmed, 2011; Crosson-Tower, 2013; Basu and Van, 1998) and is widely documented in the literature. Across study participants, luxury axiom is a significant reason why most children work on the street, although they seek that extra income mainly to cover up the cost of education. This poses the question- to what degree are families considered poor in Nigeria, and to what extent does it influence child street working practice. Poverty is discussed in detail further within this chapter.

A way of Life/Cultural Differentialism

From findings, 22 percent of families in this study meet the basic and educational needs of the household without the need for income from child work but have the opinion and belief that children should work to learn responsibility, mainly when they work with their parents. Uwe, Asuquo and Ekuri (2008) agrees with this belief, stating parents are responsible for moulding children into responsible adults through proper socialisation from a formative stage. More so, such learning is facilitated when children work with their parents so they can mirror their actions in a business space - the *Street*. This learning can be likened to situated learning (Brown, Collins and Duguid, 1989)- where children acquire the knowledge to practice a trade by learning job-specific skills and further develop basic knowledge from which they would become an expert in that field. Likewise through situated learning, children on the street experience experiential learning.

The belief that a child should work can be linked to the society's expectation from the child, and it is primarily due to the cultural norm that exists in Benin City; likewise, most parts of Nigeria (Olutayo and Omobowale, 2006). One characteristic of a family unit is the expectation that individuals should be committed to the family unit and each other. Thus, there is that expectation

that the child should contribute in some way to the general upkeep and maintenance of the family. This contribution is mostly in the form of light work (chores), moral behaviour, mannerism, adequate performance in school and obeying their parents. The participation of children in the running of the household is a socialisation process in Nigeria (Olutayo and Omobowale, 2006).

Thus, it is important to consider cultural contexts when addressing child labour/work issues. For example, the supply of free furniture to Koranic schools by the UBE program was ideal in facilitating learning; on the other hand, the Almajiri boys perceived the effort as alien and uncultured as they were from orthodox heritage. This rejection of the furniture by the boys is because it violates their value and belief system that is underpinned by their socio-religious system (Bush, 1986; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). Usman (2008) in his study commented that the negative response of the boys to furniture was triggered by the Malam's stance against westernisation of Koranic schools and the fact that the children perceived it as an invasion of their traditional private social space.

5.4.2. Meso- Regional Level

Child labour is a ubiquitous problem in developing countries, with Africa and Asia accounting for over 90% of the total global child employment (Naeem, Shaukat and Ahmed, 2011). It is imperative to recognise and appreciate the geopolitical area within which child work is observed. The Meso-regional level of the contextual supply of child labour investigates the effect of a country's location on the World System on child labour practice. This investigation considers two factors:

- The characteristics of peripheral nations and child labour
- The relationship that exists between countries in the World System and how it affects child labour activities

World-System Theory: Peripheral characteristics and *street* vending:

This factor emphasises that interventions on eradicating child labour (such as poverty alleviation, free education) should not solely e focused on addressing the characteristics of peripheral nations (such as the high population of unskilled labour, illiteracy) which are very much synonymous with child labour practice. Instead, interventions should focus on moving countries away from the periphery.

According to the World-System Theory, there are three hierarchies of economic dominance in which some countries benefit and others are exploited. The position of a country in the world system determines the predominant characteristics of that nation. These characteristics eventually condition the incidence and ubiquity of child labour among the population.

While it is argued that an individual's behaviour/life choices cannot entirely be understood without making reference to her/his environment, culture, education and experience (Dahlgren and Whitehead, 1991); likewise, a nation's economy cannot adequately be understood without making reference to the world system within which they are a part of. A world-economy/system according to Wallerstein (2004) is a large geographic area wherein there is the division of labour, a significant exchange of essential goods, as well as the flow of labour and capital. Within a world-economy, there are several cultures, religions, languages (Wallerstein, 2004) and each nation differs in their everyday order. The location of a nation on the three-tier level determines the economic and political characteristics of that nation.

Nigeria is a peripheral and agrarian nation that is characterised by several internal conditions such as low literacy rate, unemployment, lack of essential amenities, corruption and insecurity among others. This study reckons that such conditions are a fertile ground for the reproduction of child labour. Most of this study's participants worked because of the need to achieve an education and others as a result of low income for subsistence. In a system where there are adequate provision and maintenance of educational structures, children would not have to work to get educated, neither would parents find it problematic to send children to school. Also, unemployment and low wages continuously plagues households and prevails in Nigeria's society. This makes it difficult for families to stop the practice.

Several arguments are accurate in analysing the relationship between poverty and child labour. However, these arguments fail to reconcile why it is only typical of periphery nations. They also dissect and analyse child labour mostly by discussing the characteristics of the peripheral nation. This could be likened to a case of proffering symptomatic treatment, rather than a cure. Therefore, this study categorically considers that child labour predominantly occurs in Nigeria due to her periphery status; as such, the practice is indicative of the status quo. Thus, explains why child *street* vending (likewise other forms of child labour) activities are not found in core nations like Great Britain and the United States of America. Analysis, therefore, should not be

focused on poverty (because it is merely a characteristic of peripheral countries). Instead, it should accept that child labour may likely continue to persist in developing countries.

For this reason, attempts to eradicate child labour should not only focus on the characteristics of periphery nations (unemployment, low income, high illiteracy rates etc.); instead emphasis on helping children work safely should be at the core of primary intervention, while the government tries to move the country away from the peripheral to semi-periphery or the ideal core. It is unrealistic to expect the same living environment and condition for children in both core and periphery nations when the predominant geopolitical characteristic of the regions is different. Furthermore, several factors present in the micro-family level occur because Nigeria is a Periphery nation. Being a periphery nation, Nigeria possesses enormous amounts of human resources and raw materials. Also, the high levels of poverty and unemployment results in substitute and luxury axiom. Besides, the extent of corruption, unemployment and illiteracy, ineffective child labour policies are also a problem associated with being a periphery nation. This further constitutes a lack of structures and facilities to monitor children's activities at home, in school, and on the street. Consequently, the wellbeing of the child can very easily be compromised in such environments.

Interestingly, the interaction between the micro and meso-levels explains why some families engage their children in work even though they can afford education, shelter food, health care and other necessary daily needs. Whether in rural or urban areas families with the cultural belief that children should work may likely continue to engage their child in work and its principles, even when they do not need to. On the other hand, families that do not hold such work-value beliefs would stop their child from working when living conditions improve and educational needs are met. These scenarios are plausible, and Great Britain quintessentially demonstrated the latter.

In connection with the WST, 19th century Britain would be positioned in the periphery because it possessed the characteristic of the peripheral. For example, working-class children with an average age of 10 years were often employed in farms and factories (Griffin, 2014). Also, many families did not prioritise child education over a child working in order to bring home a wage (National Archives, 2018). The exploitation of children's labour in terrible conditions (e.g. the 1983 pit-brow girls and the 1859 plight of 'climbing boys' and Martha Appleton) was crucial to the economic success of Britain in the 19th century. Only towards the end of the 19th century did

Britain's attitude towards child work changed (National Archives, 2018), this marked as a break in Britain's traditional practice (Griffin, 2014). This shift was mostly due to the country acquiring core status in the world system. Nevertheless, this study argues that when Nigeria's position shifts away from the periphery, mostly then would progress be made with eradicating child labour in most of its forms.

World-System Theory: Relationship between the core and peripheral and its impact on child labour

In examining peripheral underdevelopment in WST, several approaches provide an understanding of the relationship that exists between developed economies and third-world countries. These approaches are classified into dependency, structural and classical perspectives (Horváth and Grabowski, 1999). The classical approach suggests that the growth of developing countries is not restrained by free trade relationships with the world economic system. Neoclassical theorists further postulate that instead of blaming developed regions, internal conditions such as culture hinder the growth of developing countries. Structuralists posit that there are problems with the structural organisation of the world economy, as well as structural barriers that hinder growth in domestic economies. Lastly, the dependency approach which this study adopts and discusses below. This discussion is essential to highlight relationships in the World-system/economy and how it affects child labour practice.

Dependency Theory

As proposed by Andre Gunder Frank (1966), underdevelopment in third-world countries results from economic dependence on core nations, rather than it being a consequence of the intra-relationship among social and economic variables (culture, government) that exists within these developing countries (Emeh, 2012). Also, this theory proposes that industrial nations control technology and capital in the world market (Drenovsky, 1992). Similar to Frank, observations by other authors in the 1950s and 1960s became the theoretical underpinning of what is today termed dependency theory.

According to World-System Theory by Wallerstein (1974), this produces a system of division of labour between three tiers (core, semi-periphery and the core). Industrialised and economically developed countries are placed at the centre of the world system, and third-world nations are at the periphery. Additionally, as earlier discussed, poverty is a crucial factor that affects children's economic activity in any society. Socioeconomic factors are often cited as the primary cause of

child labour, and an improvement in socioeconomic development would result in a decrease in the incidence of child labour. One of the many arguments of the contextual supply of child labour model is that the relationship that exists between developing countries and developed nations affects development in Nigeria.

Periphery nations possess cheap and predominantly unskilled labour, likewise produce raw materials that mostly benefit the core. Consequently, the core utilises these cheap and unskilled labour by contract piecework (work paid for according to the amount produced) to the peripheries. Cheap labour does not produce finished goods; instead, the goods are shipped back to core countries where it is finished and then sold back to peripheral countries. Free direct investment (FDI) allows for transnational corporations to penetrate the periphery likewise maintain the core-periphery dependency relationship. This poses a disadvantage to developing nations because they systematically become dependent on the core for income and goods.

Drenovsky (1992) propose that the urbanisation of third-world countries and their dependence on developed nations affect the level of child labour in the region. The exploitative nature of the international relationship places individuals most especially children in peripheral countries at risk of exploitation and specific disadvantage. Employers may aim to maintain the labour force and low wages in an attempt to achieve *primitive accumulation* (Eagleton, 2011). This is a vicious circle, and quintessentially, when children work to contribute to household income, they contribute to the continuation of low wages in the labour market. The constant low wage labour force is essential to the successful expansion of core nations; likewise the maintenance of the periphery's dependence on the core. Furthermore, in comparison to the core, this disadvantage is not obtainable in developed countries. Households in economically developed countries have high wages sufficient adults to meet household subsistence without needing income from children.

5.4.3. Macro- Discourse Level

"*Children as active agents belong to the same world of economics as adults; they can negotiate relationships, make decisions and influence situations in which they live and grow*".

-Woodhead, as cited in Okoli (2009, p. 42).

The macro level explains the societal construct of 'childhood' among individuals living in Benin City. Furthermore, this childhood concept is compared to the Western meanings of childhood, so

as to identify areas of differences and reasons for variance. Therefore, providing an understanding of child labour practice with the context of this study.

Cree (2010) infers that the notion of childhood carries different meaning through history and among different cultures and people. According to Asante (2009), the prevailing child work notion in any society/culture determines the overall perception of childhood and child labour experiences. The views about child labour phenomenon in any country are influenced by the contextual and social meaning of childhood in the region. Therefore, every child has different experiences of childhood, depending on their environment and families.

The meaning of 'child' and 'childhood' varies significantly from continent to continent (Mäkinen, 2006). Thus, it should be no surprise that there is a chasm in its representation among countries that operate within the World-system. Attempts to universalise the concept would not only lead to misunderstanding of the world of children (Boakye-Boaten, 2010), but it would also complicate discourse on issues affecting them such as child labour. The conception of childhood has changed over time. Mead and Wolfenstein (1954, p. 3) expressed that "Although each historic period of which we have any record has had its own version of childhood....childhood was still something one took for granted, a figure of speech, a mythological subject rather than a subject of articulate scrutiny".

In the past, childhood held little value in society as according to Philippe (1962, p. 125), "In medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist; this is not to suggest that children were neglected, forsaken or despised. The idea of childhood is not to be confused with affection for children…" further claiming that the idea of childhood was linked to the idea of independence. Consequently, a child became an adult "as soon as s/he could live without the constant solitude of his/her mother or caretaker". Qvortrup (1994) presents a different argument to the meaning of childhood. He assumed childhood transcends the notion of just a period in the lives of children, and preferably it should be perceived as part of a social construct due to social changes. According to Qvortrup, changes in the social structure of various indigenous societies have a profound impact on children in that society. For instance, economic crisis invariably affects the role of children, and in such periods, they are considered assets for families- thus, an incentive to give birth to several children. Furthermore, (Jenks, 1996, p. 61) "childhood is not a brief physical inhibition of a Lilliputian world owned and ruled by others, childhood is rather a historical

and cultural experience, and its meaning, interpretations and interests reside within such contexts".

