
Children Working in Riverine Communities in Nigeria

Task 3: Research & Data Collection International Child Labor Issues

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographic Information System
HDI	Human Development Initiative
ILO-IPEC	International Labour Organization— International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
IO	International Organization
NCLS	National Child Labour Surveys
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NPC	National Planning Commission
RMS	Research Marketing Services Limited
SIMPOC	Statistical Information & Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
UBE	Universal Basic Education
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
WACAP	West Africa Cocoa/Commercial Agriculture Project
WOCON	Women’s Consortium of Nigeria
WOTCLEF	Women Trafficking & Child Labour Eradication Foundation

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study collected and analyzed qualitative and quantitative data on child work in the riverine communities of Lagos State, Nigeria. ICF International Inc. (ICF) conducted the study from August 2006 to December 2006. The Nigerian office of Research Marketing Services Limited (RMS) worked with ICF to implement the quantitative and qualitative components of the study in Nigeria. Data collection focused on children aged 5 to 17 and their families. The study identifies the extent and nature of child involvement in education and work. Information was also collected on the characteristics of the riverine communities studied, family members' perceptions of children's work within the communities, and the effect of work on children's education.

Nigeria is home to numerous rivers, lakes, waterways, and coastal deltas. Along them reside numerous communities whose primary economic activity involves fishing. People in riverine communities engage in other economic activities as well, such as subsistence farming, raising cash crops (e.g., coconuts), and nonagricultural labor. Riverine communities are typically modest places, using traditional methods to build houses and enjoying very few of the luxuries one finds in even the working-class neighborhoods of urban Nigeria. The area's proximity to waterways often means isolation from road systems, electricity, clean water, and other public services.

For the purposes of this study, "riverine community" refers to communities on the water, where most families in the community engage in fishing activities. The definition excludes communities engaged in only sand harvesting, although if both occur, a community is included. Typically, families also engage in nonfishing or non-sand-harvesting economic activities, such as subsistence farming or coconut harvesting, but for purposes of definition, economic activities of most families involve fishing. We are concerned about riverine communities, since most children in them have the possibility of involvement in fishing activities. This is of particular interest since: (a) children are engaged in these activities at an early age; and (b) by their nature, fishing activities present children with possible harm from factors such as undue exertion, long hours, use of sharp tools, or work in the water, where disease or drowning is possible.

There are several areas in Nigeria with riverine communities, described in more detail in section 2.2. The two areas with the largest population of riverine communities are the Niger Delta and Lagos State, respectively. Given the current levels of violence in the Niger Delta and the risk presented to survey teams, we selected Lagos State for surveying, as it provides the second greatest number of riverine communities. Despite the high levels of violence in the Niger Delta, conditions are very similar to Lagos State; therefore, we believe that results from this study can help to provide general information on riverine communities of the Niger Delta. We are less confident that they relate closely to conditions in other areas of Nigeria. Kainji Lake, for example, is the largest manmade lake in Nigeria and appears to have a different economic structure to the fishing industry. Other riverine communities are along inland rivers. Reports suggest that in these cases, the economic role of fishing is less central to daily economic life. This would also suggest a different mix of activities and, possibly, different social conditions from the Niger Delta and Lagos State.

Background

Child labor is a common practice in Nigeria. Some general facts include the following:

- In urban centers, children work as domestic laborers and in service industries. In rural communities, children assist their parents in agricultural tasks;¹
- Work is viewed by many as a means to provide children with the skills to become self-sufficient adults. Parents and/or communities often have safeguards to ensure that children do not participate in overly strenuous or dangerous work;² and
- The issue of child trafficking is an area of concern in Nigeria. In traditional kinship units, it was common for children to travel to relatives' homes to receive better educational or vocational opportunities. Traffickers have exploited this traditional system by falsely promising parents that their children will receive opportunities elsewhere.³

Riverine Communities

The following describes some basic characteristics of working children:

- The study estimates that approximately 34,682 children aged 5 to 17 live in riverine communities in Lagos State. Of these children, 10,498 have worked in the last week, and about the same have worked in the last year;
- The distribution of working children by age is as follows: 2,500 children aged 5 to 9; 3,000 children aged 10 to 13; and 5,000 children aged 14 to 17; and
- Eighty-three percent of working children work either 6 or 7 days a week. Over 60 percent work over 4 hours a day and typically do an additional 2 hours of chores.

Educational opportunities exist in the majority of riverine communities. Typically, there is access to primary schools, but secondary schools are far less available. There are also some important relationships between working and school attendance:

- While about three-quarters of children report attending school, those who do not attend typically indicate that school is either too expensive, too far, or not available in the community, or that they are needed to help the family; and
- Working negatively relates to school attendance. Most children who work do not attend school. Also, the more hours a child works per day, the less likely they are to attend school.

¹ Hodges, A., (Ed.). (2001). *Children's and women's rights in Nigeria: A wake-up call*. Abuja: National Planning Commission & United Nations Children's Fund Nigeria.

² Ajayi, A. O., and Tormiro, D.O. (2004). Perspectives on child abuse and labour: Global ethical ideals versus African cultural realities. *Early Child Development and Care*, 174 (2), 183–191.

³ Hodges, A., (Ed.). (2001). *Children's and women's rights in Nigeria*.

The majority of work occurs on the lagoons and waterways. Work presents children with many hazards. Work on the waterways, such as diving and launching boats into surf, exposes children to water-related hazards, such as drowning. Children involved in the fishing industry are also exposed to dangerous tools, including knives. Some of the consequences of hazardous work are as follows:

- Over 70 percent of children (or more than 7,000 children) report being injured while working at least once in the last year. Nearly half report being injured once or twice, and one-quarter report being injured 3 to 5 times; and
- Most of these injuries or illnesses occurred while working either on the water or while trading and selling fish.

Children who work would prefer to attend school. In fact, nearly 60 percent say they would like to just attend school and perform chores. Less than one-quarter said they would like to continue working. A little less than half of the parents of working children said that nothing would happen to their household if their children did not work. Of those saying children's work was needed, about one-third said the household income would fall, and about one-fifth said the household enterprise needed their labor.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This study collected and analyzed qualitative and quantitative data on child work in the riverine communities of Lagos State, Nigeria. These communities include Lagos Lagoon, Lekki Lagoon, and the lagoons and estuaries west of Lagos City. The data collection focused on children aged 5 to 17 and their families. The study identifies the extent and nature of children's involvement with work and school. Information was also collected on the characteristics of the riverine communities studied, family members' perceptions of children's work within the communities, and the effect of work on children's education. Findings from this study will inform current and future child labor technical assistance efforts of the U.S. Department of Labor Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking.

1.1 Riverine Communities in Context

Nigeria is home to numerous rivers, lakes, waterways, and coastal deltas. Along them reside numerous communities whose primary economic activity involves fishing. While they exist in diverse settings, they share many common features, and fishing presents its own rhythm to daily life. In this area, fish tend to rise to the surface to feed when the sun has set, so fishing often occurs from sunset to sunrise. Men are often found preparing nets and boats in the late afternoon, readying to head to the water as the sun reaches the horizon. These men usually sleep during the mornings and early afternoons. However, the village is not a quiet place. When the men return with their catch shortly after sunrise, the women begin their fishing activities, which typically involve smoking the fish for preservation and then taking the fish to market.

While people in riverine communities engage in other economic activities, such as subsistence farming, raising cash crops (e.g., coconuts), and nonagricultural labor, fishing consumes much of their time; yet this is not a lucrative activity. Consequently, riverine communities are typically modest places, using traditional methods to build houses and enjoying very few of the luxuries that one finds in even the working-class neighborhoods of urban Nigeria. The area's proximity to waterways often means isolation from road systems. Places such as the western waterways in Lagos State and the Delta region of southeast Nigeria contain mazes of waterways, marshlands, and porous soils. It is difficult, if not impossible, to build tarmac roads through these areas, so they lack access to urban areas and related amenities. Riverine communities present a highly diverse set of conditions. The majority in Lagos State have access to roads, electricity, and schools. A minority, however, have no access to these services, owing to geographic isolation. Since many of these communities are in areas where roads and electricity cannot be easily built, their situation is not likely to change in the near future.

While there is much poverty in Nigeria, the natural setting of riverine communities presents physical barriers to improvement that are not found in many other poor communities of Nigeria. For example, many of Nigeria's rural areas are accessible to urban centers. Other than the Middle Belt region, much of Nigeria is flat or rolling hills. This allows for good mobility, so these areas are generally not hindered by employment and education issues related to immobility.

1.2 Rivers, Lakes, and Waterways in Nigeria

Nigeria has two primary river systems. The first is the Niger-Benue system, whose primary tributaries include the Niger and Benue Rivers' systems. The Niger River moves into Nigeria from the west through Benin and Niger. It has several tributaries originating in the northern Hausa states. The Benue River meets the Niger River in Kogi State, feeding in from the east. The Benue River's tributaries are in the Igbo States, along the eastern edge of Nigeria. The Niger-Benue river system feeds into the Delta region in southeastern Nigeria. This is an area of enormous mangrove swamps, marshlands, and small creeks. It is also an area of substantial social and economic unrest, due in part to the presence of the oil industry.

The second system is the Chad River system in the northeast of Nigeria. This is a much smaller system that flows across the border into Chad, eventually feeding into Lake Chad. Several small independent river systems also feed directly into the Atlantic Ocean. Most are located in the southwest of Nigeria. These include the Ogun, Oshun, Imo, Qua Iboe, and Cross Rivers. River systems have been augmented over the last 50 years with the creation of man-made reservoirs. The largest lakes in Nigeria are, in fact, man-made, the largest of which is Kainji Lake in southwestern Nigeria. Encompassing 500 square miles, Kainji Lake was built in 1968 to provide hydroelectric power.

