

Child Labour and Its Implications for Child Development in Cross River State, Nigeria

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Abstract: *The phenomenon of child labour has become prominent globally with serious implications for the survival of the children. It has been observed that poverty, unemployment, low income, corruption and cheap labour force many poor families to send their children to work as house help or more. Child labour has left many severe consequences on children and their families. The consequences of child labour on child development are obvious. They include health hazard, physical abuse, fatigue, poor performance in school, academic wastage, sexual abuse, accident, youth violence among others. Physical and health consequences of child labour include stunting, breathing problems owing to exposure to toxic substances, accident proneness, contamination of cuts and wounds. While cognitive for problems include delinquent attitude, truant behaviour, high dropout rate and achievement deficits, social and physiological consequences include isolation of working children from their families and peer-groups, stigmatization of work by peers, lowering of self-esteem of children and perception of relative deprivation. On this premise, this paper investigates causes; perception as well as implications of child labour for child development and adopt structural strain theory as the theoretical framework. However, relevant recommendations are made.*

Keywords: Child Labour, Development, Family, Poverty and Delinquent Behaviour

INTRODUCTION

Children are precious gifts from God for the progression of human race, they are very tender, fragile and gentle hence they need protection and tender loving care from parents and the welfare of every community, its growth and development depends on the health, strength and wellbeing of the child (Alolagbe, 2008, Admassie, 2002). However, Child labour is a social phenomenon that is rampant in developing countries such as Nigeria as 15 million children under the age of 14 are working as child labourers in rural and urban area in the country (Bass 2004; UNICEF 2006). Available data indicates that 53 percent of children eligible for primary education are subjected to child labour while an estimated 81.12 percent of children qualified to be in secondary school are actually not schooling or seem to be combining work with schooling due to child labour activities in Nigeria (Okafor 2010). Thus significant proportion of children for primary and secondary school age seems to be engaged as child labourers in the country. Some children engaged in child labour, work in paid jobs, on the farm while others work as house help or domestic servants (Nwokoro 2011). This trend poses a serious threat to the educational, emotional and health condition of children affected. Most of the children affected seem to perform poorly academically while others possibly drop out of school (UNICEF 2005). Apart from this, some of the child labourers are exposed to long hours of work in dangerous and harsh physical conditions, making them vulnerable to health hazards. The combination of the perceived educational limitations and health risks child labourers face could have implications on their future and by extension that of the entire society. Scholars investigating this phenomenon mostly direct their attention to issues such as relationship between child labour and schooling. Their study found that child labour deters children from schooling and have negative effect on academic performance of child labourers (Amao et al 2014), child labour situation in artisanal mines and quarries (ILO, 2011). The study investigated socio-demographic attributes child labourers face including their life conditions in hawking and menial job in Cross River State and found that most child labourers were between age ranges of 5-10 years and mostly boys as their major source of income was serving in the hotel; determinants of child labour in rural Nigeria (Badmus 2008). The study seems to examine implication of child labour on sustainable development and found it to have adverse effect. The gaps noted in the studies discussed above are that they appear to ignore the identification of child labour practices in communities in Nigeria. Child labour practices may not be the same. Two of the obvious factors precipitating child labour seem to hinge on economic and cultural considerations (Edmonds, 2001; Nwokoro, 2001; Amao et al. 2013, Osungbade 2003), and the urban and rural economies and cultures also seem to vary. Consequently, rural and urban dwellers appear to respond to poverty differently. Rural people may react through farming while urban people could respond through engaging in trading, blue collar and white collar jobs. Child labour practices in rural and urban areas may vary and take different forms.

Cross River state is one of the states in Nigeria immune to the pervasive phenomenon of child labour. It has been noted that child labour is one the challenges bedevilling the state and appear not to be excluded from the menace (Edet and Etim 2013). The

State has experienced rapid urbanization and many poor families struggle for better life in urban areas. This pushes families to force their children to work in order to supplement family incomes (Okafor, 2010; Nseabasi & Abiodun 2010). The number of child labour was twelve million while by 2006 the number of child labour under the age 14 has risen to 15 million (Adegun, 2013). Children works in different sectors such as farms, domestic help, fishing, mining, armed conflict, street hawking, and child trafficking. The number of child labour involved in street hawking is common form of child labour in Nigerian cities, these children working from morning to evening do not have the time to enrol in schools or most of them drop out of school. The objective of the paper is to investigate child labour practices and the implication for child development in Cross River State and proffer way forward to curtail the scourge.

CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

Child Labour

Child labour is conceptualized variously in different countries, societies and communities base on social, cultural and legal orientations. However, what seems to be the common agreement is that any work that adversely affects a child's health, education, mental, physical and social wellbeing and a threat to their future development could be regarded as child labour. According to the International Labour Organization (2005), child labour is work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity; and is harmful to their physical and mental development. It refers to such work that is mentally, physically, socially, or morally hazardous to children and or interferes with their schooling by depriving them of the opportunity to attend school, obliging them to leave school prematurely, or requiring them to combine school attendance with an excessively long and heavy workload'. The United Nations (1989) in their Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), see child labour as work that may constitute a hazard to the child, or interfere with their education; or may seem to adversely affect the child's health, be it physical, mental, spiritual or mental development. According to Nwokoro (2011) the concept of child labour engage children on work for the purpose of sustaining self and or supporting family at the detriment of their proper development. Omokhodion and Odusote (2006) argued that heavy work amounts to child labour especially if it is exploitative or injurious to the development of their personality.

