PARENTS' PERCEPTION AND PRACTICE OF CHILD LABOUR IN IBADAN NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF OYO STATE, NIGERIA

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to GOD for without HIM I am nothing. I also dedicate this work to my husband Asuquo and my sons Abai and Imikan for their support and inspiration throughout this MPH programme. I would also like to dedicate this work to my parents Prof. and Prof (Mrs) M. B. Ebong for all their love, and encouragement which has seen me throughout this MPH programme.

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ABSTRACT

Child labour is a major concern worldwide. In developing countries child labour is often seen in a different perspective and may relate to socialization and child training. However parents' view regarding this practice is not well documented. This study therefore assessed the perception and practice of parents, regarding child labour, in Ibadan North Local Government Area (LGA), Nigeria.

The study was a crosssectional survey. A three-stage sampling technique was used to select 714 respondents from households. A validated semi-structured questionnaire was used to obtain data from either the mother or father who was present in the household at the time of the interview. Ten in-depth interviews (IDI) were conducted among market leader, title holders, landlords and religious leaders. The IDI data were analyzed using thematic approach while data from the survey were analyzed using descriptive statistics and chi-square.

Respondents' mean age was 37.5± 8.1years. Majority (64.9%) were females. Level of education included no formal education (5.1%), primary (26.1%), secondary (40.1%), and tertiary (28.7%) education. Most participants (90.7%) knew what child labour was and 91% reported that it existed in their communities. Forty six percent of respondents said that child labourers are usually between the ages of 6-14 years. The major reasons adduced for child labour included poverty (41.4%), illiteracy (32.2%), and having many children (26.7%). The main places where child labour was said to occur included homes (99.4%), streets (98.6%), market places (98.6%), relative's homes (95.0%) and hotels (94.6%). Few (13.9%) respondents indicated that child labour is part of children's upbringing while 18.0% were of the opinion that working children are smarter than those children who do not work. Forty five percent (45.0%) of the participants agreed that children should be paid when they work and 57.8% believed that children are born to assist their parents. A few of the participants (19.0%) reported that involving children in income generating activities

empowers parents financially. Eighteen percent (18.0%) of the participants claimed to have under-aged domestic servants. Of these, 66.8% had formal education and 11.5% no formal education ($p<0.05$). More participants (63.7%) with formal education involved their own under-aged children in personal businesses compared with others without formal education (32.0%) ($p<0.05$). Civil servants, teachers, doctors, lawyers, engineers had more under-aged domestic servants (83.2%) than traders and artisans (15.3%) ($p<0.05$). Artisans and traders (51.6%) had more children who hawk on the streets than other professionals (8.7%) ($p<0.05$). There was unanimity of opinion among the in-depth interviewees that despite its disadvantages child labour was common in their communities. Child labour was said to make girls vulnerable to rape, pregnancy and prostitution and predisposes boys to thuggery and other anti-social vices. It was recommended that government should create job opportunities for parents and enforce appropriate legislation to curb the practice of child labour in the society.

Child labour is a common practice in the study area and many parents perceived it to be beneficial. Health education strategies like public enlightenment, counselling and advocacy are needed to address the problem.

Key words: Child labour, Parents' perception, Practice of child labour, Reasons for child labour.

Word Count: 194

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this study was carried out by Ene Olukemi EBONG in the Department of Health Promotion and Education, University of Ibadan

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS / ACRONYMS

NAGCAT	North American Guidelines for Children's Agricultural Tasks
CDWs	Child Domestic Workers
ICCLE	International Centre on Child Labour and Education
ICFT	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
IDIs	In-Depth Interviews
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
RECLISA	Reducing Exploitive Child Labour in Southern Africa
WHO	World Health Organization
LGA	Local Government Area
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nation's Children's Education Fund

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Child labour is a major problem in the world today, occurring in both developing and developed countries (Scanlon, Prior, Lamarao, Lynch and Scanlon, 2002; Fifield, Gaman and Anderson, 2004). It is a current topic of global concern but data on the issue are usually under-estimated because of differences in the design and implementation of surveys (ILO, 1998; Fetuga, Njokama, and Olowu, 2005). According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) there are about 352 million children engaged in some form of economic activity in the world (ILO - IPEC, 2002; Fetuga et al, 2005). It is estimated that at least 120 million children are working full time in developing countries with 250 million children working and going to school (Jayaraj and Subramanian, 1997; UNICEF, 2002). But child labour also exists in many industrialized countries. Numerous children work in occupations and industries which are plainly dangerous and hazardous. They are found in mines, factories making glass bangles, matches and fireworks, deep-sea fishing, and commercial agriculture, to mention a few. The list is endless, as are the dangers and hazards and the consequences.

Child labour covers all economic activities carried out by children regardless of their occupational status (Okpukpara and Odurukwe, 2006). It has probably been in existence almost as long as the history of mankind. Economic activity is a broad concept that encompasses most productive activities of children. It includes both work which is permissible under the ILO's conventions and that which is not (ILO, 1998).

The use of child labour in developing countries is a fundamental social problem with grave consequences for economic development. Child labour has been defined as the participation of children under the age of 15 years in the labour force, in order to earn a living or support household income (Andvig, Canagarajah and Kielland, 2001). It has also been reported that child labour could lead to mass dropout from primary and

secondary schools (Canagarajah and Coulombe, 1997). Child work can indeed sometimes be positive, if it refers to an economic activity that enhances children's development without interfering with their schooling, recreation or rest. Child labour does not include such activities such as helping out after school is over and school work has been done, with light household or garden chores, child care or other light work. Such work is described as light work. There is however, no universally accepted definition of child labour and it is often conventionally defined as children working before they reach the lawful minimum age for employment in their country (often between 14 and 16, the cut-off age for compulsory school attendance). Under ILO's Minimum Age Convention C. 138, light work is defined as work that is "not likely to be harmful to children's health, does not interfere with their education and is therefore not likely to have a negative impact on their development." Light work may be permitted from the age of 12 years. The duration of work, the conditions under which the work is done, and the effects on school or vocational training attendance, are some of the factors to be taken into account to define light work [ILO Minimum Age Convention 1973 (C. 138)].

Although the ILO Minimum Age Convention (C. 138) states that the general minimum age should not be less than the age for completing compulsory schooling (and in any event should not be less than 15 years of age), it offers flexibility for nations that are unable to meet this target by allowing them to set a minimum age of 14 until they are able to comply fully with the convention.

The ILO therefore refers to child labour as: all children below 12 years of age working in any economic activity; those aged 12 to 14 years engaged in harmful work; and all children or young people engaged in the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) [ILO Minimum Age Convention 1973 (C. 138)].

Many researchers have viewed child labour as an index of poverty, subsistence living and general deprivation, and have suggested an outright abolition of this practice (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 1997). Ray (2000) noted that the universal perception of child labour as a problem stems from the widespread belief that employment is destructive to children's intellectual and physical development, especially that of young children. The danger is particularly serious for children who work in hazardous

industries. He observed that working prevents children from benefiting fully from school and may thereby condemn them to perpetual poverty and low wage employment. Basu (1998) however, viewed child labour as a way out of poverty especially for poor households. Basu observed that children contribute as much as one-third of household income in poor families. He stated that such income could not be treated as insignificant in poverty reduction in poor households. Notwithstanding, Nielsen (1998) does not find a positive relationship between poverty and child labour, and thus raises doubt about the claim of poverty being a main determinant of child labour. Canagarajah and Coulombe (1997) analyzed 1991/92 data in Ghana and drew results similar to the Nielsen study. Per capita household income was used as a proxy for welfare or an "inverse" measure of poverty. The result showed a weakly inversely unshaped relationship with child labour. In addition, Ray (2000) noted that child labour need not necessarily be "bad", or warrant action from policy makers. Indeed some (low, non human capital affecting) levels of child labour may even stimulate the children in their personal development as well as generate a natural attachment to the labour market at an early age. Thus, child labour can be beneficial, rather than harmful, as long as it is not undertaken at the expense of educational attainment.

Working children are the objects of extreme exploitation. In terms of hours and pay, children work the longest hours and are the worst paid of all labourers (ILO, 1998). Their working conditions are often severe, not providing the stimulation for proper mental or physical development. Child labour therefore deprives children of their childhood, schooling, potential and dignity. In the short-run, child labour may increase households' income and probability of survival but in the long run, it perpetuates household poverty through lower human capital. Through reduced human capital accumulation, child labour also slows down long run growth and social development (Andvig et al, 2001; UNICEF UK, 2005).

In addition, children compete with unskilled adults for the same jobs hence child workers affect adult employment or depress adult wages (ILO, 2002). This is because children are low cost labour and they ensure that employers get more margin of profit over less investment (Sarada and Neeraja, 2001).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Child labour is a widespread and growing phenomenon occurring in developing countries, including Nigeria (Basu and Van, 1998; ILO, 2002). The ILO (1996) estimated that the prevalence of child labour in developing countries is about 250 million, with 61% in Asia, 32% in Africa and 7% in Latin America. The same source indicated that 120 million children are full time workers, 80% of whom are aged between 10 and 14 years. Basu (1998) reported that in terms of child labour force participation rates, Africa ranks highest, with 33% in East Africa, 24% in West Africa and 22% in Central Africa. This phenomenon hampers human capital development and the potential of developing countries, as Ravallion and Wodon (2000) observe. Estimates show that the number of under-aged working children in Africa could reach some 100 million in the next 10–15 years, posing serious challenges to African policy makers (Assefa, 2002). Little is known about the likely causes for the rise in child labour in Africa and the lack of data has seriously undermined the amount and quality of research on the topic.

In Nigeria there are an estimated 15 million child labourers (UNICEF, 2006). The figures indicate that over the years the number of child labourers has been on the increase. The UNICEF (1998) estimate was 12 million child labourers in 1998, while the ILO (1997) estimated 3,546,000 economically active children in 1995 as against the projected 3,859,000 for the year 2000 for the ages 10-14 years, representing over 20 percent of the age group. These children are withdrawn from schools, and they then participate in extensive child labour such as street trading and the like (Child Welfare League of Nigeria, 1996). The main form of child labour outside the home is street vending. Children as young as 6 years old may be involved in street trading but most are between 9 and 14 years old (Child Welfare League of Nigeria, 1996). Child labourers are more prominent in the semi formal and informal sectors, and almost non-existent in the formal sector.

In Ibadan, not many studies have been done on child labour, and the information available was the result of a study done among the children themselves and within a market. This study therefore seeks to assess the knowledge and perception of parents on child labour in communities in which a representation of the different socioeconomic classes of parents can be found. This study involving parents will then

look at the factors that encourage child labour and enable government and policy makers to proffer solutions to the problems of child labour in Nigeria.

1.3 Justification

There is a general lack of consensus as to the causes of child labour. As such there is no agreement on how to deal with the problem of child labour and this has led to the ineffectiveness of adequately stopping child labour through legislation. This study will provide baseline data on child labour and this will enable government and policy makers to proffer solutions to the problems of child labour in Nigeria.

1.4 Study Objectives

1.4.1 General Objective

The general objective was to assess parents' perception and practice relating to child labour in Ibadan North Local Government Area of Oyo State.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives were to:

1. Assess of the level of awareness of parents in Ibadan North LGA about child labour.
2. Identify and document the perceptive beliefs and norms of the community on child labour.
3. Identify the types of economic activities in child labour.
4. Determine the effect of gender on the type of child labour activities.
5. Document the prevalence, consequences and factors promoting child labour.

1.5 Research Questions

In order to effectively explore the objectives of the study the following research questions were answered.

1. Are parents aware of child labour in their communities?
2. What is the prevalence rate, consequences and factors promoting child labour in the communities?

3. What are the beliefs and norms about child labour among parents?
4. What are the different types of economic activities the children are involved in looking at their gender?

1.6 Hypotheses

This study tested the following hypotheses:

1. There is no significant relationship between education and the practice of child labour among parents in Ibadan North LGA.
2. There is no significant relationship between parents' household monthly income and their attitude to child labour in Ibadan North LGA.
3. There is no significant relationship between knowledge of child labour and the practice of child labour among parents in Ibadan North LGA.
4. There is no significant relationship between knowledge and attitude to child labour among parents in Ibadan North LGA.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Concept of Childhood

A child, according to Encarta dictionary, is a young human being between birth and puberty and is also somebody under a legally specified age who is considered not to be legally responsible for his or her actions (Encarta Premium, 2008). There are 2.2 billion children in the world (Shah, 2008). The UN convention on the Rights of a child describes a child as everyone under the age of 18, entitled to the rights proclaimed in the convention, including the right to be protected from economic exploitation (ILO, 2002; UNICEF UK, 2005). Child and childhood are defined differently by different cultures and international conventions. Any worker with the age over what is defined as a child, but less than 18 years, is often referred to as a young worker. The European Union Directive on young workers defines a young person as anyone under 18 while adolescents are usually teenagers who have passed puberty (although 18 year olds are considered to be adults rather than children) (UNICEF UK, 2005). The EU Directive on young workers uses "adolescents" to refer to 15, 16 and 17 years old who are entitled by their country's law to have left school and to be in full time employment but who still have rights to special forms of protection (UNICEF UK, 2005).

2.2 Concept of Child Abuse

Child abuse consists of any act or failure to act that endangers a child's physical or emotional health and development. A person caring for a child is abusive if he or she fails to nurture the child, physically injures the child, or relates sexually to the child.

2.2.1 Types of child abuse

There are four major categories of child abuse namely

- Physical abuse
- Sexual abuse
- Emotional abuse

- Neglect
- Exploitation

2.2.1. 1 Physical abuse

This is any non-accidental physical injury to a child. Even if the parent or caretaker who inflicts the injury might not have intended to hurt the child, the injury is not considered an accident if the caretaker's actions were intentional. This injury may be the result of any assault on a child's body. It can involve striking, burning, choking or shaking a child.

2.2.1.2 Sexual Abuse

Child sexual abuse is a form of child abuse in which an adult or older adolescent abuses a child for sexual stimulation. Forms of CSA include asking or pressuring a child to engage in sexual activities (regardless of the outcome), indecent exposure of the genitals to a child, displaying pornography to a child, actual sexual contact against a child, physical contact with the child's genitals, viewing of the child's genitalia without physical contact, or using a child to produce child pornography.

2.2.1.3 Emotional Abuse

Emotional abuse is any attitude, behavior, or failure to act on the part of the caregiver that interferes with a child's mental health or social development. Emotional abuse is also known as verbal abuse, mental abuse, or psychological maltreatment or abuse.

Out of all the different forms of abuse, emotional abuse is the hardest to identify. This form of abuse includes name-calling, ridicule, degradation, destruction of personal belongings, torture or destruction of a pet, excessive criticism, inappropriate or excessive demands, withholding communication, and routine labelling or humiliation.

2.2.1.4 Neglect

Neglect is the instance in which the responsible adult fails to adequately provide for various needs, including physical (failure to provide adequate food, clothing, or hygiene), emotional (failure to provide nurturing or affection) or educational (failure to enrol a child in school).

2.2.1.5 Exploitation

There is another type of abuse called child exploitation (distinct from sexual exploitation). This is the use of a child in work or other activities for the benefit of others. Child labor is an example of child exploitation for commercial reasons. Using a child in this way detracts from their own physical, mental, and social development (Benedictis, T., Jalle, J., and Segal, J. 2004)

2.3 An Overview of the Concept of Child Labour

The ILO defines child labour as work which deprives the child of his or her childhood and dignity, which hinders the child's access to educational attainment and which is performed under conditions that are hazardous to the child's health and development (ILO, 2002; UNICEF UK, 2005). In the same vein, child labour is also viewed as the work that harms children or exploits them in some way (physically, mentally, socially, morally or by blocking access to education) (ILO, 2002; UNICEF UK, 2005). It has also been defined as labour performed by children who are too young, that by working they unduly reduce their present economic welfare or their future income earning capabilities, either by shrinking their future external choice sets or through reducing their own future individual productive capabilities (Anyiwo et al 2001; UNICEF, 1997).