In addition to lakes and rivers, the coastal regions of Nigeria support substantial deltas, inland waterways, and lagoons. Some are the consequences of river systems emptying into low-lying areas, creating complex delta systems. This occurs predominantly along the southeastern coast. Along the southwestern coast, there is a combination of small river deltas, intercoastal waterways, and lagoons.

1.3 Riverine Communities in Nigeria

The river and lake systems support a range of fishing and sand-harvesting activities. These activities include ocean fishing in communities on the coast; freshwater fishing in rivers, lakes, and lagoons; and fishing in the brackish waters of the waterways and deltas. Sand harvesting occurs in lagoons and waterways of the coastal region. Sand is an essential ingredient in concrete blocks, the primary building material in Nigeria. Sand in coastal areas is found in abundance along beaches, but it contains salt that eventually causes blocks to disintegrate. Therefore, sand is primarily harvested from the bottoms of rivers, waterways, and lagoons; brought to shore; and dried. It is then sold for the purpose of making blocks. Sand harvesting is performed both by families and organized commercial operations.

The diversity of rivers, lakes, and waterways, coupled with differences in fish availability, affects the nature of fishing and sand-harvesting activities. This in turn shapes the nature of communities engaged in water-related economic activity. As the following map indicates, fishing and sand-harvesting activities occur in six distinct areas of Nigeria.

Map of Nigeria Indicating Major Areas for Riverine Communities



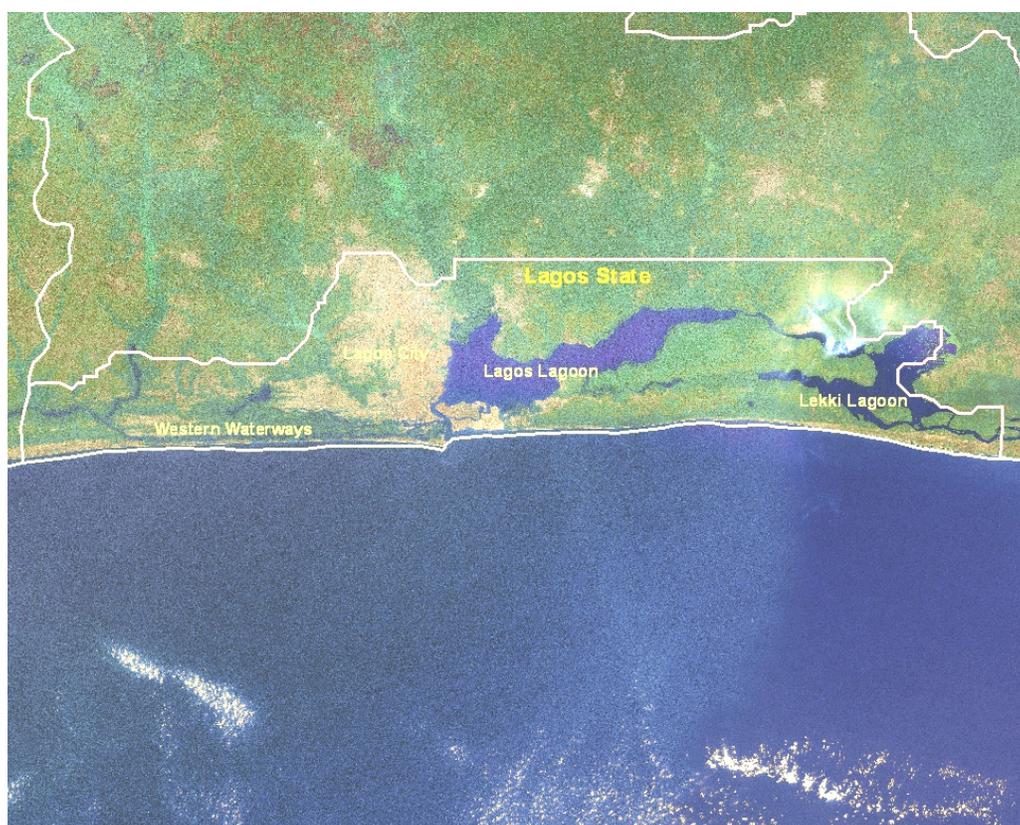
The following describes the location and nature of fishing activities:

- **Area 1:** This area includes all of the rivers flowing into Lake Chad, including a number of rivers that flow into the Yobe River, which crosses into Chad and terminates at Lake Chad.
- **Area 2:** This area contains the Benue River and its tributaries. A number of riverine communities are found here, although many on the tributaries have low production because of the small size of tributaries and obstacles in the rivers.
- **Area 3:** This area includes the coastal areas and tributaries passing through the Delta region of Nigeria. This is a very diverse area, which includes coastal communities and those along the estuaries.
- **Area 4:** The smallest and most diverse area includes Lagos and Lekki Lagoons, as well as riverine communities along their estuaries and coastal communities.
- **Area 5:** This is the Ogun River area that includes riverine communities in Ogun, Osun, and Lagos States.
- **Area 6:** A number of rivers have been dammed and stocked with fish, providing economic opportunities for villages along their shores. Kainji Lake is the largest manmade lake in Nigeria, and past surveys of fishing on Kainji Lake estimate more than 3,000 boats operating there. Most were dugout canoes without motors.

1.4 Water Systems in Lagos State

Lagos State presents a diversity of water systems (see map below). To the west toward Benin is an intercoastal waterway with several branches. Its banks are lined with coconut trees, grown as a cash crop in the villages and riverine communities. Near the center of Lagos State is Lagos City. With a population of 10 million, it is a dense, urban setting. It is also bordered on two sides by water. Along the southwestern edge is an intercoastal waterway, and along Lagos City's southeastern edge, where the more affluent neighborhoods of Victoria and Lekki Islands are located, is the Atlantic Ocean. Lagos Lagoon comprises the eastern boundary of the city. This lagoon, although bordered by Lagos City, has areas to the east that are rural and isolated. Connected to Lagos Lagoon is Lekki Lagoon.

Lagos State and Its Primary Waterways



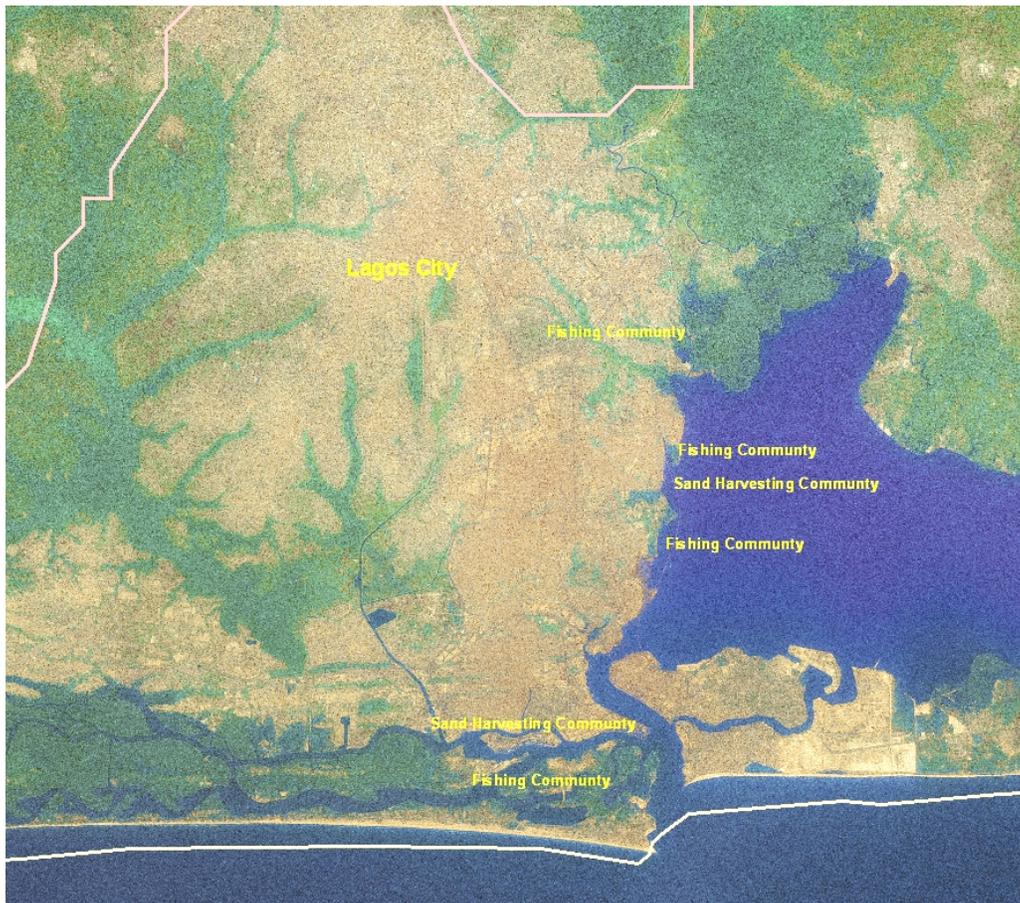
1.5 Diversity of Riverine Communities in Lagos State

Given the diversity of waterways and the presence of Lagos City, Lagos State comprises a highly diverse set of communities. In the west toward Benin, the waterways hamper the relatively isolated communities' access to roads, electricity, and running water. School infrastructure and resources are also often lacking, and communities face difficulties with recruiting teachers to teach in these isolated communities. During the field observation conducted by ICF's research manager, people in villages and individuals working with local nonprofits reported that many of the riverine communities on the western waterways have not received an adequate level of services. Although Lagos City is a dense, vibrant, and sometimes challenging urban

environment, it is home to several riverine communities (see map below). The Ibrahim Babangida Bridge, which skirts the eastern edge of Lagos City for 5 miles over the lagoon, exposes numerous fishing and sand-harvesting boats out on the lagoon. These fishermen and sand-harvesters live in three communities on the water's edge, their homes on pilings and boats docked beside them. There is also a large sand-harvesting community on Tin Can Island and a riverine community across the waterway to the south. There are several small communities of fishermen on the creeks along the northern edge of the city near the Ojodu section.