According to Edmonds and Pavcnik (2005) child labour is viewed as a form of child labour abuse, when children work in bad conditions and hazardous occupations. According to UNICEF the problem of child labour have bad consequences besides all the concerns of investment or its relation to economic activity (ILO, 2013). Bhat (2010) asserts that childhood can be defined by age but in some societies, people cease to be a child at different ages. The onset of puberty occurs at different stages for different people. UN Convention on the Rights of Child and ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999) defines a child who is under the age of eighteen years, if a work does not hinder children's schooling or do not affect their physical and mental health, it is categorized as non child labour. For instance helping parents to look after siblings or working for pocket money after school hours or during holidays.

Child Development

Child development refers to the biological and psychological changes that occur in human being between birth and the end of adolescence, as the individual progresses from dependency to increasing autonomy (Kail, 2006). This developmental changes may be strongly influenced by genetic factors and environmental factors during prenatal life, and prenatal development are usually included as part of child development. The child's age related development terms includes: new born ages (0-1 month); infant ages (1 month-1 year); toddler age (1-3years); preschooler ages (4-6 years); school-aged child ages (6-13 years); adolescent age (13-15 years). Development is a progressive sequence of change in the nature of organization of an organism's structure and behavior, which process in a systematic manner (Ngwoke & Eze, 2004). In other words, development is described as the gradual and systematic manifestation of characteristics, which enable the organism to function at a progressively high level. Development is increase in functioning resulting from the interaction of maturation forces and learning (Ngwoke, 2000). If a child who cried when thirsty says mummy water, development has taken place. If a child stands erect and takes two or more hasty steps, development has taken place. Both of these refinements in the efficacy of the child's functioning are the result of maturation and learning. Thus, development is the sequence of changes in human being that begins with conception and continues through life. The changes involved in development are both qualitative and quantitative, changes, like growth in stature, involve fairly gradual and predictable progress towards adult characteristics (Patterson, 2008). When developmental change is discontinues, however, researchers may identify not only milestones of development, but related age period often called stages. A stage is a period of time often associated with a known chronological age range, during which a behavioral characteristic is qualitatively different from what it is at other ages. When an age period is referred to as a stage, the term implies that each stage is both proceeded and followed by specific other periods associated with characteristics behavioral qualities.

As it concerns the developmental stages of the child, Ngwoke and Eze (2004) noted that child at birth is helpless and dependent on others for survival; the child lacks the basic motor skill and coordination required for exploration of his environment, he confuses self with things and objects around, and is unable to use sound and symbols in a manner intelligible to those around. But

with the passage of time, the child increases in motor skills and coordination from the crude stage at birth to a high proficiency in games requiring complex skills and coordination at adolescence; from psychological instability to stability; from the birth cry to the manipulation of language in abstract thinking, from confusion of self from things around his environment (egocentrism) to a formation of clear identity of self. Importantly, they emphasized that development takes place in the physical, social, emotional, cognitive, and language factors. Environmental factors affecting development may include diet and disease exposure, as well as social and emotional experiences. Through children's relations with others and their growing awareness of social values and expectations, they build a sense of who they are and of social roles available to them (Alegre, 2012).

Emotional development is the emergence of a child's experience, expression, understanding, and regulation of emotions from birth through late adolescence (Trenlacost et al, 2006). It comprises how growth and changes in these processes concerning emotions occur. Social and emotional development are strongly linked and sometimes studied in tandem. Parents and other caregivers play an important role in emotional development, but as a child world expands, other people in the social context also play a part in emotional development (Corso, 2007). Emotional development refers to an aspect of child development. It consists of how individuals develop the social skills and emotional maturity to build relationships and relate to other people. Social/emotional development includes child's experience, expression and management of emotion and the ability to establish positive relationship with others (Cohen, 2005). It also involves the ability to form and sustain positive relationships, experiences, manage and express emotion, explore and engage with the environment. Social-emotional development is the combination of learning diplomacy and truthfulness to interact with individuals or groups in a manner that contributes positively to members of society (Kidspot, 2011). Children with well-developed social-emotional skills express their ideas and feelings, empathy towards others, manage their feelings of frustration and disappointment more easily, feel self confident, easily make and develop friendships, and succeed in school (Nelson, Erwin, and Duffy, 2001). The greatest influence on a child's socio-emotional development is the quality of the relationships that he/she develops with his/her primary care givers. Early nurturing, experiences and relationships have a significant impact on a child's socio-emotional development.