Though different definitions of the subject have been posited by different scholars, they all refer to child labour as the practice whereby children below 12 years of age are engaged in harmful work and all children or young people engaged in the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) (ILO 1999a Article 3). The ILO minimum age convention (C.138) (1973) states that the general minimum age for working should not be less than the age for completing compulsory education and in any event should not be less than 15years of age. It offers flexibility for nations that are unable to meet this target by allowing them to set a minimum age of 14 until they are able to comply fully with the convention. The ILO Minimum Age Convention (C.138) and convention on the WFCL (C.182) distinguish between child work that may contribute to a child's healthy development and acceptable child labour. Child work needs to be seen as happening along a continuum, with exploitative work at one end and beneficial work at the other. This is because not all child work is detrimental to children's growth and well being. The ILO convention further stressed that child work can indeed sometimes be positive, if it refers to an economic activity that enhances their development without

interfering with their schooling, recreation or rest (UNICEF, 1997). Under the convention, Light Work is permitted from 12 years of age and is defined as work that is not likely to be harmful to children's health, does not interfere with their education and is therefore not likely to have a negative impact on their development. Child work is simply a descriptive term in which we assume nothing about welfare consequences (Andvig et al. 2001).

For instance, a 12 year old child who delivers newspapers before school might actually benefit from learning how to work, gaining responsibility, and a bit of money. But what if the child is not paid? Then he or she is being exploited and if the work does not allow him or her to go to school then it is harmful work (UNICEF UK, 2005). The duration of work, the conditions under which the work is done, and the effect on school or vocational training attendance, are some of the factors to be taken into account to define what light work is.

2.3.1 Hazardous Work

The need to measure hazardous and other WFCL has taken on added urgency since the adoption in 1999 of ILO Convention No. 182 which focused on the WFCL, which are defined as comprising:

(a) All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;

(b) The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;

(c) The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;

(d) Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (ILO, 1999a, Article 3).

The WFCL indicated under (a), (b) and (c) are clearly specified, but are very difficult to measure because of their illegal and immoral (and therefore often clandestine) nature. Work likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (d)) is less clear; undoubtedly it is easier to "know it when you see it" than to define it and to collect survey information with which to measure it. Convention No. 182 refers to national

laws to determine such work: "... types of work referred to under Article 3(d) (of C 182) shall be determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority ... taking into consideration international standards, in particular Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation, 1999" (ILO, 1999b, Article 4). According to this Recommendation (No. 190, the provisions of which supplement those of Convention No. 182), consideration should be given to the following to determine which types of work are hazardous:

(a) Work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse;

(b) Work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces;

(c) Work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads;

(d) Work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health;

(e) Work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer (ILO, 1999b, Paragraph 3).

Hazardous and prohibited child labour as specified in national legislation fall under four general criteria: (i) a general prohibition; (ii) prohibition in certain industries or occupations; (iii) prohibited physical environment; and (iv) prohibition of certain agents or products. The most common approach in national legislation is to specify the particular occupations or industries deemed to be hazardous for children.

2.3.2 Categories of child labour for abolition

Child labour slated for abolition falls into the following three categories:

- Labour that is performed by a child who is under the minimum age specified for that kind of work (as defined by national legislation, in accordance with accepted international standards), and that is thus likely to impede the child's education and full development.
- Labour that jeopardizes the physical, mental or moral well-being of a child, either because of its nature or because of the conditions in which it is carried out, known as hazardous work.

- The unconditional WFCL, which are internationally defined as slavery, trafficking, debt bondage and other forms of forced labour, forced recruitment of children for use in armed conflict, prostitution and pornography, and illicit activities.

2.3.3 Conventions on child labour

The International Community has over the years come up with series of conventions regarding child labour. This includes the following:

- ILO Minimum Age Convention (No 138), 1973 – this statute is abolitionist, and provides minimum age for work as 15 years.
- UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989 - Prioritized children's overall health and wellbeing.
- ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, 1998 - included the elimination of child labour as one of the four fundamental principles which ILO members undertook to respect.
- ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No 182), 1999 - "Worst forms" of child labour should be prioritized for intervention.

2.4 Global View of Child Labour

Child labour is a universal problem and no region or country is unaffected. The ILO in 2006 stated that there was a reduction in child labour activities, especially its worst forms, in many parts of the world and that the end of child labour is within reach (ILO, 2006). It also stated that child labour fell by 11% at the global level in the last four years and this was especially in the area of hazardous work. The number of children in hazardous work decreased overall by 26% and by 33% in the 5 – 14 age groups. Latin America and the Caribbean made the greatest progress as the number of children at work fell by two-thirds over the last four years, and now just 5% of children are engaged in child labour. The least progress has been made in sub-Saharan Africa, where the level of child labour remains high. Natural disasters, sharp economic downturns, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, armed conflict, including illegal and clandestine forms of work such as prostitution, drug trafficking, pornography and other illicit activities, drive children into debilitating child labour. But despite this reduction there are 317 million economically active children in the world aged 5 – 17 years. Of these, 218 million are child labourers (one in every six children) and 126 million are involved

in hazardous work (Figure 1). Between the ages of 5 – 14, there are 191 million economically active children; of these 166 million are child labourers and 71 million are involved in hazardous work. There are also 127 million economically active children aged 15 – 17 of whom 52 million are child labourers and 52 million are involved in hazardous work while another 8.4 million children are in the unconditionally WFCL (Tables 1 and 2) (ILO. 2002; ILO. 2006).

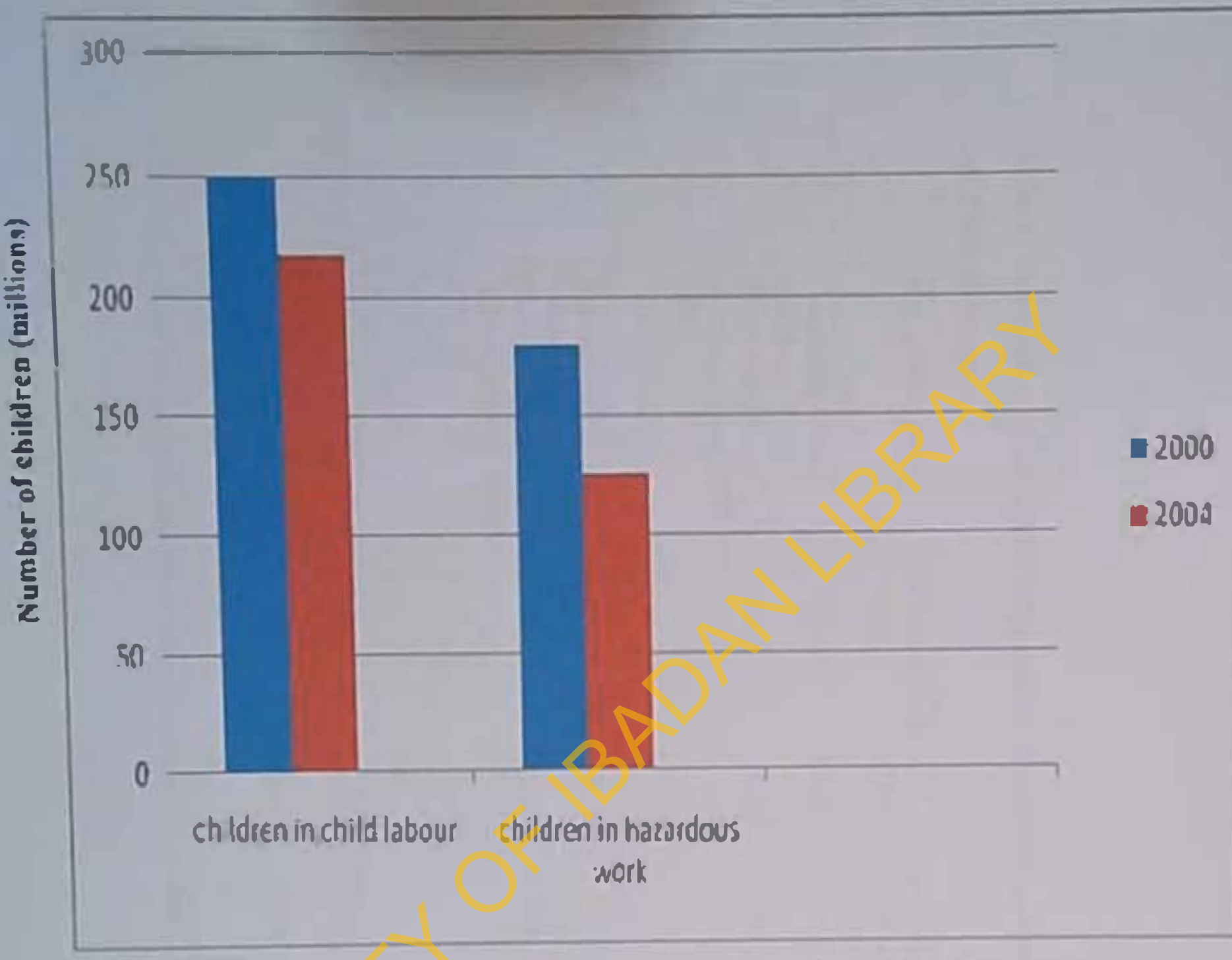

Figure 1. Children in labour and hazardous work (ILO, 2006)

Table 1. Estimates of children engaged in economic activity, child labour and worst forms of child labour in 2000 and 2004 (by age)

	Age group (years)	Child population		Of which: economically active children		Of which: child labourers		Of which: children in hazardous work	
		2000	2004	2000	2004	2000	2004	2000	2004
5 -17	Number(millions)	1531.4	1566.3	351.9	317.4	245.5	217.7	170.5	126.3
	Incidence (% of age group)	100.0	100.0	23.0	20.3	16.0	13.9	11.1	8.1
	% change from 2000 to 2004	-	2.3	-	-9.8	-	-11.3	-	-25.9
5 -14	Number(millions)	1199.4	1206.5	211.0	190.7	186.3	165.8	111.3	74.4
	Incidence (% of age group)	100.0	100.0	17.6	15.8	15.5	13.7	9.3	6.2
	% change from 2000 to 2004	-	0.6	-	-9.6	-	-11.0	-	-33.2
15 -17	Number(millions)	332.0	359.8	140.9	126.7	59.2	51.9	59.2	51.9
	Incidence (% of age group)	100.0	100.0	42.4	35.2	17.8	14.4	17.8	14.4
	% change from 2000 to 2004	-	8.4	-	- 10.1	-	-12.3	-	-12.3

Source: Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC), (I.L.O. 2002; I.L.O. 2006)

Table 2. Unconditional Worst forms of child labour

Unconditional worst forms of child labour	Prevalence (millions of children)
Trafficked children[1]	1.2
Forced and bonded labour	5.7
Armed Conflict	0.3
Prostitution and pornography	1.8
Drug production or trafficking	0.6
Total	8.4

[1] Children are generally trafficked into another worst form of child labour. Therefore, the number of trafficked children cannot be included in a calculation of the total number of children in the worst forms of child labour, as this would result in double-counting.

Source: ILO estimates for 2000 based on various secondary sources (ILO, 2006)

Furthermore, the gender proportions show that boys and girls are equally involved in economic activity up to the age of 14 but after that the proportion of boys increases. Boys are more afflicted to child labour particularly in hazardous work and they represent around 60 per cent of the children aged 12 years and over in hazardous work (ILO, 2002; ILO, 2006; Catholic Online 2007)

Labour force participation rates for children 5 -14 years vary greatly from country to country, ranging from close to zero in most developed countries to an average of 20% in Latin America and 40% in Africa (Jayaraj and Subramnnian,1997; UNICEF, 2002). Asia and the Pacific habour the largest number of economically active children between the ages of 5 - 14 years ((127.3 million or 60% of the world total) (Table 3)) who are involved in the worst forms of child labour while sub-Saharan Africa has the greatest proportion of working children. (Figure 2) The estimates show that almost one child in three below the age of 15 is economically active in the region (ILO, 2002). Sub- Saharan Africa has made the least progress in tackling child labour as children work in a wide range of employment sectors, with 70% engaged in agricultural work such as agriculture, fishing, hunting and forestry (Figure 3). Some 8 per cent are involved in manufacturing and the wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels; 7 per cent in domestic work and services; 4 per cent in transport, storage and communication; and 3 per cent in construction, mining and quarrying (Ashagrie, 1998; ILO, 2002).

A large majority of child labour takes place in commercial agricultural industries associated with global markets for cocoa, coffee, cotton, rubber, sisal, tea and other commodities. Studies in Brazil, Kenya and Mexico have shown that children under 15 make up between 25 and 30 per cent of the total labour force in the production of various commodities. In addition, in many developed countries, agriculture is also the sector in which most children work and family farms are a common exemption from minimum age legislation (ILO, 2002).

Table 3. Regional estimates of economically active children aged 5 - 14 years in 2000

Region	Number of children (in millions)	World total by groups (%)	Work ratio (%)
Developed economies	2.5	1	2
Transition economies	2.4	1	4
Asia and the Pacific	127.3	60	19
Latin America & Caribbean	17.4	8	16
Sub - Saharan Africa	48.0	23	29
Middle East & North Africa	13.4	6	15
Total	211		18

These estimates are prone to higher error rates than the corresponding global estimates as a result of the reduced number of data sets available for their calculation. Rounding errors mean that percentage totals do not equal 100. The groupings follow the categories adopted in the ILO Key Indicators of the Labour Market (KILM). The total number of children aged 5-14 in the world in 2000 was approximately 1.24 billion, of which the Asia-Pacific region accounted for 28 per cent and sub-Saharan Africa for 7.4 per cent.

