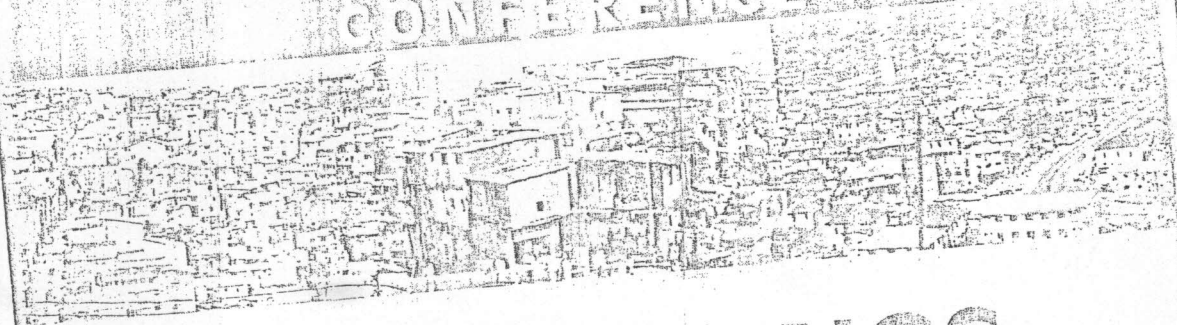


DEPARTMENT OF
URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING
FACULTY OF ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES
LADOKE AKINTOLA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, OGBOMOSO, NIGERIA

1ST International CONFERENCE



PROCEEDINGS

THEME
CITIES & INFORMAL URBANIZATION

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ABSTRACT

Informal urbanisation is a significant lineament of urban transformations in the 21st century developing world. The underside of this phenomenon is disproportionately more harmful to children, who are faced with hazardous situation to survive. Premised on this background, this study examined the impact of children's engagements in exploitative and hazardous work, within the informal sector, on their overall welfare. The study, conducted within qualitative and quantitative research frameworks, recruited 285 working children from selected major streets, busy markets and the central motor parks of Ibadan metropolis. Data were collected through triangulation of in-depth interviews and structured questionnaires. The study revealed that 64.5% of the sampled are working to supplement family income. It is also indicated that 40.1% of the sampled does not attend school while majority of them (97.2%) have been subjected abuse ranging from physical, sexual and verbal abuse (86.5%, 69.7% and 61.8% respectively). The study therefore inferred that the phenomenon of working children is a response to poverty that results from unguided and uncontrolled urban growth in Nigeria. It is also revealed that children's work has social, psychological, physical and health implications on these children as well as hinders their educational development. The study, therefore, recommended effective urban management, poverty alleviation programme, free and compulsory education among others as measures to address the phenomenon of working children in Nigerian urban centres.

Keywords: Informal Urbanisation, Informal sector, working children, Hazardous work,

1 INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is one of the most dramatic global social transformations of the 21st century; in this century alone, the world's urban population has grown from 220 million to almost three billion. Another three billion will likely have been added by 2050 – continuing a trend that has been accelerating since the late 1980s (Isabelle-Jasmin, 2012). Urbanization and economic growth are linked and are regarded as important features of national development (Urban Management Programme, 2000); urbanization is often understood to be a precondition for development. As a result of urbanization, governments are able to provide services for social development such as education, health and recreation more efficiently (UNESCAP, 2003; UNICEF, 2012), and therefore, urban dwellers are believed to have an advantage over rural dwellers and urban children tend to be viewed as having better opportunities for survival, growth and development than their rural counterparts (UNICEF, 2010; UNICEF, 2012). This may not be true in developing world where urban expansion is being driven by informal urbanisation. For instance, Informal settlements presently accommodate 72 per cent of about 187 million African urban dwellers (UN-Habitat, 2009) while alarming projections indicate that Africa's slum population is likely to double every 15 years (UNICEF, 2012).

This uncontrolled and unguided pattern of urbanisation is laden with several socio-economic problems, which include unemployment, unofficial economy; unofficial housing, poor housing conditions, environmental pollution, crimes and violence, poverty, traffic paralysis, perverted value system and a lot more (Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), 1999; Cities Alliance, 2001; Adeboyejo, 2013; Sayafzadeh and Hassani, 2014). This urban scenario has led to unprecedented challenges, which can be broadly classified as environmental problems, problem of urban violence/crime and that of urban poverty (CBN, 1999). Of the many trials

of urbanisation, the issue of poverty has emerged as one of the most challenging socio-economic problem in developing world.

In the urban economies of Nigeria, the "formal sector" absorbs relatively few people, since many urban immigrants generally possess low skills and lack the level of education required for the better paid jobs in the formal sector. Besides, permanent protected jobs in the organised sector are shrinking hence even those having the requisite skills are unable to find proper employment. Consequently, a large section of unemployed have to work in informal sector activities, which are more precarious and produce less income (ILO, 2004). Worrisome is the fact that a substantial number of children also survive by engaging in exploitative and hazardous informal, oftentimes illegal, economic activities in Nigerian urban centres (Faloore, 2009; Ogunkan, 2014). While these informal activities present children with the opportunity of earning income, they violate children's dignities and adversely affect their physical, mental, emotional, moral and overall well-being (Kaime- Atterhog, 2012).

Whereas, urban centres are better placed than rural areas to improve the quality of life of children and other residents, urbanisation and proliferation of informal sector have made the plight of urban children more pathetic than their counterparts in rural areas. Regrettably, until recently, many researchers, who studied and wrote about child labour tended to refer mainly to child labour in the formal or "modern" part of the economy, where there are "real" jobs and recognized employers (ILO, 2004). Even though, researchers, International organizations and others concerned with child labour have now turned their attention to the informal economy (Fakoya, 2009; Abisoye, 2013; Fawole et al, 2013; Ogunkan and Adeboyejo, 2014), there is still the need for more studies as the population of children in informal sector keeps growing at alarming rate (Ogunkan, 2014). Premised on this background, and with Ibadan as a focal urban centre, this study aims to provide policymakers and others with an understanding of the impact of children's work, as an offshoot of informal urbanisation, on the well-being of children in urban Nigeria.