Child labour is one of the debilitating factors that influence the socio-emotional development of the children involved and the society at large. In the late childhood stage (6- 10 years) the age of primary school, children learn at this period by observation. (Banda, 2003) It is characterized by the period at which children always play as a natural activity which contributes to their development which give them satisfaction and enjoyment (Ibiam, 2006). It is the time children' socialize with each other in the school and in the environment in which they find themselves, they interact with one another and make friends with their mates. However, some children are denied the opportunity due to the exposure to street hawking. Teenagers especially the female folks are exposed through hawking to be sexually aware too early in life. In attempt to sell their wares teenage females mingle with the touts in the motor packs and in the streets. Some of the teenage hawkers are lured into sexual relationship that may result into pre mature pregnancy. Some of the female hawkers may become promiscuous following exposure through hawking. As a result of this, females may drop hawking and resort to prostitution. Some children learn the act of smoking cigarette and even hard drugs because of the interaction with people of questionable characters while some are exposed to armed robbery business especially boys . However, in Nigeria, it appears that child development is grossly abused through the increasing display of child labour in almost all the streets in Nigerian towns. The proportion of hawking and its attendant consequences assumed an alarming stage as children between 6-15 years are seen everywhere in the cities hawking wares (Ibiam, 2009). The study will carry out a study on child labour and the implication on child development in Cross River state.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The paper adopts "functionalist theory" as its framework propounded by Durkheim (1858-1917) is most closely work associated with functionalism, since he often employs analogies with biology. A functional explanation accounts for the existence of a phenomenon or the carrying out of an action in terms of its consequences and contribution to maintain stable social whole (Marshall, 1994). Similarly, religious institutions serve to maintain social solidarity. Historical explanations account on the chronological development of the same phenomenon of actions. The most prominent is his organic analogy in which society is an organic whole with each of its constituent parts working to maintain others, just as parts of the body work to maintain each other. This idea is basic to his concept of organic solidarity between functional and historical explanations and recognized the need for both (Marshall, 1994). A modified functionalism is now undergoing revival in studying societies; these modern functionalisms are usually associated with the works of Parsons (1902-1979) and Merton (1910). Merton distinguishes between intended consequences of which the participants are aware and latent functions unintended consequences of which the participants are unaware. According to functionalist theorists, societies and individuals exist and work to sustain each other in an organic matter. This views each part of the society as performing a function that keeps and sustain the entire society. The failure in performance of one result leads to breakdown of the entire society. This implies that every part no matter how small has a role to play if the sustenance and unity of the whole is desired.

Child labour results from the inability of the society to function well by not being able to provide for the poor families adequate socialization, education, incentives, responsiveness to human problems, equality of access to the resources and opportunities, infrastructure as well as the necessities and provisions needed for optimal standard of living. The functionalists believe that there is child labour because the poor families have failed their function as parents and are responsible for the prevalence of child labour in the society. They maintain that child labour arise as a natural phenomenon because of the resources accrue from child labour to these poor families.

Types of Child Labour

Several children engage in some activities that are beneficial to the holistic development of the child by way of socialization. The cases of child labour which forms the crux of this paper are child slavery which involves the sale of children for economic activities in agriculture regions like Cross River State, illicit activities, act of hawking and all forms of trade activities especially in urban areas, prostitution and forced recruitment in armed conflicts.

Child begging The three categories of child begging led blind parents or relatives, those who beg entirely on their own and those who act as fronts for their parents, especially mothers, who hide from public view but supervise them from a close distance. These children are the most vulnerable because they are from families of the poorest of the poor. In all three categories, they run enormous risks of running or darting between cars in heavy traffic jam putting them in dangers of accidents. They suffer the severe psycho-social consequences of engaging in demeaning type of activity to constant abuse and aggression from the general public. In southern Nigeria, it was culturally expected that mothers with many children would beg normal as a symbolic expression of their willingness to demean themselves for the survival of the children (Albert, 1994).

Hawking is an occupation engaged by children and young adult which involves selling of items or goods in the street (Voluntary Counseling and confidential Testing-19 VCCT, 2005). Street hawking is considered as the act of canvassing for sale, items carried by the hawker along the street, from house to house, public places or town (Ikechbelu et al, 2008). Any parents who could no longer afford school fees for their children withdraw them from the education system. In an effort to help families make ends meet, some of these children were engaged as domestic servants to wealthy households such as car wash, bus conductors, and street hawkers (Olori, 2009).



Sexual Exploitation has become a problem of special concern in Nigeria because of its scale and links with commercial trafficking in women and girls and its role in the development of Hiv/Aids epidemic now sweeping the country. It is scarce owing to its clandestine nature and traditional inhibitions in discussing sexual behavior (Adeyoke & Adedoyin, 1995, Oloko 1999). Orubuloye, et al (1994) identified that commercial sex workers is common in Calabar capital of Cross River, they are found in hotels, brothels, bars and streets among children below twenty years and above uneducated. They operate outside their local governments, communities and ethnic groups; most of them are single, separated or divorced. Those who had children were left with grandmothers in their rural areas and there was tendencies to have them originate from polygamous homes on the average of thirty clients a week. Sexual exploitation does not end with prostitution alone; other forms of abuse scarcity of jobs economic pressure of dependent children and inadequate financial support from husbands among them especially students in secondary and tertiary institutions.

Socio-Economic Factors Related to Child Labour

Poverty: decisions about child labour and schooling are generally made by parents. If the family live below the poverty line, parents see children as part of contributor in their family income. Basu (1998) used a theoretical model of child labour, where he showed the only reason parents send children to labour is because of their low income. Consequently poor parents cannot afford schooling for their children. Thus, mainly poor households forced their children to labour instead of sending them to school. Rena (2009) shows that poverty and under-development drives child labour. According to Edmonds and Pavcnik (2005) assert that tackling poverty reduce child labour, many factors influence child labour.