Sources: ILO Bureau of Statistics: Data for 2000 based on 39 national household surveys; ILO: The ILO economically active population estimates and projections (LABORSTA), see www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/info/data.htm; and United Nations Population Division: *World Population Prospects: The 2000 Revision. Volume I: The sex and age distribution of the world population* (New York: United Nations 2001)(ILO, 2002)

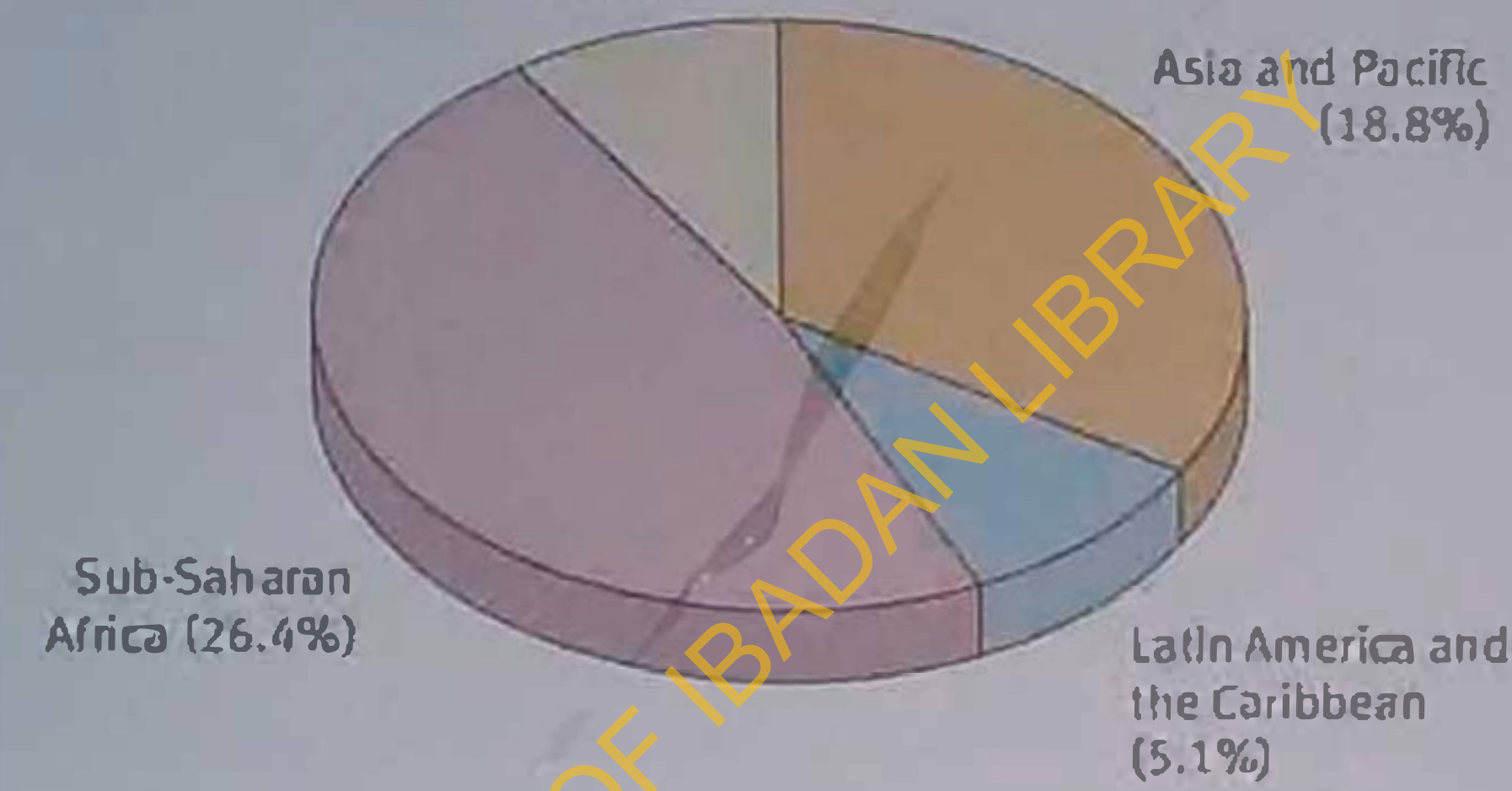

Figure 2 Activity rates for economically active children by region (ILO, 2006)

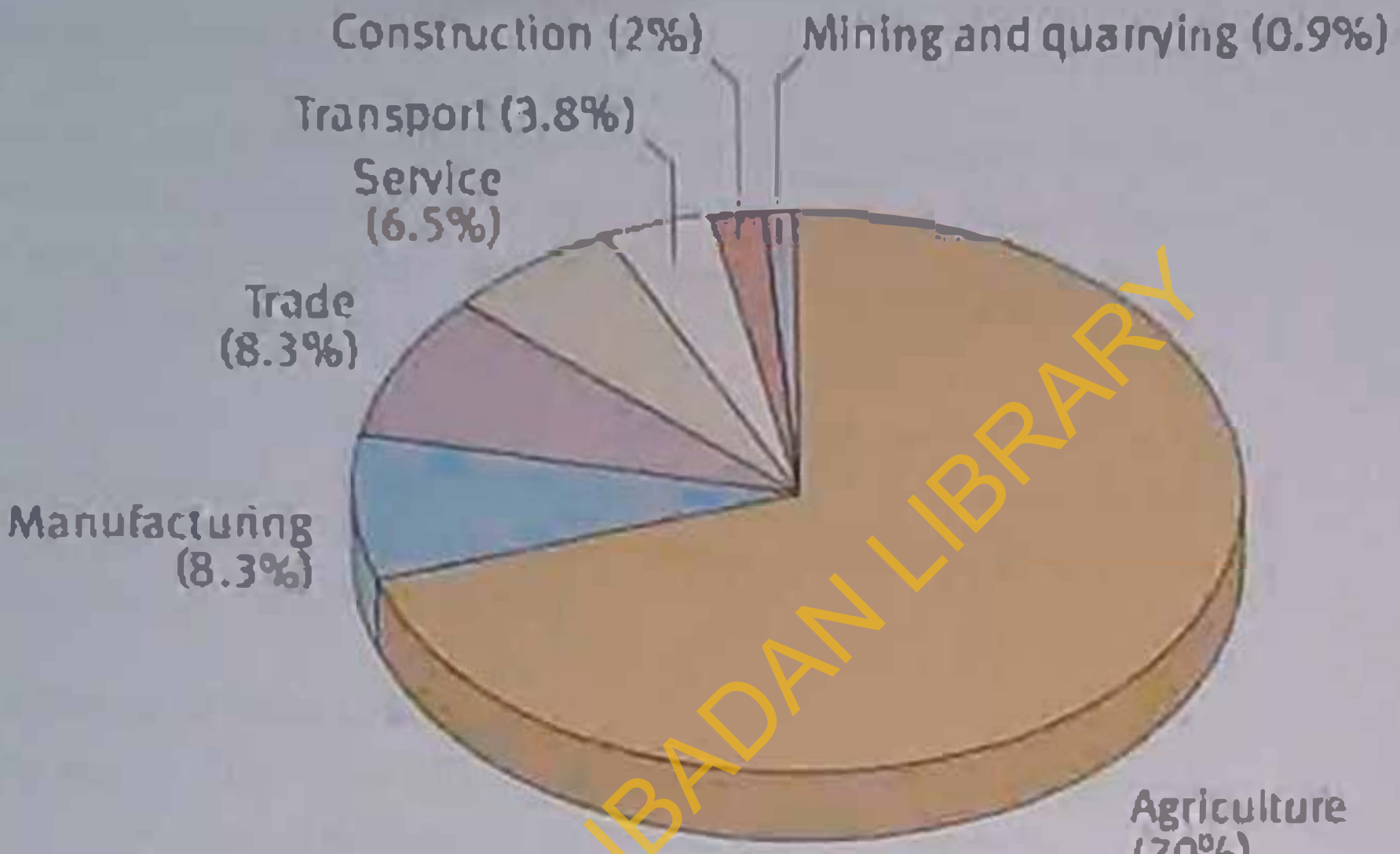

Figure 3. Economically active children in 26 countries by industry (Ashagrie, 1998)

But the informal economy, where workers are not recognized or protected under the legal and regulatory frameworks of the labour market, is where the most child labourers are found, and this is one of the principal challenges to the effective abolition of child labour (I.L.O. 2002).

Some work, such as mining and deep-sea fishing, are obviously dangerous, while other work, which at first sight may appear harmless, may be similarly hazardous especially for young, undernourished and otherwise vulnerable children for example domestic and service jobs and farming (I.L.O. 2002).

Also children in Asian and Latin American countries work mainly in garment and electronic industries at cheaper rates, thus enabling employers to maximize profit. In Africa, child labour is more service-oriented due to the economic globalization in Africa (Togunde and Newman, 2005).

2.5 Causes of Child Labour

2.5.1 Poverty – Children work because their parents are poor and cannot provide the basic needs of the family, so children have to contribute to the family budget as they are seen as an economic gain. Family poverty however is a protrusion of societal poverty. The poor economic condition of many countries is continuing and many children have to work instead of being in school (Oyaide, 2000).

2.5.2 Rural residence – Children who live in the rural areas are more likely to work, usually in low skilled agricultural work (Patrinos and Psacharapoulos, 1997). Some of these children are from families rich in land, and so are more likely to work on the farm (Bhalotra and Heady, 2002). But, urban child workers are more likely to be engaged in more hazardous work (Ray, 2000).

2.5.3 Family size - The larger the family the greater the probability that the children will work. Larger families increase the likelihood that the family is impecunious, thus in need of the extra income that working children provide (Patrinos and Psacharapoulos, 1997).

2.5.4 **Low parental education** - Low parental education, especially if the mother is poorly educated, increases child labour rates. Uneducated parents may underestimate the value of education (Ray, 2000). Also if the parents worked in their childhood then their children are more likely to work (Emerson and Souza, 2004).

2.5.5 **Child characteristics** – The older a child is, the more likely it is that the child will work. This is because older children can command a higher wage (Cigno and Rosati, 2000). The incidence of child labour is the same for both sexes, but boys are more likely to be engaged in more hazardous work (Ray, 2000).

2.5.6 **Schooling costs and quality** – The high cost and low quality of available education increases child labour rates because parents could decide that the benefits of working would outweigh schooling (Jensen and Nielsen, 1997).

2.5.7 **Orphans and abandoned children** - Children are more likely to work if they do not have a parent to provide for them and act in their best interest (Bhalotra and Tzannotos, 2003). Thus they are forced to take over adult roles as earning members and principal bread winners of the family due to death, disability or ill health of one or both parents.

2.5.8 **Repression of worker rights** - Workers' abilities to organize unions affect the international protection of core labour standards, including child labour. Attacks on workers' abilities to organize make it more difficult to improve labour standards and living standards in order to eliminate child labour. Thus children compete with unskilled adults for the same jobs and consequently child workers affect adult employment or depress adult wages (ILO, 2002). This is because children are low cost labour and they ensure that employers get a larger margin of profit with less investment (Sarada and Neeraja, 2004; Cigno and Rosati, 2000).

2.5.9 **Weak laws or law enforcement** – Labour laws around the world are often not enforced or include exemptions that allow for child labour to persist in certain sectors, such as agriculture or domestic work. Even in countries where strong child labour laws exist, labour departments and labour inspection offices are often under-funded and under-staffed, or courts may fail to enforce the laws. Similarly, several state governments allocate a small amount of resources to enforcing child labour laws. Even when laws or codes of conduct exist, they are often violated. For example, the manufacture and export of products often

involves multiple layers of production and outsourcing, which can make it difficult to monitor who is performing the labour at each step of the process. Extensive subcontracting can intentionally or unintentionally hide the use of child labour (Sarada and Neeraja, 2004).

2.5.10 **National laws often include exemptions** – For example in Nepal the minimum age is 14 for most work, but plantations and brick kilns are exempt. Kenya prohibits children under 16 from industrial work but excludes agriculture, while Bangladesh specifies a minimum age for work but also sets no regulations on domestic work or agricultural work (Sarada and Neeraja, 2004).

2.5.11 **National debt burdens** – The effects of poverty in developing countries are often worsened by the large interest payments on development loans. The structural adjustments associated with these loans often require governments to cut education, health, and other public programs, further harming children and increasing pressure on them to become child labourers. It is estimated that Sub-Saharan Africa pays $10 million in debt each day, while 40% of Sub-Saharan African children receive no education (Sarada and Neeraja, 2004).

2.5.12 **Intense global competition** – As multinational corporations expand across borders, countries often compete for jobs, investment, and industry. This competition sometimes slows child labour reform by encouraging corporations and governments to seek low labour costs by resisting international standards. Some U.S. legislation has begun to include labour standards and child labour as criteria for preferential trade and federal contracts. However, international free trade rules may prohibit consideration of child labour or workers' rights. (Sarada and Neeraja, 2004; Roggero, Mongiaterra, Bustreo, and Rosati, 2007)

2.6. Adverse effects of child labour

The occupational injury and mortality rates of children are usually more than adults (Anwar and Hesketh, 2008). Also only a few studies that have been done show the effect of child labour on psycho-social wellbeing of children since working children are the objects of extreme exploitation and abuse (Hesketh, Gamlin and Woodhead 2006). More evidence shows that the growth and development of children in industry and agriculture is severely compromised. Some of the reported cases

include poisoning, serious skin and other infections, chronic lung [illegible], cancers, burns, amputations, skeletal deformities and the impairments to hearing, vision and immune function (Graitcer and Lerer, 1998).

In the USA, immigrant working children work long hours in the farms in New York State and are exposed to pesticides (UNICEF, 2007). More recent studies in the Middle East have shown that children who work in artisan shops are exposed to higher levels of solvents, leading to neurotoxic effects, and the long term effects of such exposure is not yet known (Anwar and Hesketh, 2008). Children in domestic service are often victims of physical, psychological and sexual abuse; so also child prostitutes who risk pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV infection (Scanlon et al. 2002).

Child labour hinders development, and its persistence is a barrier to the achievement of goals to reduce poverty, establish universal education, and create equality between the sexes (Anwar and Hesketh, 2008).

Universal primary education cannot be achieved because of child labour, and the attendance of children at school is usually strongly negatively correlated with child labour (figure 4) (UNESCO, 2002 and ILO, 2006). Child labour is detrimental to a child's educational outcome, reducing the ability to earn future capital and perpetuating poverty for children from poor families.

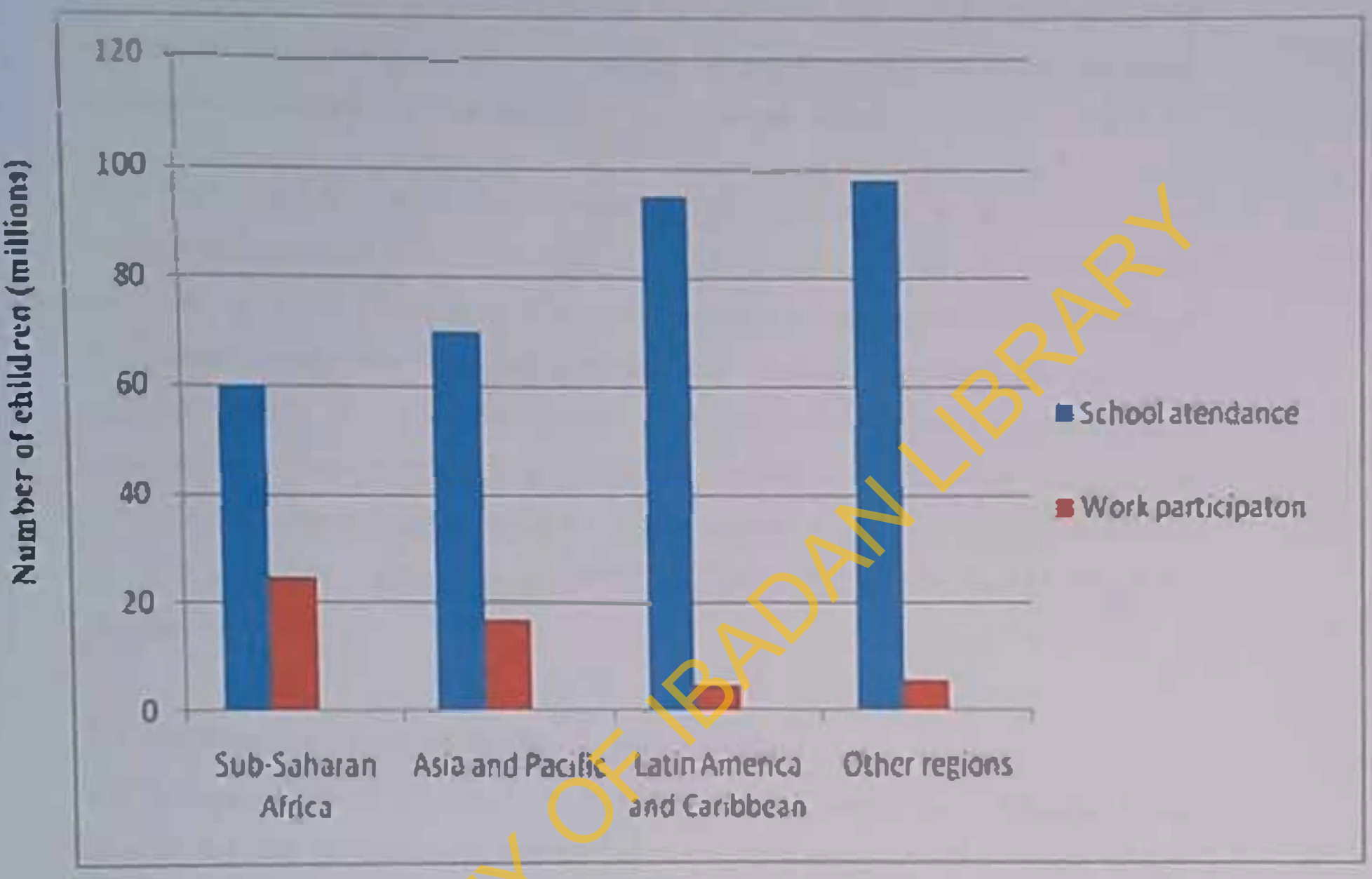

Figure 4. School attendance and work participation of child labourers across the regions (UNESCO, 2002 and ILO, 2006)

The ILO reports that children work the longest hours and are the worst paid of all labourers (ILO, 2006). Their working conditions are often severe, not providing the stimulation for proper mental or physical development. Child labour therefore deprives children of their childhood, their schooling, their potential and their dignity. Most child labourers begin working at a very young age, are malnourished, and work long hours in hazardous occupations, frequently they do not attend school.