1.1 The study Area

The study is conducted in Ibadan metropolis which covers Ibadan North, Ibadan North East, Ibadan South East, Ibadan South West and Ibadan North West Local Governments. Ibadan, the administrative headquarters of Oyo state, is located 128km inland northeast of Lagos and 530 km southwest of Abuja, the federal capital. It is a prominent transit point between the coastal region and the access to the north.

1.2 Trend and Pattern of Urbanisation in Ibadan

Ibadan is a town in the highly urbanised South Western Nigeria which urbanisation predated colonial influence in the country. The city of Ibadan has recorded substantial growth primarily owing to its central location in Yorubaland as well as its accessibility from colonial capital city of Lagos (Udo, 1994). In addition to rural-urban migration, urbanisation growth in Ibadan is also due to immigration from other urban centres, as well as from other ethnic groups from within and outside Nigeria (Afolayan, 1994).

The major landmark in the growth of the city began with the take-over of the administration of Ibadan in 1893 by the British colonial government. Similarly, there was a boost in employment opportunities when Ibadan became headquarters of the defunct Western

Region in 1946. This led to massive migration of many expatriates and Yoruba sub-ethnic groups who came to avail themselves of the varying opportunities in the town (Ayeni, 1994). The multiplication of local government in 1991 also influenced greatly the growth of urbanisations in Ibadan.

Owing to the use of various methodologies in the collection of demographic data and the selection of various parameters there are various, sometimes contradictory, population figures. For instance, Ibadan urban area have been estimated to have increased from a refugee camp to 175,000 in 1911, 238,000 in 1921, 459,000 in 1952 and from 1,800,000 in 1981 to about 2.1 million in 1990 (Ayeni, 1994; Mabogunje, 1995; Habitat, 2005), the current estimate varies from 2 to 5 million inhabitants (Ayeni, 1994; Olaniran, 1998; World Gazetteer, 2003). Conflicting as the estimate may appear, the fact remains that population of Ibadan increases tremendously with time (Jelili, 2009). Nevertheless, without any reliable alternative, it is safer to rely on official National censuses of 1963, 1991 and 2006 as basis for analysis. The population of Ibadan was officially put at 600,000, 1,228,663 and 1,338,659 in 1963, 1991 and 2006 censuses respectively. It has been projected to increase to 2,180,534 in 2015 using 2006 census as base year with growth rate of 5%. As a result of population growth of Ibadan, it has increased significantly in spatial extent. The city occupied a total area of the city was approximately 103.8 km² in 1952 (Areola, 1994: 99). However, only 36.2 km² was built-up. By 1973, there was an indication that urban landscape had completely spread over about 100 km². The land area increased from 136 km² in 1981 to 210-240 km² in 1988-89 (Areola, 1994: 101). The total area of Ibadan which was estimated to be 3,620 hectares (36.20 km²) in 1952 had increased over the next 20 years (1973) to 10,000 hectares (100 km²) or by 57% (Adeboyejo, 2013). In the 1980s, the Ibadan-Lagos expressway generated the greatest urban sprawl (east and North of the city), followed by the Eleiyale expressway (west of the city). Since then, Ibadan city has spread further into the neighbouring local government areas of Akinyele and Egbeda in particular (Fourchard, 2003). Therefore, by the year 2000, it is estimated that Ibadan covered 400 km² (Onibokun, 1995:7). In 2015, it was revealed that the total built-up area in Ibadan stands at 524 km² (Google map, 2015).

2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Overview of Conceptual Framework

The problem of urbanization can be grouped loosely into 3 – environmental problems, problem of urban violence/crime and that of urban poverty (CBN, 2009). According to Sada (1975) urban poverty is a chronic problem of almost every contemporary developing country, resulting from the pattern of urban population growth, which is rapid and mostly accounted for by rural-urban migration in search of work in towns; and the nature of urban employment, which is characterised by an increasing level of urban labour surplus as a result of massive rural-urban migration. Lack of gainful employment and poverty had forced many people out of their villages in search of a better life in urban areas. This migrant population, which Sada (1975) describes as the hopeless poor, do not have the skills or the education to enable them to find better paid, secure employment in the formal sector. As a result, they survive by working in the informal sector. The sector has also been infiltrated by the under aged, who oftentimes, are children of those poor immigrants. Extreme poverty has forced urban poor to become at least partially self-supporting with some children working or begging to support themselves and their families (Polat 2009; TURKIS 2009; UNICEF 2009; Kurt et al 2005; Parker 2002). Children's work is a broad concept that encompasses most productive activities by children, including unpaid and illegal work and working in hazardous or dangerous environments as well as work in the informal sector (ILO 2009; Gharaibe and Hoeman 2003).

Children's work in the informal sector is hazardous because it exposes them to many hazards including physical, emotional and sexual abuse. They are also susceptible to high risk of injury or even death. Children's hazardous work is dangerous or unhealthy conditions that could result in a child being killed, or injured and/or made ill as a consequence of poor safety and health standards and working arrangement. This idea was organised into conceptual and analytical tool in figure 2.1