Conversely, in modern times, this idea has changed, as childhood, adulthood and elderhood are separate stages of life which are primarily defined by laws and social constructions. These changes in the concept of childhood have been tremendous throughout history, especially in Africa (Boakye-Boaten, 2010). In considering the above arguments on childhood, this study maintains that the cultural perceptions of parents and guardians influence children's involvement in child labour activities. Omoroguiwa (2017) and Asante (2009) agree with this finding. However, these adult views differ according to World Systems. The experiences in society vary significantly among different descents, and every experience is determined by an individual's particular cultural background (Schiele, 2015). This further explains why children's experiences of childhood and child work vary among societies (Okoli, 2009). Omoroguiwa (2017, p. 56) states "The way in which childhood is conceptualised influences the way in which children are regarded, and therefore, whether they should participate in labour ventures or not". Corsaro (2014) further states that when discussing children's engagement with work, it is pivotal to reflect on adult's notions of childhood and how that notion affects child-rearing practices.

Cultural definition of child labour thus establishes a link between local and universal childhood experiences. It also allows for the social construction of childhood. In order to gain insight into the contextual experiences of working children in Benin City, attention should be paid to the role of cultural and social constructions of childhood as suggested by Corsaro (2014). It influences the participation of children in work; likewise, class, gender, age and ability. These cultural and social constructions of childhood are crucial in understanding children's experiences of childhood and work.

Children in any society are the custodians of the traditions, culture and beliefs of that society. Thus, their existence of that society depends on the ability of indigenes to socialise children in the cultural perpetuation and the art of survival (Boakye-Boaten, 2010). Through rigorous socialisation techniques from all members of the society, Africans have prevailed over various challenges in order to conserve their culture. Children continue to play a very crucial economic role in developing countries (Ananga, 2011; Bass, 2004; Griffin, 2014). In these regions, child work relates to the perception of them being competent individuals (Omorogiuwa, 2017).

The role of children in developing countries is somewhat complicated, and in comparison to that of children in economically developed countries, it may seem infamous. Unfortunately for these third-world countries, the prevailing ethos on child work is mostly Eurocentric, and so, children in these regions are believed to be suffering and in need of saving. Though the existence of Western principles and International Organisations are designed to protect children from exploitation and regulate child labour (Drenovsky, 1992), the lack of equal consideration for African principles in the overall discussion makes the dominant discourse of child labour a moot one. Mäkinen (2006) asserts that the most powerful economic and political nations use the child labour ILO Convention and Recommendations as a means of re-enforcing their hegemony on the world; pursuing hegemony with little regard for the traditions of indigenous people (Freeman, 2011).

Mäkinen (2006) further argues that the provisional definition of child labour via international political instruments such as the ILO Conventions and Recommendations calls for scepticism. This pyrrhonism is linked to the fact that these policies may be significantly underpinned by and reflect the views of an infinitesimal group of powerful countries. Therefore, their ideas are imposed globally through policies; and essentially hegemonize third-world countries. Omorogiuwa (2017) supports this argument, stating that child labour views are primarily Eurocentric, and these views do not reflect the cultural and social norms of other people. As a result, it is unlikely to offer a more comprehensive and diverse understanding of childhood and experiences of working children.

According to Freeman (2011, p.26), "a set of norms like the UNCRC requires us to make judgments across different communities. Can valid judgments be made across different communities?" In order to make progress with achieving children's rights and reconcile the difference between communities, Freeman (2011) suggested that competing communities should have a dialogue with the aim of the "enlargement of a shared common sense" (p.27). In so doing, children's rights discourse, likewise human right must be considered as an element of shared common sense instead of it being a frequent argument of a foreign imposition. Therefore, it is crucial that concerned parties engage in pertinent dialogue on perspectives without shaming and judgement.

As of now, irrespective of child labour prohibition placed by the International community, there still exist significant cultural variations in the standard of child rearing and the meaning of child

labour (Omorogiuwa, 2017). Richter *et al*., (2004) explained that the exacerbating factor in child labour phenomenon is the continuing complexity in defining child labour and child work within and across different cultures and regions. The International Conventions on hazardous work do not reflect Afrocentric views, as it does not even accommodate for children working with parents to be excluded from the definition. (Owusu-Ansah and Mji, 2013, p. 1) therefore called for the inclusion of "Afrocentric paradigm" in African research and argued the need for an emancipatory and participatory type of research which values and includes indigenous knowledge and peoples. Also, they criticised the predominant Western-oriented investigations for failing to recognise the African thought, idea and voice; which has for the most part been side-lined because indigenous knowledge is often ignored.

Therefore, this study analyses the discourse on child labour in two but not completely polar views: the Afrocentric and Eurocentric positions. By doing so, the discussion would be meaningful for context-specific analysis; as an understanding of the social and cultural meaning of childhood in a region would offer insight into the meaning of childhood in that society.

Eurocentric Views

This perspective mainly stems from Europe and America. The Eurocentric view argues that children should be safeguarded and protected from exploitation, and thus does not support children's involvement in work (Omorogiuwa, 2017). It further argues that children should be detached fully from work (Stephens, 1995). Such views establish childhood as a period where children ought to be excluded from work responsibilities (Stephens, 1995), a period of innocence, inexperience and learning from adults (Boyden, 1997).

Therefore, Eurocentric views are primarily underpinned by the values, experiences and identity of the West, which is at the Core of the World-system. As a result, Western societies argue that child labour occurs in places where there is an inadequate societal concern for children, with lack of adequate structures, facilities and policies to carter for the wellbeing of children. These views are predominantly congruent with both the UNICEF and WHO definitions of child labour, which are underpinned by the ILO standards (contained in the ILO Conventions 138 and 182). Thus, any child working in contradiction of these conventions in Core nations, are considered child labourers. However, Shahadah (2005) criticised this view for "ignoring and displacing traditional values of indigenous people and forcing structures on them" (Shahadah 2005, p. 20).

Afrocentric Views

"In the African cultural context childhood is not perceived and conceptualised in terms of age but in terms of inter-generational obligations of support and reciprocity. In this sense, an African "child" is often always a "child" in relation to his or her parents who expect and are traditionally entitled to all forms of support in times of need and in old age"

(Ncube, 1998).

In Benin City, the concept of childhood is Afrocentric. Children are considered a gift from God in most African societies, and it is the responsibility of members of these societies to ensure their wellness and nurture them (Okoli, 2009). Appreciation for African local knowledge and experiences are the cornerstone of Afrocentric practice as it concerns children (Ntarangwi, 2014). However, the term 'Afrocentric' is seldom applied in the representation of child labour in the African context (Omorogiuwa, 2017). The features of Afrocentric views include its cultural beliefs of childhood and children's training through work involvement (Ntarangwi, 2014; Bourdillon, 2006). The meaning of childhood should largely depend on African children, their parents, guardians and others in the society, and the notion of what constitutes child labour and child work should also depend on how they interpret it. An Afrocentric perspective is critical to understand the experiences of this study's participants, and how they give meaning to their lifestyle and make sense of child labour.

In indigenous African societies, through traditional myths and tales values of respect, obedience and love for parents and elders are instilled in children (Onwauchi, 1972). Such an environment places expectations on children. Traditional African families expect children to continuously be self-effacing and obedient to traditional authority (Freeman, 2011). This is consistent with this study's findings, regardless of the living situation, family income and education, parents/guardians had expectations from children to assist in the running of their household. This expectation also transcends parents to children. Every child in this study expressed a high expectation from themselves in contributing to the households. Though some grounded the reason for self-expectation in religious beliefs, others based it on upbringing.

According to Bourdillon (2006), the African intention for engaging children in labour activity is for the child to build and attain independence and obtain training into adulthood; likewise prepare the child for future challenges (James et al., 1998). In some cases however, child work goes beyond these reasons, child work then "is a necessity of the socio-economic circumstances in which poor people in Africa find themselves" (Omorogiuwa, 2017, p. 60). This was observed in

this study as earlier stated in the micro-level. Some families solely work as a result of low income and substitute axiom. Overall, Afrocentric views support children participation in labour to assist their families and themselves.

Given the above discussion on the influence of society and culture on childhood conceptualisation, the African understanding of child labour supports indigenes cultural beliefs of childhood. It therefore should not be a surprise that African children's childhood and work experiences conform to an Afrocentric orientation, despite the UNICEF and WHO definitions of child labour, which are underpinned by the ILO standards (contained in the ILO Conventions 138 and 182). Schiele (2015) asserts that although the impact of policy on people of different colour has been well researched and represented in the literature; interestingly, their worldviews are rarely reflected in the description).

Every participant in this study expressed the acceptance of children involvement in *street* activities, and the only difference stemmed from varying opinions on the intensity and purpose. More so, the Eurocentric idea of childhood was either alien or welcomed with some reservation-contesting that children should still be allowed to assist their parents. Instead of primarily Western interpretation in the discourse of child labour, Okoli (2009) asserts that Afrocentric worldview should be used as a conceptual framework to describe and understanding child labour in Africa. Also, it should be the foundation for how research, programmes, interventions and policies are formulated and implemented (Bourdillon, 2006). Afrocentrists are particularly concerned about the economic and political implication of Eurocentric cultural hegemony on the African people (Schiele, 2015). They question the relevance of the Eurocentric claims in interpreting and representing the ethos of Africans and their culture (Akbar, 1994). Asante (2009) concurs, stating that it is unacceptable to describe child labour in Africa using European viewpoints.

Afrocentric views have been criticised for mostly establishing the benefits the child acquires from work, and not considering the overall impact of child labour (Betcherman et al., 2005; Nieuwenhuys, 1994). There are cultural practices that are underpinned by the best interest of the child while others mostly fall outside the margin of appreciation (Freeman, 2011). Afrocentric perspectives need to consider the negative impact of child labour and not only focus on the rewards (Omorogiuwa, 2017). In response to this criticism, Abebe and Bessell (2011) express

that the benefits of child work outweigh the negative effects in most circumstances. Also, parents subscribe to the practice for the best interest of the child.

Regardless, Omorogiuwa (2017) contests that in light of child labour complexities, Afrocentric approach cannot ignore the risk of harm/abuse associated with child labour; therefore, the need for adequate social welfare response to child labour. Social welfare interventions and policies would foster care for the children and families (Schiele, 2015). Likewise address some of the issues of possible harm, abuse and exploitation that underpin Eurocentric support for the eradication of the practice.

Omogiuwa (2017) stated that in African society, child work is an activity carried out with the aim of child training, learning and socialisation. In contrast, ILO (2017) defines child work as any participation in work- economic activity that does not negatively impact on the health and development of the child neither does it interfere with a child's education. This definition has been criticised by several authors (Omorogiuwa, 2017; Okoli, 2009; Mäkinen, 2006; Shahadah, 2005) for being Eurocentric. Although this chasm between Afrocentric view and Eurocentric view, the Conceptual Model of Child Labour attempts to address the different views to reconcile differences in views by offering context-specific explanations. Okoli (2009) asserts that child labour has to be understood within current situations occurring in the African context. Some African studies (Abebe and Bessell, 2011; Asante, 2009; Schiele, 1996) recognise the hegemony of Eurocentric views of child labour in African societies. According to Abebe and Bessell (2011), any endeavour to impede children's work in these settings is somewhat Eurocentric and lacks consideration for their cultural context. For that reason, Ntarangwi (2014) concluded that before the Western approach is applied to the African context, it should be carefully examined.

Giving the above arguments, the dominance of Eurocentric views on child labour matters has contributed to the continuous contradictory arguments and complexities in child labour. Parents and children in Benin City consider child work as an integral part of child upbringing and care until they become adults. Every participant did not welcome the idea of children not partaking in any work, and the thought of it was alien to them. Thus, imposing ILO, UNICEF and WHO standards on these families would be inconsiderate, with total disrespect for their traditions and culture, likewise the opinions of the children.

5.5. Laws on Child Labour

The Edo State Government also has specific laws on child labour. Section 28 (Protection of the Rights of a Child) of the ESCRL (2014) relates to child labour and explicitly states:

"No child shall be forced or subjected to child labour, employed to work in any capacity except by a family member, required to lift heavy objects that would affect his/her physical, mental and spiritual, moral or social development and employed as domestic help outside the child's home or family environment"

This law seems quite ambiguous and can be interpreted in various ways which produce different meanings. Does it mean children who engage in their families businesses are not considered child labourers? This law could also imply that children should not be forced into trade/work as such is not lawful, but can become acceptable when they are being coerced into work by their family. Ultimately, this may mean children mean work as long as it is for/by their families.

Nonetheless, this study posits one clear point, which is the fact that the risk of work-related harm is not adequately addressed in Section 28 of the ESCRL document. Furthermore, though the law declares children should not lift "heavy" objects that would impact on their wellbeing, it fails to define what it considers as heavy. Also, this law begs the question of if lifting heavy objects by a child is acceptable when it is done within the family environment.

Even though the work may be acceptable, the following Section (29) however condemns *street* hawking, stating "*Hawking and begging by children is against the law*" in Benin City. Nonetheless, several children are still involved in *street* hawking, but they do so with the permission of their parents; does this then make it acceptable? This is further complicated by the lack of functional definition of terms in the ESCRL, and as such impedes on the functioning of existing facilities and services in Edo State to assess the practice and uphold this law.