Short term, the most obvious economic impact of child labour at the family level is an increase in household income. Long term, the under accumulation of human capital caused by low school attendance and poor health is a serious negative consequence of child labour, representing a missed opportunity to enhance the productivity and future earnings capacity of the next generation (ILO, 2006; Heady, 2003). Child labourers grow up to be low-wage-earning adults; as a result, their offspring will also be compelled to work to supplement the family's income. In this way, poverty and child labour is passed from generation to generation (Ciallo, 2001; Harper, and Moore, 2003; Roggero et al, 2007).

2.7 Perception of parents about child labour

The findings of a study done by Chandra (2000) in the Giwandi area of Mumbai, India, showed that the perception of parents whose children are involved in labour greatly differs from those of parents whose children are not involved. Most of the parents revealed that participation of a child in labour would depend upon the family background and economic situation. Most of them were of the opinion that education is more important than work, but because of the economic and socio-cultural constraints, preference is given to work.

In another study by Buchmann (2000) on "Family Structure, Parental Perceptions, and Child Labour" in Kenya, the findings showed that, parents' expectations of future financial help from children and perceptions of labour-market discrimination against women are significant determinants of children's enrolment. Educational inequalities are better understood as due to the evaluation of returns on education and household resource constraints rather than as due to gender stereotypes or reliance on child labour. These results challenge traditional explanations of educational inequality in

less industrialized societies and suggest that policies to spark school demand in developing countries may be misguided.

In a study to describe farm parents' perceptions of risks on their farms and determine if the perceptions were associated with using the North American Guidelines for Children's Agricultural Tasks (NAGCAT) and making NAGCAT-recommended changes to enhance the safety of farm work for their children's risk, perception scores were only weakly associated with parents' use of NAGCAT and making NAGCAT recommended safety changes. Also, even though 81% of farm parents perceived farming to be more dangerous than other occupations, only 66% of those parents felt that it was more dangerous for their children to work on a farm than at other jobs (Zentner, Berg, Richard, Pickett, and Marlenga, 2004). Furthermore, despite the voluntary safety guidelines that were provided for the parents and the general perception that farming is a dangerous occupation, many farm-parents were not actively using NAGCAT to reduce the exposure of their children to hazardous farm work. This showed that the voluntary guidelines alone may not be sufficient to protect children working on farms (Zentner et. al. 2004).

Studies on the lives of child domestic workers in the Leh and Kargil district of India (Child Domestic Work, 2007) and child domestic labour in Lusaka, Zambia(Oyaide, 2000) show that poverty or lack of economic self-sufficiency has been found to be the compelling factor as opined by the parents of the child domestic workers (CDWs).

Many parents are poor and lack economic self-sufficiency and are thus compelled to use their children as child domestic workers and involve them in other forms of child labour. Almost 73% lack economic self-sufficiency and are of the below-the-poverty-line population. But, the remaining 33% who are above poverty line and can manage their household also prefer to send their children to pursue work outside in the towns (Child Domestic Work, 2007). Many of the fathers' of CDWs are illiterate (80%) and even more of their mothers' as 101 mothers out of 103 are illiterate.

In the study by Oyaide (2000), 55.3% of the children belong to a joint family structure with large families and small land holdings. Also, in most of these households the head of the family is illiterate and this is so for their mothers as well. Many CDWs (45.6%)

come from families with more than 8 members. These families (67.9% fathers) and (88.3% mothers) earn their living from small businesses and as agricultural labourers respectively. Almost all the families have some cultivable land with the majority (56%) with at least 1-2 days cultivable land.

In a recent study (Bunnak, 2007), parents of children working in brick factories were asked to express their perception of jobs undertaken by their children in terms of heaviness and length of working hours. The findings showed that the proportion of parents reporting that their children's jobs were too heavy for them, or their working hours too long was much lower than that reported by child workers themselves. Of 41 parents, 30.2% said their children's work was not too heavy for them and 44.2% said that the working hours were just about right for their children. This suggests that a sizeable number of parents might believe that the work undertaken by their children in brick factories is right for them. The finding that there are many parents who perceived that the jobs undertaken by their children were just about right for them may explain their rationale for engaging children in child labour. While there are jobs that are not heavy in terms of using physical strength and are not long in terms of time disposals, the severity of child labour can better be examined in combination with children's schooling, as indicated in the ILO Convention 182 about the WFCL (Bunnak, 2007).

Parents also gave reasons why they engage their children in child labour as: additional money needed for the family; parents needing help to pay off debts; work in a brick factory becomes the family job; children have to work this job because the family lives in the factory; children will replace their parents who are old or sick; children want to work because they have free time; and finally children work because they need money to cover school expenses.

All parents were asked if they thought that brick factories were a safe place for their children to live or to work. Interestingly, 30% of the parents (11 of 31 parents who lived in brick factories and 2 out of 10 parents who did not live in brick factories) said "yes" to each question. This means that a substantial number of parents view brick factories as both a safe living place and a safe workplace for their children. While not every kid living or working in a brick factory suffers, such a parental view causes a great concern about the well-being of children. The other 66.7% of parents are of the

view that brick factories are not suitable for children to live in to work. They reported four primary concerns about brick factories as a place for young children to live: flying ashes, stepping on burning ashes, possibility of bricks falling on the children, and getting cut or injured by brick pieces. Regarding the brick factory as an unsafe place for children to work, a variety of explanations were given by these parents. They include, in addition to the above four concerns, a danger associated with working with brick making machine, sanitary problems, or the danger of trucks running over children (Bunnak, 2007).

Another study by Chinweuzu (2007) on poverty of parents and child labour in Ibadan City, Nigeria, showed that parents approved and encouraged the participation of their children in work, and when parents were not the direct employers they provided information on job openings. Poor parents, apparently acting under economic compulsion, actively encourage the employment of their wards or turn a blind eye where it occurs without their express approval. Also all mothers in the study agreed that children's earnings are life savers, and they assessed the earnings in terms of how much the money augments their expenditures on essential items for the family. They also used the money to pay incessant levies by school teachers while very few saved the income for the children.

On the whole, the findings show that the perception of parents whose children are involved in labour greatly differs from those of parents whose children are not involved. Most of the parents revealed that participation of a child in labour would depend upon the family background and economic situation. Most of them also opined that education is more important than work. However, due to economic and socio-cultural constraints, preference is given to work.

2.8 Perception of employers on child labour

In Bangladesh, employers believe that child labour is needed in order to develop adequate expertise at a trade, and this is done through working at it for a long period. Employers also had themselves worked as children so this as a crucial period of apprenticeship. It is also an accepted practice and is sanctioned by the fact that most trades are taught in this way.

Also a significant proportion of 'children's tasks' are those that are seen as best done by 'small agile bodies' – the 'nimble fingers' claim. In a striking example, children who work in steel workshops have to work inside the compartments of *almirah*, the steel cupboards used to store valuables. In motor workshops it is very easy for a child to get under a car. The physical size of the person doing the task is therefore seen as vital. Small children also dart easily in and around crowded workspaces.

Secondly adults shy away from many tasks performed by children on grounds of status, particularly if they are seen as dirty tasks. Adults are often also reluctant to take on positions that require them to take orders, particularly to do menial jobs (such as cleaning).

In addition, the low cost of children's labour makes it possible to use their labour inefficiently. Few employers will be willing to pay fulltime adult employee wages for tasks which are intermittent, unskilled or low priority. For example, small boys are employed in tea shops and restaurants where their main roles are to wipe tables, sweep, and run errands. Customers are repulsed by being served by the same person who cleans the table, so adults are not involved in cleaning. Also employers prefer not to employ adults just for this job because of the expense. Similarly, children are attractive as domestic workers as they can live at no additional cost in the employer's house, and can be available constantly, including to perform low-priority tasks like entertain the employer's children. The higher cost of adults would make this an inefficient and costly use of their time. (Taniquzzaman and Kaiser, 2008)

2.9 Policy approaches to tackle child labour

According to Betcherman, Fares, Luinstra, and Prouty, (2004) the policy approaches to tackle child labour are as follows:

2.9.1 Improve incentives – this can be done in the following ways:

- Make school attendance more accessible - more schools, flexible schooling
- Reduce or eliminate school fees
- Eliminate discrimination against girls in school
- Improve educational quality - teaching, materials
- Improve basic services - for example, access to clean water

2.9.2 Remove constraints

- Reduce poverty
- Social safety nets
- Cash or food linked to participation in education
- Improve access to credit
- Better labour market functioning

2.9.3 Protection and rehabilitation services

- Remove children from hazardous and WFCL
- Enforce health and safety and other employment standards
- Provide access to education and health services
- Offer vocational training and other rehabilitation services

2.9.4 Legislation

- Introduce and enforce child labour laws
- Introduce and enforce compulsory education laws

2.9.5 Standard work schedule for children aged 5-17 years (UNICEF, 2002)

The amount of work each child should do according to their ages is as follows:

- 5-11: At least one hour of economic work or 28 hours of domestic work per week.
- 12-14: At least 14 hours of economic work or 28 hours of domestic work per week.
- 15-17: At least 43 hours of economic or domestic work per week

2.10 Child Labour in Africa

Africa is the poorest continent in the world and has the highest prevalence of child labour. ILO data indicate that more than 10% of African children work, which is double the figure for Asia. Household surveys have even suggested that over 95% of child labour takes place in and around private households on the continent. (Andvig et al. 2001).

Incidences of child labour are also differentiated within the continent itself. Countries that have a large percentage of child workers are on the average, poor countries and it has been taken for granted that poverty is the major reason for child labour in Africa

Basu (1999) states that sending their children into the labour force are the family's last income-earning resort and as soon as income increases, children are usually withdrawn.

Cultural factors and norms also pull children towards the labour force. In Africa a high value is placed on having children work at home or in the family farm. Most African child labour is not wage labour, but labour performed in the household. Also African countries are more rural and still dominated by household production, not large land holdings combined with labour markets. These factors cause high child participation rates (Andvig et al. 2001).

This form of non-wage child labour is not considered harmful or a welfare issue, although this view is opposed by many Western countries (Andvig et. al. 2001)

2.10.1 Categories of child labour in Africa

Three main categories of child labour which have been identified are:

- Domestic child labour performed in one's own household, the household of relatives or of other families
- Farm work on the farm or at commercial plantations
- Begging, petty sales and services performed by urban children, managed by their own parents. (Canagarajah and Coulombe 1997, Kielland, 2000)

It is noteworthy that as women in African agricultural households do a larger share of tasks, younger children of both sexes tend to do more of women's than men's tasks. As the children grow older, they tend to do more tasks related to their gender, which means that female children start to take on more work, and child labour becomes more an issue of girls' labour (Andvig et. al. 2001).

The high birth rate on the continent also means that older children, primarily girls, do a large share of infant and toddler childcare (Grootaert, 1998).

2.10.2 Child labour at home

Most African children work, but rural children work more than their urban peers (Canagarajah and Coulombe 1997; Kielland, 2000). Studies in West Africa have shown that children perform large amounts of work even when they attend formal school. Domestic labour demand is also a major reason for school dropout, as illustrated in Ethiopia. Girls are needed for housework while boys are needed on the family farm. Thus, the decision to send a child to school is not only a matter of expense, but also of substantial indirect costs in terms of unused child labour (World Bank, 1998).

Various studies have challenged the claim that poverty and child labour are linked. A study from Kenya indicates that child labour increases with the size of the family land holding. Also, in Ghana, the correlation between poverty and child labour is weak. While most rural children are involved in work activities, quite a few perform hazardous or strenuous labour. Approximately nine million girls and two million boys in Africa are engaged in this kind of labour in and around their own households.

2.10.3 Child Labour away from own household

Although the number of children working in the formal sector is low, they have stiller working conditions which are most times extremely harmful. Often times these children leave home because of household poverty or in search of better opportunities. Around five million children engage in paid work in commercial agriculture and this is particularly severe during harvest times. In Kenya 30% of coffee pickers are children, while 25,000 school children work under hazardous conditions in Tanzanian plantations and mines (Andvig et al, 2001; I.L.O. 1996).

The sale or contracting out of children is common in several countries with contracting out of children being done in greater amounts. These children work mainly in agriculture or as domestic servants and also in mining and organized begging activities.

Domestic service is probably the largest child labour market outside the agricultural sector. About 85% of child domestic servants in Africa are girls; boy servants are also common in many countries (Andvig et al, 2001). Child servants are poorly paid, work

long hours and are discriminated against. They are also maltreated and abused and only a few go to school

One of the most serious cases of child labour includes children who work and sometimes live on the street. Although there are not many cases of this, many urban children work in the streets and public places. Child prostitution is not so common in Africa compared with Asia and Latin America. But children who are working in the streets and as domestic servants are practically defenceless to sexual harassment and abuse. In addition, children who have been forced to become soldiers roam the streets of Africa's conflict and post conflict countries, representing a serious traumatized group, harmful both to themselves and to others.

The link between household poverty and child labour is not clear in Africa (Andvig et al. 2001). Children's work activities and their social and economic context vary greatly between ethnic groups and not all forms of child labour are harmful

2.11 Child Labour in Nigeria

Nigeria which has a population of 151.5 million people is the most populous country in Africa and is the 8th most populous country in the world (UN, 2008). Nigeria has more than 250 ethnic groups with the largest being the Fulani/Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo ethnic groups. There is an estimated 521 indigenous languages in Nigeria with 3 main religions namely Islam, Christianity and indigenous religion

Nigeria has an estimated 15 million child labourers under the age of 14, who are working across the country. Of these, over eight million children manage, at least partly, to stay in school, and work, in their spare time to pay education fees. As a result of the high demands at work these children often skip classes (UNICEF, 2006). Also about six million do not attend school at all. This number is equally split between boys and girls (UNICEF, 2006). One million children are forced to drop out of school due to poverty or because of parents' demand to contribute to the family income. Most of these children are exposed to long hours of work in dangerous and unhealthy environments, carrying too much responsibility for their age. The figures over the years indicate that the number of child labourers has been on the increase over the

years. This has been attributed to the end of the oil boom in the late 1970s coupled with mounting poverty. As such millions of children have been driven into labour (UNICEF, 2006).