Family size: large poor households usually have more children involved in child labour than children from small household demonstrates family size has effect on child labour. Parents oblige their children to work because they are not able to manage the demands of a large size family. There is a gender difference among household size. Not everyone and of all age in the family are working as child labour, which depends on the child's age and gender, for instance boys likely attend school than girls, older siblings often contribute more to the family income (Ahamd, 2012). Okpukpara et al., (2006) found that Nigeria young children are likely to go to school than older children, where most boys attend schools than girls.

Family condition: a number of children who have either lost one or both the parents and those impacted by HIV/AIDS in the family, are forced to work in order to support themselves and their siblings. The numbers of orphaned children are increasing particularly in Africa, many who are street children live in very different circumstances (Vandenberg, 2007).

Cultural factor: different cultures of many societies make children start work at very young age which is related to traditions and cultural factors. They assumed that children need to learn skills that can be good for their future. According to Tauson (2009), parents prefer their children to work because they consider it beneficial for them as they learn work skills. Obinna and Osita-Oleribe (2007) assume that many families in Africa want their children to help in contributing towards family income.

Civil war is another factor contributing to child labour, the war destroys the economy of the country, people become much poor and all resources go to the war. As Doucet noted in a BBC articles on September 25, 2013 that Syrian refugee families who have fled Syria's civil war send their children to work to earn money for basic necessities of life. These children are exposed to exploitation. War burn down all good things that any country could have, it brings diseases, poverty, damages, and many other horrible things. Again, no help will be of use as long as the war is continues.

Urban migration: many rural families migrate to urban areas because of rural push and urban pull factors. They often forced to live and work in the street as they lack access to basic requirements such as food; shelter. These children become street workers as vendors. Most street workers are vulnerable to violence and become susceptible to illegal works, such as stealing, trafficking drugs and prostitution (Yadav & Sengupta, 2009). These children live in urban poverty; many child labourers live in unhealthy poor conditions slum areas and work in poor environment such as domestic work, or work in hotels and restaurants etc. (Serwadda-Luwaga, 2005). Many cities in developing countries have experienced rapid urbanization. Many people are living under great hardship, due to unemployment, housing shortages, violence and unhealthy environments. The problem of poverty has weaknesses in the economy and lack of equity to the provision of services (Shitole 2005). Poverty is a function of social, economic and political structures and processes that creates unequal distribution of resources, both within and in the global context between communities (Lister 2004). Urban poverty raises slums. These areas are characterized by unemployment, poor sanitation, inadequate access to clean water and inadequate housing.

Globalization: in recent years, many international companies moved their production abroad, they often indulge in hiring children as cheap labours as they are endurable, and carry out commands given by their employers even if they're abused and exploited (Mapaure, 2009). Some suggest that higher income and higher standard of living can reduce the potential problem which resulted from increasing child labour of globalization (Congdon Fors, 2012). Some argue that globalization increase the opportunity of exploiting cheap labour especially from low income countries.

Factors Responsible to Child Labour Practices in Nigeria

The phenomenon has been associated with a number of factors which can have either remote or immediate consequences. These factors can be seen from various dimensions such as poverty, illiteracy, unemployment as well as certain cultural determinants. Despite all these, the paper focus on this as a societal ill attributed to various factors that are economic, political, socio-cultural and environmental (Qvortrup, 2001).

Economic Factors have been observed as the key to the existence and wide spread of the practice of child labour in most societies. Nwokolo (2011) argues that child labour is a profitable practice because it is motivated by economic incentives. Crosson (2008) posits that there is a link between parents with marginal income and the imperative to push children into work so as to supplement family income. In most societies under the pressure of poverty and lack occasioned by economic difficulties, there is always temptation for them to engage their children and wards in child labour when other alternative sources of economic sustenance are lacking. Cheng (2011) argues that there are severe cases of cartels and forced labour networks where children beg to generate income for the profiteer. In a polygamous family with many children begging can easily serve as a quick means of making income. It pertinent for us to note here that children from poor parents have continued to be engaged in activities aimed at generating resources of various kinds for up keep of the family. This was possible because of the wide gap between the have and have not in most societies where the contention for society's resources remains that of the survival of the fittest. Faced with the impossible order of survival of

the fittest, families faced by threats of perpetual poverty arising from low family income as well as other limitations that inhibit family development including access to education have often faced the challenges of either engaging their children in child labour to survive or face the unpleasant consequences of perpetual poverty (UNICEF, 2004). In Nigeria leadership revolves around a winner-take all mentality hinders the effective development of social structures and decay of social support poor families have been forced into actions that threaten the development of their children. In the effort to escape the deadly effects of poverty, some underprivileged families had to choose the only available way out by subscribing to child labour. It has been argued that poverty constitutes economic determinant to the decisions of families to engage in child labour practices. Poverty is a multi-dimensional issue that encompasses inadequate income, lack of good health, ignorance and other factors that impinge on fulfilling human needs for existence, others like stringent family conditions that dispose them to vulnerability exposure, low purchasing power, insufficient access to economic services and low life expectancy (Kielland & Tovo, 2006). Surveys carried out by the Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey (2008) indicates a rise in the total poverty head count between 27.2 per cent in 1980, to the threshold of 65 per cent in 1996, being indicative of an average increase of 8.83 per cent for a period of 16 years.