For the most part, this law on child labour in Benin City though Afrocentric (in the sense that it allows for child participation in work and gives every authority to parents), fails to recognise and address the health and wellbeing of children. Likewise outside the family environment, work-related harm can occur within the family; and this law does not offer significant measures to promote and protect the health and wellbeing of child workers. This study, therefore, criticises Section 28 of the ESCRL and by extension, the Afrocentric approach for lack of fair consideration of the impact of working on children, regardless of their family dynamics. Furthermore, Article 24 of the UNCRC recommends appropriate and effective measures be taken to "abolishing traditional practices prejudicial to the health of children".

Interestingly, Article 30 of the UNCRC document states people have the right to "practice your own culture…" This contradicts Article 24 of the same document, as it guarantees the children of indigenous people and ethnic minorities a right to culture, but criticises it. Freeman (2011), therefore expresses that it is unclear how one can resolve the tension between both. A resolution would align Eurocentric views closer to the Afrocentric approach, thus bridging the gap between both.

5.5.1. Children's rights: Edo State Child's Right Law (ESRC) V UN Convention on the Rights of the Children (UNCRC)

In Benin City, children have several rights which are documented in the Edo State Child's Right Law (ESCRL) (2014). Though a simplified copy, within the ESCRL are rights of children who dwell in Benin City (likewise every other place within Edo State). The ESRCL gives insight into the interpretation of childhood in Benin City and reflects the cultural beliefs of the *binis*. On the other hand, the UNCRC (1989) is the basis for all UNICEF's work, and in history, a complete statement of children's rights, likewise a widely-ratified international human right treaty (UNICEF, 2018).

5.5.2. Law relating to the best interest of the child and parental role

Afrocentric views largely underpin the ESCRL (2014), and unlike the ILO Conventions and Recommendations, the ESCRL operates with Afrocentric view on childhood. Nevertheless, the UNCRC (1989) is not entirely alien to Afrocentric views, as Article 3 of the UNCRC clearly states that adults should act in the best interest of the child when making decisions, also, think of the consequences of the action. Both the ESCRL and UNCRC ultimately require parents/guardians to decide for the child in the best interest of that child.

However, Freeman (2011), criticised Article 3 of the UNCRC for failure to define "best interest". Different societies have various conceptions of what is in the best interest of the child, and "the reconciliation of the best interest principle with cultural norms is a major concern" (p.21). Ncube (1998) agrees, recognising the established standard and universality of forming and defining children's rights would have been challenged by diverse and varied cultural/traditional conceptions of childhood. For example, parents/guardians in this study implicitly stated that their decision to allow the child work on the *street* is for the best interest of the child; considering some of the children work in order to raise funds for education or to learn transferable skills.

The UNCRC gives children a much greater role in decision making regarding what is in his/her best interest than traditional societies would (Freeman, 2011). Contrary to this, one major theme

that cuts across the ESCRL is the traditional approach of 'adults presiding' over the rights, protection, education and absolute wellbeing of the child. Levesque (1995) however cautioned that if Article 3 of the UNCRC becomes wholly undermined if allowed to operate in an extreme stance of cultural relativism or the traditional best interest approach. This is because, if the traditional approach allows people to do what they culturally perceive as right, and so the child work would be allowed in such societies even when it may be detrimental to the child.

Several other children's rights and responsibilities stated in the ESCRL (2014) (as supported by Chapter IV of the Nigerian 1999 Constitution) are subject to parents or guardian control and discretion. For example, Section 9 of this document states that "Every child has the right to freedom of movement, but it must be subject to parental control which is not harmful and in the best interest of the child"; and Section 8 states every child has the right to "his/her privacy", "family life", "correspondence", "telephone conversations etc." but "this must be supervised by his parents or guardian". The UNCRC in contrast accords absolute privacy to a child (Article 16, UNCRC, 1989) that is not limited to parental control; this further highlights a difference in the Afrocentric and Eurocentric approach. Therefore, the activities and lifestyle of children in Benin City are remarkably controlled by the parent/guardian, and the Edo State government agrees with this. Street vending such as *stall trade* is therefore acceptable, as parents often supervise the child's movement and socialisation inside the stall.

Freeman (2011) further explained the UNCRC only proscribe maltreatment, abuse, injury and violence. Thus, this study assert that when children engage in street work under acceptable conditions that maintain health promotion (such as awareness campaigns, parents/guardian education), health protection (such as Immunisation, vaccination, provision of safe food and water, use of PPE) and continuance of education (both formal and informal), it is acceptable. As the work consequently is not violent, does not inflict injury, and is not maltreatment or abuse.

5.5.3. Law on the responsibility of a child

Interestingly, as well as children's rights, the ESRCL (2014) also provides laws on children's responsibilities. This is a feature the UNCRC does not possess, and one which significantly highlights the divide between Afrocentric and Eurocentric views. The ESRCL has certain expectations and responsibilities that a child should lawfully abide by. Section 19 of the ESRCL titled "Responsibilities of a child" states that "Every child must respect his/her parents or guardians, superiors and serve Edo State and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

with body, mind and soul", and "Work towards cohesion of his family and community". Thus, there is no surprise that in working towards the progress of the family, every child in this study had self-expectations to contribute to the family and ultimately support/help their parents as much as possible, and had no qualms working. The values, norms and culture of the *Binis* have been imprinted and intertwined with the laws of the land.

Consequently, when children disobey and are disrespectful to their parents, corporal punishment is employed by parent/guardian in taking actions to discipline and train the child (which they considered as the best interest of the child) (Coetzee, 2010). On the other hand, the UNCRC does not answer the questions as to whether children should obey their parents (Freeman, 2011), instead it assign families all responsibilities to ensure the rights of children are upheld; and further recommend families are given the necessary assistance and protection in order to fully carry out its responsibilities within the community (UNICEF, 1989).

5.6. Study's position on Child work

This study presents two arguments. Firstly, contrary to the popular viewpoint, child labour/work is not the reason street working children do not attend school; instead, it is a means by which they achieve an education. Thus, the pursuit of education is the main reason most children on the street in Benin City engage in child labour/work. Sometimes, children on the street also combine school with work, and not substitute one for the other.

Secondly, based on findings, this study agrees with (Liebel, 2004) that child work can be beneficial or harmful, and irrespective of the Afrocentric understanding of childhood, the child's wellbeing with regards to working should be of utmost importance. Participants in this study were 'on the street' and not 'of the street'; as a result, overall they expressed working benefited them more than it was likely to harm them. However, children in this study voiced some concerns about health and safety issues associated with working and getting involved with *street* vending. Therefore, instead of a ban on the practice, improving the wellbeing of child workers through health promotion, health protection and child education is necessary. Accordingly, if children have to engage in work, it should be done paying paramount attention to health promotion, protection of the child and education; regardless of the cultural context and approach. These interventions would be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Furthermore, to better the lives of children on the streets of Benin City, it is imperative to understand the contextual factors (from an Afrocentric view) that contribute to the incidence and continuous engagement of children in

work. Subsequently, develop effective and appropriate strategies to address the practice in order to facilitate children's wellbeing, and not necessarily focus on eradication of the practice.

5.6.1. The socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political

So far, within the discussion chapter, this work has highlighted disadvantages imposed on street working children as a result of cultural, political and economic factors present within the context on their environment. Through detailing the lived experiences of children on the street (thick description), this work illustrates how families and children identify and challenge their social injustice/disadvantages as well as manoeuvring through related manufactured risks associated with activities of their daily lives. To further underpin and advance these arguments, as earlier stated in section 3.12.1., Nancy Fraser's (2007) work is adopted in capturing and addressing the multi-dimensionality of injustice children on the street encounter due to capitalism, predominant cultural views held by adults and inequality arising from political constitution in Benin City, Edo State.

According to Fraser (2007), social justice requires everyone to participate in social interactions on a par with one another, and for social arrangements to allow for this to occur through three dimensions of justice- economic, political and cultural. Through this lens, this study's position on child labour is strengthened as it highlights the injustices (issues of representation/misrepresentation, recognition and distribution) children on the street are exposed to, as well as calls for children's involvement in child labour matters. Therefore, with the notion of participatory parity, it is possible to achieve justice for street working children in terms of them being socially recognised, appropriately represented and material resources impartially distributed. To achieve this, upon Fraser's model for social justice, three facets of children's life in Benin City needs to be reassessed and addressed.

Firstly, the political constitution that undermines equitable representation of children on the street needs to be dissipated. In section 5.5.3, this work identified and criticised the ESCRL for having a constitution that significantly renders the child voiceless when within the State- especially within the context of family life. This opens an avenue for children to be treated unfairly, predisposes them to abuse from family members, likewise proscribe their views and opinions on how they are represented in society. For street working children in Benin City, their role as child labourers is banned (regardless if they want to do it or not; if they like the work or nor) but allowed only if facilitated by family members. In this sense, the ESCRL fails to represent

these children, offer them no opportunity to speak up about how working affects them, as well as most importantly, equally participate in street work as others do.

Secondly, structures of the political economy that intrudes on even and fair distribution of material resources to street working children

Lastly, patterns of Afrocentric and Eurocentric views and valuing of the African child and children on the street respectively needs to reflect equity, especially within the context of the child's life. As discussed in section 5.4.3, both Afrocentric and Eurocentric views on child labour and childhood are on either extremes of a spectrum. This study agrees with Omorogiuwa (2017) that Afrocentric approach mostly establishes the benefits the child acquires from work. Similarly, this study also agrees Freeman (2011) with that Eurocentric views do not reflect the cultural and social norms of other people. Therefore, for street working children to treated fairly in the society, the Afrocentric cultural norms held about child labour and childhood, cannot and should not ignore the risk of harm/abuse associated with child labour; likewise Eurocentric views should not purse hegemony as it is unlikely to offer a more comprehensive and diverse understanding of childhood and experiences of working children in other cultural settings.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter has made efforts to underpin study's findings with theories and existing evidence-based literature. The stories of children and lives of *street* working families in Benin City has been analysed and discussed in order to contextualise child labour practice, likewise highlight specific public health concerns.

The impact of street work depends on whether the child is 'on' or 'of' the street. This should be recognised and appreciated in the overall child labour discourse. Children on the street predominantly do not engage in exploitative work, as they work under adult supervision and work for their best interest. Also, the reason why they work massively differs from that of children of the street. These children do not live under situations of extreme poverty- a crucial debate in child labour; rather they work for reasons of education and a way of life- these reasons should be appreciated considering the contexts of their lives.

Aside from being addressed alongside children of the street, children on the street require attention concerning health promotion and protection; in order to make working on the street safer for them. In some cases, the conditions under which they work predisposes them to risks

of physical, sexual and psychological harm. Therefore, with effective health promotion and protection interventions, this group of street working children could be offered safer conditions of work, which could subsequently reduce the incidence of child labour in the region. A complete ban on child street work may be dire to them, further marginalising them and reducing their already limited opportunities towards achieving a better life for themselves.

Children on the street remain underrepresented in the broader discourse of child labour practice in Benin City. Unlike their counterpart children of the street, these Schooling and Trained children do work they greatly benefit from and should be considered non-child labourers in the context of the region. Considering they constitute the majority of the street working children population in Benin City and this study's population, there is a need for further research into these groups of children. Studies have for long generalised the impact and reasons why children appear on the street without appropriately highlighting the differences and heterogeneity of street working children.

Furthermore, it is crucial to adopt a contextual approach to the analysis of child labour. The contextual supply of child labour model elucidates various facets of child work. To make sense of the practice, this model needs to be wholly applied, as each of the levels is intertwined and produces meaning when analysed together in a particular setting. The model highlights the role of family/micro level factors such as poverty, family dynamic and child education in the incidence of *street* working activities among children in Benin City- elucidating why families work and the varying impacts of working on every *street* child. It also discusses the characteristics of developing regions and how it facilitates the practice of child labour. Lastly, this model draws on existing perspectives on childhood and child labour in order to further explain opposing arguments in child labour, likewise understand the positions regions take in interpreting child labour practice. Also, it shows how the selected position of the Edo State Government is reflected in child laws in Benin City.

Upon findings, this study argues that child work in the case of children on the street should be acceptable as it results in numerous benefits to families. These children achieve situated and experiential learning while they work. Moreover, working affords them an opportunity to afford education rather than the ubiquitous view that it denies/robs them of their education. As a result, this study strongly argues that the African understanding of childhood supports child work, thus, the lives, opinions and working practice of children on the street and families should be

respected and supported through adequate health protection and promotion interventions - in order to promote the ultimate wellbeing of the Benin child.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.4. Overview

Child labour can impact negatively on children; therefore, it is a global health issue. This study looks to understand that, and further challenges that for some children, certain forms of 'child labour' should be allowed, as they can be advantageous. This study set out to explore and investigate the reasons why children work on the street, and the subsequent impact of *street* work on children and families in Benin City, Nigeria. The scope of this study is confined to hazardous work- children on the street. The lack of consensus on the debate on child labour constitutes a problem in effectively addressing the issue. Child labour is often condemned, and in a society like Nigeria, there is barely a fine line between child labour and child work. Children in Nigeria are typically expected to contribute to the running of the family mostly by partaking in household chores. The original idea behind this is, by doing so, they learn, grow and develop into responsible and resilient adults- equipped with the necessary skills required to tackle the versatility of life. Some families extend this expectation to business ventures as an opportunity for growth for the child, likewise achieve an education.