Lagos and Lekki Lagoons present an interesting mix of communities. Some are close enough to Lagos City, or are connected to it by roads, that they themselves are urban locations. Also, the city of Epe, along the waterway connecting Lagos and Lekki Lagoons, is a medium-sized city with vibrant fish markets, providing an additional urban center to an otherwise rural location. Because of access and proximity, some riverine communities have many urban amenities, such as schools, utilities, and roads, while others remain relatively isolated.

Riverine Communities in Lagos City



Many riverine communities follow the traditional village customs of Nigeria. Typically, a village chief oversees the village and, by custom, oversees allocation of land for economic use. Residents of the village, whose families have often lived there for many generations, provide a portion of their production to the village chief out of respect for his role.⁴ Villages also belong to larger districts, equivalent to counties in the United States. The districts are responsible for roads, schools, and utility access. Monies are collected by the Ministry of Finance from both oil and nonoil sources (e.g., collected value added tax) and distributed to states and local government areas (LGAs).⁵

1.6 Relative Isolation of Some Communities Not a Function of Proximity

While the great majority of people in Lagos State live in urban settings, as this review of riverine communities shows, Lagos State also contains rural settings. Furthermore, rural-like conditions (i.e., a lack of basic city services) are not a function of proximity to urban locations such as Lagos City, Epe, or Badagry. The following map illustrates this reality. Tin Can Island, on the southern edge of Lagos City, is home to shipyards servicing container vessels. Tin Can Island is also home to an active sand-harvesting community. They build sand-harvesting boats, harvest sand, and make concrete blocks. Their wooden, dirt-floor shacks sit across the highway from the entrance to the shipyards. Nevertheless, they have access to city services such as water, electricity, and schools.

Across the waterway from Tin Can Island, less than a mile to the south, are several islands that lack road access and other city services. On one of these islands, and within view of the container vessels, is a riverine community engaged in fishing.⁶ Their existence mirrors that of fishing communities several miles to the west, on the coast where amenities are lacking. This underscores the peculiar and sometimes paradoxical situation faced by riverine communities in Lagos State.

⁴ Based on the Macro research manager's visits to riverine communities, as well as field work in Southeast, Middle Belt, and Northern Nigeria.

⁵ Please see <http://www.fmf.gov.ng/detail.php?link=aboutus> and <http://www.fmf.gov.ng/detail.php?link=faac> for a description and an example of the allocation.

⁶ Based on the Macro research manager's field observation, "as close as I could tell, having observed it from a boat several times, there were no electric lines in or around the village, no roads and no indication of public water source. The boats docked around the village were fishing not sand harvesting boats. Also, there were no piles of drying sand evident, which is a sure sign of sand harvesting."

Two Riverine Communities Illustrating Access to Service Availability



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2. BACKGROUND

2.1 Literature Review

For the purpose of this study, work is defined as it is by the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour of the International Labour Organization (ILO-IPEC)—a definition that is implicit in all other surveys that have used the Statistical Information and Monitoring Program on Child Labor (SIMPOC) methodology.

ILO-IPEC defines working children as those in an economically active population, with the exception of those who are currently unemployed and seeking work. According to ILO-IPEC, an economically active population “comprises all persons of either sex who furnish the supply of labor for the production of economic goods and services as defined by the United Nations system of national accounts and balances during a specific time-referenced period.”⁷

A Modular Child Labor Survey conducted among children aged 5 to 17 by ILO-IPEC in 2000 estimates 15,027,612 working children in Nigeria, or 39.4 percent of the total child population.⁸ Earlier estimates on working children include the 1991 Nigerian Census, which estimated that 6 percent of children aged 10 to 11 years old and 12 percent of adolescents aged 12 to 17 years old work.⁹ These census findings did not include children under the age of 10.

2.1.1 Types of Child Labor in Nigeria

Working children in Nigeria are involved in a variety of activities. However, most children work in the agricultural sector or in the informal sector. Agricultural work usually supports family economic activities, including farm work, herding, and fishing.¹⁰ According to the ILO-IPEC study cited above, the majority of rural children (61.7 percent) began working between the ages of 5 and 9.¹¹ Despite the familial nature of agricultural work, it can have consequences for a child’s development. A study of three riverine areas in Nigeria’s southern region reveals that 76 percent of children aged 6 to 16 did not attend school because of difficulty in accessing school facilities or because of involvement in the fishing industry.¹²

⁷ International Labour Organization. (2000). *Current international recommendations on labour statistics: 2000 edition*. Geneva: Author.

⁸ Federal Office of Statistics & International Labour Organization. (2001). *National modular child labour survey*. Lagos: Federal Office of Statistics. From <http://www.ilo.org/public/libdoc/nonigo/2001/375428.pdf>.

⁹ National Population Commission. (2002). *Children, adolescents and youth*. Abuja: Author.

¹⁰ Hodges, A., (Ed.). (2001). *Children’s and women’s rights in Nigeria*.

¹¹ Federal Office of Statistics & International Labour Organization. (2001). *National modular child labour survey*.

¹² Hodges, A., (Ed.). (2001). *Children’s and women’s rights in Nigeria*.

A study of women's and children's rights in Nigeria, arranged by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the National Planning Commission (NPC) of Nigeria, and conducted in 2000, identified work done by children in both rural and urban environments. While rural children's efforts centered on agriculture, as mentioned above, the study separates the work of urban children into three categories: public places, cottage industries and mechanics, and domestic labor. Activities of children in public places include street vending, shoe shining, car washing, head-load carrying in markets, and street hawking, among others. Cottage industry employment includes apprentices in mechanics, bus conductors (also known as *danfo* drivers), metalworkers, hairdressers, and carpenters.¹³ According to the report, the domestic labor sector has changed in recent years as the involvement of traffickers has led to children being placed in situations resembling servitude.¹⁴

Reduced economic opportunity has led many parents to rely on child labor as a source of household income.¹⁵ In a survey of 1,535 households in Abeokuta, the capital of Ogun State, 89.9 percent of parents responded that their children work to contribute financially to the household income.¹⁶ Likewise, a recent evaluation of eligible children's involvement in education reveals that 49 percent of children aged 12 to 16, who did not participate in the 2003 to 2004 school year, did not do so because their labor was needed to support their household.¹⁷

2.1.2 Reasons for Child Labor in Nigeria

The rise in oil revenue in the 1970s was accompanied by an influx of people into urban centers. Migration to cities for work and educational opportunities greatly changed the fabric of Nigerian society. The development of these cities created a wider economic chasm between rural and urban locales, with a lack of infrastructure and access to markets in rural areas encouraging migration to cities. During the 1980s, migration to urban centers continued, despite a decline in world oil prices. Rural-to-urban migration remains a facet of Nigerian society, but many urban centers have been unable to absorb the influx of people, leading to visible levels of underemployment and poverty.¹⁸ With few opportunities in the formal economy, people have turned to the informal economy for subsistence. Children become a part of this economic system, as their earnings go toward assisting their families.¹⁹

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Olowu, D. (2003). The child labour phenomenon and institutional inertia in Africa: The Nigerian experience. *Caribbean Law Review*, 13 (2), 157–178.

¹⁶ Togunde, D., and Carter, A. (2006). Socioeconomic causes of child labor in urban Nigeria. *Journal of Children and Poverty*, 12 (1), 73–89.

¹⁷ National Population Commission & Macro International Inc. (2004). *Nigeria DHS EdData survey 2004*. Calverton, MD: Macro International Inc.

¹⁸ Hodges, A., (Ed.). (2001). *Children's and women's rights in Nigeria*.

¹⁹ Olowu, D. (2003). The child labour phenomenon and institutional inertia in Africa: The Nigerian experience.

Rural-to-urban migration and the effect of poverty also led to the weakening of extended kinship units, which has contributed to a rise in child trafficking and child labor in Nigeria. Traditional, extended kinship units provided a social support system. One common practice was fostering, whereby a child was sent by his or her biological parents to live with a member of their kinship unit. This practice allowed for upward social mobility and enhanced economic and educational opportunity. Today, forms of fostering are still practiced as parents, mainly in rural communities, send their children to work in cities to help provide much-needed income. However, a modern-day danger of this system is its abuse by traffickers who make false promises to families and place children in harsh working conditions.²⁰

Socialization remains a key reason for some children's involvement in the labor force in Nigeria. According to some scholars, children are taught at a young age to acquire skills through observing and mimicking the actions of their elders, mainly parents. In doing so, children build confidence and knowledge that allow them to be successful as adults. Furthermore, by developing the occupational skills of their parents, children ensure the preservation of their family's heritage.²¹ An academic in Abuja, included among the key informants for this study, provided similar insights, noting that Nigerians believe learning a skill or trade as a child will enable the child to be self-sufficient as an adult.

Child work is still considered beneficial in rural communities where traditional systems are intact, and where multigenerational families have built livelihoods on rural activities such as farming or fishing. A 2004 qualitative study of parents in six rural farming communities in Oyo State, Nigeria, reveals that the majority of parents believe that children's participation in agricultural activities is a normal activity.²² From their perspective, assisting parents is a form of socialization that prepares children for their economic future and instills character traits that will allow them to succeed in other aspects of life. Furthermore, parents who participated in the aforementioned study said that moral standards guide children's work through this socialization. For example, children are not to engage in work that could physically injure them, such as uprooting trees or building bridges.²³ In this sense, children in Nigeria work both to contribute to the family's economic prosperity and to grow and develop as well-functioning human beings. This perspective was echoed during key informant interviews for this study. For example, a nongovernmental organization (NGO) worker in Abuja noted, "...we usually grow up having this notion that you help your parents out, and nobody is trying to quantify it, the impact of what you are going to do or to what extent, you know, you are supposed to contribute toward helping your parents or even toward helping the society."