Political factors: It has been argued that lack of political will to enforce laws and implement policies particularly in the areas of labour and other policies that improve on the people's life constitute other important reasons that causes child labour to be on the increase. It is obvious that where laws are not enforced there will be no incentive to obey them (Zelizer, 1985). Since 1960 till date, the rulers of the country have not made much effort the provision of the much needed opportunities for good life thus causing the citizens to engage in tendencies that do not promote development among the people. In the absence of good governance and political re-engineering of the society to promote good life, families resort to child labour to sustain themselves. Privatization has impacted the poverty conditions of Nigerian families for the worse in principally two ways. In the first place, it has led to massive retrenchment in the firms concerned, thus jeopardizing the ability of a lot of families to take care of them. The emphasis on privatization has led to a decline involvement of government in Nigeria in social provision. In this sense, social provisioning has been privatized both in the spirit of privatization in a bid to lessen government public sector spending, an aberration of every government to its citizens. When the families are confronted with increasing cost of social services or non-availability of social amenities they resort to various forms of unorthodox means of sustenance. Anugwom and Okolie (2000) have linked the increasing poverty in urban areas in Nigeria to the SAP cum economic globalization and its various consequences. The link between family survival or poverty and child labour has been captured succinctly by Anker (2000) who argues that even though child labour is very hard on children, this is necessary for family survival in developing countries. The utilization of children in economic activities of diverse nature is a product of reality. In such situation, some children voluntarily opt for paid labour as their contribution to the survival of the family. Such altruism, even in the face of reality, emanates primarily from the African cultural viewpoint that survival is a group matter. The point is that urban child labour has grown out of increasing scope of family poverty arising from the socio-economic fallout of globalization thus causing child labour to represent one more coping mechanism by poor urban households in Nigeria with little being done to curb it by the government

Socio-Cultural Factors refers to a people's way of life and inheritance transferred from one generation to another. Though culture is dynamic, but retains some significant elements of its identity even as it evolves over time. Such practices transcended to the resolution of familial debts with pledging of one's children, early child marriages and outright sale of children into slavery, all of which were engendered by exploitation of one by another in specific societies (Mofford, 1997). It was argued that Ibo people of South-east have a rich cultural heritage which exerts enormous influence in their daily lives and activities (Anugwom, 2006). For them, children go with their parents to the farm, stream, and market, paid jobs. The Ibo nation is patriarchal as men are usually heads of households, and take the most important family decisions including those that have to do with reproductive issues, large family sizes are often seen as desirable (Nwokolo, 2011). This situation is evident in polygamous families usually maintain separate purses, sharing childbearing responsibilities, disproportionately with women in such situations being made to bear a greater percentage of the burden (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994). Household violence is a common feature of most large household forces children to abandon their families to leave elsewhere and survive such situations; they engage themselves in child labour. According to Olutayo (1994), social customs, values and attitudes that accord low status to children, perpetuate child labour. In such societies, priorities are not given to children's education for future status and development. They are subject to child labour. Moreover, employer-worker relations in rural areas cause child labour for instance; the circumstances subject child labour in rural areas force them to work for long hours in unconducive conditions with low pay. It is worthy to note that in spite of modern lifestyles that have prevailed to encourage a shift from child labour and forced begging by mara-bouts, families have continued to engage their children in these practices as a form of religious, cultural practice and obligation

METHODOLOGY

This paper adopted survey design. This is because the design allows the researcher to collect data from large samples and is suitable for use of statistics for analysis and generalization of findings. Cross River was created on May 27, 1967 from the former Eastern Region, Nigeria. Its name was changed to Cross River State in the 1976 state creation exercise from South Eastern State (Nwabueze,

1982). Its capital is Calabar, and its name is derived from river Cross (Oyono), which passes through the state. Cross River State is a coastal state in South-South Nigeria, which passes through the state. It is located in the Niger Delta region of the country with population of 3,737,517 (NPC, 2006) and occupies 20,156 square kilometres. It shares boundaries with Benue State to the north, Ebonyi and Abia States to the west, to the east by Cameroon Republic and to the south by Akwa-Ibom and the Atlantic Ocean. Its major towns are Akamkpa, Biase, Calabar South, Ikom, Igede, Obubura, Odukpani, Ogoja, Ugep, Obudu, Obanliku, Akpabuyo, Ofutop, Iso-bendeghe, Danare, Boki, Yala, Bendeghe Ekiem, Etomi, and Ukelle. The State is composed of several ethnic groups, which include Efik, Ejagham, Yakurr, Bette, Yala, Igede, Ukelle and the Bekwarra. The Efik language is widely spoken in southern Cross River State, especially Calabar Municipality, Calabar South and Odukpani while Ejagham language is the most widely spoken language in Cross River State. There are Yakurr/Agoi/Bahumono ethnic groups in Yakurr and Abi LGA, while the Mbembe are found in Obubura LGA. The core northern part of the state are several sub-dialectical groups, among which are Etung, Olulumo, Ofutop, Nkim/Nkum, Abanajum, Nseke and Boki in both Ikom, Etung and Boki LGAs. Also, Yala/Yache, Igede, Ukelle, Ekajuk, Mbube, Bette, Bekwarra and Utugwang people are found in Ogoja, Yala, Obudu and Obanliku LGAs. Population of the study includes staff of ministry of women affairs, Department of social welfare and all child labour both (male and female) residing in Cross River State.