Children in this region similarly grow up having self-expectations - one including, but not limited to, assisting their parents in the running of the home. All the same, both types of expectations are held with the premise of a better future for the child. Whichever the case, the term child labour is not entirely alien to these families; rather its meaning among children on the street varies. The way families understand child work is often from a cultural perspective and sometimes nebulous. Also, child labour conventions and definitions and several researches somewhat fail to recognise the efforts families of children on the street put in to oversee the child's work.

As a result, the practice in this region needs to be elucidated to offer to understand into why and how families indulge in it; especially giving the fact that child labour can be detrimental to the health, wellbeing and education of young children.

The research question of this study, therefore, aimed to explain two primary arguments surrounding child labour: "what are the causes of child labour in Nigeria" and "How does child labour impact on families who engage in the practice" in Benin City. An answer to these questions does not only provide an indigenous representation of the issue, but it also offers awareness and insight into the lives of street working children in the region. In this study, a range of local and international existing reports on the child labour and street working children was put together with findings in order to answer the study's research question, likewise contextualise it. Thus, offering some explanations to the contrasting views on child labour phenomenon. Using grounded theory, this study highlights three central factors in the incidence and continuous practice of child work: micro (education attainment, poverty/cultural differentialism and the child's family dynamics) meso (periphery nation) and macro (worldviews- Eurocentric and Afrocentric).

Using GT, the causes and impact of child labour practice was contextualised, offering evidence of the role of individual and region factors in the incidence of child labour on the street, likewise its relevance in the impact of the practice. While findings report some already existing themes on child labour, it also highlights new and unpopular arguments that are strongly underpinned by this study's child participants views on "education", "poverty" and "family dynamics". For example, the connection that exists between child work and child education is symbiotic. Overall, several conclusions are presented by this study:

1. Children on the street and their families do not consider themselves child labourers. Street working children are a highly heterogeneous group- and among them is a set of children called children on the street.

2. There is no wrong on right answer on this subject matter, rather an understanding of child work within different contexts - this approach provides consideration for their work principles, desires and highlights heterogeneity as it concerns child labour discussion and analysis.

3. There is a need for a contextual definition of child labour beyond ILO Conventions 182 and 138; and in this case, one that recognises children's opinions and context-specific nature of work.

4. Child labour 'overall outcome' should be used as a definitive criterion for categorising child labour practice; with such reasoning, child labour is neither good nor bad but exists on a spectrum- ranging from beneficial to exploitative impact.

5. It is problematic when researchers continuously present child labour arguments to support or oppose the notion that children work for money. Each side of the argument does not significantly recognise the different narratives of these working families, especially of those that work on the street.

6. Child street work is a coping strategy for existing family situations.

7. Child education can be jeopardised when children work on the street. Working on the street can result in insufficient time for the child to rest and do homework and expose them to social vices on the street. However, it is the primary reason why children start working and remain on the streets of Benin City.

8. Poverty and culture both contribute to the incidence of street child work- eradicating one without adequately addressing the other would be an ineffective approach in dealing with child labour phenomenon.

9. In Nigeria, if child labour interventions focused on eradicating negative outcomes of the practice, instead of banning practice itself, street work may easily become more beneficial to children and families who indulge in it. This means, rather than solely considering child work as the problem, interventions would be aimed at ways to help children participate in street work. Measures should be aimed to make street working activities safer, and issues around the health, safety and wellbeing of the children safeguarded, while they work to achieve the benefits.

Although the theory generated in this study cannot automatically change social policy, it however raises questions about the definition of child labour, issues around risk/harm and benefits of work in relation to the right of the child as well as the realities of children on the street. Giving the context of this study, children on the street should not be considered child labourers. Understanding among participants suggests the determining factor to whether child work is good or bad is the outcome of the work. Children on the street consider the benefits of working on the street to determine whether or not the practice is detrimental to them. For example, working on the street is considered an opportunity to generate funds to afford schooling costs, or even to achieve basic survival. As a result, they do not consider themselves child labours, because they perceive being on the street is to secure their best interest. This is why children 'on' the street show concern for children that are 'of' the street because they operate on the street for no concrete benefits such as educational achievement and skills acquisition.

Therefore, the practice is not the problem, instead, the means by which it is carried out. Child labour discourse often focuses on the work as a problem, but this study challenges this idea. Within the context of this study, it is often tricky to distinctly separate negative consequences from the positive impact of working, as one sometimes comes with the other. Nevertheless, children on the street and families do benefit significantly from working (as discussed in the previous chapter) and working on the street is not the problem. Upon GT findings, this study further suggest that child labour should be analysed and defined based on the overall impact it bears on families. In situations where working children learn, grow and navigate the harsh realities of their environment, working is most often welcomed by family members and even the children themselves. Through autonomous decision making and various interactions on the street, children learn and become 'street smart' and are not as vulnerable as can be imagined. Children on the street possess critical thinking skills as well as develop their mental reasoning in order to adapt to the street. Being street smart helps them negotiate and navigate the street-keep safe, build networks (of peers and customers) and conduct business. More so, by working families can afford education, increase total family income, imbibe a sense of child responsibility, encourage family collaboration and foster experiential and situated learning.

Furthermore, concerning although children on the street who work as apprentice are classified as child labourers because they lack formal education, taking into consideration the family circumstances (such as low income, unemployment, death of parents) in an economy like Nigeria, a counter-argument would be that equipping children with the necessary skills (through experiential and situated learning) to secure their future is a productive move; as there is little to no guarantee that achieving a university certificate means automatic employment in the formal sector. Whereas, learning hand-work is more likely to guarantee the earning of living for one's self and family. Thus, in these situations, an informal apprenticeship is in the best interest for the child (Article 3, UNCRC). Also, Breyer (2007) argues that these children have not been wholly denied their right to an education (Article 28 of the UNCRC, 1990) as on the average some of them have attended school, with only 3% of apprentices without any form of formal educational qualification whatsoever.

Attention should focus more on situations causing children to work on the street since "the street child" is not the problem (Terres Des Hommes, 2010). When children work on the street, they either earn or learn, as work is central to their lives, though some of this work can be harmful to them (Bourdillon, 2014). Therefore, street child work can be considered a problem for

intervention aimed to support street working children, instead of one targeted for elimination. There is no doubt children on the street require attention to ensure decisions are taken for their best interest but considering the practice as child labour based on international definitions and conventions is not appropriate in these situations.

In stating this, every child has the right to be protected from exploitative work (Article 36, UNCRC, 1990) and work that is harmful to their health and education (Article, 32 of the UNCRC, 1990). Therefore, informal apprenticeship should be regulated to ensure it is safely practised as it is the right of the child to be ultimately kept safe from harm regardless of perceived benefits. This may go a long way to ensure children are not harmed while they benefit from the opportunities of informal apprenticeship. In addition, measures could be taken to make certain jobs non-hazardous in order to open up and increase the number of enterprises that offer an apprenticeship to children in the country.

This idea is however not recognised and appreciated in the international definition of child labour, and the UNCRC (UNICEF, 1989) contradicts with the ILO Conventions in these situations. For, when children on the street have to work, benefit from it and considered to be in the best interest of the child (Article 3). For reasons of age (Convention 138) or hazardous nature of work (Convention 182), they are still classified as child labourers with emphasis placed on stopping them from working. Stopping children on the street from working goes against their right to education (Article 28), as some of them fund their education from income generated on the street. Consequently, causing arguably more harm to children, which may further marginalise them. Families in this study highly value the outcome of child work with less worry on the condition within which it is carried. This is mainly because the child works alongside varying levels of adult supervision.

Where families cope with difficult situations, the children who carry out work on the street live 'normal' lives as much as their environment allows. Street work for children on the street is a coping strategy families employ to manage or change existing conditions, rather than it just being a consequence of their situation. There is little or no choice really, and it is a bourgeoisie illusion to believe every family on the street has a choice to work or not; and because the practice is a coping strategy, eradication is likely not possible, not until certain conditions improve within the region. Therefore, the definition of and initiatives to address the phenomenon should be more individualised and determined by overall implication- be it beneficial or exploitative. Even if it

was possible, using the UN child rights convention, Articles 28 (Right to education), 3 (Best interest), 12 (Right to an opinion), and 36 (Right to be protected from any exploitation) this study concludes that it would be unfair and even more harmful to stop children from working if working is necessary and not merely a choice. Realistically, the nature of the environment (cultural norm, poverty, unemployment and lack of functional government facilities, infrastructure and services) and position of the country in the World-System situates individuals and families in a state of hardship and tough decisions.

Therefore, it is crucial that child labour is contextualised and considered a phenomenon that arises in situations, where families use it as a coping mechanism to achieve equilibrium within the household, instead of mostly viewing child labour as a practice that results to the potential harm of the physical, mental and educational state of children. In saying this, it is also interesting to know families always consider the outcome of work before the consequences. As much as families are placed in difficult situations, it remains unfair and inexcusable that children suffer tough family decisions of working by sometimes working in harsh conditions. This is one reason this study strongly recommends for intervention to focus on ways to safeguard street working practices.

In order to effectively tackle child labour, it is essential to establish a clear definition, or at least a set of guidelines to identify what forms of work are bad for the overall wellbeing of children; to ensure interventions benefit and support children rather than inflict further damages and limitations to their opportunities, Bourdillon (2014) opines that a clear understanding of the overall impact (negatives and positives) work confers on children's lives is needed. For long, the meaning of child labour has been based on the definition of a child and how we define work, yet, the problem of child labour remains of gigantic proportion. Bourdillon (2014) cites several examples from his past experiences of how intervention aimed at protecting children from child labour ended up causing damage to their livelihood and opportunities, likewise traumatising the children. For instance, when international tea buyers stopped children under 15 years in Zimbabwe (who were in formal contracts, worked after school and were paid the same as adult rates) from working in a tea producing estate, the result meant some children had to wait until they reached 15 years before they could start secondary school education because the money they initially generated from work was used to sort out school expenses.

Further, Bourdillon (2014) in his stories of working children highlighted that there is a lack of support for working children after they have been put out of work through policies and interventions. As such, there is the risk of them being forced into illegal and more exploitative work. Some groups of young children hid in fear from NGO workers, pleading 'Don't let those people find us' (p. 2), as these NGO workers went around the vicinity in vans 'rescuing' child labourers. This shows that policies need to pay attention to the economic and social contexts in which children live in order to make protective interventions beneficial to children. These interventions also need to be aware of and consider the aspirations and perspectives of children (Myers and Bourdillon, 2012). Thus, intervening to tackle child labour phenomenon without an understanding of the lives of the children involved often leaves disadvantaged children and their families worse off (Bourdillon, 2014).

More so, the impact of working varies, and child abuse is a significant element that can hardly be detached from child labour practice, and it constitutes major concerns for children's health, wellbeing and education. Regarding the impact of work on children's wellbeing and education, depending on the type of trade (stall trade or OST) and the street status ('on' or 'of' the street) the child can be kept safe while working on the street. Findings from this study conclude that depending on these factors, children on the street are not entirely protected from the risk of physical harm (exhaustion, road traffic accident, injury and infections) and sexual abuse (rape, indecent touching, sexual harassment); but working alongside parents and having adequate shelter reduces the likelihood of it occurring.

Family dynamics also influence the likelihood of such risks, some children living with a guardian may endure harsh living and working environments (as discussed in chapter five). The role of 'living situation' of the child is under-researched in the region as it concerns street working activities. Unlike the type of trade (OST/OT), family dynamics of working children significantly influences the probability of physical abuse (malnutrition/starvation, beating and hitting) and mental abuse (shouting, scolding, threats, and name-calling) children on the street experience. It also influences the risk of education jeopardy (excess household chores, lack of support and empathy). Two key themes were crucial in understanding the dynamics of child labour practice-child education and poverty. Education is often viewed as the best measure to address child labour practice. This means when children are in school, they would not be working on the street while poverty is considered the leading cause of the practice.

It is a misconception that street working children do not attend school, and even when they do, street work negatively affects their performance. This underpins the idea that child labourers are often thought to be illiterates, school dropouts or have jeopardised education as a result of working (Agbo, 2017; Adegun, 2013; Amuda, 2010). These studies argue that street work jeopardises children's education because working makes them exhausted, fail to do homework and leads to absenteeism. This argument fails to recognise the situation of children on the street and the role family dynamics play on education.

Working on the street does not ultimately jeopardise children's education because there are children on the street who perform exceptionally well in school. An example is Maya, an eight years old girl who hawks bitter kola after school but comes out first in the class at the end of every school term. The reason for this is unclear but demonstrates that working is not necessarily the only criteria children underperform in school, even though it contributes to it. Findings further suggest that the impact of the support, guidance and encouragement street working children receive from parents is crucial in achieving positive school performance.