Child labour occurs mainly in semi-formal and informal businesses with hundreds of thousands young domestic servants, mainly working for prosperous urban families. Domestic servants are the least visible category and are often sexually harassed. Among the young domestic workers employed in Lagos one half of them said they knew of sexually molested domestic servants (UNICEF, 2006).

Sementari (2000) referred to by Rotimi and Oguntoyinbo (2002), noted that Nigeria acts as a receiver, supplier and transit country for children who are moved from various West African countries. Such children are "recruited" from Benin Republic or Togo to work as domestic servants in Nigeria. Others are brought in from the Cameroon, Togo and Benin Republic to be supplied to Gabon or Equatorial Guinea. Rotimi and Oguntoyinbo (2002) placed child labour in Nigeria under three major types for analytical purposes: City Child Labour; Cultural Child Labour and Forced Labour. Children in "City Child Labour" include those who have run away from the rural areas and include boys and girls who 'hawk' consumer items and fuel along the highways or in many corners of the urban areas. Some of them 'hawk' water in sachets also known as "pure water" and various types of foods. The second category "Cultural Child Labour" are children who contribute to the work needed within the family either at home or by following their parents especially in the case of nomads. Rotimi and Oguntoyinbo noted that the third category "Forced Labour," is the most prevalent form of child labour, not only in Nigeria but also, and generally, in the West African sub region. They noted further that the children are brought from neighbouring countries to serve as domestic servants, baby sisters, hawkers and so on.

2.11.1 Settings where child labour occur in Nigeria

Child Labour as a menace pervades all spheres of live in Nigeria. However key areas where it is easily noticeable include the following:

- Public places such as streets and markets: street vendors (61%), beggars (13%), shoe shiners (4%), car washers/watchers (6%), scavengers (5%) and feet washers (8%) (UNICEF, 1998).

- Semi-public settings such as cottage industries and mechanic workshops: apprentice mechanics vulcanisers (24%), bus conductors (17%), iron/metal workers (6%). Carpenters (14%), Tailors/weavers (14%), Hairdressers/barbers (18%), and caterers (8%).
- Private households: child domestic servants, an estimated 40,000 of them (UNICEF, 2006).
- Agricultural plantation and quarries: farm and quarry workers (UNICEF, 1996).
- Child labourers are also found in Nigerian Universities.

  (Rotimi and Oguntoyinbo, 2002) noted that at the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, a child labourer is referred to as "*Omo*" or "*Sewo*" whereas at the University of Ibadan, he or she is referred to as "Any Work". This term is also used at the University of Benin and Lagos. At the Ahmadu Bello University, the child labourer is called "*Yoro Boy*" whilst at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, they are referred to as "*Omo-Nsukka*" meaning Nsukka's child. The tasks performed by "*Omo*"s in universities include washing dishes, cleaning students' rooms, and going to market for students or carrying luggage. These child labourers also help visitors to locate students and they run errands, set tables, and clean up for students' parties. They are usually available at all hours, which shows that some do not go to school, but those who do go usually come back to swell the ranks after school. Most of these children confessed that they work because they need the money for their upkeep and that their parents were aware of and approved of their activities. Teachers in schools which are located near the universities have reported cases of truancy among their pupils, largely attributable to the lure of income from their "*Omo*" activities.

2.12 Steps to curb the problem of child labour in Nigeria

The Nigerian government has formally adopted three ILO conventions setting a minimum age for the employment of children at sea, in industry and underground. They also signed a Memorandum of Understanding in August 2003 in cooperation with ILO to launch a country programme for the Elimination of Child Labour. Some

States in Nigeria for example Anambra State, have also banned children from working during school hours

Although substantial legislation is now in place, enforcement remains another challenge to be met (UNICEF, 2006).

2.13 Conceptual Framework

The PRECEDE and Ecological models will be used to explain the knowledge, attitude and practice of parents in relation to child labour. The PRECEDE model will be useful in identifying relevant antecedent factors that influence behaviour and as a diagnostic and planning framework which would help in planning for the intervention needed to change the behaviour of parents and guardians (Green and Kreuter, 1991). The Ecological model will show the positive side of child labour and the environmental causes of behaviour that encourage child labour.

2.13.1 PRECEDE model

PRECEDE stands for Predisposing, Reinforcing, and Enabling Causes in Educational Diagnosis and Evaluation.

2.13.1.1 Predisposing factors: This is the cognitive aspect of the parent's behaviour, which involves knowledge, and it indicates the level of information parents have in respect to child labour. It is also about their attitude towards child labour, how they feel about it, their values and belief towards child labour.

2.13.1.2 Enabling factors: This is all about their capacity. Do parents have the skills to ensure that they do not engage their children in child labour activities i.e. do they have good jobs and the necessary income and are their family sizes commiserate with their income?

2.13.1.3 Reinforcing factors: This is the influence they get from their relatives, neighbours and others and the influence of the environment parents find themselves.

2.13.2 Ecological Model

There are 5 levels of analysis in the ecological model and they are as follow: Intrapersonal factors; Interpersonal processes and primary groups; Organizational and institutional factors; Community factors and Public policy.

2.13.2.1 Intrapersonal factors: This targets individual beliefs, knowledge and attitude about child labour.

2.13.2.2 Interpersonal processes and primary groups: Family members, friends and neighbours influence the practice of child labour.

2.13.2.3 Organizational and Institutional factors: This includes social institutions and their organizational characteristics and their mode of operation.

2.13.2.4 Community factors: This consists of relationships among organizations and institutions, their norms which are practiced in the community.

2.13.2.5 Public Policy: Regulations that govern child labour.

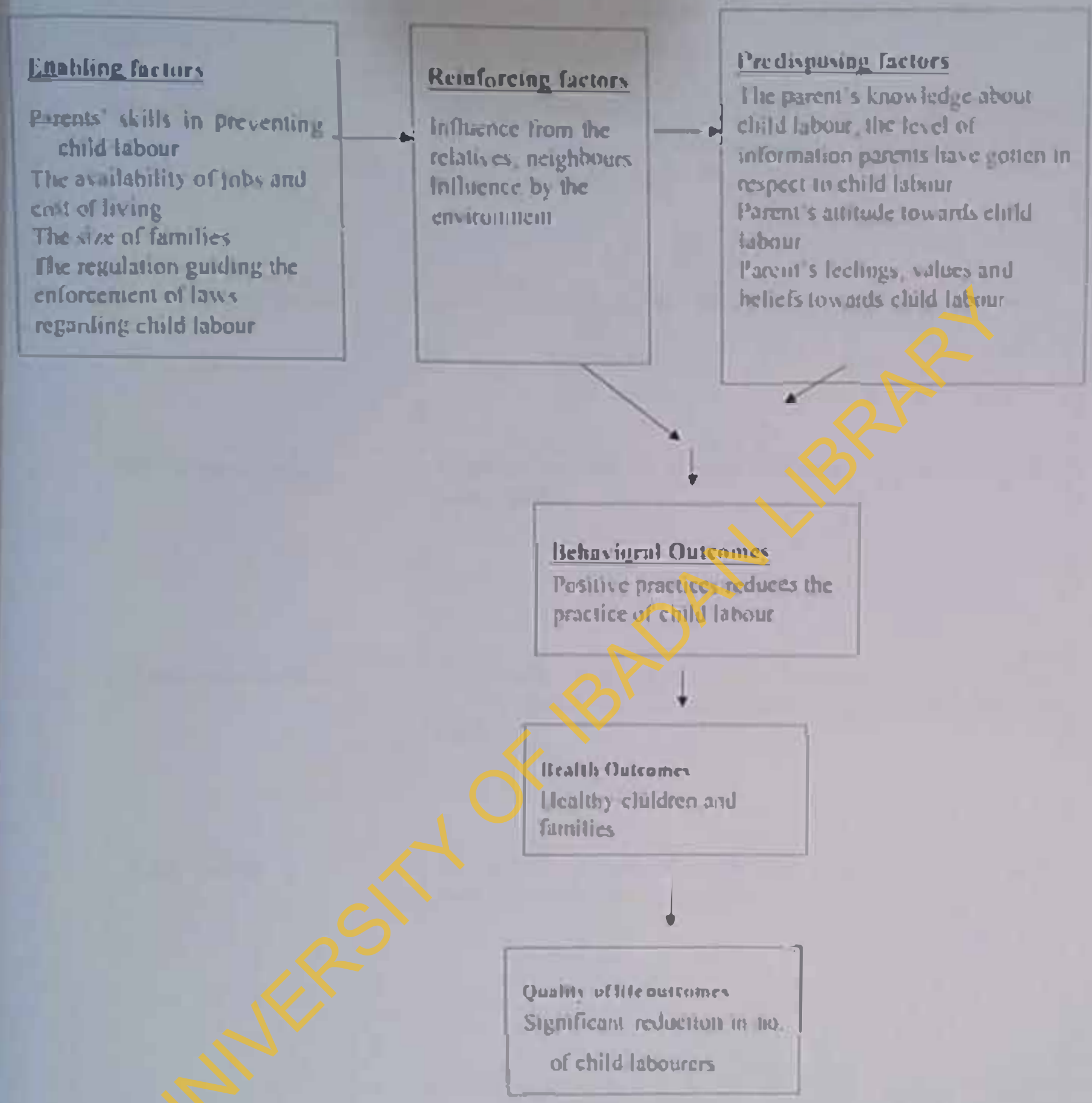

Figure 5. Application of Precede Model to the Practice of Child Labour

Table 4. Application of Ecological Model to the Practice of Child Labour

Intrapersonal factors	Individuals believe that child labour is good for their children and it makes them useful to themselves, their parents and the nation at large through economic growth.
Interpersonal factors	Family members, friends, neighbours practice child labour
Institutional factors	There are no jobs for families and many who have jobs are poorly paid.
Community factors	Community members encourage the practice of child labour as they cannot provide any financial assistance to families in need.
Public policy	All individuals and the community need to be involved in policy formation and regulations.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Design of Study

A cross sectional descriptive study design was used for documenting the perception and practice of child labour among parents in Ibadan North Local Government Area of Oyo State.

3.2 Description of Study Area

Ibadan is the largest city (by geographical area) of African origin south of the Sahara. It grew rapidly as a defensible site during the struggles among the Yoruba people in the late 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. As a military stronghold, Ibadan ruled the empire of the same name in the late 19th century and parts of the city's ancient protective walls still stand. Ibadan is the third largest city in Nigeria by population, and is the capital of Oyo State in southwest of Nigeria. It is dominated by a range of hills in all directions. The population of Ibadan as at 2007 was 3,847,472(estimated) (NPC Ibadan, 2007).

Ibadan consists of 11 Local Government Areas (LGAs) of which five are urban and six are rural and are grouped together and called Ibadan metropolitan area (Appendix I). These 11 LGAs came into existence in August 1991. The urban LGAs are Ibadan North, Ibadan North West, Ibadan North East, Ibadan South East, and Ibadan South West, while the rural LGAs are Akinyele, Lagelu, Egbeda, Ona-Ara, Oluyole and Ido. The total land area of the 11 LGAs of the Ibadan metropolitan area is 3,123.30km^2 of which 15% falls in the urban Ibadan and the remaining 85% in the rural Ibadan. Ibadan is a major commercial, industrial, and administrative centre and is a marketplace for cocoa and other local agricultural produce. Industries include chemicals, electronics, plastics, and motor vehicle assembly. There are also many small businesses in the city, including flour-milling, leather-working, and furniture-making also flourish, while craft industries include weaving, dyeing, and pottery.

Ibadan North is a rural-urban LGA. It has its head quarters at Quarter 8 a reserved area in Agodi community. Ibadan North LGA is surrounded in the North by Akinyele LGA, in the West by Ido- Ibadan North West and Ibadan South West LGA. It is bordered in the south by Ibadan South East LGA and in the East by Ibadan North East LGA.

3.3 Study Variables

The dependent variables are the parents' influence based on their belief, attitude, knowledge and behaviour, while the independent variables are the socio-demographic characteristics such as age, income, tribe, religion etc.

3.4 Study Population

The study population consisted of parents of Ibadan North, which is made up of upper, middle and low class residents.

3.4.1 Eligibility criteria

All parents from the six wards chosen in Ibadan North LGA were eligible to take part in the study.

3.4.1.1 Inclusion criteria

This consists of all the parents from the communities chosen from the six wards who consented during the course of the study. One parent per household was surveyed.

3.4.1.2 Exclusion criteria

This is made up of all parents who did not have any children or wards staying with them or working for them.

3.4.2 Sample Size Determination

The following formula for calculating the sample size using EPI - Info was used in calculating the sample size for the study.

Size of the population	306,795 (NPC Ibadan 2006)
Desired precision (%)	5.00
Expected prevalence (%)	32.0

Design effect	2.0
e Risk (%)	5.0%
Sample Size	669

The sample size was rounded to 700 to take care of attrition, non-response and for increasing the validity of the significant tests.

3.4.3 Sampling Procedure

A three stage sampling technique was employed in selecting respondents.

Stage 1: One urban LGA from the 5 urban LGAs was randomly selected by balloting and Ibadan North was chosen.

Stage 2: Ibadan North LGA was stratified into upper, middle and lower class with 2 wards each chosen from the different strata.

Stage 3: Respondents were then chosen from every other household until the required respondents were gotten.

3.5 Instruments for Data Collection

Qualitative (in-depth interview guide) and quantitative (semi-structured questionnaire) instruments were adopted for data collection.

3.5.1 Qualitative method

An in-depth interview guide (IDI) (see appendix II) was used as a diagnostic tool to explore the topic and improve quality of data collected through the quantitative method. In this method, the IDI guide comprised five questions focusing on the knowledge and perception of parents on child labour, the types of child labour activities practised, reasons for the occurrence of child labour, attitude of the communities to child labour, the challenges and merits of child labour, parents' role in the practice of child labour and how child labour can be reduced in our communities. Ten IDIs were then conducted among key informants in the different communities such as the market leaders, landlords, title holders and religious leaders. The investigator moderated all the sessions and a research assistant did the audio recording of the interview to complement notes that were documented by the investigator.

3.5.2 Quantitative method

Information gathered from the IDI was used in the development of interviewer-administered semi-structured questionnaire (see appendix III). The questionnaire employed both open ended and closed ended questions. The questionnaire was divided into 4 sections. The first section asked for the personal data of the respondents. The second section assessed the awareness and knowledge of parents on child labour in their communities. The third section assessed the attitude of respondents to child labour and the fourth section assessed the pattern of practice among respondents. The questionnaire was written in English and transcribed to Yoruba to ensure that all the research assistants could give the same interpretation of the questionnaire.

3.6 Validity and Reliability of Instruments

In order to ensure validity and reliability of the study instruments for data collection, a number of steps were taken which includes:

3.6.1 Review of instruments by experts: The instruments were reviewed by co-researchers and lecturers, and necessary corrections were made.

3.6.2 Pre-testing of the instruments: Prior to its use, the IDI guide and questionnaire used were pre-tested in Ibadan South West LGA with 7 out of the 12 wards randomly selected and used. The IDIs were conducted on 7 interviewees from 7 wards. Seventy questionnaires (10 in each ward) were administered in the seven wards. The findings from the pre-test were used to make necessary adjustments for the main study.