²⁰ Hodges, A., (Ed.). (2001). *Children's and women's rights in Nigeria*.

²¹ Olowu, D. (2003). The child labour phenomenon and institutional inertia in Africa: The Nigerian experience.

²² Ajayi, A. O., and Tormiro, D.O. (2004). Perspectives on child abuse and labour.

²³ Ibid.

2.1.3 Risks Associated with Child Labor in Nigeria

Many parents' favorable views on child labor stem from their own experience as working children. Yet, despite this formative experience, child labor in Nigeria today is more frequently associated with risks that may not have been as prevalent in previous generations, or may not have been acknowledged. These risks affect children's educational, social, and emotional development. A study in Lagos, based on teacher assessment and examination scores, found that working children performed "consistently" and "significantly" worse than their nonworking peers.²⁴ Forty-four percent of working children scored below average in arithmetic, while 34 percent of working children performed below average in English.²⁵

Job demands also negatively affect children's physical development. Labor exposes them to hazards that can cause injury from machinery or heavy loads or make them susceptible to illnesses, such as colds or headaches. According to ILO-IPEC, working children are at risk of experiencing stunted growth, breathing problems, and infected cuts or wounds, among others.²⁶ Some injuries or illnesses caused by child labor can also affect a child's long-term health and vitality. In a study conducted with 223 working and 230 nonworking children in Ibadan, Nigeria, the researchers found that 33 percent of working children were underweight and 34 percent had stunted growth.²⁷ These figures differ from the 20 percent of nonworking children who were underweight and the 26 percent whose growth was stunted. This particular study, however, did not find a correlation between child labor and susceptibility to injury or certain illnesses. Instead, injuries and wounds were reported by both groups of children.²⁸ Yet, despite this finding, the authors acknowledge that other studies have found opposite results that indicate that working children are more likely to suffer from injuries or illnesses. In its study on child labor in Nigeria, for example, ILO-IPEC notes that approximately 15 percent of children who did not attend school and who worked in the agriculture, hunting, and forestry sectors suffered from fatigue and headaches. In addition, 6.2 percent of these children complained of body pain, and 4 percent stated that they had stomach problems.²⁹ According to opinions gathered from key informants interviewed for this study, there are also hazards specific to riverine communities. Drowning is particularly prevalent when boats capsize, since children are often not proficient swimmers. In addition to the physical consequences of work for children, some children experience serious emotional and psychological trauma associated with the type of work they perform and the conditions under which they work.³⁰

²⁴ Hodges, A., (Ed.). (2001). *Children's and women's rights in Nigeria*.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Federal Office of Statistics & International Labour Organization. (2001). *National modular child labour survey*.

²⁷ Omokhodion, F. O., and Omokhodion, S. I. (2004). Health status of working and non-working school children in Ibadan, Nigeria. *Annals of Tropical Paediatrics*, 24, 175–178.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Federal Office of Statistics & International Labour Organization. (2001). *National modular child labour survey*.

³⁰ Omokhodion, F. O., and Omokhodion, S. I. (2004). Health status of working and non-working school children in Ibadan, Nigeria.

Information gathered from key informants suggests that children in Nigeria are also at risk of being kidnapped or recruited to work for gangs as armed robbers, and are often abused and exploited. These forms of work fall under ILO-IPEC's worst forms of child labor according to ILO-IPEC Convention 182, which Nigeria ratified in 2002.³¹ Children participating in these worst forms of child labor are at high risk of suffering physical and psychological abuse, as well as sexual exploitation and contraction of diseases, such as HIV/AIDS. A United Nations assessment of human rights in Nigeria confirmed the growing concern over the involvement of children in exploitive working situations, stating that child domestic workers and street hawkers are highly susceptible to sexual exploitation and general abuse.³² Some key informants noted that HIV/AIDS has an impact on child labor in Nigeria. A representative of the federal government in Abuja noted that orphans may be stigmatized by the loss of their parents to the disease. The same key informant claimed that in these cases, the orphan's extended family often declines to care for the orphan, thereby forcing the child to support him or herself.

Through the national and state surveys of child labor that already exist, it is clear that the situation of working children in Nigeria is quite bleak. Increasing levels of poverty during the past 20 years, combined with the deterioration of traditional kinship networks and the introduction of human trafficking, have complicated and intensified the plight of child laborers.³³ Though international organizations, such as ILO-IPEC and the Economic Community for West African States (ECOWAS), have implemented initiatives to address these issues, they continue to be areas of concern that require further in-depth analysis and evaluation. As evidence has shown, the majority of children in Nigeria are involved in the agricultural, hunting, and forestry sectors. While attention has been given to understanding child labor on family farms, little investigation of children's roles in the fishing industry has been completed.

Information regarding access to education, conditions of work, and the impact of work in the fishing industry on children in riverine communities is limited. The examination of child involvement in the fishing industry in riverine communities will help to inform future policy decisions and program implementation related to child labor in Nigeria. This study aims to provide information regarding child work and child labor in the fishing communities of Lagos State, which will help to quantify the extent of child work and child labor in the industry, and will contribute to efforts to eliminate child labor in Nigeria.

³¹ International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. (2005). *Internationally recognised core labour standards in Nigeria*. From <http://www.icftu.org/www/pdf/cls尼日利亚报告2005.pdf>.

³² United Nations System in Nigeria. (2001). *Nigeria common country assessment*.

³³ Hodges, A., (Ed.). (2001). *Children's and women's rights in Nigeria*.

2.2 Demographic, Educational, and Socioeconomic Profile of Nigeria and Lagos State

2.2.1 Nigeria's Recent Population Statistics

Population estimates have long been a challenging and sensitive issue in Nigeria. Researchers have attributed difficulties in implementing a census to different factors, including animosity between Nigeria's three primary tribes coupled with the use of the census for oil allocation and political appointments.³⁴ Some reports claim that the political sensitivity of resource allocation led to the inflation of population figures throughout the country during the 1963 and 1973 population censuses, calling into question the accuracy and legitimacy of the findings.³⁵ Reliable population data is also important in the Nigerian context because it is used to determine political representation in government, which affects the allocation of government funding.³⁶ In 1991, a more legitimate census was executed, and a follow-up census was completed in 2006, with limited release of the findings. NPC attributed the need for a new census to changes within the country and global community that warranted a reassessment of population data. These changes include the return of democratic governance to Nigeria in 1999, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS within the country, the need to understand the effect of HIV/AIDS on society, and the push for further development of the Nigerian economy, which requires accurate population information for both governmental and private industry decision making.³⁷

The 2006 census estimated the population to be approximately 140 million people. The North has a higher population than the South, with approximately 75 million and 65 million, respectively. Unlike previous population research, the 2006 census avoided surveying religion or ethnicity to avoid conflict over political power and control of resources.³⁸ According to government officials, final results of the census will be released 6 to 8 months after the April 2007 elections.³⁹

Estimates from the 2006 census place the population of Lagos State at 9 million, making it the second largest state in the country, behind Kano.⁴⁰ The majority of the population lives in the city of Lagos, where the population demographics mirror those of the country as a whole. The remainder of the population of Lagos State lives in its rural areas, which are dominated by both fresh water and mangrove swamp forests. People under the age of 24 comprise 59 percent

³⁴ Oxford Policy Management. (2004). *DFID rural and urban development case study—Nigeria*. From http://www.passlivihoods.org.uk/site_files%5Cfiles%5Creports%5Cproject_id_167%5CNigeria%20Rural%20Urban%20Change%20Case%20Study_RU0173.pdf.

³⁵ Hodges, A., (Ed.). (2001). *Children's and women's rights in Nigeria*.

³⁶ National Population Commission & Macro International Inc. (2004). *Nigeria demographic and health survey 2003*. Calverton, MD: Macro International Inc.

³⁷ National Population Commission. (2005). *2005 population and housing census strategy and implementation plan*. From http://www.population.gov.ng/implementation_plan.pdf.

³⁸ Yin, S. (2007). In the news: Results trickle out from the Nigerian census. *Population Reference Bureau*. From <http://www.prb.org/Articles/2007/ResultsFromNigerianCensus.aspx>.

³⁹ Onuah, F. (2006, December 29). Nigeria gives census result, avoids risky details. *Reuters*. From <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/L29819278.htm>.

⁴⁰ Yin, S. (2007). In the news: Results trickle out from the Nigerian census.

of the population, of which 33 percent are under the age of 15.⁴¹ This breakdown by age reflects a larger trend in Nigerian society toward an increasingly young population. At the time of the 1991 census, approximately two out of every three Nigerians were under the age of 24, making the youth population of the country 57 million. Children up to 11 years old represented 38 percent of the population, while adolescents aged 12 to 17 represented 13 percent. The remaining 13 percent of the younger population was aged 17 to 24.⁴²

Total fertility rates vary between regions, with the predominantly Hausa North reporting the highest rates nationwide—7.0 in the Northeast, 6.7 in the Northwest, and 5.7 in the North Central regions. These rates are in comparison to rates in the Southeast, South, and Southwest of 4.1, 4.6, and 4.1, respectively. Separate figures from the same report indicate large families are highly valued in Nigerian society. Women reported wanting on average 6.7 children, while men desire to have an average of 8.6.⁴³

2.2.2 Rural-to-Urban Migration: The Swelling of Nigeria's Urban Centers

As Nigeria's population has continued to grow, the country has also witnessed high levels of rural-to-urban migration. Most research has connected this migratory pattern to the quest for economic opportunity and the lack of development in rural areas. One of the major triggers for rural-to-urban migration was the economic prosperity experienced by Nigeria during the 1970s because of oil revenue and resulting educational and professional opportunities.⁴⁴ Despite the sharp decline in oil revenue during the 1980s, rural-to-urban migration did not cease, as individuals continued to view urban areas as centers for opportunity. Development money that was invested in the country remained in cities, further contributing to this migratory pattern.⁴⁵ At the time of the 1991 census, the urban growth rate in Nigeria exceeded both the rural and national growth rates. Urban growth was calculated at 4.5 percent, while rural growth grew by 1.7 percent and the national population grew by 2.8 percent.⁴⁶ The majority of rural-to-urban migrants are young men, although the number of young migrant women has increased.⁴⁷

Lagos provides an example of the struggle that many urban centers are now facing in trying to accommodate the continual influx of people. Lagos is considered Nigeria's economic and commercial epicenter. However, there is growing concern that Lagos City cannot support its ever-growing population. The city is plagued with poor infrastructure, high underemployment rates—especially among youth, and an overwhelmed and underdeveloped social services sector.⁴⁸ Problems similar to these are present in many of Nigeria's urban centers

⁴¹ The Mitchell Group, Inc. (2003). *Youth workforce development in Nigeria: Situational analysis*. Washington, DC: Author.