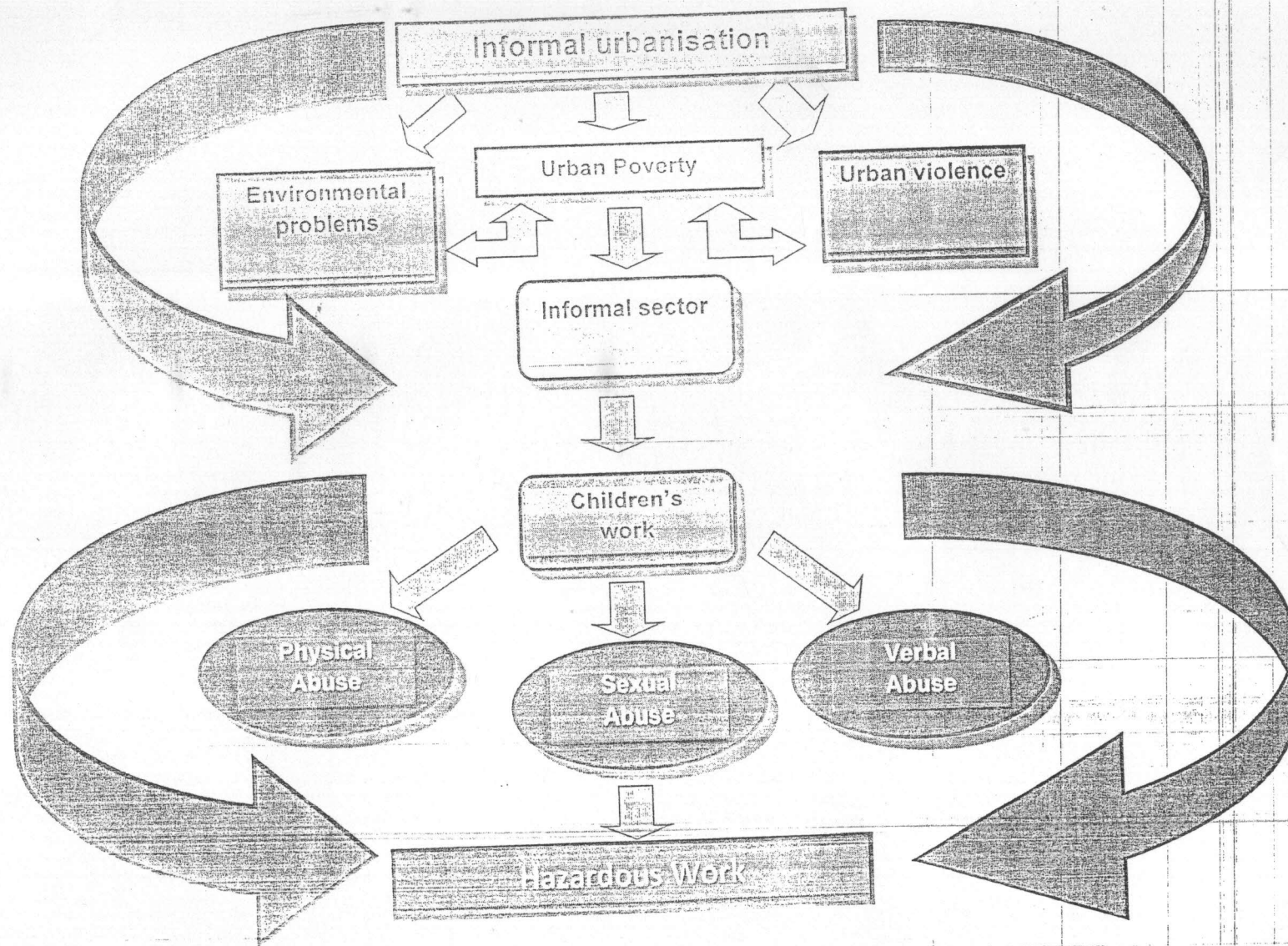


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework for understanding working children as product of informal Urbanisation.

Author's device, 2015

2.1 Definition of key concepts

The section provides some definitions and further discussion of the key elements of the conceptual framework represented in Figure 2.1.

2.1.1 Informal Urbanisation

Urbanization can be succinctly described as a process of human agglomeration in multi-functional settlements of relatively large size (Mabogunje, 1981). Urbanization generally creates a wide market base, and thus enhances production and consumption activities, which in turn generate economic growth and development. This was particularly true of the Western World, where urbanization and industrialization had moved in tandem (CBN, 2009). Therefore, to achieve a sustainable development, there must be a state of equilibrium among demographic, political, socio-cultural and economic factors of urbanisation. This involves a conscious planning and proper management of urban growth. However, most cities in Africa experience rapid rate of urbanization with little or no economic growth of the cities and without industrialization (Adeboyejo and Abolade, 2007). Most of the urban agglomerations grow without any official planning. City expansion is mainly based on informal processes. UNCHS (1996: 89). The former process described above is formal urbanisation while the latter describes informal urbanisation. From the foregoing, informal urbanisation is growth of urban agglomeration without official planning. It describes the outcome of unplanned and inorganic demographic growth of the city without corresponding physical, economic and political growth.

2.1.2 Urban Poverty

The extensive body of literature is saturated with argument on the definition, measurement and analysis of poverty. Much of this literature focuses on analyzing poverty at the national level, or spatial disaggregation by general categories of urban or rural areas. Poverty in generic term is a deprivation of common necessities that determine the quality of life (Onibokun and Kumuyi, 1995). The urban dimension to poverty introduces a new element of scale to the consideration, and underlines the fact that we are basically concerned not so much with the individual poor but with an aggregation of the poor, a social class whose way of life takes on spatial forms within a city (CBN, 2009). Relying on definition of poverty as espoused by Onibokun and Kumuyi (1995) and the viewpoint of CBN (2009) on urban poverty, this study conceives urban poverty as "the deprivation of common necessities to live a quality life resulted from lack of access to particular geographical concentration of largely man-made resources of great economic, social, psychological and symbolic significance"

2.1.3 Informal sector

The concept of "informal sector, also known in the literature as informal economy, grey economy, shadow economy or underground economy (Magbagbeola, 1996; Calbreath, 2015; The Economist, 20015) has attracted much interest, discussion and disagreement since its invention in the 1970s. Many scholars have discussed informal sector from different perspectives; focusing on its characteristics, magnitude, social economy approaches, impact on traffic-environment, spatial arrangement and building design. Sethuraman (1981) defines the informal sector as consisting of small scale units engaged in production and distribution of goods and services with the primary objective of generating employment and income, notwithstanding the constraints on capital, both physical and human, and the technical-

knowhow. Magbagbeola (1996) describes Informal sector as invisible, irregular, parallel, non-structured, backyard, under-ground, subterranean, unobserved or residual. In the view of Adem (2006), informal sector is seen as comprising those employment generating activities of some urban residents, undertaken for survival in the absence of formal employment. A cursory look at the various conceptualisation of informal sector suggests that the precise meaning of this term has remained open to controversy even today. However, informal sector is conceived in this study as unorganised, unregulated and unregistered economic enterprise characterised by traditional occupation and methods of production.