Training was conducted for the hired research assistants to ensure that they had adequate understanding of the instruments prior to commencement of data collection. The training focused on the objectives and importance of the study, sampling process, how to secure respondents informed consent, basic interviewing skills and how to review questionnaires to ensure completeness. The research assistants were involved in the pre-testing of the questionnaires in order to create opportunity for them to acquire practical interviewing skills.

3.6.3 Measures of internal consistency: The instrument was subjected to measures of internal consistency with the use of Cronbach's alpha coefficient analysis to confirm its reliability. This is a model of internal consistency, based on the average inter-item correlation. When results show greater than 0.05 they are said to be reliable. In this

study the correlation coefficient was 0.609, which is greater than 0.05, thereby confirming the high degree of reliability of the results.

3.7 Data Collection Process

The IDIs were conducted on 10 interviewees from 6 wards out of the 12 wards in Ibadan North LGA. The interviewees were Muslim and Christian religious leaders, landlords "*baales*" (elders) of communities and market leaders. The administration of the questionnaires was done proportionately in the LGA. The LGA, which is made up of 12 wards was stratified into upper, middle and lower classes in order to systematically select respondents with four wards in each classification. Two wards each were then randomly selected from the different strata and 714 questionnaires were administered in six wards with 119 distributed in each ward.

The data collection process took a period of four weeks and each interview lasted between 35 minutes to 50 minutes to an hour for each respondent.

3.8 Ethical Consideration

Informed verbal consent was obtained from all the participants after explaining the objectives of the study to them and ascertaining that they fully understood the study. Participants had the choice to give or withdraw their consent freely, that is each participant was free to withdraw from the study whenever he or she wanted. Confidentiality of each participant was maintained during and after the collection of data. Code numbers were assigned to each participant and no name was required on the questionnaire.

3.9 Data Processing and Analysis

The data collected from the in-depth interviews were transcribed from the tapes and analyzed using the thematic approach, where important themes were generated.

For the questionnaire, data collected each day was checked to ensure that copies of the questionnaire were correctly filled. A coding guide was developed to facilitate data entry. A coding guide was also developed for open-ended responses at the end of data collection. Each questionnaire was coded and the data entered into a computer through the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software, and analyzed. The data

collected were subjected to descriptive (i.e. mean, median and mode) and inferential (i.e. Chi-square) statistical treatment. Finally, information obtained was summarized and presented in tables and charts for better understanding.

3.10 Limitations of the Study

Ascertaining the genuineness of responses provided by the study participants is a daunting challenge in survey research and this study was no exception. Participants were informed that this study was purely for research purposes and their anonymity was guaranteed

The study focused on knowledge, attitude and practice which are personal and sensitive. Some respondents were not willing to give all the information required by the researcher because of the fear of being penalized. Efforts were however made to reduce this problem by assuring them of the confidentiality of all information provided. It is assumed therefore, that all responses were made in honesty.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

4.1 Findings from the in-depth interviews

Responses obtained from respondents who were made up of markets leaders, title holders, landlords and religious leaders were on questions about who a child is, what child labour is, types of child labour, what gender is more affected, reasons for child labour and who is responsible for it, attitude of the community to child labour and the benefits and challenges of child labour, if any.

All the interviewees agreed that a child is a person usually between the ages of 1 day to 18years, with child labour occurring mainly between 6 and 14years of age. Most respondents agreed that there is child labour going on in their communities. When asked about their opinion of what constitutes child labour, a male respondent said that it meant using a child for work that is beyond his/her age in order to bring income to the family. Most of the females interviewed were of the opinion that child labour is caused by the inability of parents to train or take care of their children, hence they send these children to work for money. One female interviewee however held the view that *"Child labour is seen as the way of teaching children to work in case of the future so that they can stand on their own and not be dependent but live independently. If there is no child labour, children will find things difficult in the future especially the females that are going to marry so that they don't wait for their husbands to do everything for them, which should not be"*. Also, child labour was seen by a male interviewee as *"aiding in the learning of the experiences of a child to face future challenges and not just engaging children in home chores but making them to do things"*.

Child labour was categorized into 2 by one male respondent *"at Local under age children hawking or used as home helps, at International – child trafficking, children who are used as prostitutes"*. Various views were given by other interviewees, these

included: putting children under a master to be trained up, carrying heavy loads pulling wheel barrows along the road, bus conducting, welding, sweeping of floors, fetching water, running errands and food canteen assistants. Respondents were able to mention many instances they were aware of, in which child labour occurred within their communities.

Seven of the interviewees held the view that the female child is the most affected by child labour. This is because parents believe that they should be the ones helping out in both the house and at the market place. However, most female interviewees said that *"female children are expected to be good in taking care of domestic chores and there is the general belief that she can handle it properly. It was also said that child labour is used to train female children before they get married so that they may not be a liability to their husbands"* and that *"some parents are unwilling to cater and train the female children because they cannot carry on the family name and all money spent on their education will be wasted since they will eventually get married."* Two of the interviewees said that *"it was both male and female because of the powers level in the country, that these children will help to transform their communities economically by bringing income to their families, male children will wash cars and open gates while the female children will take care of children, wash clothes, clean rooms etc."* A male interviewee felt that *"males were most affected. Because of the situation in the country parents could not provide square meals for their families so they send the boys out and also many of the boys go out themselves to look for work."*

All the interviewees felt that the major reason for child labour is poverty as the parents do not have enough money to provide for the needs of their families. Hence parents are responsible for child labour occurring. Some respondents felt that *"parents don't cater their costs according to their cloth. They have more children than they can cater for and the older children will have to go into street hawking or find some menial jobs."* *"Others take their children to relative's homes where they work as house helps."* A respondent felt that orphans had nobody to care for them and are exposed to child labour especially the females who are involved in prostitution. An interviewee said that *"when parents discover that a particular person is prospering in a particular vocation they encourage their children to do such a job."* Another interviewee said that environmental and societal influences encourage child labour incidence. One

respondent felt that Government was responsible while another felt that the situation in the country encourages child labour even though parents are responsible for it.

Most communities do not see anything wrong with child labour as they (the communities) cannot assist the parents or guardians in the provision of food and basic needs of their children. According to one respondent it is *"our culture, when the children are helping out in the farm or business we believe they are learning ways of being responsible. The community will not help you train your children to work hard for them and will say you know how to"*. Also in most communities, many residents are not too concerned about what their children are doing. They also feel that child labour ensures that their children are engaged in one kind work or the other and this better prepares the child for the future. A male interviewee said that *"they are not bothered about it. People mind their business and do not care whether the child is used for labour or not"*. Two respondents said that their landlords' association and the Muslim elders in their communities were trying to intimate the parents/guardians in their communities about the ills of child labour.

Some of the problems mentioned by the respondents that result from child labour include: female children getting raped, pregnant and going into prostitution especially during street trading popularly known as "hawking"; accidents which occur as street children are hit by cars. Some children get missing and some end up being used for evil rituals. Some also become thugs and armed robbers especially the boys. The major benefit of child labour is the money it brings into the family. Other views include making the children more useful to themselves, their parents and the nation at large by bringing economic growth. It increases the capital income of the family, state or nation and teaches the children to work hard so they can become something in the nearest future. It also gives the parents peace of mind when the children are working since such children will not run into trouble in the street.

Survey Results

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

All 714 questionnaires administered were used for analysis. Respondents' ages ranged from 20-70 years with a mean age of 37.5 ± 8.1years. Almost all the respondents.

92.6%, had been married with 0.3% cohabiting while 7.4% were single. The gender distribution of the respondents' was 65.8% females and 34.2% males (Figure 6). The gender and age group distribution of respondents showed that there were more female and male respondents in 30 – 39 age group (Figure 7). Majority of the respondents 72.8% were from the Yoruba ethnic group, 23.1% were Igbo, 0.6% were Hausa and 3.5% from other ethnic groups. Most of the respondents 55.9% were Christians, 43.6% were Muslims and 0.6% were Traditionalists. A total of (36) 5.0% had no formal education, while 181(26.1%) had primary education and 278(40.1%) had secondary education with 199(28.7%) having tertiary education (Figure 8). Respondents' occupation was as follows: professionals (doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers etc) 23.5%, traders 38.8%, civil servants 13.3%, and artisans (tailors, hair dressers, brick layers, plumbers etc) 24.5%. Three hundred and fifteen (45.4%) had a monthly income within N15, 000 - N50, 000, 267 (38.3%) within 9, 000 – 15, 000, 77(11.0%) below 9, 000 and only 31(4.4%) and 8(1.1%) had monthly income within 50, 000 -100, 000 and above 100, 000 respectively (Table 5). More respondents claimed to have 3 to 4 children 332 (50.5%), 237 (36.1%) respondents had 1 to 2 children, 78 (11.9%) respondents had 5 to 6 children and 10(1.5%) had more than 6 children (Figure 9).

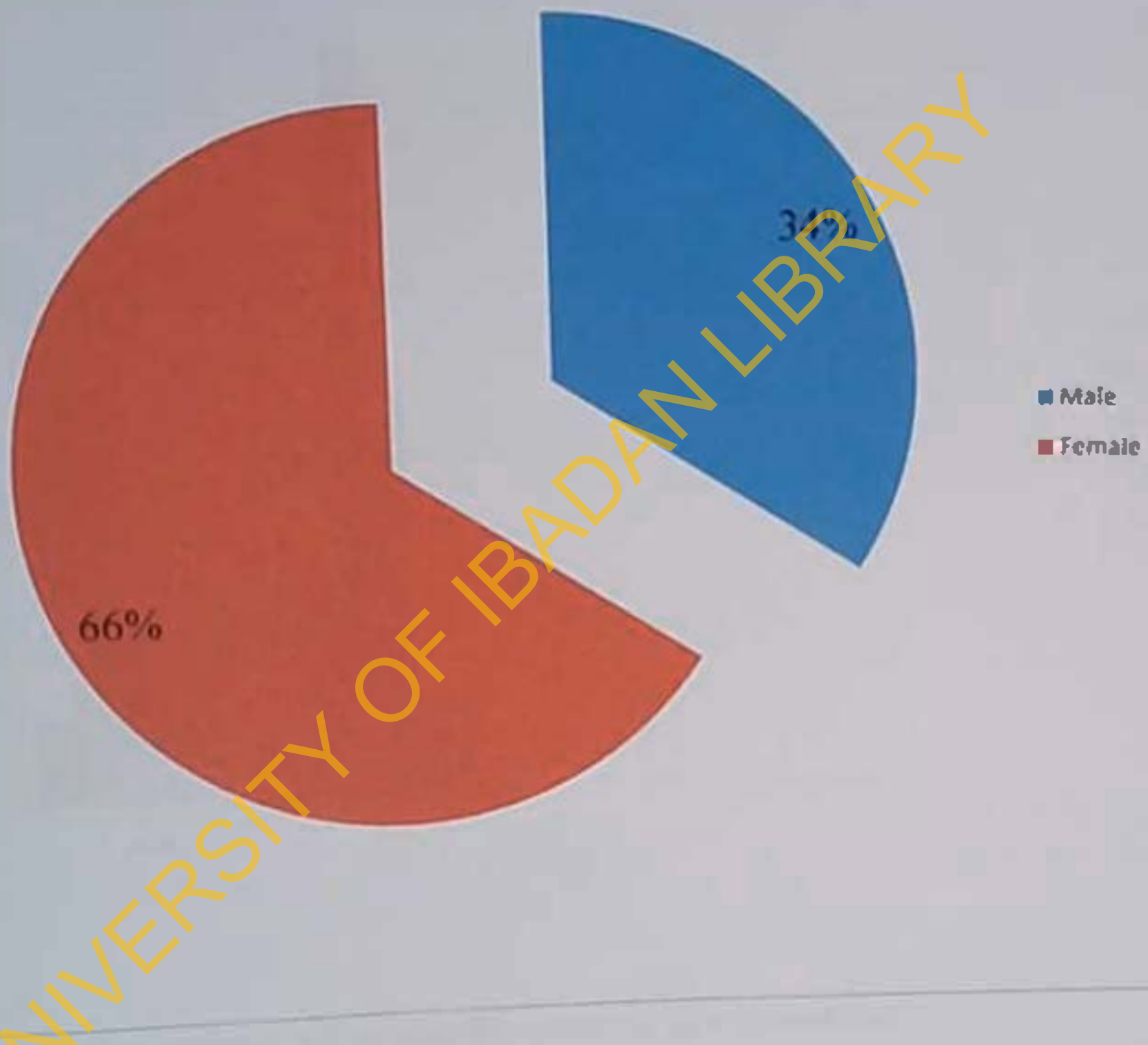

Figure 6. Gender distributions of Respondents

Figure 7: Age group and gender distribution of respondents

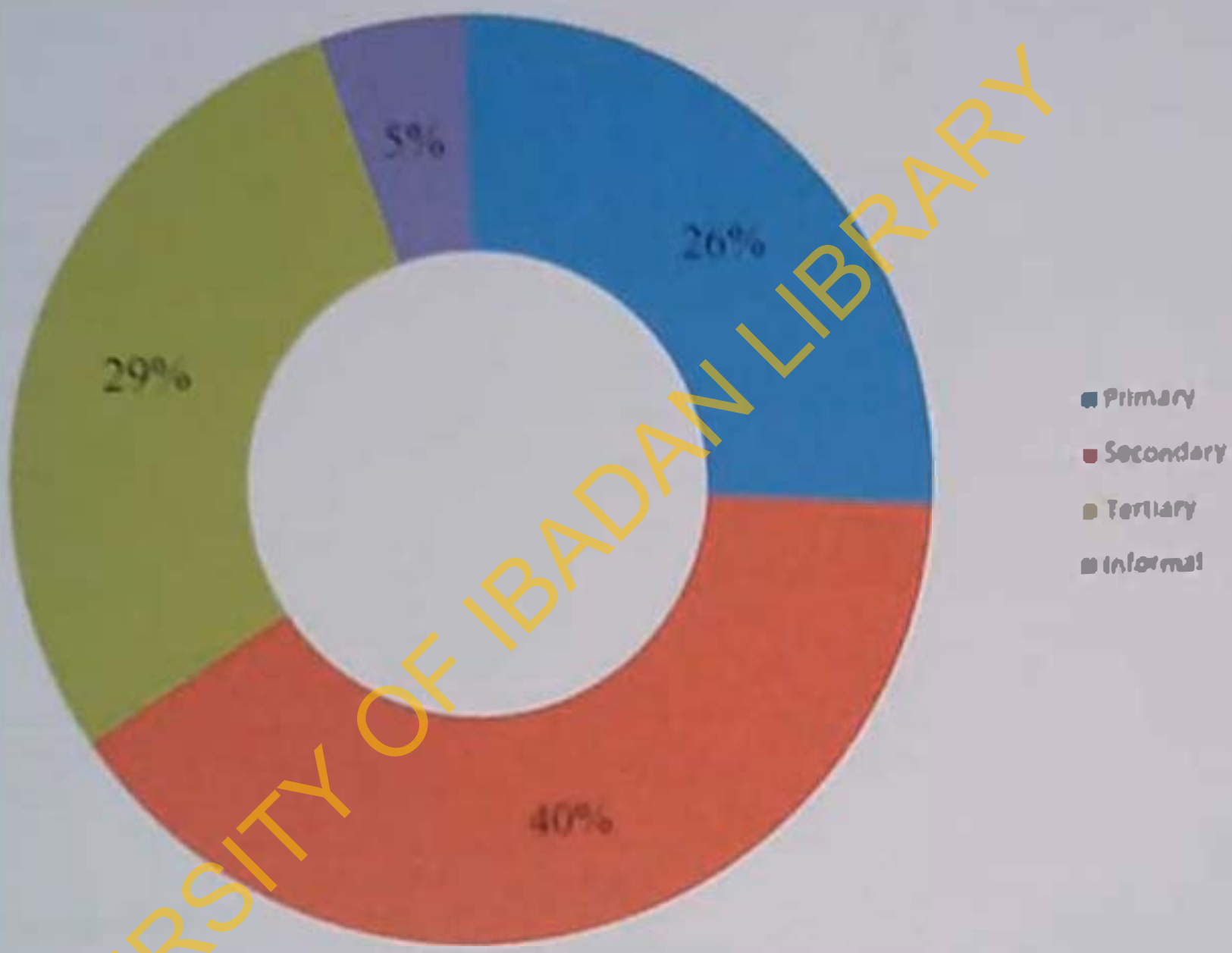

Figure 8. Educational Levels of Respondents

Table 5. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Demographic variables	Numbers	Percentage (100%)
Marital Status		
Single	49	7.1
Married	592	85.7
Separated	36	5.2
Divorced	7	1.0
Widowed	7	1.0
Total	691	100
Ethnic Group		
Yoruba	500	72.8
Igbo	159	23.1
Others	28	4.1
Total	687	100
Religion		
Christians	390	55.9
Muslims	304	43.6
Traditionalists	4	0.6
Total	698	100
Type of family		
Monogamy	506	78.0
Polygamy	143	22.0
Total	649	100
Occupation		
Civil servants	92	13.3
Professionals(teachers, doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc)	163	23.5
Traders	269	38.8
Artisans	170	24.5
Total	694	100
Household monthly income		
Below N9,000	77	11.0
N9,000 – 15,000	267	38.3
15,000 – 50,000	315	45.1
50,000 – 100,000	31	4.4
Above 100,000	8	1.1
Total	698	100