⁴² National Population Commission. (2002). *Children, adolescents and youth*.

⁴³ National Population Commission & Macro International Inc. (2004). *Nigeria demographic and health survey 2003*.

⁴⁴ Hodges, A., (Ed.). (2001). *Children's and women's rights in Nigeria*.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ United Nations System in Nigeria. (2001). *Nigeria common country assessment*.

⁴⁷ Oxford Policy Management. (2004). *DFID rural and urban development case study—Nigeria*.

⁴⁸ United Nations System in Nigeria. (2001). *Nigeria common country assessment*.

where overcrowding, lack of housing, and unsanitary conditions—including urban waste—are major concerns.⁴⁹

2.2.3 Economic Profile of Nigeria and Lagos State

The Nigerian economy is dominated by the oil industry. Throughout the 1990s, the oil industry was the main component of the national economy, a trend that continues today. From 1994 to 1998, oil comprised 97 percent of Nigeria’s export earnings, 57 percent of government revenues, and 39 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP). In addition to oil, other exports include cocoa and rubber.⁵⁰ Oil’s importance in the country continues to expand; in 2001, its percentage of GDP was estimated to be 45 percent.⁵¹ After industry, the second largest sector in Nigeria is agriculture, which contributed 23.3 percent of the country’s GDP in 2005.⁵²

Table 1: Structure of the National Economy, Percentage of GDP

Sector	1985	1995	2004	2005
Agriculture	37.3	31.6	16.6	23.3
Industry	29.2	46.7	56.9	56.8
Manufacturing	8.7	5.4	n/a	n/a
Services	33.5	21.7	26.5	19.9

Source: The World Bank, 2005.

Within the agricultural sector, the fishing industry has contributed approximately 1.1 to 2.4 percent of the country’s GDP since the 1960s, and accounts for approximately 3 to 6 percent of the agricultural GDP.⁵³ Though it does not provide the largest contribution to Nigeria’s economy, the agricultural sector plays a key role in employing the population. According to a recent ILO-IPEC study, out of the 41,536,657 people aged 12 to 70 who were identified as employed, 51.5 percent worked in the agricultural or fishing industries. Of the 51.5 percent who worked in these industries, 33.7 percent were male and 17.8 percent were female.⁵⁴ The majority of households surveyed identified an agricultural activity other than fishing as their field of employment, with less than 5 percent reporting involvement in fishing.⁵⁵

Underemployment and poverty continue to be serious problems in Nigeria, with both regional and rural/urban implications. Government statistics indicate that the national poverty rate rose from 28 percent in 1980 to 66 percent in 1996, based on annual per capita expenditure of 11,294 Naira. The extreme poverty rate for the same period increased from 6 percent in 1980 to 29 percent in 1996, based on annual per capita expenditure of 5,646 Naira.⁵⁶ Poverty in Nigeria has regional aspects, as the Northwest section of the country maintains the highest percentage of

⁴⁹ Oxford Policy Management. (2004). *DFID rural and urban development case study—Nigeria*.

⁵⁰ Central Intelligence Agency. *The world factbook: Nigeria*. From <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ni.html>.

⁵¹ Federal Office of Statistics & International Labour Organization. (2001). *National modular child labour survey*.

⁵² World Bank. (2006). *Nigeria at a glance*. From http://devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/nga_aag.pdf.

⁵³ Williams, S. (1996). *Economic role of women in fishing communities: A case study of Koko, Nigeria*. Cotonou, Benin: Programme for the Integrated Development of Artisanal Fisheries in West Africa, Food and Agriculture Organization.

⁵⁴ Federal Office of Statistics & International Labour Organization. (2001). *National modular child labour survey*.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Hodges, A., (Ed.). (2001). *Children’s and women’s rights in Nigeria*.

the poor population, while the population of the Southwest, where Lagos State is located, experiences lower levels of poverty. The Northwest accounts for 37 percent of Nigeria's core poor and 40 percent of its moderate poor, while the Southwest accounts for 28 percent of the core poor⁵⁷ and 33 percent of the moderate poor.⁵⁸ These figures reflect an overarching trend in Nigeria, where the South has been more prosperous than the rural North because of urbanization and investment.

While the estimated 3.8 percent unemployment rate in Nigeria for 2001 does not appear high, underemployment has emerged as an area of concern, as research included in the World Bank report referenced below indicates. Many skilled and educated laborers are unable to find jobs in their areas of training because of a lack of diversification in the economy and a shortage of employment opportunities. This reality has caused workers to take positions in unrelated fields or to join the informal economy to survive. Qualitative research undertaken by The World Bank in 1999 revealed several cases of underemployment in Nigeria. One case profiled a 23-year-old man who had earned a certificate in banking and finance from a polytechnic institution, as well as a diploma in social work from a university, but who could not find work that used his skill set. To make a living, he worked as an *achaba* (motorcycle taxi service) driver.⁵⁹

Another study conducted by The World Bank in 2000 reported that public sector firms and firms with public/private partnerships provide 90 percent of employment opportunities. However, the number of applicants far surpasses the number of available opportunities. In May 2000, the Federal Civil Service Commission estimated that there were 50,000 applicants for 3,301 positions.⁶⁰ Though the study focuses on unemployment among university graduates, anecdotal evidence suggests that many among this group are involved in the informal sector or other positions constituting underemployment. Indeed, the experience of underemployment in Nigeria is common among the educated populace. During the 1990s, enrollment in university programs increased from 147,121 in 1990 to 275,515 in 1998. Though not all attendees earn degrees, Nigeria continues to produce a high rate of college graduates without providing viable economic opportunities.

According to the local government, Lagos State contributes 60 percent of the country's total investment and foreign trade revenue. It also accounts for 65 percent of the country's commercial activity.⁶¹ As the following table illustrates, Lagos State is rich in natural resources, which has allowed it to become a primary contributor to Nigeria's economy.

⁵⁷ According to the cited study, the "core poor" refers to members of the population living in extreme poverty. This group had an annual per capita expenditure below N5,646 at 1996 prices. Moderate poor refers to the population living below the poverty line of N11,293 annual per capita expenditure at 1996 prices.

⁵⁸ Hodges, A. (Ed.). (2001). *Children's and women's rights in Nigeria*.

⁵⁹ Okunmadewa, F., Aina, O., Ayoola, G. B., Mamman, A., Nweze, N., Odebiyi, T., et al. (2002). Nigeria: Illbeing and insecurity. In D. Narayan, and P. Petesch (Eds.), *Voices of the poor: From many lands*. New York: Oxford University Press, 85–102.

⁶⁰ Dabalen, A., Oni, B., & Adekola, O. A. (2000). *Labor market prospects of university graduates in Nigeria*. From http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/09/14/000090341_20040914113724/Rendered/PDF/299420UNI0Labor1market0graduates.pdf.

⁶¹ Lagos State Government. (2005). *Industrial and business opportunities*. From http://www.lagosstate.gov.ng/Bus_opport/Bus_opport.htm.

Table 2: Raw Materials Available in Lagos State

Type of Raw Material	Location
Clay	Ikeja and Ikorodu
Silica Sand	Badagry, Eti-Osa, and Ibeju-Lekki
Crude Oil/Bitumen	Epe
Rice	Itoikin, Lekki, Epe, and Eti-Osa
Pineapple	Ojo, Alimosho, and Badagry
Coconut Palm	Riverine and Coastal Areas of Ibeju-Lekki, Badagry, Eti-Osa, and Ojo
Fish/Shrimp/Reptile	Lagoons, Creeks, Rivers, and the Sea Coast
Forest Wood (Teak, Opepe, Abora)	Isasi, Yewa Creek (Badagry), Majidun, and Langbasa
Livestock	Agege, Badagry, Abattoir, and Lairage
Cassava	Ikorodu and Epe
Cocoa	Ikorodu and Epe
Oil Palm	Badagry, Epe, and Ibeju-Lekki
Rubber	Badagry
Maize	Throughout the State
Plantain/Banana	Epe and Badagry
Cashew	Badagry
Raffia Palm Tree	Badagry, Epe, and Ibeju-Lekki
Fish/Shrimp/Etc.	Epe, Badagry, and Ibeju-Lekki
Vegetable	Throughout the State
Kolanut	Ikorodu
Neem Tree	Throughout the State
Spring Water	Ijede (Ikorodu)
Ginger	Throughout the State

Source: Lagos State Government, http://www.lagosstate.gov.ng/Bus_opport/Bus_opport.htm.