2.1.4 Children's work

The definitions of children's work has been subject to considerable debate in development circles. However, a consensus is gradually emerging that 'children's work' is a general term covering the entire spectrum of work-related tasks performed by children (UCW, 2003). From this viewpoint, children's work include activities such as helping their parents around the home, assisting in a family business or earning pocket money outside school hours and during school holidays. Implicit in this definition is the recognition that work by children *per se* is not necessarily injurious to children or a violation of their rights. Sometimes these kinds of activities contribute to children's development and to the welfare of their families; they provide them with skills and experience, and help to prepare them to be productive members of society during their adult life (ILO, 2004). Narrowing it down to economic scale, UWC (2003) defined "children's work" as any form of economic activity performed by children. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, children's work shall be operationalised as any informal sector economic activity, undertaken by children, whether for the market or not, paid and unpaid, for a few hours or full-time, on a temporary or regular basis, legal or illegal. In this context, children's work does not include household chores, which are non-economic activities. Notwithstanding, the unending debate about the meaning of informal sector, this study conceptualised informal sector as sector of the economy that are beyond the purview of the state. This conceptualisation implies business activities under informal sector are without formality aspect relating to the government, such as tax, regulation, location permit, license, etc.

Hazardous work

Hazardous work is mostly referred to sectors and occupations, such as agriculture, construction, mining, or ship-breaking, or where working relationships or conditions create particular risks, such as exposure to hazardous agents, such as chemical substances or radiation, or in the informal economy (ILO, 2015). However, in the context of children's work, hazardous work is work which jeopardizes children's health, safety or morals because of the nature or the number of hours worked. (ILO, 2004). In the context of this study, hazardous work is operationally defined as the work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse; work that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and interferes with their schooling

3 METHODOLOGY

This study was carried out using a mixed research subject motor parks and

the qualitative and quantitative research framework. The respondents aged 9 to 17) were drawn from three major junctions, in Ibadan (Table 1).

Table 3.1: Selected

and Research Subjects

Selected Markets	Respondents	Selected junctions	Respondents	Selected Motor parks	Respondents
Gbagi-Dugbe Market	37	Dugbe junction	26	Gbagi – Ogunpa-Dugbe Motor Park	35
Agodi – Gate Market	38	Iwo Road Round about	23	Iwo Road Motor park	32
Bodija Market	36	Sango/polytechnics junction	24	Sango Motor Park	34

Source: researcher's fieldwork, 2015

The research locations were purposively selected across the city. The motor parks were selected due to their sizes, location and the fact that they serve as places of 'stop-over' for travellers who use the city as a transit point to other towns and cities in Nigeria (Faloore, 2009). The junctions were selected on the basis of their popularity and the intense of their use (Ogunkan and Adeboyejo, 2013) while the markets were purposively selected as a result of their spatial extent and level of patronage (Ogunkan, 2014). Working children aged 9 -17 years were considered suitable for this study. Some of these children engage in economic activities such as petty trade and services, hawking, bus conducting, wheel pushing and so on. A total number of two hundred and eighty five children were selected using accidental sampling following their agreement to participate in the study. The objectives of the study was explained to each participant and verbal consent obtained. All other ethical principles in social research were observed and strictly followed. A combination of qualitative (inform of indept-interview) and quantitative (survey) techniques of data collection were used with a view to ensuring objectivity and validity of the results (Kudrati et.al, 2001). In depth interviews were conducted on 20% of the participants while the remaining 80% were administered with structured questionnaires. The qualitative data collected through interview were analysed using contents analysis while quantitative data obtained from questionnaires were analysed using frequency table, cross tabulation and percentages. All ethical principles in social research were observed. To comply with ethical principle of confidentiality, the study omitted participants' names, using pseudonyms instead, and removed identifying information from the data.

3.1.1 Characteristics of Working Children

A total of 285 children participated in the study, of which 192 (67.4%) were male and 93 (32.6%) were female. The children's ages ranged from 9 to 17 years with the dominant age group being 12-14 years. Quite a large proportion (67%) of respondents were schooling

(primary, junior secondary and secondary school education), 23% have dropped out of school while 10% have never attended formal school. (Table 4.1)

Table 4.1: Socio-demographic characteristics of children working

Characteristics	No	%
Gender		
Male	192	67.4
Female	93	32.6
Age		
9 – 11	27	9.5
11 – 13	61	21.4
13 – 15	76	26.6
15 – 17	121	42.5
Education		
Primary schl	107	37.5
Jnr Sec. Schl	54	19
Snr Sec. Schl	10	3.4
Not schooling	114	40.1

Source: Fieldwork, 2015

4.2 Parental Characteristics of Working Children

More than two third (190 or 79.6%) of the sampled children indicated that both parents are alive. Nearly nine in every ten sampled children (249 or 87.5%) reported their mothers are still alive while more than three quarters (244 or 85.5%) had their father still alive. Almost one third (33.1%) of the children who have parents confirmed that their mothers are fulltime housewives and never engage in any economic activity while less than a quarter (23.8%) claimed that their fathers are unemployed.

"Mama is not doing any work, she only does domestic work, we rely on the money baba realised form his bricklaying job and this money cannot take care of our expenses". Kabiru, 16

Of those working fathers, quite a number (46%) are skilled manual labourer, 14.6% are drivers, 10% are farmers, 15% are clerks while 25% are unskilled labourers. A significant number of working mother of the children are petty traders (44.4%) as compared to other types of work including farming (4.5%), Artisan (4.5%) and clerical (13.5%).

4.3 Earning and Expenditure

An appreciable proportion of the working children (40%) make a minimum of N500 and as high as over N1500 per day. This is equivalent to salary of civil servants on a minimum salary of N15000 to a level 9 officer on salary scale of N45000 a month. A substantial part of their income was spent on basic needs such as food and clothing. Expenditure on these two basic needs accounted for more than half (57.1) of their income. Food alone accounted for more than one third (35.5 %) of the total income. It also emerged that a substantial number (30.2%) of street children indicated that they give the money they have earned to a parent or guardian. Slightly over one tenth save their income (5.4%) and use the income realized to go to school (5.3%)

"I am selling bottle water and bottle drinks. On a normal day, I make the profit of ₦700, ₦800 or ₦1000 but in many cases, not less than ₦500. Whatever, I make as a profit, I give certain percentage to my mother and I use the remaining to sort out personal things" Lukman, 17

"I make nothing less than ₦1500 in a day but you know it is not easy to survive alone. I spend part of my earning to feed and clothe myself while I save substantial part so as to go back to school". Kunle, 16

4.4 Means of Livelihood

A substantial number (48.4%) of working children are into commercial activities. The means of livelihood of 16.1% of the children is begging, 12%, 12.6 and 6.7% of sampled children survive as bus conductors, load carriers and scavengers respectively. Others (4.2%) could not ascertain their means of income and are therefore suspected to live on grabbing or stealing on the street. A disaggregation of data by gender (Table 4.2) reveals that the proportion of girls engaging in commercial activities is more than twice the number of boys in the same activities. (77.4% girls versus 34.4% boys).