The living situation can either create and foster a favourable environment for the child to perform in school or hinder the working child's performance in school. This is an unfortunate irony, as 22% of participants lived with a guardian because they wanted to obtain a quality education. The same education could potentially be jeopardised because they live with a guardian. Also, poverty was not identified as the main reason why children on the street operated in markets and street spaces. Children worked not only because of their family's value for education but also because of their desires to attend school. As a result, child education is not necessarily the critical measure to getting children off the street, instead, in this case, it is one of the main reasons why children worked on the street. Consequently, efforts to address child labour practice need to approach the lack of access to quality education as a problem, instead of focusing on eradicating activities of children on the street.

The role of poverty in child labour practice among families in Benin City is significant. It mostly results in children running away from home and becoming disconnected children- otherwise typically called 'street children' or 'children of the street' by researchers, international organisations and also members of the society. Much deserved attention and priority has been given to this group of children. Findings suggest that other children who work on the street are also given that label- 'street children'; regardless of whether they attend school, have better

living conditions and support from their parents/guardian. Based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs, the need for children on the street to work comes from parent's motivation to achieve a higher need or desire for the child and household, rather than merely because of their family's inability to afford food, shelter and other basic human needs. These families are motivated to achieve different needs such as cultural values, luxury axiom and value for education; and as a result, develop various strategies to meet them by participating on the street. These strategies may be in the form of change in the living situation of the child, apprenticeship, stall trade or OST.

Nigerian researchers (Kazeem, 2013; Togunde and Carter, 2006; Okpukpara and Odurukwe, 2006) state child labour is a consequence of existing conditions (poverty), rather than a coping mechanism to these situations. Some studies do not consider the negative outcomes of working as a direct product of micro and macro factors that exist in the country. Consequently, they advocate for the eradication of street working practices. Also because they do not highlight the heterogeneity of street working children, their recommendations also include stopping children on the street from working. However, based on this study's findings, the practice is mostly a coping mechanism, and its outcomes range from positives (obtaining education, experiential and situated learning) to negatives (risk of physical and mental harm). So, efforts to address the phenomenon should focus on measures to make the street work safer and gear closer to maintaining only positive outcomes, likewise eradicating the negatives. Therefore, interventions should centre on improving outcomes, existing living and working situations of children. This understanding is crucial and should be taken into consideration when analysing child labour within the street context.

Lastly, the conflicting Eurocentric and Afrocentric views on child labour complicates the already complex topic; it maintains the lack of consensus in arguments relating to child labour. In order to provide an original and in-depth understanding of the topic, likewise explain child work across family, regions and international factors, this study contextualises child labour practice. The contextual supply of child labour is a 'findings driven' model depicts child labour activities in Nigeria. This model underpins the conclusion of this study, which is that child labour is Benin City, Nigeria is more or less a coping strategy and not necessarily an outcome to any situation that exists amongst families. In viewing child labour as a coping strategy (as discussed in chapter five), interventions aimed at child labour should not focus on eradicating the practice rather see the need to refine it to foster child education, promote and protect the child's overall health and

wellbeing. This study strongly recommends that child labour needs to be redefined to reflect its meaning in the lives of children on the street- a definition that goes beyond Convention 138 and 182, to one that recognises the benefits of working along-side schooling.

6.1. Limitations of study

A limitation of this study is the issue of generalizability. Nonetheless, the goal of this qualitative study is not generalizability, rather the potential for transferability of rich research findings to similar contexts and situations. Given that this study collected data from only two major markets (representative of the street), and a sample size of 17, caution should be exercised when applying findings to the entire Nigerian population. Benin City is South-South of Nigeria, and it possesses some similar characteristics to the East and West. However, findings may vary hugely to the Northern parts of Nigeria, due to context specificity.

A limitation also comes from the focus on this study's title to two major literature themes on child labour- poverty and education. Both have been an overarching concern, and its arguments are underpinned by the UNCRC, Conventions 182 and 138. Findings from this study have been focused on the immediate household perspectives, focusing more on the economic context, the supply of child labour and less on the demand side of it. As a result, other contributory factors to the phenomena that are not relating to the family unit and economic interest, but can influence the supply of child labour were not extensively explored; for example, technological changes, proliferation/deterioration of industries, trading policies and legislation. Nonetheless, the incidence of child labour in Benin City is mostly due to the supply chain/process. More so, due to the adopted theoretical frameworks, the focus has mainly been on socio-economic, socio-political and socio-cultural factors; with minimal emphasis on psychological (stress, anxiety, fear, depression, challenging and anti-social behaviour), spiritual (religion or faith) and social-demographic (age, and gender) factors.

Also, this work focuses on only hazardous types of child labour- street work. The unconditional worst forms of child labour (child trafficking, prostitution, child bondage) were not explored in this study's research question. Nevertheless, the focus on street work is justified as it is the most visible form of child labour across the Southern, Eastern and Western parts of Nigeria. Additionally, although most child working activities in Nigeria occurs in the agricultural sector, very few children in Benin City work outside the home for wages, and street work is still the most apparent and predominant form of hazardous child labour in the City.

The researcher's personal experience of the street as a child stall trader facilitated both data collection and interpretation process, it also partly played a role in the non-identification of Disconnected children as a sample set prior to data collection, in order to obtain adequate ethical clearance. As such, this group of children were not included in this study. As a child, the researcher did not interact with this group of children because Disconnected children *of the street* worked without any parental support or supervision. Thus, the researcher was not fully aware of their world and street activities; other than those of other children who participated in similar activities on the street with or for their parents. Consequently, this group was only identified during data collection, but was not sampled due to lack of ethical clearance. Nevertheless, this group of children are well researched and were extensively discussed in chapter five based on participant's responses and literature review.

Lastly, some Nigerian newspapers and blogs report incidences of street night trading activities which also include children. This was not explored in this study, as all research participants did not state being involved in it nor did they mention it in their narratives. As a result, it was not a theme followed-up on during data collection and analysis. Children of the street operate at night and may be the only group of street working children who operate in street night trading. Nonetheless, as earlier stated this study did not explore street night trading.

6.2.   Recommendations

Findings from this work are suggestive that child labour practice does not always have a negative connotation as evident from the stories and experiences of children and families who work on the street. Overall, this finding is crucial because it contextualises what it means to work, and offers insight on how best to address child labour practice in the region. Therefore, these findings are significant not only at the Federal (the Nigerian government), State (Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development) and local (children and families) level. It is also useful to international agencies such as the WHO, UNICEF and ILO considering they possess significant influence in the global representation of child labour practices in Nigeria. Findings that street work is beneficial to children and families ought not to be a benchmark for children to be subjected to the risk of various forms of abuse and harm. As such, recommendations are centred on health promotion and health protection, in order to make the practice safe enough for children to engage in, likewise, offer support to families in matters of providing less precarious coping strategies to navigate and manage conditions they live in the country.

According to the World Health Organisation (2019), health promotion is 'the process of enabling people to increase control over and to improve their health'. WHO further stated that the prerequisites for health include: peace, shelter, food, income, education, sustainable resources, a stable ecosystem, social justice and equality. Therefore, when individuals/groups change or cope with their environment, identify and satisfy their needs, they will be able to attain a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being (WHO, 2019).

In order to promote and protect the health of street working children, this study recommends the Nigerian Federal and State Government through the Ministry of health and the Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development respectively, should work under these broad themes: the provision of adequate health policies, creation of supportive environments and information and health education.

6.2.1. Provision of health services and adequate health policies

Interventions explicitly aimed at families that operate on the street should not be limited to the provision of adequate health care services. This is because, depending upon their needs and situation discussed in chapter five, families may not prioritise going to the hospital for treatment or even regular check-ups. As a result, an improvement in the healthcare system may not have the intended impact on children who work. Therefore, policymakers in every sector should collaboratively work together to put health on their agenda. Part of this strategy means being able to direct families to be aware of the consequences of their decision to send children to work on the street, likewise accept responsibility for the health of the child. It could be jointly facilitated and monitored by primary, secondary and tertiary sectors; such as schools (education sector), bus and taxi drivers and (transportation sector), trade unions (financial sector).

Below are specific examples of how formal legislation can promote and protect the health of street working children:

1. Restriction of working hours to allow children their right to rest and play.

2. Restriction on the amount of weight children should carry

3. Enforcing the use of personal protective equipment for work. For example, wearing proper foot wares, gloves, eye protection and hats (for shading from the sun).

4.   Facilitate the immunisation/vaccination of working children in order to increase their immunity against certain diseases and viruses.

5.   Research on measures to identify factors that challenge the health and wellbeing of working children, likewise ways to overcome them.

6.2.2.   Creation of supportive environments

A significant link exists between people and their environment and this constitutes a basis for a sociological approach to health. There is a significant health impact associated with changing one's pattern of life and work. Therefore, the manner society organises work should help create a healthy population- that produces safe, satisfying and enjoyable working conditions. In the context of this study, findings suggest that working in safe areas greatly reduces the exposure to risks associated with street jobs, likewise could be the defining line between child labour and child work. Also, a supportive environment can be seen as one which encourages reciprocal care- taking care of each other. As a result, below are specific examples of how creating a supportive environment for street working families can promote and protect the health of street working children:

1.   Sensitise traders through awareness campaigns on the dangers of street work on children. Accordingly, individuals working on the street can be vigilant in order to increase surveillance of the working activities of children. Such awareness could also increase empathy towards the needs and safety of street working children.

2.   Educating children and families on the rights of children and the concept of child labour within their context- highlighting the dangers of the practice and ways to increase their safety, wellbeing and education while they work.

3.   Recommendation and enforcement of ideal trade conditions such as a ban on hawking along roadsides with heavy motor traffic, provision of stalls for struggling families, provision of adequate security personnel along markets and other street trading avenues.

4.   Provision of 'completely' free basic 'quality' education for children

5.   Provision of adequate government infrastructure- such as street lights, zebra crossings to facilitate children's safety during street activities.

6. Monitoring of environmental pollution on the street to reduce infection and ill health. This includes the control of littering that occurs on the street.

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APPENDIX

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Research Title: Child Labour, child education and Poverty in Nigeria.

Name of Researcher: Chinyere Ihejieto R.N, R.P.N, BSc (Hons), MSc. PhD in progress.

If interested in the participating in the above named study, please sign this consent form to show that you understand the study, its methods, procedure and purpose.

Please circle as appropriate

I can confirm that I read and understand the participant information sheet for the above stated study. YES/NO

I can confirm that my participation is voluntary in the above-named project. YES/NO

I have been told that at any point I can verbalise my wish to withdraw from the study without any reason or penalty. YES/NO

I understand that there is no health risk to me for my participation in this project. YES/NO

I understand that the interview will be audio recorded and that at the completion of the study, the tapes will be destroyed. YES/NO

I also confirm that I am aware the researcher may take notes during the interview session. YES/NO

I understand that my participation has maximum benefit to this research an there is no personal gain. YES/NO

I further understand that the study may be published but that my name will not be mentioned in the research. YES/NO

I have been given opportunity to ask questions and all my questions were answered to my satisfaction. YES/NO

I agree that pseudonyms be used instead of my real names, and the pseudonyms be made known to me. This is to oblige my curiosity in case I have interest in the published article.

I therefore agree to participate in this study.

……………………………………	…………………………………….	…………………………………….
Participant	Witness	Researcher
(Name, signature, date)	(Name, signature, date)	(Name, signature, date)

Adapted from Ellison (2010 p74)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS/GUARDIANS

STUDY TITLE: Child Labour, child education and Poverty in Nigeria.

NAME OF RESEARCHER: Chinyere Ihejieto

EMAIL ADDRESS: chinyere.ihejieto@research.sunderland.ac.uk

SPONSOR OF RESEARCH: Self

COLLABORATING INSTITUTION: Nil

PURPOSE OF STUDY: This study will provide a theoretical representation of child labour practices in Nigeria- its causes and impact on children.

PROCEDURE OF THE RESEARCH: Utilising qualitative methodology- grounded theory, the researcher aims to describe the experiences of children, and also develop an explanatory theory to explain child labour phenomenon in Nigeria- developing a theoretical concept on its causes and effects on children and the nation at large. Ethical approval has been sort from the university of Sunderland ethics committee.

Parents/guardians would be interviewed in order to attain their opinions, beliefs and views about children participating in street activities for the purpose of making money. Written and or verbal informed consent would be sort from guardian to enable the researcher approach the children. If their consent is granted, informed consent would also be gotten from the child before the commencement of data collection. Upon dual consent, children aged 5-17 years would be asked to tell stories of their experiences on the street, likewise explain their perception of child labour: its causes and impact on them. Their activities on the street would also be observed by the researcher. However, due to the methodology- Grounded theory, the sample size might change over the course of study. Therefore it cannot be absolutely determined in advance.

If any harm to the child is identified during the course of data collection, this would be reported to appropriate authorities such as UNICEF Lagos, and in extreme cases of abuse the Nigerian police and social welfare. More so, the children would be informed of the existence and roles of several non-governmental agencies in their neighbourhood.

Why have you been approached? Because you are a parent/guardian of a child aged 5-17years in Benin City, who actively participate in street activities.