Figure 9. Number of children per respondent

4.3 Awareness and Knowledge of Respondents on Child Labour

Ninety eight percent of respondents knew what child labour was and were able to list the types and instances in which it occurred. Some of the types of child labour activities noticed in their communities are shown in Table 6. A majority of them agreed that child labour occurs between the ages of 6 to 14 years (45.5%) and that they had seen cases of child labour in their communities (94.5%). Respondents stated that the major reasons child labour occurred were: poverty (41.1%), illiteracy (32.2%), and having many children (26.7%). 76.5% of respondents agreed that male and female children were equally at risk of child labour. 22.1% of respondents felt that female children were more at risk, and 1.5% of the respondents believed that it was the male children that were more at risk. Respondents felt that child labour can occur in the following places: markets (98.6%), hotels (94.6%), homes (90.4%), streets (98.6%), relatives' homes (95.0%) and schools (64.1%).

Table 6. Responses on Child Labour Activities in the Communities by Gender

Child labour activities	Male N=666	Percentages	Female N=682	Percentages
Bus conductor	198	29.7	1	0.2
House help	29	4.1	186	27.0
Hawking	205	30.8	206	29.9
Drug peddling	9	1.4		
Bricklayer/labourer	45	6.8	1	0.2
Load carrier/cart pusher	77	10.8	19	2.7
Cobbler	15	2.3	1	0.2
Sales boy/ girl	39	5.9	91	13.8
Learning a trade	7	1.1	2	0.3
Car washing	10	1.5	2	0.3
Begging	7	1.1	15	2.1
Child trafficking	1	0.2	1	0.2
Apprentice	3	0.5	1	0.2
Stealing/robbery/fraud	11	1.7		
Area boy/thug	7	1.1		
Galeman	1	0.2		
Prostitution	1	0.2	147	21.6
Messenger	1	0.2	1	0.2
Food seller			8	1.1

• Mutually exclusive

4.4 Attitude of Respondents towards Child Labour

More of the respondents (59.8%) agree that children were born to assist their parents while 37.7% of respondents disagreed. Fifty nine percent of respondents said that children are the property of their parents and 36.5% said they are not. Most respondents (94.5%) disagree with the view that children should be born because of their anticipated labour. Few respondents (11.1%) held that child labour is part of children's upbringing while 85.1% said it is not. The view that child labour empowers parents by involving the children in income generating activities was view was held by 14.2% of respondents and disagreed with 85.1% of the respondents. Majority of respondents 97.1% disagreed that male children are more important than female children. Almost all respondents 96.5% disagreed that a child can start working at any age (Table 7).

Table 7. Respondents Responses to Attitudinal Statements

Attitudinal Statements	Agree	Disagree	Number
Children were born to assist their parents	412(59.8%)	260(37.7%)	689
Child labour empowers parents by involving the children in income generating activities	77 (11.2%)	586 (85.2%)	688
Child labour is part of a child's upbringing	99 (14.4%)	585 (85.2%)	687
Children are the property of their parents	310 (45.1%)	251 (36.5%)	688
Male children are more important in the family than female children	24 (3.5%)	664 (97.1%)	684
Children should be born because of their anticipated labour	33 (4.8%)	640 (94.5%)	687
A child can start working at any age	11 (1.6%)	663 (96.5%)	687

4.5 Pattern of Practice

Eleven percent of respondents who owned businesses had their children hawking on the streets. Ninety percent of respondents claimed to have 1 to 2 of their female children learning a trade while 71.7% of their male children were learning a trade. Some of the income generating activities that respondents' wards and children were involved in include: hawking (55.0%), apprenticeship (31.7%), house-help (16.7%), bus conductors (6.67%), and car washing (5.0) (Table 8). Respondents also claimed to have involved their children and wards in the following activities: sweeping (28.2%), washing (27.1%), hawking (4.9%), cooking (20.5%), farming (2.0%), looking after younger ones (16.6%) and staying in the shop after school (0.7%) (Table 9).

Table 8. Children's Involvement in Income Generating Activities

Income generating activities	Frequency(N = 120)	Percentage
House-helps	2	1.67
Car washing	6	5.0
Bus conductors	8	6.67
Apprenticeship	38	31.7
Hawking	66	55.0

Table 9. Respondents Children's Home Activities

Work done	Frequency	Percentage
Staying in the shop after school	13	0.7
Farming	35	2.0
Hawking	87	4.9
Looking after younger ones	295	16.6
Cooking	366	20.5
Washing	483	27.1
Sweeping	503	28.2
Total	1782	100

* Multiple responses

Twenty one percent of participants have under-aged house-helps and 61.9% have their under-aged house-helps in some form of training or the other. Of these 77.3% of them send their under-aged house-helps to school while the other 22.7% of them are learning a trade. Slightly more than half of the respondents (51.2%) with under aged house-helps do not pay them while 48.8% pay their under-aged house-helps. A majority of the respondents (491 or77.2%) claimed that someone helps them in their daily chores and businesses, and such persons include: their own children (288 or 53.5%), house-helps (135 or 25.1%), trainee/student (58 or 10.8%), sales girl/boy (13 or 2.4%), spouse (43 or 8.0%) and neighbour (1 or 0.2%). (Table 10)

4.5.1 Respondents' suggestions on how to reduce child labour in their communities

Respondents gave different suggestions on how child labour could be reduced in their communities: 28% of the respondents suggested family planning, 13.3% suggested free education, and 6.88% enlightenment about child labour. Other suggestions are shown in (Table 11).

Table III. Categories of People Who Helped Respondents in Daily Chores/Businesses

Category of people who help respondents	Frequency (N=538)	Percentage
Own children	288	53.5
House-helps	135	25.1
Trainee/student	58	10.8
Sales boy/girl	13	2.4
Neighbour	1	0.2

Table 11. Respondents Opinions on how to Reduce Child Labour in Communities

Suggestions on how child labour can be reduced	Frequency (N=690)	Percentage
Parents should be hard working	4	0.6
Enacting laws and punishing erring parents	10	1.4
God's Intervention	11	1.6
Parents made aware of responsibilities	21	3.0
Enlightenment about child labour	47	6.8
Free education	92	13.3
Family Planning	192	27.8
Provision of facilities and good governance by government	313	45.4

Test of Hypotheses

4.6. Hypothesis One

There is no significant relationship between respondents' educational level and the practice of child labour in Ibadan North LGA.

A significant relationship was found between respondents' educational level and the practice of child labour as $p<0.05$. Table 12 shows that of the 127 respondents who had child-helps, 86 (67.7%) of them had tertiary education.

Therefore, the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between the educational level and the practice of child labour among respondents is rejected. This shows that the level of education of the respondents' determined if they would have a child house-help or not. Indeed, the higher the respondents' level of education, the more likely it is that they would have a child house-help.

Table 12. Respondents' Educational level by practice of child labour (N= 593)

Educational level	Do you have a child help?	
	Yes	No
Primary	10(7.9%)	139(29.8%)
Secondary	28(22.0%)	203(43.6%)
Tertiary	86(67.7%)	93(20.0%)
Informal	3(2.4%)	31(6.7%)
Total	127(100.0%)	466(100.0%)

Chi Square(X^2) - 110.106

Degrees of Freedom - 3

P – Value – 0.000

4.7 Hypothesis Two

There is no significant relationship between household monthly income and attitude of parents to child labour in Ibadan North LGA

A significant relationship was found between respondents household monthly income and the attitude of parents to child labour as $p<0.05$. Table 13 shows that 172(56.4%) of the respondents with a monthly income of N 15, 000 – N50, 000 felt children should receive money for their labour

Therefore, the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between household monthly income and the attitude of child labour among parents is rejected. The monthly income a household receives determined if respondents would pay children for working. Most respondents who received a lower income felt that children should not be paid for working while respondents with higher income felt that children should be paid for working. This showed that respondents with lower incomes were not willing to pay their child domestic workers while those with higher incomes were willing to do so.

Table 13. Respondents' house-hold monthly income by attitude to child labour (N = 671)

Household monthly income	'Children should receive money for their labour'	
	Yes	No
Below N9,000	24(7.7%)	42(13.8%)
N9,000-N15,000	143(46.0%)	81(26.6%)
N15,000-N50,000	120(38.6%)	172(56.4%)
N50,000-N100,00	22(7.1%)	5(1.6%)
N100,000 above	2(0.6%)	5(1.6%)
Total	311(100.0%)	305(100.0%)

Chi Square (X^2) = 61.057

Degrees of freedom (df) = 16

P – Value = 0.000

4.8 Hypothesis Three

There is no significant relationship between knowledge of and the practice of child labour among parents in Ibadan North LGA

No significant relationship was found between respondent's knowledge and the practice of child labour among parents as p>0.05. Table 14 shows that 119 respondents (100.0%) said that child labour is an economic activity that infringes on the rights of a child and they have a child help.

The null hypothesis which states that there is no significant relationship between knowledge and practice of child labour among parents is accepted. This study showed that the knowledge respondents had about child labour, did not affect whether they would have a child house-help or not. It seems that those who needed a house-help got one irrespective of what they knew about child labour.

Table 14. Relationship between Respondents knowledge of child labour by practice of child labour (N=570)

Child labour is an economic activity that infringes on the rights of a child?	Do you have a child-help?	
	Yes	No
Yes	119(100.0%)	437(96.9%)
No	-	14(3.1%)
Total	119(100.0%)	451(100.0%)

Chi Square (X^2) – 3.787

Degrees of freedom (df) – 1

P – Value – 0.052

4.9 Hypothesis Four

There is no significant relationship between knowledge of and attitude to child labour among parents in Ibadan North LGA.

A significant relationship was found between knowledge and attitude of child labour among parents as $p<0.05$. Table 15 shows that 379respondents' (98.4%). knew what child labour was and agreed that children were born to relieve their parents from work.

The null hypothesis, that there is no significant relationship between knowledge and attitude to child labour among respondents, is rejected. This shows that even though respondents' knowledge about child labour was high it did not change their attitude to it. On the contrary, many respondents felt that children were born to relieve their parents from work.

Table 15. Respondents knowledge of child labour by attitude to child labour (N= 600)

Child labour is an economic activity that infringes on the rights of a child?	Were children born to assist parents?	
	Yes	No
Yes	379(98.4%)	237(96.7%)
No	6(1.6%)	8(3.3%)
Total	385(100.0%)	245(100.0%)

Chi Square (X^2) = 24.611

Degrees of freedom (df) =2

P – Value = 0.000

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

5.1 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

One of the criteria for inclusion in the study was that respondents must have dependants who are children aged 18 years or younger. The majority of respondents were between 30 – 39 years old, and were married. Respondents' age and the fact that they were married, is important as it shows that they had settled down and would have children aged 18 years or younger, for whom they are responsible and who are in risk of child labour. This finding corroborates the study carried out by Assid, Levison and Zibani (2000) in Egypt, which revealed that younger parents are more likely to engage their wards in economic activities due to resources and financial constraints. On the contrary, a study carried out in Nigeria by Okpukpara and Odurukwe (2006) showed that children from older parents will participate in economic activities than those from younger parents because older parents find it harder to gain employment needed to prevent their children from becoming economically active.

Majority of the respondents were from the Yoruba ethnic group, this is because Ibadan North LGA is in the southwest part of the country, a region predominately inhabited by the Yoruba. There was not much difference in the religious affiliation of respondents as they were mainly Christians and Muslims, the two major religions in Nigeria. A majority of the respondents were from monogamous families, which is typical of most urban areas in Nigeria (Togunde and Newman, 2005; Okpukpara and Odurukwe, 2006).

Most respondents had acquired at least secondary education. This may be due to the fact the free education scheme has been the hallmark of successive governments in Southwest Nigeria since the 1960s. Despite their educational background, most of the respondents were traders. This may be the result of massive rural to urban migration witnessed after independence in the country. The search for paid white collar jobs in the cities had often led to unemployment and migrant people usually take up jobs like petty trading (Okpukpara and Odurukwe, 2006).

Many respondents had three to four children which is typical of an average urban household. This confirms a study by Togunde and Newman (2005), that six people including four children, is the average size of a household in urban Nigeria. Also larger household sizes reduce the income of the household, thereby increasing the chances of a child participating in economic activities especially in paid work. These findings confirm ILO (1996) finding that child labour is linked with poverty and population growth.

Virtually all respondents were low income earners also corroborating the findings of Togunde and Newman (2005) in a study conducted in Ogun State, Nigeria. The study showed that an overwhelming proportion of households (81%) live on an estimated income of N20. 000 (twenty thousand) per month, which is an indication that child labourers tend to come mostly from poor houses.

5.2 Awareness and Knowledge about Child Labour

Even though respondents were aware of child labour and could list the types and instances in which it could occur, the incidence of child labour was still high in the study area. This could be attributed to the poverty level of respondents. This finding is similar to the study by Osirueme (2007) in Benin City, Nigeria, which showed that urban poverty compels parents to send children of school age to work to boost family income (Psacharopoulos, 1997). Respondents were able to list ways child labour could be reduced in their community which is another indication that they know what child labour is but were unable to anything about it.

Most of the child labour activities reported in the communities were menial jobs. This corresponds to the findings in Orisueme (2007), that children of poor parents spend many hours in economic ventures such as hawking, bus conducting, plaiting of hair as well as being apprenticed to artisans etc. Respondents in both the quantitative and qualitative surveys were of the opinion that child labour activities in their communities were as a result of poverty. This agrees with a previous study by (Okpukpara and Odurkwe, 2006; ILO, 2003 and Basu, 1999) which asserts that the reasons for child labour are poverty, illiteracy and having many children. Child labour was also said to occur in the markets, hotels, homes, streets, relatives' homes and schools.