Table 4.2: Means of Livelihood of Street children by Gender

MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD	STREET CHILDREN GENDER					
	BOYS		GIRLS		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Hawking	66	34.4	72	77.4	138	48.4
Begging	36	18.8	10	10.8	46	16.1
Bus conducting	34	17.7	-	-	34	12.0
Load Carrying	32	16.6	4	4.3	36	12.6
Scavenging	16	8.3	3	3.2	19	6.7
Grabbing/ Stealing	8	4.2	4	4.3	12	4.2
Total	192	100	93	100	285	100

Source: Author's field work, 2012

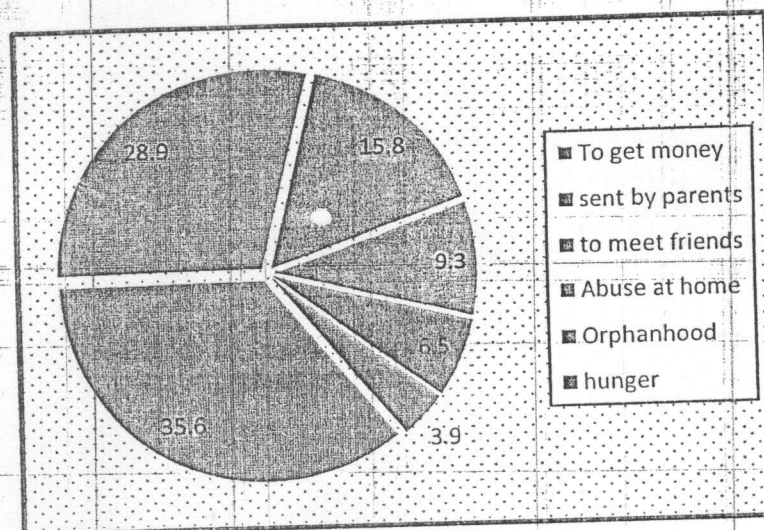
4.5 Reasons for working

On the reason why they are working, this voice was recorded:

"My parents could not provide for my needs and that of my siblings, therefore my brother and I decided to assist them to contribute to family income". Kola, 15

Out of 282 that responded to this question, more than two third (35.6%) share Kola's opinion as they were working because of lack financial support. More than one quarter (28.9%) were out to earn income for family as they were actually sent to work for their parents. Over one tenth (15.8%) see the street as avenue to meet friends (evidence of peer influence). Others become working children because of death of parents (6.5%) and hunger (3.9%).

Figure 4.1: Reasons for working

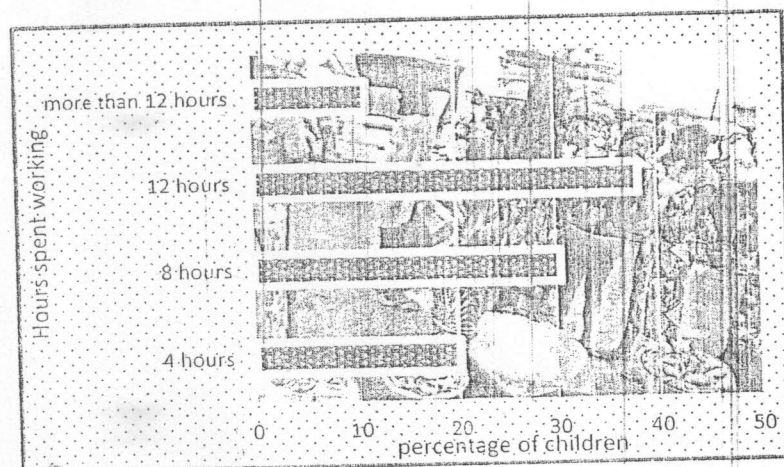


Source: Author's field work, 2012

4.6 Hours Spent working

Slightly over two fifth (20.2) of the sampled children confirmed working for about four hours in a day. Almost two third (30.5) spent an average of eight hours daily on the street. Roughly over two third (35.2%) work for twelve hours daily. While just over one tenth (11.1%) spent more than 12 hours working on daily basis. (Figure 4.2)

Figure 4.2: Hours spent working



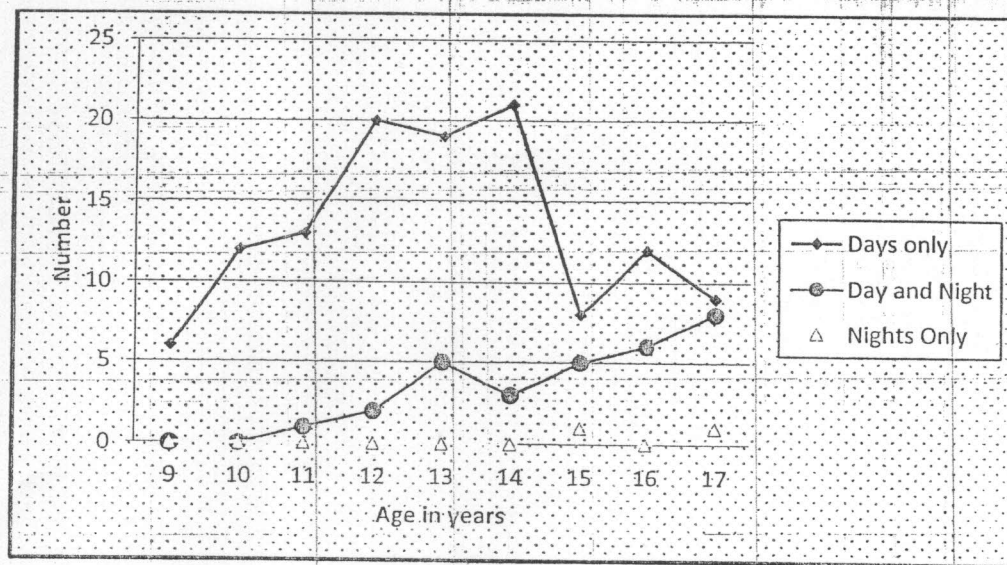
Source: Author's field work, 2012

4.7 Time on the Streets

Children were asked if they were on the streets during the day, at night, or both. The vast majority of street children (78.8%) said they work only during the day. Less than one fifth (19.5%), spend both days and nights working on the streets while Just 2% reported working only at nights on the streets. Broken down by age, relatively few children of age bracket 11 – 14 (37%) work on the streets both day and night, while none under 14 reported being on the streets during the night. Activities on the street both day and night increased significantly at

around 15 – 17 years of age. Half (50%) of the children seen on the street only during the day were between 12 – 14 years of age. (see Figure 4.3)