2.2.4 Educational Profile of Nigeria and Lagos State

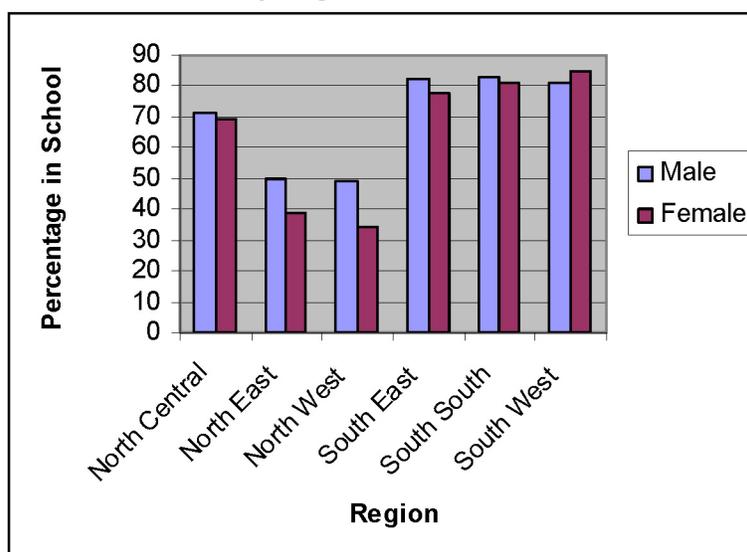
Education is a cornerstone of the national policy of the Nigerian government. The 1999 Constitution states that the government will strive to eliminate illiteracy and, “when practicable,” will provide free, compulsory, universal primary education; free secondary education; and free university education. In pursuit of these goals, the government initiated the Universal Basic Education (UBE) program in 1999 to give all children access to primary and junior secondary education. In the Nigerian educational system, children attend primary school for 6 years, junior secondary school for 3 years, and senior secondary school for 3 years. Higher education degrees take 4 years to complete.⁶²

⁶² Hodges, A., (Ed.). (2001). *Children’s and women’s rights in Nigeria*.

Despite the ambitious goals set forth by the government in the Constitution and the UBE, enrollment in school and other indicators of educational attainment, such as literacy and numeracy, have not met the sought-after standards. An educational survey conducted among children of primary and secondary school age examining the 2002 to 2003 and 2003 to 2004 academic school years found the net attendance rate in Nigeria to be 60.1 percent among eligible primary school students and 35 percent among eligible secondary school students nationwide.⁶³ Attendance rates differed between regions and largely reflect the economic and political divisions that shape the Nigerian sociopolitical landscape.

School attendance rates for both primary and secondary school are significantly higher in the more economically prosperous South than in the North. The Southwest region, which includes Lagos State, reported the highest primary and secondary school attendance rates.⁶⁴ Educational statistics for Lagos State, in 2002, indicate that 50.3 percent of children and youth aged 6 to 24 attained a primary education, while 13.8 percent and 15.8 percent of the same group attained junior secondary- and senior secondary-level educations, respectively.⁶⁵

Figure 1: Primary Net Attendance Ratio, by Region and Gender



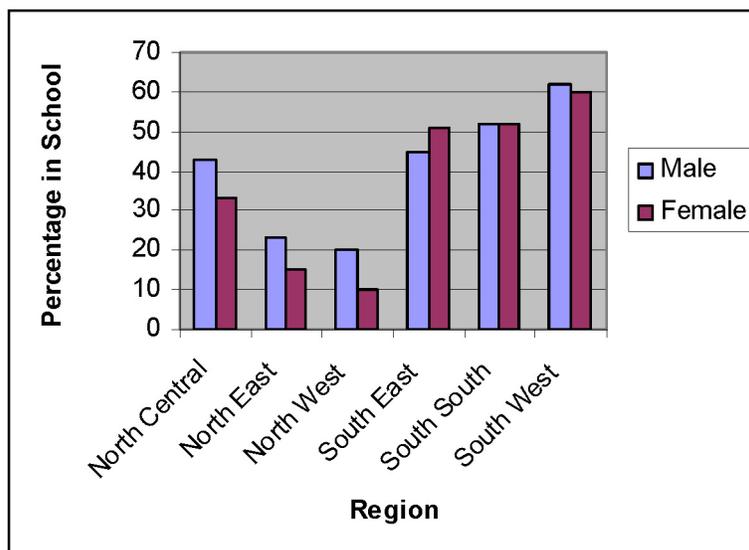
Source: Nigeria DHS 2003.

⁶³ National Population Commission & Macro International Inc. (2004). *Nigeria DHS EdData survey 2004*.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ National Population Commission. (2002). *Children, adolescents and youth*.

**Figure 2: Secondary Net Attendance Ratio,
by Region and Gender**



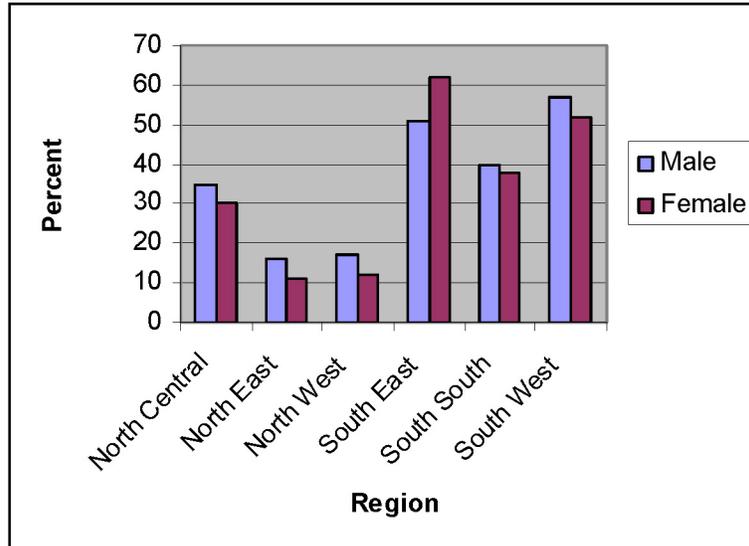
Source: NDES 2004.

Research conducted on literacy rates in Nigeria reflects similar regional results as school attendance ratios. Results from the 1999 Multiple Indicator Clustering Survey (MICS), conducted by UNICEF, revealed higher literacy rates in southern states. A survey of the population 15 years old and older indicated that 68 percent of the population in the Southwest and 67 percent in the Southeast were literate. This compares with 33 percent in the Northwest and 35 percent in the Northeast.⁶⁶ Higher literacy and numeracy rates among the southern population are also reflected in a 2004 survey of children aged 4 to 12. Of the surveyed children, 21 percent of children aged 6 to 7 and 52 percent of children aged 8 to 12 possessed basic literacy skills.⁶⁷ As the following figures suggest, children in the South were more literate and had better basic numeracy skills than their counterparts in the North.

⁶⁶ United Nations Children's Fund & Federal Office of Statistics. (1999). *Nigeria multiple indicator cluster survey*. Lagos, Nigeria: United Nations Children's Fund.

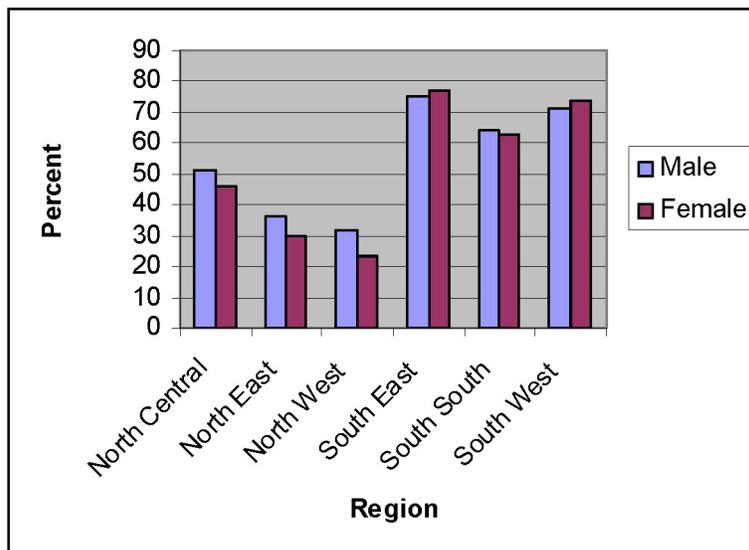
⁶⁷ National Population Commission & Macro International Inc. (2004). *Nigeria DHS EdData survey 2004*.

**Figure 3: Literacy among Children Aged 4 to 12,
by Gender and Region**



Source: NDES 2004.

**Figure 4: Numeracy among Children Aged 4 to 12,
by Gender and Region**



Source: NDES 2004.

Nationwide, the cost of schooling was the most common reason given for why children dropped out of school (31 percent). Other children who had dropped out listed no longer wanting to attend (23 percent), the need to work (21 percent), and failed examinations or being required to repeat a grade (8 percent) as reasons for not returning to school. As these figures show, the majority of students left school because of monetary reasons rather than by choice, which shows that poverty clearly affects the educational attainment of Nigerian youth.

This was not the case in the Southwest, where the majority of student dropouts reported leaving because they no longer wanted to attend school (48.7 percent). Other common reasons for leaving school among children in the Southwest were monetary costs (36.1 percent), failed examinations or having to repeat a grade (23.8 percent), and the need to work (19 percent).⁶⁸ Children aged 4 to 16, who had dropped out of primary school, were surveyed and allowed to indicate more than one reason for dropping out. Though the Southwest appears to be ahead of many other parts of the country in terms of educational attainment, like the rest of the country, it is far from reaching its goal of 100 percent enrollment in school and completion of the educational cycle.

2.3 Nigeria's Legal and Institutional Child Labor Framework

2.3.1 Legal Framework

The issue of child labor in Nigeria has not received extensive attention in government laws or policies. Unlike related issues, such as education and child health, which have been at the forefront of the government's agenda, child labor has yet to be adequately addressed within Nigeria's legal framework. Section 17 of the 1999 National Constitution provides broad protections against the exploitation of any Nigerian citizen. Section 17 also protects individuals and employees from inhumane working conditions and abuse, though it does not specify what constitutes either of these categories. It notes that children are to be protected from any form of exploitation or neglect, but again does not describe exactly how they pertain to child involvement in the labor force.⁶⁹

The Labor Act of 1974, Section 59, stipulates that children younger than 15 years old cannot be employed unless involved in a training or apprenticeship program. However, under the law, children can assist their family members in agricultural, horticultural, or domestic work. Further restrictions in the law call for minimal physical exertion by children during work, limitations on hours they can work, and a stipulation that children younger than 16 years old are not allowed to work underground, with machines, or on public holidays.⁷⁰ Certain provisions of the Act regarding child labor are not applicable to children working in the domestic sector.