Do you have to take part (volunteriness)? No coercion. Your participation in this research work is fully voluntary.

What will happen if I take part in this study? Your participation would provide useful information needed in understanding child labour phenomenon in Nigeria. Your participation thereby facilitates the development of a theoretical concept of child labour causes and its impact on children.

What are the possible disadvantages and risk in taking part? No risk has been identified by the researcher.

What are the possible benefits of taking part? The researcher is hopeful that in completion of the study, findings would produce a theoretical concept of child labour in Nigeria.

Who has reviewed this study? The Research ethics committee of the University of Sunderland.

What is the duration of the research and participants' involvement? The study has 3-year duration but your participation is over a period 1-3 months.

Any cost for participating in the research? No cost is attached to your participation.

Will your taking part in this study be kept confidential? Yes. All information given to the researcher will be kept confidential. This includes: your name and address. They will not be in any publication or report without your notification and consent. Codes or pseudonyms will be assigned in research write up. Information given to the researcher will not be kept longer than six months after the study is accomplished.

Any consequences for withdrawal to participate/ termination of participation? You can choose to withdraw from this study at any time without any consequences or particular reason. Any information that has been obtained from you before you chose to terminate your participation will be discarded.

What happens to the results of the research? Based on research findings, recommendations will be made on the subject under study. Also, attempts would be made to publish the study's findings.

For any concern or question, pleases telephone: 08035814693.

Comic leaflet

GAINING ASSENT FROM CHILDREN

Stated below are steps the researcher would take to include children (about their experiences and views) in this research work; likewise prevent and reduce harm to the children:

- The research however would seek for initial informed consent from the key gatekeepers (parents/guardians). This consent does not however mean the child has consented to participate in the study as well. Nevertheless, consent must also be sought from the child- to ensure their willingness to participate.

1.   To facilitate understanding and obtaining consent/assent from children, the researcher would:

●   Provide adequate information on participant information sheet and verbal explanation of it to the children in a clear and simple manner.

●   Explain that there is no wrong or right answer

●   Tell them they can withdraw whenever

(Elemraid, 2013).

●   Provide them time to think about decision

●   Observe for child's understanding by them demonstrating it in questions and feedback

●   Apply no pressure

(Lambert and Glacken, 2011).

- Guardians would also be encouraged to check and confirm the child understands the information provided on the participation sheet.

WITHDRAW FROM STUDY

Study participants have the right at any time to discontinue participation in a research study. This action could be carried out with or without any significant and valid reason. They can verbally express their wish to discontinue in the study.   Instructions and guidance to withdrawal verbally would be highlighted on the consent form. These instructions include:

For Adults:

- Vocalising a request to withdraw at any point.

For Children:

The researcher would be observant for any withdrawal indicator that would suggest the child wishes to withdraw from the study. Indicators such as:

- Pulling away
- Non-response
- Ignoring, and
- Show no
- Verbalizing no.

(Skanfors, 2009).

Immediately a child verbalizes her/his desire to withdraw (with or without a reason), the researcher would carry out the withdrawal plan stated below. This plan would also be activated if any other withdrawal indicator is observed during interview sessions; here, The researcher would ask what the problem was, and suggest if the child wants to withdraws by simple asking if she/he wants to discontinue from the study. The child would only continue if she/he insists on carrying on, without coercion, and there is no further indicator of withdrawal.

Withdrawal Plan:

The researcher must carry out the following actions to oblige the subject's withdrawal:

- Discontinue further data collection from participant for the study. Thus, ceasing interactions with participant.
- Discontinue use of any secondary source of information relating to subject (such as: educational records).
- Discontinue documenting observations about participant for the study.

- In cases where complete data has already been collected, the researcher would honour subject's request that the data be destroyed or excluded from analysis.

Also, any case of withdrawal would be documented in the study as follows:

- specify whether reason for withdrawal was given
- Specify whether reason for withdraw resulted from a decision by the researcher or the subject.

UNITED NATION'S CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN

A SUMMARY OF THE UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

unicef
UNITED KINGDOM

ARTICLE 1 (definition of the child)
Everyone under the age of 18 has all the rights in the Convention.

ARTICLE 2 (non-discrimination)
The Convention applies to every child without discrimination, whatever their ethnicity, gender, religion, language, abilities or any other status, whatever they think or say, whatever their family background.

ARTICLE 3 (best interests of the child)
The best interests of the child must be a top priority in all decisions and actions that affect children.

ARTICLE 4 (implementation of the Convention)
Governments must do all they can to make sure every child can enjoy their rights by creating systems and passing laws that promote and protect children's rights.

ARTICLE 5 (parental guidance and a child's evolving capacities)
Governments must respect the rights and responsibilities of parents and carers to provide guidance and direction to their child as they grow up, so that they fully enjoy their rights. This must be done in a way that recognises the child's increasing capacity to make their own choices.

ARTICLE 6 (life, survival and development)
Every child has the right to life. Governments must do all they can to ensure that children survive and develop to their full potential.

ARTICLE 7 (birth registration, name, nationality, care)
Every child has the right to be registered at birth, to have a name and nationality, and, as far as possible, to know and be cared for by their parents.

ARTICLE 8 (protection and preservation of identity)

Every child has the right to an identity. Governments must respect and protect that right, and prevent the child's name, nationality or family relationships from being changed unlawfully.

ARTICLE 9 (separation from parents)
Children must not be separated from their parents against their will unless it is in their best interests (for example, if a parent is hurting or neglecting a child). Children whose parents have separated have the right to stay in contact with both parents, unless this could cause them harm.

ARTICLE 10 (family reunification)
Governments must respond quickly and sympathetically if a child or their parents apply to live together in the same country. If a child's parents live apart in different countries, the child has the right to visit and keep in contact with both of them.

ARTICLE 11 (abduction and non-return of children)
Governments must do everything they can to stop children being taken out of their own country illegally by their parents or other relatives, or being prevented from returning home.

ARTICLE 12 (respect for the views of the child)
Every child has the right to express their views, feelings and wishes in all matters affecting them, and to have their views considered and taken seriously. This right applies at all times, for example during immigration proceedings, housing decisions or the child's day-to-day home life.

ARTICLE 13 (freedom of expression)
Every child must be free to express their thoughts and opinions and to access all kinds of information, as long as it is within the law.

ARTICLE 14 (freedom of thought, belief and religion)
Every child has the right to think and believe what they choose and also to practise their religion, as long as they are not stopping other people from enjoying their rights. Governments must respect the rights and responsibilities of parents to guide their child as they grow up.

ARTICLE 15 (freedom of association)
Every child has the right to meet with other children and to join groups and organisations, as long as this does not stop other people from enjoying their rights.

ARTICLE 16 (right to privacy)
Every child has the right to privacy. The law should protect the child's private, family and home life, including protecting children from unlawful attacks that harm their reputation.

ARTICLE 17 (access to information from the media)
Every child has the right to reliable information from a variety of sources, and governments should encourage the media to provide information that children can understand. Governments must help protect children from materials that could harm them.

ARTICLE 18 (parental responsibilities and state assistance)
Both parents share responsibility for bringing up their child and should always consider what is best for the child. Governments must support parents by creating support services for children and giving parents the help they need to raise their children.

ARTICLE 19 (protection from violence, abuse and neglect)
Governments must do all they can to ensure that children are protected from all forms of violence, abuse, neglect and bad treatment by their parents or anyone else who looks after them.

ARTICLE 20 (children unable to live with their family)
If a child cannot be looked after by their immediate family, the government must give them special protection and assistance. This includes making sure the child is provided with alternative care that is continuous and respects the child's culture, language and religion.

ARTICLE 21 (adoption)
Governments must oversee the process of adoption to make sure it is safe, lawful and that it prioritises children's best interests. Children should only be adopted outside of their country if they cannot be placed with a family in their own country.

ARTICLE 22 (refugee children)
If a child is seeking refuge or has refugee status, governments must provide them with appropriate protection and assistance to help them enjoy all the rights in the Convention. Governments must help refugee children who are separated from their parents to be reunited with them.

ARTICLE 23 (children with a disability)
A child with a disability has the right to live a full and decent life with dignity and, as far as possible, independence and to play an active part in the community. Governments must do all they can to support disabled children and their families.

ARTICLE 24 (health and health services)
Every child has the right to the best possible health. Governments must provide good quality health care, clean water, nutritious food, and a clean environment and education on health and well-being so that children can stay healthy. Richer countries must help poorer countries achieve this.

ARTICLE 25 (review of treatment in care)
If a child has been placed away from home for the purpose of care or protection (for example, with a foster family or in hospital), they have the right to a regular review of their treatment, the way they are cared for and their wider circumstances.

ARTICLE 26 (social security)
Every child has the right to benefit from social security. Governments must provide social security, including financial support and other benefits, to families in need of assistance.

ARTICLE 27 (adequate standard of living)
Every child has the right to a standard of living that is good enough to meet their physical and social needs and support their development. Governments must help families who cannot afford to provide this.

ARTICLE 28 (right to education)
Every child has the right to an education. Primary education must be free and different forms of secondary education must be available to every child. Discipline in schools must respect children's dignity and their rights. Richer countries must help poorer countries achieve this.

ARTICLE 29 (goals of education)
Education must develop every child's personality, talents and abilities to the full. It must encourage the child's respect for human rights, as well as respect for their parents, their own and other cultures, and the environment.

ARTICLE 30 (children from minority or indigenous groups)
Every child has the right to learn and use the language, customs and religion of their family, whether or not these are shared by the majority of the people in the country where they live.

ARTICLE 31 (leisure, play and culture)
Every child has the right to relax, play and take part in a wide range of cultural and artistic activities.

ARTICLE 32 (child labour)
Governments must protect children from economic exploitation and work that is dangerous or might harm their health, development or education. Governments must set a minimum age for children to work and ensure that work conditions are safe and appropriate.

ARTICLE 33 (drug abuse)
Governments must protect children from the illegal use of drugs and from being involved in the production or distribution of drugs.

ARTICLE 34 (sexual exploitation)
Governments must protect children from all forms of sexual abuse and exploitation.

ARTICLE 35 (abduction, sale and trafficking)
Governments must protect children from being abducted, sold or moved illegally to a different place in or outside their country for the purpose of exploitation.

ARTICLE 36 (other forms of exploitation)
Governments must protect children from all other forms of exploitation, for example the exploitation of children for political activities, by the media or for medical research.

ARTICLE 37 (inhumane treatment and detention)
Children must not be tortured, sentenced to the death penalty or suffer other cruel or degrading treatment or punishment. Children should be arrested, detained or imprisoned only as a last resort and for the shortest time possible. They must be treated with respect and care, and be able to keep in contact with their family. Children must not be put in prison with adults.

ARTICLE 38 (war and armed conflicts)
Governments must not allow children under the age of 15 to take part in war or join the armed forces. Governments must do everything they can to protect and care for children affected by war and armed conflicts.

ARTICLE 39 (recovery from trauma and reintegration)
Children who have experienced neglect, abuse, exploitation, torture or who are victims of war must receive special support to help them recover their health, dignity, self-respect and social life.

ARTICLE 40 (juvenile justice)
A child accused or guilty of breaking the law must be treated with dignity and respect. They have the right to legal assistance and a fair trial that takes account of their age. Governments must set a minimum age for children to be tried in a criminal court and manage a justice system that enables children who have been in conflict with the law to reintegrate into society.

ARTICLE 41 (respect for higher national standards)
If a country has laws and standards that go further than the present Convention, then the country must keep these laws.

ARTICLE 42 (knowledge of rights)
Governments must actively work to make sure children and adults know about the Convention.

The Convention has 54 articles in total. Articles 43–54 are about how adults and governments must work together to make sure all children can enjoy all their rights, including:

ARTICLE 45
Unicef can provide expert advice and assistance on children's rights.

OPTIONAL PROTOCOLS
There are three agreements, called Optional Protocols, that strengthen the Convention and add further unique rights for children. They are optional because governments that ratify the Convention can decide whether or not to sign up to these Optional Protocols. They are: the Optional Protocol on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, the Optional Protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflict and the Optional Protocol on a complaints mechanism for children (called Communications Procedure).

For more information go to
unicef.org.uk/crc/op

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW LOCATION: Benin City.

SETTING: Quiet and safe environments such as schools and churches.

DATE: The participants would be interviewed in March 2016. However, the particular date is dependent on the time and date preference of the participants. This date for each participant would vary from one to another.

DURATION: Each interview session would last between 20-40 minutes. A maximum of 30 minutes would be spent for younger children (6-10yrs). The number of interview conducted each day would depend on the availability of participants. A period of three weeks to one month has been planned for this data collection process.

RESOURCES: Two tape recorders that has been functionally tested to ensure its effectiveness and appropriateness for a viable interview session. Stationaries such as note pads, pens, pencils and stapler would be made handy. Also, provision would be made for snacks and drinks for the researcher during breaks.

INTERVIEW PLAN

Hello my name is Chinyere Ihejieto, and as part of my research, I have to interview you.