Figure 4.3: When Children are working



Source: Author's field work, 2012

4.8 Risks of Street Life

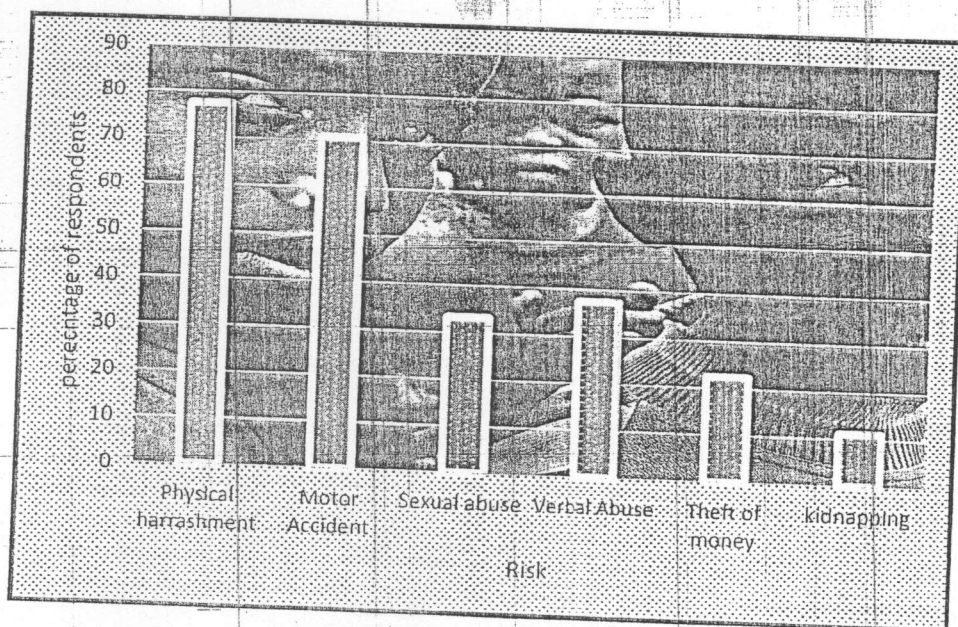
Characteristics of street life, children are susceptible to risks when working on the street. All but seven of the sampled children reported facing violence or assault on the street. This includes 97.9% of male population and 95.7% of female population

The types of risk faced mainly by working children are physical Abuse (77.5%), Motor accident (70.8%) sexual abuse (33.3%) and verbal abuse (37.5). Other risks mentioned by children include robbery (22.5%) and kidnapping (11.5)

"The major threat we get on the street is physical harassment from big boys. Sometimes the touts in the motor park molested us, they will buy from us but refuse to pay and if we complain they beat us up, in the process inflicting injuries on us" Kamoru, 15

"It is common among many of our male customer to make unwanted sexual jokes, stories, questions or words to us. Some will even go to the extent of smacking our bottom. Some of my friends would say it is a normal thing if you want to sell your wares but I don't like this act". Janet, 16

Figure 4.4: Risks of Working Children



Source: Author's fieldwork, 2015

Almost all the risks were relatively more frequently reported by girls than boys. (see Table 4.2). Out of 89 female respondents, 85 (95.5%) had been victims of motor accidents. Sixty two (69.7%) of them had been sexually molested while 86.5% of them had been physically harassed. Among the total respondents for robbery (81), kidnapping or attempted kidnapping (25) and verbal abuse (81), 67.2%, 75% and 68% had been respectively reported by female children (Table 4.3)

Table 4.3: Risks of Street Children by Gender

Risks	Male		Female	
	No	%	No	%
Physical Abuse	138	73.4	77	86.5
Motor Accident	112	59.6	85	95.5
Sexual abuse	10	5.3	62	69.7
Verbal Abuse	26	13.8	55	61.8
Robbery	27	14.4	54	60.7
Kidnapping	6	3.19	19	21.3

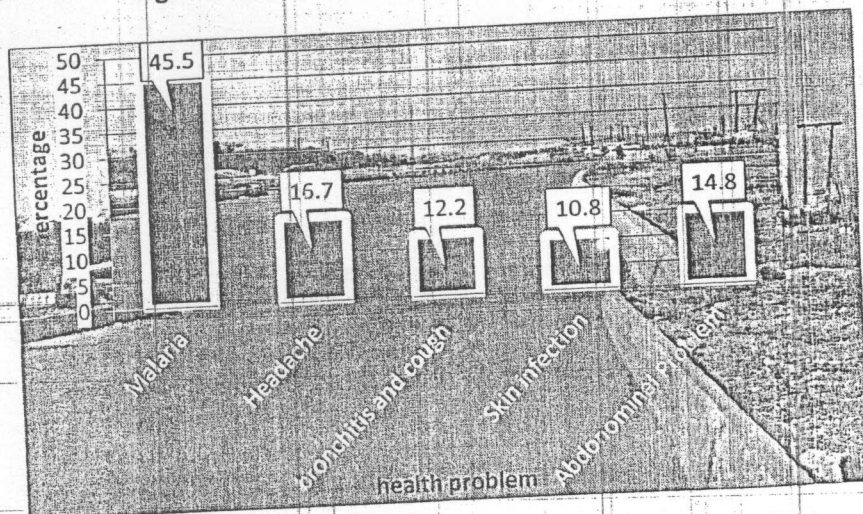
Source: Author's field work, 2012

*Multiple responses

4.9 Health Problem and Sexual Risk Behaviour of working Children

The children were asked to state their frequently occurred health problems (see figure 4.2). The most commonly cited recent health problems of children include: malaria (cited by 45.5% of the children), headache (16.7%), bronchitis and cough (16.7%), abdominal problems, and skin infections (10.8%)

Figure 4.5: Health Problems of street Children



Source: Author's field work, 2012

4.10 Sources of Medical Treatment

Among the children who reported health problems, over half (55.7%) buy drugs from peddlers, under one fifth (18%) visited hospitals and clinics while over one tenth (12.4%) used traditional medicine. Furthermore, 13.9% of those who reported health problems did not obtain medical treatment for economic reasons thereby raising serious question about the quality of treatment. (see table 4.3).