SAMPLING TECHNIQUE AND PROCEDURE

The sampling technique involved first, a purposeful selection of Calabar as an urban community and Abochichie community in Yala Local Government Area to represent rural communities. Afterwards, Cluster random sampling technique was used to select 100 respondents from Calabar Municipal and Calabar South LGAs, totalling 200 respondents. This technique was chosen because the researchers do not have a list of child labourers in the study area. In the process of selecting respondents, the researchers went to Calabar and Abouchichie in Bekwara local government Areas and compiled a list of children subjected to child labour and from the list they selected the first 120 in Calabar and 80 in Abouchichie to even the numbers for the study. Purposeful sampling method was used to select key informants. In this process, the identified offices in charge of child labour such as social welfare in Abouchichie and Ministries of Education and Women Affairs. In these offices at least one senior official was selected for the interview and 2 child workers in the two areas.

METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Data for the study was collected by use of questionnaires and key informant interviews. For the questionnaires, data collection procedures involved the research assistants visiting the respondents personally to administer questionnaires. The assistant had the tasks of distribution and interpreting questionnaires to the respondents. After the administration and distribution, the questionnaires were collated for analysis. For key informant interviews, the researchers visited the key informants discussed the aims of the study with them and booked appointment for the interview. Data was collected through use of tape recorders and phones. For questionnaires, analysis of data involved the use of descriptive statistics. Percentages were used to analyze the opinions of respondents regarding child labour practices in rural and urban areas in Cross River state. For key informant's interview, the researchers transcribed the responses of the key informants and discussed them on the basis whether they collaborate or contradict data from questionnaires.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of data under the following headings; socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, child labour practices in Cross River State and measures to control child labour in urban and rural communities in the state.

Table 5.1: Socio-Demographic Data of Respondents

| | Variable | Frequency | Percentage % |
|-----|--------------|------------|--------------|
| (a) | Age (Years) | | |
| | 5-11 | 66 | 33.0 |
| | 12-17 | 134 | 67.0 |
| | Total | 200 | 100 |
| (b) | Sex | | |
| | Male | 97 | 48.5 |
| | Female | 103 | 51.5 |
| | Total | 200 | 100 |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|
| (c) Educational Background | | |
| Not Attending school | 32 | 16.0 |
| Attending School | 168 | 74.0 |
| | 200 | 100 |
| Total | | |
| (d) Present Educational level | | |
| Primary | 48 | 24.0 |
| Secondary School | 152 | 76.0 |
| Total | 200 | 100 |
| (e) Community | | |
| Rural | 80 | 40.0 |
| Urban | 120 | 60.0 |
| Total | 200 | 100 |

Source: Field survey, 2017

Table 5.1 above presents socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents in the study area. The Table shows that the respondents in the age bracket of 12-17 years had the highest percentage of 67.0% (134), while those from the age group of 5-11 years were the least with percentage of 33.0% (66). This data appear to agree with Okafor (2010) whose findings show a “worse situation” of child labour for children of secondary school as compared to those of primary school age. Ojo and Olufemi (2013) also found what appear to be similar as most child labourers in Agege, Lagos fall within age range of 12 to 18 years. In relation to gender, the female respondents were found to be slightly more than the males as the females had 51.5% (103) while the males had 48.5% (97). This finding seems to corroborate Ojo and Olufemi (2013) studies which show more girls working as child labourers compared to the boys in Agege in Lagos state. This none the less contradicts studies by ILO (2011) who found more boys than girls working in mines and quarries in Oyo and Ogun States. This finding could be due to the gender roles in our society which culturally designate labour intensive functions to the boys than the girls and equally the role played in the different facets of labour outlined as quarries typically demands the indefatigable traits often perceived and believed to be dominant in the masculine gender.

Base on educational background, majority 74.0% (168) of the respondents were attending school while few 16.0% (32) of them were not attending school. This study appears to confirm. ILO (2011) postulation that most of the child labourers currently attend school contrary to the popular perception that child labourers do not attend school. But most of them seem to combine schooling with work which could adversely affect their academic performance (Okakor 2010). The present educational level of the respondents shows that most of them were in secondary school with 76.0% (152) while few were in primary school level with 24.0% (48). This data seem to corroborate findings by Okafor (2010) who showed that in Nigeria, approximately 53 per cent of children eligible for primary education are subjected to child labour while an estimated 81.12 per cent of children qualified to be in secondary school are actually not schooling or seem to be combining work with schooling due child labouring activities. Based on the residing community, most of the respondents were in urban areas with 60.0% while the rest resided in rural communities with 40.0% (80).