During the interview, I would like to discuss the following topics: child labour, child education and poverty in Nigeria, the perception and understanding of children working on the streets of Benin City, the causes of child labour and impact on children and their educational attainment.

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Main Questions	Additional Questions	Clarifying Questions
	● What do you think child labour is? ● Do you think children working/selling or begging on the street is child labour? ● Why do you suppose children work/sell or beg on the street? ● How do you think this practice of working/selling or begging on the street can affect the children? ● Which group of children are most affected? ● Do you think it affects their education as well? ● If yes, how?	
● Can you please tell about your general thoughts on child labour? OR ● What do you think about children working/begging on the street?		● Can you tell me anything else? ● Can you explain more? ● Can you give me some examples?
● In your understanding, what are the misconceptions about child labour in Nigeria? OR ● Generally speaking, do you think people want this practice of children working on the street be stopped?	● Why?	

● If not, what are major reasons you know or have experienced first-hand?

● Can you explain a little on this?
● Can you tell me anything else?

Conclusion of interview

● Are there any other issues about children working/selling or begging on the street that we have not discussed and you find worrisome?

● Do you want to add anything else to this topic of child labour/ or children working/selling or begging on the street.

A sample of memos showing the development of categories and subcategories

- Risk of harm
- Category 1
- Category 2
- /3
- / 4 (sub-cat) greater cat 1 or cat 2
- lack of parental support
- Family dynamics
  - Idea of children working
  - Luxury Actions
  - Substitute Actions
  - Child education
    - Expectation from a child help
    - Expectation of a child loss
    - Defn of a child
    - Child's time / School chores
    - Star trade (S)
    - Street trade (OST)
    - CL
    - Not CL
    - The Nica Gov / Economy

- The relational Mapping and memoing the process analysis
- Record of process
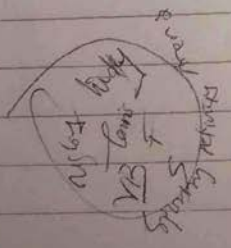
Send out cos 7:
- lack of support
- provision of support for family
- limited responsibility

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CHOOSING TO WORK

The decision for a child work is solely lies with the parents. Parents consider it their obligation to take most if not all decisions for the child. The feelings and opinion of the child is not taken into account. There are three main factors that influences the decision parents make in relation to sending their child to work. They are: family dynamics, family income and child education (formal and informal).

- Family Dynamics:

Here, family dynamics refers to the living situation of the child. Some children live with their parents, while others live with guardians. The decision to send a child to live with a guardian is either initiated by the parent or guardian. In cases where it is initiated by parents, the reason is mostly due to lack of parental support they require to gratify the child's needs. Parental support includes job employment, stable income and financial support from the Federal or State Government. This situation is worsened by the current recession in the country.

Aside the lack of support, another reason why most parents send their children to live with guardians is because they want them to attain an education. Although a struggle in some cases, the family can feed, clothe and shelter the child. This need to give the child an education tallies with the promises guardians make when they initiate the decision to change the child's living situation. Guardians

Although direct narratives were not gotten from these parents (because they could not be accessed), narratives from the children and guardians suggest that parents ask guardians to allow the child live with them because they struggle and are incapable of taking care of the child not only in terms of provision of education, but also in provision of basic necessities. In so doing they expect a better outcome for the child as compared to their current situation; and also believe the child would get better welfare from living with the guardian. Therefore, they send the child away because of expected benefit to child, ranging from education, feeding, clothing and.

EDO STATE CHILD'S RIGHTS LAW (SIMPLIFIED COPY)
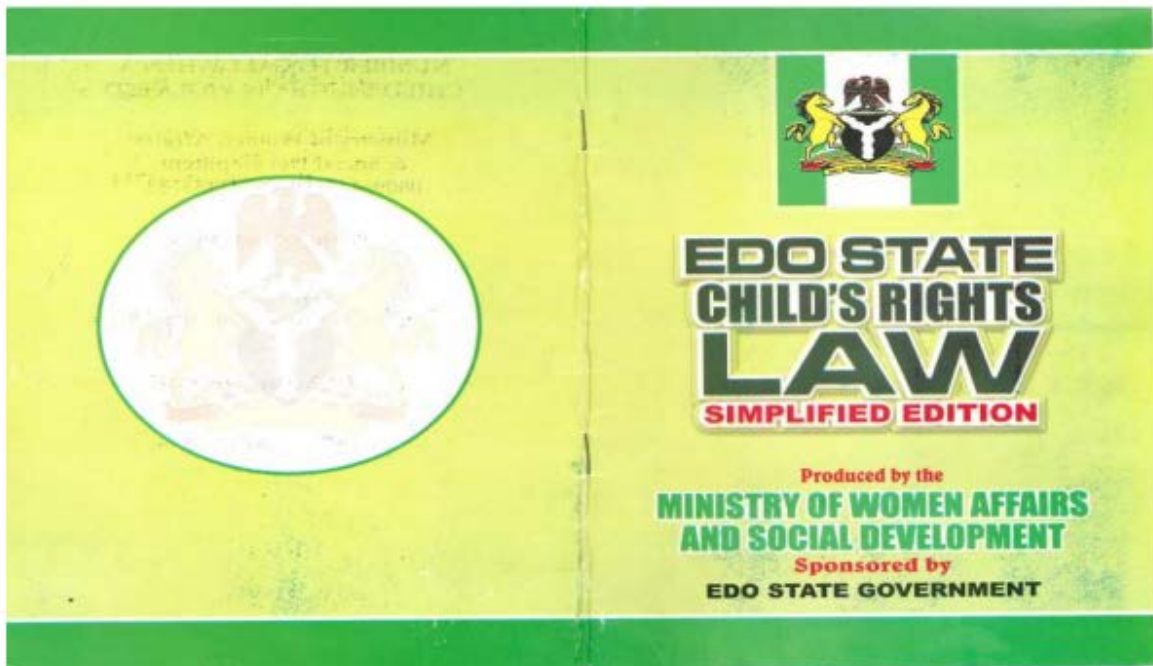
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

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Finally we wish to acknowledged the Edo State Child Protection Child Net Work coordinator Mrs. Jennifer Ero and the Chairperson International Federation of Female Lawyers Edo State branch Stella Ojemen whose untiring efforts on ensuring the best interest of the child greatly contributed in the process of simplifying the Edo State version of the Child Right Law.

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PART I - MAIN OBJECTIVE OF THE CHILD RIGHTS LAW
Sections 1 and 2

* In all actions, the best interest of the child is to be paramount and every child should be given protection and care necessary for his well being.

PART II - RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITY OF A CHILD
Section 3 Rights of the Child

(As supported by Chapter IV of the 1999 Constitution)
These Rights include Right to:

* Life
* Dignity of the human person
* Personal Liberty, fair hearing & rights to private and family life.
* Associating freely (Peaceful Assembly), Freedom of movement. Freedom from discrimination and Right to acquire immovable property.

Section 4 - Every Child has a right to survival and development to ensure freedom and proper growth of the child.

Section 5 - On the Birth of every child. that child has a right to be named according to the culture of his parents and his birth must be registered in accordance with the law.

Section 6 - Every Child has the right to freedom of association guided by the law and his parents or guardians.

Section 7 - Every Child has a right to freedom of thought. conscience and religion as long as his parents or guardians provide proper guidance and protection.

Section 8 - Right to private and family life as regards
* His Privacy

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* Family life
* Home, Correspondence, Telephone conversation's etc. This must be supervised by his parents or guardian.

Section 9 - Every Child has the Right to freedom of movement but it must be subject to parental control which is not harmful and in the best interest of the child.

Section 10 - Right to freedom from discrimination
* Children with disabilities
* Belonging to a particular ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion etc.

Section 11- Right to the Dignity of the Child
* Every Child is entitled to respect, not subjected to any form of abuse or maltreatment or torture and inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Section 12 -Right to leisure (relaxation) recreation and cultural activities

Section 13 - Right to Health and Health Care Services
* Every parent is to provide the best attainable state of physical, mental and spiritual health while government must provide health care services such as immunization against childhood diseases.

Section 14 – Every Child has the Right to care and protection from his parents. Except it is in the best interest of the child or ordered by the court, no child shall be taken away from his parents.

Section 15 - Every Child has the right to free, compulsory basic

education whether male or female from their parents and it is the duty of every state government to ensure it. Other forms of Education, include learning a trade. Any female child that gets pregnant during her schooling will be given an opportunity to conclude her education after delivery.
* Failure to comply attracts punishment and payment of fine

Section 16 - Every child has the Right to adequate protection measure for children with special needs e.g physically or mentally challenged or orphans and vulnerable children.

Section 17 - Right of the unborn child to protection against harmful practices and inheritance from parents' estate where the father or mother dies during his/her birth.

Section 18 -A child cannot enter into an agreement or contract with anyone.

Section 19 -Responsibilities of a Child
* Every child must respect his/her parents or guardians, superiors and serve Edo State and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria with body, mind and soul.
* Work towards cohesion of his family and community.
* Respect for democracy, freedom, equality, honesty and justice for all persons.

Section 20 - Parents and Authorities to provide guidance. Parents,

guardians, institutions and Authorities have a duty to provide education, training, discipline and necessary guidance for the child to be able to carry out his/her responsibilities.

PART III
PROTECTION OF THE RIGHT OF A CHILD

Sections 21-23 - No. parent/guardian or any other person should give out any child under the age of 18 years in marriage under the law. Punishment for child marriage is a fine of N 50,000.00 or imprisonment for a term of five years or both.

Section 24 - No person is permitted to make Tattoos or skin marks on any child. Punishment is N 50,000:00 or one month imprisonment or both.

Section 25 - It is an offence to expose a child to the use, production and carrying of hard drugs. Punishment is life imprisonment.

Section 26 - No person shall employ, use or involve a child in any criminal activity. Punishment is 14 years imprisonment.

Section 27 (1) - ABDUCTION.
No child shall be removed from the lawful custody of his parents. It is an offence and attracts imprisonment ranging from 7-20 years.

Section 28 - CHILD LABOUR.
No child shall be forced or subjected to child labour, employed to work in any capacity except by a family member, required to lift heavy objects

that will affect his/her physical, mental, spiritual moral or social development and employed as a domestic help outside the Childs home or family environment.

Sections 29 and 30 - Hawking or begging by children is against the law. (Buying and selling of children attracts Jail-term)

Sections 31 and 32 -No person shall have sexual intercourse with a child or any forms of sexual abuse and exploitation. Punishment is life imprisonment.

Section 33 - Any form of exploitation of a child is an offence and punishable under the law with a fine of N 50,000:00 or imprisonment for a term of 5 years or both.

Sections 35-38 - It is an offence for any person to print, circulate or sell harmful materials, books or films to a child. The court has the power to order forfeiture of any harmful material before or after conviction.

PART IV - PROTECTION OF CHILDREN
Section 41 – 49 - An appropriate authority or government may apply to a court or to a judge in respect of a child who is suffering or likely to suffer harm to make any of the following orders:
* Assessment order to find out the condition of the child
* Emergency protecton order
* Information and disclosure about the where about of a child in need of protection
* Use of voluntary homes as a place of refuge.

PART V - CHILDREN IN NEED OF CARE AND PROTECTION

Sections 50,51 and 52 - Where a parent is unable to Control or care for a child, the court may on the application of an appropriate authority Or any other authorized person, make a Care order Or supervision order on such a child.

PART VI - CARE AND SUPERVISION

Section 53 - Any child under the care or supervision of Edo State government or an appropriate authority is allowed visitation from his/her parents.

Section 54 - While a supervision order is in-force, the supervisor shall:
a. Advise, assist and befriend the child;
b. Take reasonable steps to give effect to the order; and
c. Where the order is not wholly complied with or no longer necessary, apply to the court for its variation or discharge

Section 55 - When there is a court order and a child is in the care of Edo State or appropriate authority, the body assumes parental responsibility for that child. It is permitted to do anything as long as it affects the safe guarding and welfare of the child.

Section 56 - Parents or guardian may visit a child in care except if the court says NO.

Section 57, 58 and 59 - When a supervision order is in force the supervisor shall do everything in the best interest of the child. Also the child is expected to be under the supervision of a designated appropriate education authority.

Section 60-62 - If the child or a person, who has parental responsibility for the child applies, the court may change the supervision order.

PART VII - PROVISIONS FOR USE OF SCIENTIFIC TESTS IN DETERMINING PATERNITY OR MATERNITY ETC.
(To find out father or mother of a child)

Section 63 - The court may give permission to carry out scientific tests to find out the father or mother of a child.

Section 64 - 67 - The father, mother and the child (if up to 16 years) must agree before the test sample is taken "consent of the child is required". The punishment for anyone pretending to be another person for the purposes of providing samples for such test is N 10,000:00 (ten thousand naira) or imprisonment for one year, or both.

PART VIII - POSSESSION AND CUSTODY OF CHILDREN (SECTION 68-81)

Section 68 - The parents of a child whether married or not, can decide to take up parental responsibility of that child together or separately (individually).

Section 69 - Where there is a dispute as to which parent a child should live with, the court will make such an order.