Table 4.4: Sources of Medical Treatment

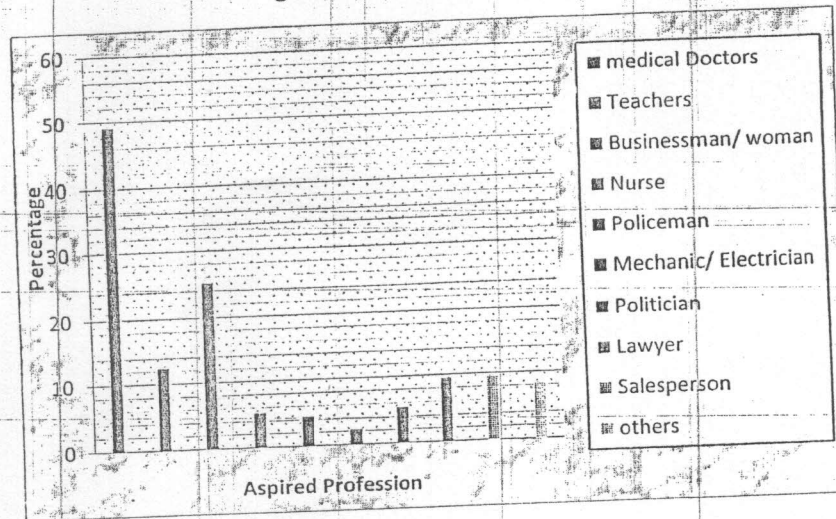
Treatment	No	%
Buy drugs from peddlers	112	55.7
Hospital or clinic	36	18.0
Traditional medicine	25	12.4
Did not seek treatment	28	13.9
Total	201	100

Sources: Author's field work, 2012

4.11 Future Aspiration of Working Children

Children are not without future aspiration as roughly half (49.2%) aspire to become medical doctors, a quarter (25.3%) dream of becoming business men or women. About a dozen (12.5%) would want to be teachers. Roughly a tenth (9.6%) are inspired to become lawyers. More than a tenth (15.2%) want to be sales persons. Others (8.5%) would want to end up as clerks, maids, cooks and drivers. (see figure 4.6)

Figure 4:6 Working Children's Aspiration



Source: Author's field work, 2012

4.2 Working children's Needs for Assistance

Majority of working children (42.5%) want to go back to school. More than a quarter (28.4%) wants their parent's financial situation improved. The most pressing needs of 8% of the children are food, clothing and shelter. 13% would want to be assisted to be trained as skill workers. While 4.9% do not see any need for assistance.

Table 4.5: Working Children's Need for Assistance

Need for Assistance	No	%
Getting back to school	121	42.5
Improve parents financial status	81	28.4
Food, clothing and shelter	23	8
Health care	9	3.2
Skill training	37	13
Nothing	14	4.9
Total	285	100

Source: Author's fieldwork, 2015

5 DISCUSSION

The problem of informal urbanisation in Nigerian cities is well documented in the literature (Mabogunje, 1968; CBN, 2009; Adeboyejo, 2013). In Ibadan, the attendant problems of rapid and uncontrolled urban growth have been broadly classified into environmental crisis, crime/violence and urban poverty (CBN, 2009). Of the many trials of urban poverty, one of the most challenging is undoubtedly the problem of working children (Faloore, 2009; Ogunkan and Adeboyejo, 2014). The findings in this study go a long way to confirm this

abuse. Motor accident, verbal and sexual abuse are the commonest hazards reported by working children. This conforms to findings of others studies (Subaşı 1996; Silva 2002; Gharaibeh and Hoeman 2003; Kacker et al, 2007). Also in this study, just like similar studies in the country (Esin et al., 2005; Kwankye et al., 2007; Olutunde, 2013; Nduka and Duru, 2014), sexual abuse were relatively more frequently reported by girls than boys.

The hazardous working environment of the children is exacerbated by their long working hours. Almost half (49.3%) of the sampled children work for more than eight hours daily. This increases the likelihood of risks for those children on the street. This fact can be buttressed by a large-scale survey of street children conducted by Celik and Baybuga (2009) which indicated that for each additional 10 hours of work per week on the streets, the likelihood of experiencing abuse increased by 8 per cent.

The health status of working children is another critical issue to be worried about. Almost two third (62.5%) of the sampled working children reported having health problems that needed some attention. When asked if they had been sick recently, roughly half (49.1%) answered in affirmative. This percentage could possibly be higher if medical examinations were to be carried out on these children. The most commonly cited health problems of children include: malaria, headache, bronchitis and cough. Worrisome is the fact that just under one fifth (17.9%) of them sought medical attention from hospitals and clinics while significant others patronised drug peddler or traditional healers. A handful of them did not obtain medical treatment for economic reasons thereby raising serious question about the quality of treatment.

It is often posited that the future of working children looks bleak. This is as a result of their exposure to risks and unforeseen situations. Akighir (2012) opines that the 'lucky' ones among them will graduate into touts, labourers, bus conductors or petty traders while the not-so-lucky ones will become drug peddlers, prostitutes, pimps, armed robbers and social misfits. This may not be true after all as majority of them have realized they could not be working on the street for the rest of their lives; this is an indication of hope. Roughly half (49.2%) aspire to become medical doctors, a quarter (25.3%) dream of becoming business men or women. About a dozen (12.5%) would want to be teachers. Roughly a tenth (9.6%) are inspired to become lawyers. More than a tenth (15.2%) want to be sales persons. Others (8.5%) would want to end up as clerks, maids, cooks and drivers. Children's aspirations show the determination to break the chains of poverty and avoid persistent hardship in their generation and the generations to come. As a drive to realising their ambition, quite a number of the children want to go back to school, more than a quarter wants their parent's financial situation improved. Regrettably, some of them do not see any need for assistance, the implication that they are not ready to stop working in nearest future.