Though the Labor Act does not specifically address the issue of trafficking, the Government of Nigeria enacted the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act in 2003 and amended it in 2005. Under the Act, anyone who acquires a child under 18 years old for themselves or a third party or keeps a child for the purpose of prostitution can be sent to prison. The Act also forbids trafficking in persons, drug trafficking, forced labor, pornography, or forced recruitment into the armed conflict. It also provides for victim services, including access to healthcare, use of social services, and identity protection, as well as assistance in filing charges against the trafficker.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Government of Nigeria. (1999). *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. From <http://www.nigeria-law.org/ConstitutionOfTheFederalRepublicOfNigeria.htm>.

⁷⁰ Government of Nigeria. (1974). *Labour Act*. From <http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/WEBTEXT/42156/64980/E74NGA01.htm>.

⁷¹ U.S. Department of Labor. (2005). *The U.S. Department of Labor's findings on the worst forms of child labor*. From <http://www.dol.gov/ilab/media/reports/iclp/tda2005/tda2005.pdf>.

Some states maintain separate labor laws related to child work. The Federal Capital of Abuja adopted the Child's Rights Act in 2003, which the Federal Ministry of Women's Affairs is seeking to have ratified across the country.⁷² Other policies indirectly related to child labor in Nigeria include the 1989 Social Development Policy, the National Programme, and the Children and Young Persons Act, which is only in effect in certain regions of the country.⁷³

In addition to national laws, Nigeria is also a party to several international conventions and declarations regarding child labor. The government ratified both ILO-IPEC Convention 182 on the worst forms of child labor and 138 on minimum age for employment on February 10, 2002. The government has also ratified ILO-IPEC Convention 58 on the minimum age for the employment of children at sea, Convention 59 on the minimum age for children in industry, and Convention 123 on the minimum age for the employment of children underground. The government also signed a memorandum of understanding with ILO-IPEC in 2000 to launch a countrywide child labor program under ILO-IPEC.⁷⁴

In 2006, Nigeria joined other ECOWAS countries in creating the Multilateral Cooperation Agreement to Combat Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children in West and Central Africa. Some of the objectives of the Agreement include creating a unified effort among member states to combat trafficking and punish those responsible, as well as to rehabilitate and reintegrate victims into their communities. The Agreement also states that victims of trafficking will not be viewed as having violated the laws of any state, and that parties will work to ensure that victims are not punished or imprisoned once found. Responsibilities of states include implementing measures in support of the Agreement, including the creation of a birth registration system, active cooperation in the investigation and prosecution of trafficking crimes, and the reintegration of victims. States have also agreed to ratify the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its additional Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children.⁷⁵

2.3.2 Institutional Framework—Government Agencies

Although combating child labor is not a focal point of the Nigerian government's agenda, its emphasis on improving the quality of life of children has led to the creation of agencies and programs that indirectly address child labor within the country. Concern for the welfare of children has also allowed for the implementation of programs by NGOs and international organizations addressing the problem of child labor in various sectors.

⁷² Alemika, E. E. O., Chukwuma, I., Lafratta, D., Messerli, D., & Souckova, J. (2004). *Rights of the child in Nigeria*. Geneva: CLEEN Foundation & World Organisation Against Torture.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Hodges, A., (Ed.). (2001). *Children's and women's rights in Nigeria*.

⁷⁵ Economic Community of West African States. *Multilateral cooperation agreement to combat trafficking in persons, especially women and children in West and Central Africa*.

The Federal Ministry of Education is responsible for implementing the government's UBE program, ensuring that all children have access to both primary and secondary education. Through its Operation Reach All Secondary Schools and Operation Reach All Primary Schools, the Ministry seeks to continually evaluate the quality of education being provided and to enhance its overall standards. The Ministry, through collaboration with key stakeholders, also works to improve technical and administrative aspects of the school system to not only provide quality education, but also to ensure that children remain engaged and involved in the system.⁷⁶

The Federal Ministry of Labor ensures proper compliance with Nigeria's labor laws, including sections dealing with child labor. However, labor inspections primarily focus on the formal sector, which does not account for children engaged in informal labor. The Ministry is also responsible for monitoring safety standards in the workplace and for developing policies to encourage job creation.⁷⁷ The National Directorate of Employment is part of the Ministry of Labor and is responsible for coordinating programs on youth employment. In the past, it has developed the National Youth Employment and Vocational Skills Development Program, which offered apprenticeships to unemployed urban youth, as well as the School on Wheels Scheme that provided apprenticeships for youth in rural areas. The Agricultural Sector Employment Program, which targets school dropouts and university graduates, equips target groups with skills for self-employment in agriculture.⁷⁸

The Federal Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs, Youth Development, and Special Duties maintains the Department of Youth Development, which is dedicated to encouraging the development of Nigeria's youth population. The Ministry has created several youth development centers throughout the country and worked to refurbish dilapidated schools. The Ministry also introduced a National Youth Agenda in 2004. Though it has a youth-centered focus, it has not initiated projects aimed at directly addressing the situation of child laborers.

The Federal Ministry of Women's Affairs concentrates on improving the lives of children in the country, in addition to working toward improving the status of women in Nigerian society. In 2006, the Ministry released the third draft of the National Child Policy, in which it acknowledged the severity of the problem of child labor and human trafficking in Nigeria. It called on state governments to adopt the Child's Rights Act of 2003, currently in effect in the Federal Capital of Abuja, to ensure the just treatment of children in every state, including those children involved in labor activities.

2.3.3 Institutional Framework—NGOs

Human Development Initiatives (HDI), in conjunction with ILO-IPEC, has instituted several projects aimed at assisting working children and their families. The first project entitled, "Prevention, Withdrawal, and Rehabilitation of Working Children," operates in different areas of Southwest Nigeria to remove children from the workforce. Between 2001 and 2003, HDI assisted child bus conductors, locally called *danfo* drivers, on Lagos Mainland in leaving their job and entering into either a vocational or educational program. Children working on cocoa

⁷⁶ Federal Ministry of Education. *Objectives of FME*. From http://www.fme.gov.ng/about_fme/ouobjectives.asp.

⁷⁷ Government of Nigeria. (2005). *Federal Ministry of Labour*.
From http://www.nigeria.gov.ng/fed_min_employment_labour1.aspx.

⁷⁸ The Mitchell Group, Inc. (2003). *Youth workforce development in Nigeria*.

farms in Ondo State, and approximately 800 child domestic workers, have also been assisted. HDI also runs the “Economic Empowerment of Parents/Guardians of Working Children” project, which provides life skills and cottage industry training to the aforementioned group. Successful completion of either training program can lead to inclusion in a microcredit program aimed at fostering a steady income for the family.⁷⁹

LUTRENA: Combating the Trafficking in Children for Labour Exploitation in West and Central Africa is a regional effort sponsored by ILO-IPEC and implemented in Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cote d’Ivoire, Gabon, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria, and Togo. The initiative’s focus is to create successful bilateral and multilateral networks effective at combating the trafficking of children in Central and West Africa. Two phases of the initiative have been implemented to date. Phase one built capacity among government organizations and NGOs to implement policies combating trafficking at the local, national, and subregional levels. Efforts were also made to raise public awareness about the dangers of trafficking. Phase two, scheduled to end in December 2007, seeks to reduce the demand for the trafficking of children, while also withdrawing and rehabilitating child victims of trafficking. This phase also seeks to educate children and their families in high-risk areas about trafficking, in order to prevent further recruitment. The overall goal of the initiative is to remove 9,000 children from exploitive conditions caused by trafficking and to prevent further trafficking of children, particularly girls and children under the age of 12.⁸⁰

The West Africa Cocoa/Commercial Agriculture Project (WACAP) was a subregional project under ILO-IPEC that worked to eliminate the worst forms of child labor in cocoa and other forms of agriculture in Cote d’Ivoire, Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea, and Nigeria. The objectives of the project included capacity building for community and national actors on the design and implementation of initiatives to address child labor in the aforementioned sectors. The project also sponsored awareness raising among communities, media, and public and private agencies on alternatives to child labor. Efforts to assist children removed from exploitive working conditions, as well as to develop a child labor monitoring system, were also undertaken.⁸¹ As a result of these efforts, 8,756 children were withdrawn from exploitive working conditions, and 2,844 were prevented from engaging in similar activities. The project was operational from 2001 to 2006.⁸²

Women’s Consortium of Nigeria (WOCON) has been working to combat human trafficking and child labor in Nigeria for 10 years. Its efforts concentrate on awareness raising among the general public, as well as on sensitization of child labor issues in communities. The initiative “Program for the Withdrawal and Re-integration of Children in Domestic Service and Prostitution,” which is supported by ILO-IPEC, reportedly led to the withdrawal of 261 working children in Lagos State. Among these children, 37 were prostitutes and 224 were domestic workers.⁸³

⁷⁹ Human Development Initiatives. (2004). From <http://www.hdinigeria.org/index.htm>.

⁸⁰ International Labour Organization. *ILAB Technical Report. LUTRENA*.

⁸¹ International Labour Organization. (2006). *WACAP: The West Africa cocoa/commercial agriculture project*. From <http://www.ilo.org/public/french/region/afpro/yaounde/coop/wacap/index.htm>.

⁸² International Labour Organization. *ILAB Technical Report. WACAP*.

⁸³ Federal Office of Statistics & International Labour Organization. (2001). *National modular child labour survey*.