Table 5.2: Work engaged in Child labour in Cross River

| Urban | Frequency | Percentage % |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------|
| Street hawking | 37 | 30.8 |
| Car washing | 10 | 8.3 |
| Domestic work | 42 | 35.0 |
| Bus conductor | 11 | 9.2 |
| Blue-collar labouring | 2 | 1.7 |
| Plate washing | 6 | 5.0 |
| Shop/store operator | 12 | 10.0 |
| Total | 120 | 100 |
| Rural | 17 | 21.3 |

| | | |
|------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Palm wine Tapping/sale | | |
| Farming | 58 | 71.4 |
| Kiosk Operation | 5 | 6.3 |
| Total | 80 | 100 |

Source: Field survey, 2017

Table 5.2 above presents work engaged by child labourers in rural and urban areas in Cross River state. The Table shows that in the urban areas, the most common child work is domestic work with 35.0% (42) followed by street hawking with 30.8% (37) and Shop/store operating 10.0% (12) while the least work is blue-collar labouring with 1.7% (2) followed by plate washing in restaurants with 5.0% (6). Other child work identified include car washing with 8.3% (10), bus conducting with 9.2% (11). In rural communities, the common child labour activity is farming with 71.4% (58) while the least work is kiosk operating with 6.3% (5). Other work noted is palm wine tapping and sales with 21.3% (17). Interview with a key informant who is a director in the Ministry of Women Affairs in Calabar noted that in Calabar Municipal, the child labour practices that are common include house help services, street trading, shop operating and bus conducting... though other practices such as prostitution, vulcanizing, apprenticeship, begging and factory work also exists In Abouchichie, a staff of the department of social works at Bekwarra local government secretariat corroborated the above findings that in the village child labour is not so pervasive as compared to Calabar city the most common child labour practice is use of children in farming which most do not see as such this probably is due to culture which sees taking the child to the farm as a form of socialization. This seem to be similar with Bonnet (1993) who stress that child labour practices in Southern Nigeria include street trading, apprenticeship, domestic service, bus conductor, shop operating amongst other. Owokoro (2011) and Okafor (2010) to some extent agree with the findings that common child labour practices in urban areas is house help while Ojo and Olufemi (2013) found street hawking as a major child labour practice in towns and cities. In rural areas, most of the studies agree with this finding that common child labour practice in rural areas is the engagement of children on the farm.

Table 5.3: Opinion on whether child labourers are paid for work in Cross River state

| Area | Frequency | Percentage % |
|--------------|------------|--------------|
| Urban | | |
| Yes | 55 | 45.8 |
| No | 65 | 54.2 |
| Total | 120 | 100 |
| Rural | | |
| Yes | 6 | 7.5 |
| No | 74 | 92.5 |
| Total | 80 | 100 |

Source: Field survey, 2017

Table 5.3 seeks to inquire whether children engaged as child labourers are paid for their services. The table has shown that in communities, nearly half of the respondents were paid for their services with 45.8% (55) while slightly more than half do not get paid for their services with 54.2% (65). In rural areas, the table indicates that most of the child labourers are not paid for their services as 92.5% (74) of the respondents attested to it while just 7.5% acknowledged payment for their services. In-depth interview, a key informant stressed that in towns and cities, more emphasis is given to money people want to be paid for their work child labourers work in order to earn some money in rural areas most children engage in labour to help their families and not for money." Child labourers in urban and rural areas also argued that they are car washer and they pay me daily based on how many vehicles I wash in a day most children that are working in people's houses as house helpers are not paid because I used to work in the house too" no I don't expect to get paid because I work for the family they give me food and pay my school fees I have to help them too. This data seem to corroborate studies by ILO (2011) which found that children working in mines and quarry in Abeokuta were paid for their services. Akarro and Mtwere (2011) and ILO (2011) studies agree with this finding by stressing that children in rural areas work for their family therefore most are not paid in cash for the services. This suggests that such work may not be paid for since it is a norm in rural areas for children to help parents on the farm.

Table 5.4: Amount to Money Paid to Child Labourers in Cross River state

| Area | Frequency | Percentage % |
|-----------------|-----------|--------------|
| Urban | | |
| Below ₦ | 200 | 21.8 |
| ₦ 300 – ₦500 | 24 | 43.6 |
| ₦600 – ₦800 | 13 | 23.6 |
| ₦900 – ₦1200 | 5 | 9.1 |
| ₦1300 and above | 1 | 1.9 |
| Total | 55 | 100 |
| Rural | | |
| Below ₦ | 200 | 66.7 |
| ₦300 – ₦500 | 2 | 33.3 |
| Total | 6 | 100 |

Source: Field survey, 2017

Table 5.4 above present amount of money paid to the child labourers in rural and urban areas in the study area. In the urban areas, the Table has shown that most of the respondents collect between N300 – N500 with 43.6% (24) daily while those who receive between N1300 and above were the least with 1.9% (1). Other amount paid to the child labourers include below N200 with 21.8% (12), N600-N800 with 23.6% (13) and N900-N1200 with 9.1% (5). In the rural communities, the Table indicates that majority of respondents receive below N200 with 66.7% (4) while the minority take home between N300-N500 with 33.3% (2). An interview with key informant who is a child labourer in Calabar municipal revealed that “they pay me 100 naira daily when I work with builders on the site sometimes I do clear the site of the building and also gather sharp sand and stones for them” In-depth interview with a senior staff with ministry of women affairs noted that in case of children working as house help, most receive on average 10,000 naira monthly which is approximately 333 naira of daily payment” In Abochichie, a key informant with Department of social welfare in Bekwara LGA community people are not used to paying children for work most of the time, the money they collect is just for appreciation and not payment for work done the amount is usually small and may not even be up to 300 naira”