6 RECOMMENDATIONS

The problem of working children is one of the intricate network of informal urbanisation. Therefore, it is apposite to find structural solution to the problem. In view of this, urban policy makers, in conjunction with urban planners, should devise an urban management policy that will ensure an equilibrium among demographic, political, socio-cultural and economic factors of urbanisation.

The findings of the study confirms that working children tend to be concentrated in the informal sector of the economy. It is therefore, suggested government should devise a means

assertion as more than two third (64.5%) of sampled children were working because of lack financial support. It is therefore, clear that poverty is the overriding reason why children are on the street to work. This is consistent with the findings of several studies, both in Nigeria (Faloore, 2009; Ogunkan and Adeboyejo, 2013; Nduka and Duru, 2014) and elsewhere (Muntigh, 2006; Kangsangbata, 2008; WERK, 2009)

Of the total of sampled children, quite a number (67.4%) were male and 93 (32.6%) were female. The preponderance of working boys has been similarly reported in other studies conducted in Nigeria (Faloore, 2009; Ikechebelu, 2009; Ogunkan and Adeboyejo, 2013, and elsewhere (Malcom, 2001; FREPD, 2003; Wargan and Dershem, 2009) As noted by Ogunkan (2014), one of the reasons for this may be attributed to the fact that girls are expected to help at home more than boys, especially in female-headed households. Moreover, the true incidence of working girls may be hidden by the clandestine nature of their work, which tends to be less visible than the work of street boys. For example, females may work as maids in bars, back street hotels and private houses (Lalor, 1999) or may be engaged as child prostitutes (Ogunkan et al, 2011) while street boys engage in visible activities as bus conducting, street trading, scavenging and even street urchins

Much of the vast literature on child labour discussed the issue of working children in connection with education (Onyango et al, 1991; PCIZ, 2002; FREPD, 2003; ILO, 2004). Connecting working children with education seems very logical as schooling and working full time on the street is very difficult. Of all 285 children sampled in the survey, an appreciable proportion (40.1%) were found to be out of school while over two thirds (37.5%) were in primary school, less than one fifth (19%) in Junior Secondary school, 3.4% in senior secondary school. This pattern suggests a connection between cost of education and working children phenomenon because as they climb up to higher levels, education becomes expensive and they have to drop out. Moreover, when children work full-time, school dropout and repetition rates tend to increase (ILO, 2004)

Various economic activities were engaged in by the children as a means of earning a living. Majority (48.4%) of them engaged in commercial activities including 16.1% who are into begging, other activities of working children are bus conducting (12%); load carrying (12.6%) and scavenging (6.7%). Others could not ascertain their means of income and are therefore suspected to live on grabbing or stealing on the street. A disaggregation of data by gender reveals that the proportion of girls engaging in commercial activities is more than twice the number of boys in the same activities. (77.8% girls versus 34.6% boys). This gender disproportion has been reported in similar studies conducted in Nigeria (Fetuga et al., 2005; Omokhodion and Omokhodion, 2001) but differs from reports from South Africa and Brazil (Roux, 1996; Raffaelli et al., 2000).

The question that come to fore is; are these economic activities or works as identified by children as their means of livelihood hazardous? Not all work done by children should be classified as child labour or hazardous work but it becomes a child labour if it deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to their physical and mental development. In its most extreme forms, children's work becomes hazardous if it exposes them to serious hazards and illness. This study can give a definitive verdict that the kinds of economic activities engaged by the sampled children are hazardous as it exposes them to a number of risks on the street. An overwhelming proportion of children included in this study have been exposed to one or more hazards during their working times. Physical

abuse. Motor accident, verbal and sexual abuse are the commonest hazards reported by working children. This conforms to findings of others studies (Subaşı 1996; Silva 2002; Gharaibeh and Hoeman 2003; Kacker et al, 2007). Also in this study, just like similar studies in the country (Esin et al., 2005; Kwankye et al., 2007; Olutunde, 2013; Nduka and Duru, 2014), sexual abuse were relatively more frequently reported by girls than boys.

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6 RECOMMENDATIONS

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The findings of the study confirms that working children tend to be concentrated in the informal sector of the economy. It is therefore, suggested government should devise a means

to incorporate informal sector of the economy into mainstream of city's economies. This will ensure government regularisation of the sector through enactment that will discourage the participation of nonaged in the sector

The study has also identified poverty as a significant driver of children into informal sector activities. As a result, governments are advised to embark on poverty alleviation programme that would be far reaching. The existing poverty alleviation programme should be restructured if not re-designed and should be centred on the 'basic needs' approach.

Government should be committed to the full implementation of Child Right Act which was promulgated in 2007 in all states of the federation. By this, State governments are required to domesticate and implement provisions of the Child Rights Act. If fully in place, the Act will protect the right of children and compel parents and guardian from engaging their wards to work on the street.

The importance of education in addressing the phenomenon of working children has also been identified in this study. Children's right to education is not only crucial to addressing the problem of working children, it is a fundamental human right. In view of this, government should renew its commitment to delivery free and compulsory education to Nigerian children at primary and junior secondary school level. Therefore, the Universal Basic Education (UBE) program launched in 1999 should be revived and made effectual.

The proliferation of working children in Nigerian urban centres indicated that it has been accepted as normal urban phenomenon. In order to disabuse the minds of people from this erroneous impression, sensitization and reorientation programs need to be conducted nationwide on the ills of children's engagement in hazardous work.

7 CONCLUSION

The study has substantiated that the phenomenon of working children is a grievous social issues which has pervaded the informal sector of the economy. Working children have fewer legal or other protections, therefore they are exposed to physical, psychology and sexual abuse. They also work longer hours to supplement family income, finance their education or fend for themselves. Their health situations call for urgent attention. Even though, their situation seems hopeless, they recognised their situations as precarious and are willing to change their fortunes by going back to school or learning a trade. In the long run, this phenomenon was identified as one of the offshoots of informal urbanisation. The recommendations, a multifarious approach, were offered as means to deal with this growing and widely accepted urban menace. It is believed that the suggestions offered will go a long way to tackle the problem.

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