Section 70 - 75 - the order of the court about where a child should live, is guided by the wishes of the child.

Section 76 - The court's order shall ensure that a child in custody is brought up in the religion that the parents want.

Section 77-81 - The Commissioner for Women Affairs, has power to make orders as to the custody of children not withstanding any customary law to the contrary and it is forbidden for any child to be hired, sold, battered or endangered. The punishment is N 10,000:00 or imprisonment for 1 year or both.

PART IX - GUARDIANSHIP
SECTIONS 82-92

Section 82 - Any person appointed as guardian has parental responsibility over the child.

Sections 83&84 - The parents of a child shall be responsible for the child. Upon the death of a parent, a guardian may be appointed by law which is in written agreement with the surviving parent.

Section 85 - There has to be approval from the family for the person appointed as guardian to be effective.

Section 86 - where an appointed guardian is no longer needed, the court will cancel the guardianship

Section 87 - The guardian shall have power over the child's property.

Section 88 - Where there is more than one appointed guardian and a dispute arises regarding the welfare of the child, they can apply to court for settlement.

Section 89 - Where the court appoints a guardian ad idem, it is to safeguard the interests of the child in all issues including matters in court.

Section 90-92 - The commissioner for Women Affairs may establish a panel from which guardians ad idem may be appointed. Guardians also have the right to have access to information concerning the child.

PART X - WARDSHIP
(Sections 93 - 99)

- It is the duty of the court to make wardship orders. Where a child is a ward of court, the court ensures that all monies meant for the upkeep of such a child is paid to a parent or guardian through the court such as maintenance allowance for parents who are separated

* The court can also commit the care of a child who is a ward of court to an appropriate authority other than his/her parents.

PART XI - FOSTERING (TAKING CARE OF A CHILD)

Section 100 - A person may foster (take care) of a child by applying to the court.

Section 101 - Children who may be fostered:
* An abandoned child
* An orphan (child without parents)
* An abused child
* A Neglected child
* A maltreated child
* Children who lack proper guidance from parents
* Destitutes (Homeless children)
* Children found wandering

Section 102 - A fostering order is usually made by the court.

Section 103 - Except during exceptional cases, a single individual/couple cannot foster more than three children at once.

Section 104 - A fostering order is restricted where:

* Applicants are less than 25 years old and not up to 21 years older than the child to be fostered.
* Applicants are citizens of Nigeria and are resident in the same state as the child.
* Applicant has the means to take care of the child, of unquestionable character and is certified to be physically and mentally fit.
* A single (unmarried) applicant cannot foster except he has attained the age of 35years.

Section 105 – Any couple that wants to foster a child must agree in writing except one of them has abandoned the other.

Section 106 – The court will not make an order, unless it is for the care, education and good of the child.

Section 107 – Persons wanting to foster can keep the child until the final court fostering order is made.

Sections 108-109 – A fostering order shall prevail over a maintenance order already in force. Rules of court in making a fostering order shall determine if such order is made to be in the best interest of the child.

Sections 110-123
* A child development officer shall pay regular visits to a foster child and his/her foster parents will show care as biological parents to avoid any form of maltreatment.

The following are forbidden;
I.   Giving, collecting money or gift to foster a child or make someone else foster a child
II. Sending a foster child out of the state without knowledge of court.

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III. Removal of a child from a person whose application is pending in court without telling the court.
IV. Foster parent marrying a fostered child
V.   Private fostering is prohibited.

Section 124 – Any person who go's against items listed in

Sections 110-123 has committed an offence and liable to five thousand Naira   onths imprisonment or both.

PART XII - ADOPTION
(Sections 125-148)
Section 125 - Edo State must establish a body designated to meet the needs of a child to be adopted. (This is set up under the department of child in the Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development).

Section 126 – An application for adoption shall be made to Court in the right manner supported by all requirements stipulated by law.

Section 127 – The wishes of the parents or guardian of the Child shall be respected by court as it concerns the religious upbringing when placing a child that has parents for adoption.

Section 128 – A court shall not make an Adoption order unless the Parent or Guardian, agrees except where the child is abandoned, neglected, abused or maltreated.

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Section 129-131 - The following persons may adopt a child;
* A married couple who must be older than 25 Years and there has to be an agreement/consent to adopt from either partner.
* A single person can only adopt when he/she is not less than 35years old.
* A single man can adopt a boy while a single woman can only adopt a girl except in exceptional circumstances and discretion of court.

Section 132-140 - Permission to adopt (consent) is needed for a couple from A partner who is not the principal applicant and where the child to be adopted still has parents.
* The court can impose terms and conditions when an adoption is pending
* Interim (temporary adoption order) orders can be made by the court to the adopter for 2years under special circumstances and under the supervision a welfare officer.
* The Juvenile court in Edo State has the final say in an adoption order.
* Apealing against an adoption order goes to the High court.
* Adoption is allowed even where there is a corrective order or maintenance order in force.

Section 141 - When a child is Adopted the Adopting Parents shall exercise all right, duties, responsibilities, customs and

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religious rights of the real parents as if the child is born by them.

Section 142 - The Court shall keep a Register of Adopted children.

Section 143 - All forms of payment for adoption is prohibited.

Section 144-148 - where a child is to be adopted and taken away from Edo State, permission must be sought from the commissioner for women affairs and social development.
* Marriage is forbidden between an Adopted Child and his/her Adopting Parents.
* The Child Development Director must arrange Periodic visits to an adopted child by officers from the child Development Department to ensure the safety and proper care of the Adopted child.

PART XIII
Section 149-154 - Every state including Edo State must establish a family court in the magistrate and High Court to hear matters relating to children and settlement of family disputes including handling cases on legal custody and Adoption

Section 156 - A child has the right to a lawyer from the Edo State ministry of justice free of charge.

Section 156 - When the family court is sitting (hearing matters), members of the public including the media are not allowed into the court.

Section 157 - The names of Children or what they Look like

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(Identity), is prohibited from public knowledge.

Sections 158 -160 – Any Child who takes part in court proceedings is not allowed to e sworn under oath.

PART XIV
CHILD MINDING AND DAY CARE OF YOUNG CHILDREN
{Sections 163 - 170}

Section 163 - Edo State government through the ministry of women affairs and social development, shall keep a list of child minding and day care centers. A child minder looks. after children below the age of six years and gets paid.

Sections 164 -165 –List of what child minders and day care owners should do.

Sections 166-170 -Edo State government can stop any child minder or day care from operating when it is necessary to do so.
* It is the duty of government to monitor the child minder or Daycare centres.
* Any day care Or child minder that disobeys the law, shall be Punished.

PART XV
STATE GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES
SECTION 171 -185

Section 171- Every child in need of Care and protection shall be taken care of by Edo State government Their families can be Provided with monetary assistance to take care of them. Children can also be Put in day care Or pre-school.

Section 174 - Edo State government shall provide a

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home/accommodation for children who are lost abandoned and in need of care and protection.

Sections 175 -180 - Edo State government shall provide a home or assistance for any child.
* Under police protection
* Under the supervision of the ministry of women affair and looked after by the stat
* And children order   kept by the court.

Sections 181-185
* The Stale government must from Time to time, review cases of children under their care.
* The Department of Social welfare in the ministry of women affairs is in charge of trying to settle disputes between parents and the upkeep of the child.
* Any child been looked after by the state government has a right to be in school after due consultation with the education authority.

PART XVI - COMMUNITY HOMES
(SECTIONS 186-190)
* Edo State government shall provide and support homes to be known as community homes for the good of children who are looked after by it and for other children in the state.
* The state commissioner can ask that a premises be discontinued to be used as a community home.
* Disputes between two or more homes, is settled by the commissioner.

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PART XVII
VOLUNTARY HOME AND VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS
HOMES NOT OWNED BY GOVERNMENT
SECTION 191-194

Section 191 - A voluntary organization may provide accommodation:
(A) By keeping the child with a family relation or any other good person.
(B) Taking care of the child in a home provided by the government or other people.

Section 192 - Voluntary homes must be registered

Section 193 - The duties of a voluntary organization and that of the state government include.
* To protect and promote the good of the child.
* Advice, help and be a friend of the child even after the child has left the home.

Sections 195 -197 -Every child home must be registered and the management of a child's home shall protect and promote the best interest of the child at all times and take into consideration the child's age understanding and feelings.
* Penalty for non-registration of a child's home is a fine up to N 10. 000.00 or six months imprisonment or both.

PART XIX
SUPERVISOR ROLES AND DUTIES OF THE COMMISSIONER
SECTIONS 198 -203
These duties include:
* Inspection of children homes by authorized persons
* Inquires (investigations)

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* Financial support to these homes by the commissioner on behalf of Edo State government.
* State government can be said to be in default by the commissioner if the government fails to perform its duties.

PART XX - CHILD JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION
SECTION 204 – 210
Sections 204-206 -Even when a child has committed a criminal offence, he/she must face the consequences of the law but they have a right to privacy and unnecessary publicity.

Sections 207 – 209 - There is usually a special police unit (it exist in Edo State) that handles children's cases. It is however possible to settle cases against children without going to court.

Section 210 - In handling cases concerning children, the following rights must be respected.
* That the child is presumed innocent until proven guilty
* Has a right to know the offence he/she is been accused of.
* Has the right to have his/her parents around during questioning.
* Has a right to a lawyer for free from the ministry of justice.

Sections 211-212 - When a child is caught committing an offence, the following should be done:-
* His/her parents or guardians must be informed immediately.
* The police cannot Keep the child in detention unnecessarily·
* The police must always treat children as children.

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* Instead of detaining a child, the child can be supervised, Kept with another family or sent to a place of learning.

Section 213 – 220 –

In the trial of children, the court shall not use words like "conviction" and "sentence". Children shall not be locked up except if they have committed serious offences involving violence to another person. The trial must be fair and the parents/guardian must be allowed to take part in the trial except the court thin's that it is not in the best interest of me child.

* When a child accepts that he / she bas committed an offence, the court shall, where possible. Release him/her on bail or Keep the child at the states remand home.
* A child should not be sent to prison
* A child should not be sentenced to death
* A child should not be flogged
* A child cannot be in a special mothers centre after the age of 6 years.

Sections 228-235

Under special circumstances. (if a child is sick) a child can not be kept in a government approved institution.

Any child that runs away from an approved institution can be arrested without any written permission (warrant)

Private individuals and voluntary organization are welcome to contribute to any Approved government institution

section 236 -231 - INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT
Sections 236 and 237

- A Child (male or female) offender who is placed in an institution shall be provided with care, protection,

education and vocational skills.
- Purpose is to assist the Child assume a better character in the society.
- Parents of a child offender have the right to see the child anytime.
- When a child's behavior improves, he is granted conditional release.

PART XXII - APPROVED INSTITUTIONS
Sections 247-249 - Approved, institutions include approved children's and special mothers centres

The commissioner for women Affairs is expected to establish this institution in any part of the state to be known as
* A Children attendance Centre
* A children centre
* A children Residential Centre
* A children Correctional Centre
* A special children correctional centre
- Other Institutions are special mothers centres.
- The commissioner can declare a building as an approved institution.

Section 250 - CHILDREN ATTENDANCE CENTRE
These Centres are non-residential for children, and attendance, is on daily Basic.

* A Child centre is a place of detention for children remanded for trial, or awaiting adoption or fostering.
* Children residential Centre is where child offenders are kept and given regular school

education and training.
* Children correctional centres are where they are kept and given special training to make them good citizens.
* Emergency protection centres is when a child is in police protection.
* Special children correctional centres are for children showing bad behavior and causing other children in the centre to behave badly.
* Special mothers centres are where pregnant or nursing mothers are held and an environment different from detention which is not harmful to children.

Section 251 - 255 - The Director child development in the Ministry is to take charge of all approved institutions.
- Officers from the child development department are to cater for child centres.
- Women Affairs Officers are to carry out duties in special mothers centres.

Sections 256-259 - immediately a child attains the age of 13 years he/she shall be released from an approved institution.
- If he/she still needs help. transfer can be made to a youth correctional centre and such a child shall be subject to sopcrvision
- where a child has bad influence on other children, he/she will be taken from the child correctional centre to a special childrens' centre.
- when a child attains the age of 18, he/she should be released

from a correctional centre unless it is proved that he/she requires more training. - - Any child released is subject to constant supervision.
- This is usually within a period of 4 years starting from the date the order to take he/she to the centre was made.

PART XXIII - THE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT CHILD RIGHTS IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEES (SECTIONS 260-271)
The Child Rights Implementation Committee shall be set up at the Federal, State and Local Government Levels. The work of these committees is to make sure that the right of the child is protected.

NUMBER TO CALL WHEN A CHILD'S RIGHT IS VIOLATED

Ministry of Women Affairs & Social Development
08096445890, 09031153753

NAPTIP: 07080601802

FAMILY UNIT
Esigie Police Station – 08083024641

CPN – 08051656202

FIDA – 08188999096

QUIRKOS- CODES AND CATEGORIES

Drawing relationships between codes and categories