Table 5.5: People who engage Children to work as Child Labourers in Cross River state

| Area | Frequency | Percentage % |
|-------------------------|------------|--------------|
| Urban | | |
| Business people/Traders | 60 | 50.0 |
| White collar jobbers | 42 | 35.0 |
| Parents | 18 | 15.0 |
| Total | 120 | 100 |
| Rural | | |
| Parents | 64 | 80.0 |
| Relatives | 10 | 12.5 |
| Business/Traders | 6 | 7.5 |
| Total | 80 | 100 |

Source: Field survey, 2017

Table 5.5 presents category of people engaging children as child labourers in urban and rural areas in the study area. The Table indicates that in urban areas, people who engage children as child labourers were business people or traders with 50.0% (60) followed by people who work in offices (white collar jobbers) with 35.0% (42). Parents were the least category to engage children as child labourers with 15.0% (18). In rural areas, the Table indicates that parents had the highest percentage of the group using children to work with 80.0% (64) followed by relatives with 12.5% (10) and then business or traders with 7.5% (6). In an interview, a key informant from Ministry of Women Affairs in Calabar noted that “in Calabar, people who mostly use children to work for them

seem to be among business people and civil servants who bring children from their villages and exploit them by way of using them in their businesses or as house helps” In Abouchichie in Bekwara local government area, a key informant in the Department of Social Welfare revealed that “in this place, children who work as child labourers do it for their parents involve their children to help them on the farm while some fetch water for the family working in the farm is not perceived as child labour but as a form of socialization” These findings seem to corroborate studies by Okafor (2010) and Edet and Etim (2013). Okafor (2010) lamented that in cities, economically privileged people such as business people or civil servants bring children from the villages and use them as domestic workers. Edet and Etim also found that in rural areas children are subjected to child labour by mostly their parents or relatives.

Table 5.6: Suggestions for controlling Child Labour in Cross River state

| Area | Frequency | Percentage % |
|--------------------------|------------|--------------|
| Urban | | |
| Execute child right laws | 72 | 60.0 |
| Prosecution of culprits | 33 | 27.5 |
| Awareness | 15 | 12.5 |
| Total | 120 | 100 |
| Rural | | |
| Awareness | 53 | 66.3 |
| Poverty reduction | 16 | 20.0 |
| Execute laws | 11 | 13.7 |
| Total | 80 | 100 |

Source: Field survey, 2017

Table 5.6 presents suggestions for controlling child labour in urban and rural areas in the study area. The table has shown that in urban areas, most respondents felt that child right laws should be executed with 60.0% (72) while few think there should be awareness creation with 12.5% (15). Other suggestion includes prosecution of people who engage in child labour practices with 27.5% (33). In rural areas, creation of awareness was the major suggestion with 66.3% (53) followed by poverty reduction with 20.0% (16) and execution of child right laws with 13.7% (11). In-depth interview with key informants in Ministry of women affairs in Calabar suggested that in cities, most people know that child labour is evil because they have access to radio and television broadcasts, social media and often see messages from government such people should be prosecuted child right laws need to be properly implemented. In Bekwarra local government area, a staff in the Department of social works suggested that child labour in rural communities occurs on the farm and most people think is normal to take a child to the farm and engage them to work since it is culturally acceptable there is the need to enlighten these people to know that child labour is bad and can affect the child negatively in many dimensions”

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Based on the above findings, child labour practices in Cross River state include domestic work, street hawking, shop/store operating, blue-collar laboring, plate washing in restaurant, car wash and bus conductor. In rural communities, child labour activities include kiosk operating, palm wine tapping and sales. The findings have shown that in urban communities, nearly half of the respondents were paid for their services while in rural areas, most of the children are not paid for their services. The amount of money paid to child labourers in the urban areas ranges mostly between N300 to N500 daily while children who receive between N1300 and above were the least. In rural communities, majority of respondents receive below N200 while the minority takes home between N300 to N500. The category of people engaging children as child labourers in urban areas, are mostly business people or traders followed by white collar jobbers while parents were the least category to engage children as child labourers. In rural areas, parents are the group that uses children as child labourers the most while business people or traders are the least to engage children to work. Child labour practices in urban areas involve exploitation of children by privileged people in urban areas thus confirming the assumptions of Marxist theorists. In rural communities, child labour came on the need to help parents not solely for economic reasons which seem to invalidate propositions of Marxists. The suggestions for controlling child labour in urban areas involve execution of child right laws while creation of awareness was the least suggestion. Other suggestion are prosecution of people who engage child into child labour. In rural areas, creation of awareness was the major suggestion followed by poverty reduction and execution of child right laws.

Based on the conclusion drawn from the findings, the following recommendations are made in order to control the phenomenon of child labour in Cross River state:

- a. There should be proper implementation of child right laws in urban areas. This could enable stakeholders such as law enforcement agents, NGOs and government agencies and parastatals to intervene, control, arrest and prosecute people engaging children to work as child labourers and subsequently control the scourge in the study area.
- b. In rural areas, intensive awareness should be created to ensure that rural dwellers are enlightened to know that involving children in child labour activities such as farming for longer period of time constitutes a child labour practice. This could help in controlling the phenomenon in rural communities.
- c. Government should evolve poverty eradication programmes that will truly be beneficial to parents and by doing so could help control situations where parents involve their children in child labour for economic reasons.

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