Virtually all respondents' agreed that child labour is being practiced in their communities and it occurs among children between the ages of 6 and 14years. This is in accord with the findings of Jacoby and Skoufias (1999), a study in a Bangladeshi village which revealed that children were economically active from the age of 6 and that the boys were net producers by the age of 15 years.

It could be adduced from both the quantitative and qualitative data that female children were more at risk for child labour. This corroborates the studies done in Zimbabwe and Kenya that female children spend more hours on labour than male children (Andvig et al. 2001).

5.3 Attitude towards Child Labour

The findings in this study showed that child labour is a common practice in the study area. Many parents believed that children were born to assist their parents and that children are the property of their parents. However, a majority agreed that education was better than working. This may be due to the cultural belief and practice prevalent among the Yoruba that children are born to assist their parents and often are integrated into 'family businesses' at an early age. This is in agreement with findings from studies carried out in developing countries that there is the future expectation that children will provide money for their parents and that children who survive their youth will be able to support their parents in old age. Thus parents look at their children as a form of insurance and having more children is an asset (Friedlander, Okun and Segal, 1999; *Bastug*, Dorlacsu and Muhammetberdiev, 2001).

However, the majority of respondents did not view child labour as part of children's upbringing. This is in line with Togunde and Newman (2005) who in their study on the value of children, child labour and fertility preferences in urban Nigeria, found that few parents reported that children's labour provides important training for future occupations.

A little less than half of the respondents were not in support of monetary rewards for child labourers. This agreed with previous studies which showed that most child

labourers are not paid for services they render (Okpukpara and Odurukwe, 2006; ILO-IPEC, 2004).

When asked if child labour empowers parents by involving the children in income generating activities, a majority disagreed, yet more than half of the respondents reported that children were born to relieve their parents from work. Even though many parents did not agree that child labour empowers them financially, previous studies have revealed that majority of working children hand over the money they earn to their parents and worked to relieve their parents of their financial obligations to them (Togunde and Newman 2005; Osirueme, 2007).

The general minimum age for work, stipulated in the ILO Convention No 138 (1973), is 15 years. However, a majority of the respondents in this study felt that a child can start work at any age but the practice of child labour occurs mainly between the ages of 6 and 14 years. This corresponds with ILO- IPEC (2004) that many children are found to be working as young as 5 years in many parts of the world.

Child education was of importance among the study population. A majority of the respondents agreed that female children should be educated as much as their male counterparts. This view corroborates the findings in Okpukpara and Odurukwe (2006).

5.4 Pattern of Practice

Some of the respondents who own businesses had their children involved in street trading. More female children were used as apprentices than their male counterparts, and more parents had one or two of their children involved. This might be due to the fact that the income level in most of the households recruited for this study was low and the cultural belief that children are born to assist the family. This was similar to the findings in ILO – IPEC (2004) and Osirueme, (2007) which revealed that children assist their parents in small shops and commercial activities, or in small home-based businesses.

Some income generating activities that respondents' wards and children were involved in included: hawking, apprenticeships, house-helping, bus conducting and car

washing. This might be due to the state of the Nigerian economy. Hence, petty trading and menial jobs are the common occupations of the majority of Nigerians. This corroborates the study by Togunde and Newman (2007).

The practice of having children as house-helps was low among the study population. Of those that had house-helps, more than half sent their house-helps to school and some allowed their house-helps to learn a trade. This conforms with the study by Save the Children UK (2007) in Leh and Kargil, India, that a good percentage of child domestic workers managed to go to school with their employer's permission and a few of them were also learning a trade.

Slightly more than half of the respondents with house-helps were not paying them. This would be because it is cheaper to use children who cannot request for increment in wages like the organized labour as supported in the finding of the study by Blunch and Verner (2000), that child labourers cannot form a union to press for demands and thus are subjected to all types of exploitation and deprivation. Also many child labourers who work in urban households are often poor rural relatives who have been placed there to cover the domestic child labour demand left when the urban families send their own children to school (Andvig et al. 2001).

5.5 Educational Level and the practice of child labour

The results of the study show that the educational level of respondents is related to the practice of child labour. The higher the educational level of parents and the better jobs they have, the less likely it is that their children will be involved in child labour. This also translates to less time for domestic work in that family and might result in the need to engage a house-help. This agrees with UNICEF Nigeria (2006) that young domestic servants are mainly working for prosperous urban families and some are placed to cover the domestic child labour demand of families that send their own children to school (Kielland et al. 2000; Andvig et al. 2001).

5.6 Household monthly income and the attitude of parents to child labour

This study also revealed that the higher the income of parents, the less likely it is that their own children would participate in economic activities and the more likely they would engage other people's children for domestic work in their home. The lower the income level of parents the less likely that they would pay children working for them, and the more likely they would involve their own children in economic activities and have no need to pay them. Previous studies also support this finding (Okpukpara and Odurukwe, 2006; ILO –IPEC, 2004).

5.7 Knowledge, attitude and practice of child labour

Respondents had a good knowledge of child labour, but this did not translate to practice. The practise of child labour was still high, and the attitude of respondents supported the use of children for economic activities in the study area. This might be as a result of the prevailing economic status of respondents. Most were low income earners and the need to meet their financial obligations might be responsible. Studies have revealed that most parents get used to being supported by their children over time, and eventually their children's work becomes the only source of income in the family (ILO – IPEC, 2004).

5.8 Implications of the findings for health promotion and education

The findings of this study have several implications for planning, development and implementation of child labour prevention programmes in Ibadan North LGA, Ibadan and Nigeria as a whole. The responsibility of Health Education focuses on the modification of people's behaviour and behavioural antecedents (WHO, 1988; Green and Kreuter, 1991). Health education is concerned with helping people develop practices that ensure their best possible wellbeing (WHO, 1988). It is concerned with reinforcing and changing knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of people through effective communication of factual information, with the aim of helping them to ensure optimum wellbeing. Health education can therefore be used to bridge the gap between information and practices within the context of child labour. Health education principles and strategies can be used to address the challenges identified in this study.

The findings in this survey provide a justification for intensifying programmes for parents and guardians in the fight against child labour. Parents need to be further enlightened on the rights of children, the ills of child labour and its effects on the child's health, physical development, intellectual capacity, social skills, psychological state, future opportunities and general well being. This can be done by using educational materials like posters and bill board messages, placed at strategic places in the communities to remind parents about the consequences of child labour.

The need for the economic empowerment of respondents cannot be over emphasized. The attendant effect of the low income level of respondents is plainly evinced by their willingness to engage children in economic activities. Concerned stakeholders should take the issue of economic empowerment of the unemployed into consideration in their campaign to put an end to child labour practices. Parents should also be encouraged to plan for their families to ensure that they only have children they can adequately cater for.

More non-formal education centers where children will acquire necessary skills that will make them self sufficient, should be provided. This will ensure that children who do not go to school can build their human capability and not become vulnerable to exploitation in the future.

The necessity of reviewing laws guiding child labour is of utmost importance if the practice must be stemmed in this county. The review should also place adequate emphasis on enforcement, and the prosecution of offenders.

5.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, the findings of this study show that the practice of child labour is common in the study area, and that this is directly related to the economic status of respondents. However parents with higher educational qualifications and better jobs did not engage their own children in economic activities.

5.10 Recommendations

In line with the findings of this study the following are hereby recommended:

1. Intensive campaigns targeted at parents and guardians, focusing on the consequences of child labour and the benefits of not engaging their children in child labour, should be organized.

2. Government should create an atmosphere that will boost more viable economic activities so that more people that are unemployed will be productively engaged in the economy. About 60% of the Nigerian population is living in poverty with 4.9% of the population unemployed. (Akosile, 2009; CIA World Fact Sheet, 2009)

3. Future campaigns against the practice of child labour should take into consideration the active participation of civil society organizations (religious and community based organizations) since these civil society groups wield great influence on their communities.

4. Government and private organisations should increase access to education for children. The provision of free basic education will encourage parents to send their children and wards to school, and also provide children with tools to empower themselves for a future free of illiteracy and poverty.

5. There is need for changes in law on child education and child labour, especially to ensure adequate enforcement procedures, and penalties for defaulters.

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APPENDIX I

IBADAN METROPOLITAN AREA

Location of CEDC

APPENDIX II

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR A STUDY ON PARENTS' PERCEPTION AND PRACTICE OF CHILD LABOUR IN IBADAN NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF OYO STATE.

INTRODUCTION

My name is Eme Ibong, of the Department of Health Promotion and Education, Faculty of Public Health, College of Medicine, University of Ibadan. I am conducting a research focusing on the knowledge, attitude and practice of parents and guardians relating to child labour in Ibadan North Local Government Area of Oyo State. The information gathered will be useful for planning educational programmes. I wish to kindly request your voluntary participation by providing answers to the following questions honestly as this will increase the quality of the findings. Please rest assured that all information provided by you would be kept strictly confidential and will not be used against you or your association. Thank you for your co-operation.

QUESTIONS

1. Who is a child?

2a) What is child labour?

b) What are the types of child labour?

c) What gender is more affected and why?

d) What are the reasons for the occurrence of child labour?

e) What is the attitude/stand of the community to child labour?

f) What are the challenges, merits and benefits of child labour?

3. Have you witnessed any case of child labour in this community? Please describe the case?

4. Are parents responsible for the practice of child labour in the community?

5. How do you think child labour can be reduced in our community?

APPENDIX III

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR A STUDY ON PARENTS' PERCEPTION AND PRACTICE OF CHILD LABOUR IN IBADAN NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF OYO STATE

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Please I would like to know if you are willing to participate a) Yes ..... b) No .....

Serial Number _____ Ward/Area _____ Date _____ Time Spent _____

Please tick as appropriate

SECTION I: SOCIO DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Educational level: 1) Informal 2) Primary 3) Secondary 4) Tertiary 5) Arabic 6) Others (specify) _____

2. Sex: 1) Male 2) Female

3. Religion: 1) Christian 2) Islam 3) Traditional 4) Others (Specify) _____

4. Marital status: 1) Single (If option 1 go to (No.) 2) Cohabiting 3) Married 4) Separated 5) Divorced 6) Widow/Widower

5. Type of family: 1) Monogamy 2) Polygamy

6. Age in year's _____

7. Tribe: 1) Yoruba 2) Igbo 3) Hausa 4) Others (specify) _____

8. Occupation. 1) Civil servant 2) Teacher 3) Trader 4) Professional (doctor, lawyer, accountant, lecturer, nurse etc) 5) Artisans

9. Household monthly income 1) below N9, 000 2) N9, 000-N15, 000 3) N15, 000-N50, 000 4) N50- N100, 000 5) above N100, 000

SECTION 2: KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS OF CHILD LABOUR

10. Do you know what child labour is? 1) Yes 2) No (If No go to Q25)

11. If yes, what is it? .....

12. Have you seen cases of child labour around you? 1) Yes 2) No (If No go to Q25)

13. If Yes what kind, ...

14. List the types of child labour activities you know dividing them into male and female categories?

Male	Female	Both Male and Female

15. Do you believe child labour exists? 1) Yes 2) No (If No go to Q25)

16. Where do you think child labour can occur? (Please tick as appropriate)

CL Occurring	Yes	No	CL Occurring	Yes	No	CL Occurring	Yes	No
1. Home			5. Hospitals			8. Neighbours		
2. School			6. Banks			9. Relatives		
3. Streets			7. Market			10. Hotels		
4. Offices								

17. Who is more at risk of child labour?

(1) Male children (2) female children (3) Both male & female children

5. Type of family: 1) Monogamy 2) Polygamy

6. Age in years _____

7. Tribe: 1) Yoruba 2) Igbo 3) Hausa 4) Others (specify) _____

8. Occupation: 1) Civil servant 2) Teacher 3) Trader 4) Professional (doctor, lawyer, accountant, lecturer, nurse etc) 5) Artisans

9. Household monthly income 1) below N9, 000 2) N9, 000-N15, 000 3) N15, 000 N50, 000 4) N50- N100, 000 5) above N100, 000

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15. Do you believe child labour exists? 1) Yes 2) No (If No go to Q25)

16. Where do you think child labour can occur? (Please tick as appropriate)

Cl. Occurring	Yes	No	Cl. Occurring	Yes	No	Cl. Occurring	Yes	No
1. Home			5. Hospitals			8. Neighbours		
2. School			6. Banks			9. Relatives		
3. Streets			7. Market			10. Hotels		
4. Offices								

17. Who is more at risk of child labour?

(1) Male children (2) female children (3) Both male & female children

18 At what age is child labour likely to occur in children?

(1) 1-5 years (2) 6-12 years (3) 6-14years

(4) 10-14 years (5) 6-18years 6) All of the above 7) None of the above

19. What causes child labour? (Please tick as appropriate)

Causes	Yes	No	Causes	Yes	No
1.Limited government resources			4 Parents of the children are dead or sick		
2. Poverty			5 Education		
3. Part of training			6 Support for use of physical punishment		

(8) Others (Specify).....

20. Which of these are examples of child labour activities children are involved in? (Please tick as appropriate)

Examples	Yes	No	Examples	Yes	No	Examples	Yes	No
1.Prostitution			5. Hawking			9.Drug peddling		
2.Bus conductor			6Cattle rearing			10.Car washing		
3.House help			7. Farming			11.Bricklayer		
4Hair dressing			8. Cobbler			12. Teaching		

SECTION 3: ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHILD LABOUR (Please tick as appropriate)

S/N	Attitudinal Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
21	Child labour empowers both the parents and the child materially					
22	Children are the property of their parents					
23	Male children are more important than female children					

24	Children should be born because of their anticipated labor					
25	A child can start working at any age					
26	Child labour is part of a child's upbringing					

SECTION 4: PATTERN OF PRACTICE

27. How many children/wards do you have? Children..... 1) Male..... 2) Female ..... (Put number)

28. How old are your children/wards? 1) Male ..... 2) Female ..... (Put number)

29. How many of your children/wards go to school? 1) Male.....
2) Female..... 3) None of them .....

30. How many of your children/ wards are learning a trade/artisan work
1) Male ..... 2) Female ..... 3) None of them.....

31. If you own a business do your children/wards help you sell on the street? 1) Yes 2) No

32. What type of income-generating activities do your children/wards do? (Please underline as appropriate)

IGA	Yes	No	IGA	Yes	No
1.Hawking			4.Bus conductor		
2.Apprentice			5.Car washing		
3.House help					

6) Others (Specify).....

33. What kind of work do your children/wards do at home? (Please underline as appropriate)

Work	Yes	No	Work	Yes	No
1.Sweeping			3.Cooking		

2. Washing			4. Farming		
			5. Looking after younger ones		

3.1. Do you have a child house-help? 1) Yes 2) No (If No go to Q51)

35. Are you training the child house-help? 1) Yes 0) No (If No go to Q38)

36. If Yes, what type of training? 1) Schooling 2) Artisan work
3) Others (specify).....

37. Do you pay your child house-help? 1) Yes 2) No

38. If No why not? 1) Schooling 2) its not necessary 3) Artisan work 4) Others (specify).....

39. What kind of work does your child house help do? (Please tick as appropriate)

Work	Yes	No	Work	Yes	No
1. Sweeping			4. Cooking		
2. Washing			5. Farming		
3. Hawking			6. Minding the children		

40 Does anyone help you in your daily chores or business? 1) Yes 2) No (If No go to Q54)

41. If Yes Who? (Specify).....

42. How old is the person that helps you in daily chores or business?

.....

43. How do you think child labour can be reduced in our communities?

.....