Women Trafficking and Child Labor Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF) is headquartered in Abuja and works to combat child trafficking and child labor nationwide. It has a variety of programs that center on awareness raising and rehabilitation of victims. In addition to conducting workshops on trafficking and labor issues, and developing projects aimed at youth, WOTCLEF has established a rehabilitation center for victims of child labor. The center houses victims and provides counseling services and educational or vocational opportunities. Skills training provided by the center includes fashion design, hairdressing, computers, and shoemaking.

3. FINDINGS

3.1 Methodology

ICF conducted a study of riverine communities in Lagos State from August 2006 until December 2006. The intent of the study was to identify and quantify the extent and nature of child labor in these communities. Several methods were employed. To develop background information, in-depth interviews were conducted with stakeholders in Lagos State and Abuja. These interviews included academics; government officials at the local, state, and federal levels; and professionals working in NGOs and other agencies serving riverine communities. A quantitative study was also conducted with a sampling of riverine communities. This study used the ILO-IPEC SIMPOC general survey methodology, which is a household survey that captures basic information on all members of the household and obtains in-depth information from working children aged 5 to 17. It also includes in-depth information on characteristics and conditions of work, attitudes toward work, and other relevant issues such as educational experiences and attainment. This study also included systematic observations of children in the act of working and of the communities selected for the study.

ICF staff worked with the Nigerian office of RMS to implement the quantitative and qualitative components of the study. RMS is a market research firm that conducts market research and social research for the Government of Nigeria, U.S. Government entities, and other donor agencies and NGOs. RMS organized staff for data collection and processed the data collected for this study. The minimum qualification of all field interviewers in this project was postsecondary education. All project supervisors were graduates of recognized universities. ICF staff traveled to Nigeria on several occasions to oversee fieldwork, including key informant interviews, working child observations, and household surveys.

3.1.1 Research Environment

Nigeria presents a particular set of difficulties for quantitative studies. The Nigerian government uses census data for allocation of oil dollars to states and localities. Many localities believe they are not accurately represented by the census and are being deprived of their rightful allocation. Therefore, census data can create political disagreements, leading to its lack of availability. As a result, census data availability, especially below the state level, is a continual issue in Nigeria. The last census for which data are publicly available was conducted in 1991. Its results are no longer representative of Nigeria's demographic realities. Nigeria conducted a census in March 2006, but the results were not available at the time of this study. In addition, the Nigerian National Population Commission (NPC) and the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) are involved in other data collections, such as the Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire (CWIQ) Survey and the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS). Availability of local population data, however, is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. Accurate and up-to-date maps are also difficult to obtain. One can usually obtain maps for each state's capital city, but they are usually fairly general. They show major streets but side streets are frequently left out. Maps of rural areas are similarly available, but only show major tarmac roads and larger towns. The great majority of rural towns and villages are not noted. This presents a particular problem for survey research in Nigeria. One has to know the universe of relevant members of the study population to then select sample points for surveying.

A universal list of relevant members is also called a sample frame. Ideally, we would have a sample frame with all riverine communities and their relevant population data. This would allow for reliable sample selection and post-survey weighting to develop population estimates. None of these data sources is available, however, in Lagos State.

Nevertheless, Nigeria has an active private research environment, including ongoing market research for Asian and European companies that sell consumer products, durable goods, automobiles, and motorbikes in Nigeria, and ongoing social research for various public health, education, and microenterprise programs. As a result, there is sound knowledge of research methods, an available research infrastructure, and local knowledge of research-related information among the Nigerian firms. ICF, for example, has worked with RMS in Nigeria for the last 5 years on qualitative and national quantitative media studies. This has allowed ICF to develop methods to compensate for some of the shortcomings resulting from the data deficiencies.

3.1.2 Study of Communities

To overcome the limitations noted above, ICF developed a unique approach for developing a sample of riverine communities in Lagos State and then weighting the sample data. This involved two steps. The first step provided a method for drawing a sample. The second step developed expansion factors for estimating the overall incidence of working children in riverine communities of Lagos State. Each step is described below.

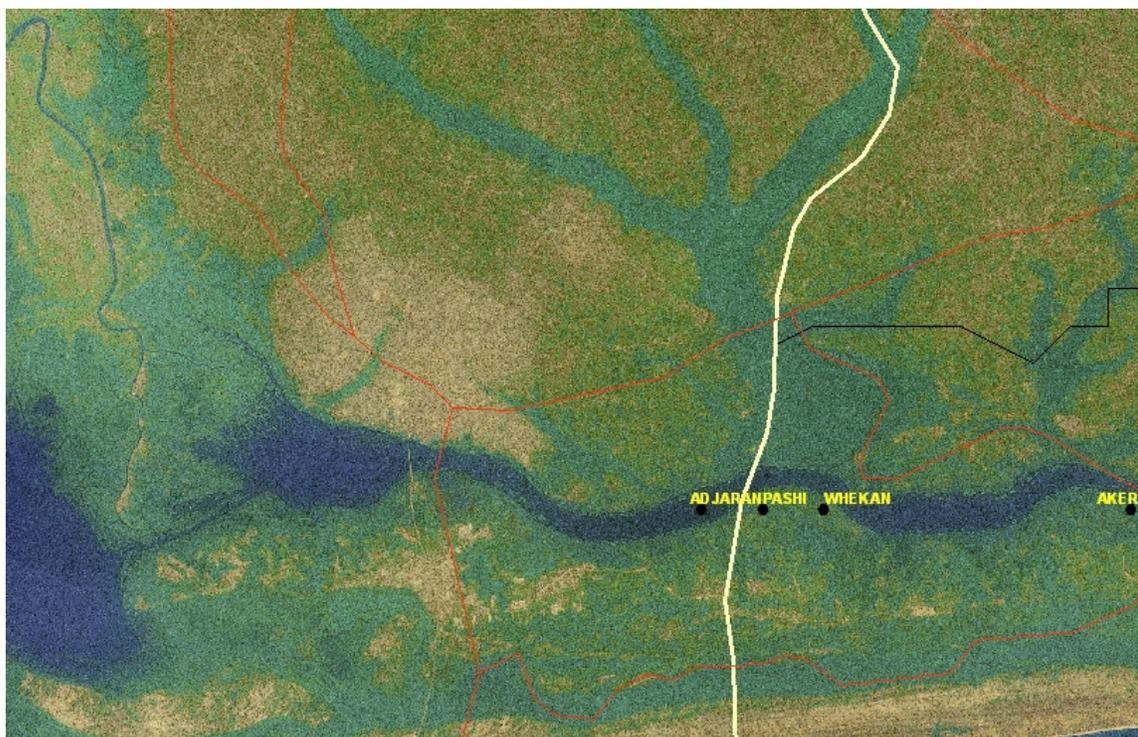
Step 1: Developing and Executing a Sample of Riverine Communities

The basis for any scientific sampling is the presence of a sampling frame, which in this case would include a list of all riverine communities in Lagos State, with appropriate demographic information for each community. Unfortunately, no such list exists publicly; therefore, we created the sampling frame of riverine communities using the following methods.

1. **Develop maps of riverine communities in Lagos State using available GIS data and GIS mapping software.** The coast of Nigeria has a series of barrier islands with an intercoastal waterway that runs nearly the length of the country's coastline. In some areas, there are additional swamps and lagoons reaching deep inland. The photo plate on the next page shows the coastline of Lagos State. We divided the riverine areas into four distinct areas: West of Lagos, Lagos City, Lagos Lagoon, and Lekki Lagoon. These are fairly discrete areas, separated by land. In the case of Lagos City, we designated it a separate location, as there are several riverine communities within the city, creating the anomaly of a primarily agricultural and fishing community amidst a large urban location. We assumed the nature of the riverine communities in Lagos City might be different from the more remote locations.

For the purposes of this study, "riverine community" refers to communities on the water, where most families in the community engage in fishing activities. The definition excludes communities engaged in only sand harvesting, although if both occur, a community is included. Typically, families also engage in nonfishing or non-sand-harvesting economic activities, such as subsistence farming or coconut harvesting, but for purposes of definition, economic activities of most families involve fishing.

Western Waterways



Communities are geographic entities. They occupy a specific space in a describable location. Therefore, one method for obtaining a list of riverine communities is to use existing geographic information system (GIS) data sources. With a lack of public data and published maps, GIS companies have managed to procure from the Nigerian government a number of GIS-related databases, including place-name databases, roads, and other key features. ICF procured the following data sources to build maps of riverine communities in ArcView, a GIS mapping software:

- **Satellite Maps of Coastal Nigeria.** This provided a definition of 1 pixel for each 10 square meters. The photos were also encoded with geographic coordinates, allowing for accurate overlays of other geographic features (e.g., places, roads, political boundaries);
- **World Place Name Database.** This database has more than 5 million geocoded place names for most countries in the world. It includes more than 30,000 place names in Nigeria. Most places are cities, towns, or villages, while a minority includes such places as state parks or airports. They were compiled by the Nigerian government at two separate times in 1993 and 1997; and
- **Geographic Features for Select West African Nations.** This data source provides numerous geographic features, such as a roads, railroads, and political boundaries.

The process of building a map is one of creating layers, that is, selecting the required data sources, bringing them into ArcView, and then building a map with the right mix of data sources or layers. For the sample development, we used the satellite map, Nigeria place names, and select geographic features (primarily roads and political boundaries). We assumed three conditions might contraindicate inclusion of a place name as a riverine community:

- The community did not exist;
- The community was not on the water and therefore was not a riverine community; or
- The community was on the water, but was not a riverine community.

Once we had created a map of Lagos State with place names, we eliminated any place name not located along waterways, which yielded a list of about 120 communities. We also assumed that other communities existed, but were not listed in the place name database.

2. **Confirm the existence and nature of riverine communities identified by the GIS maps.** Once ICF produced the maps, ICF staff traveled to Nigeria on two occasions to set up the project and to make site visits to communities identified by the maps on the waterways. The subcontractor RMS also made site visits. These site visits confirmed that communities existed on the waterways in all but a few instances. Site visits were made in all of the four identified waterway areas (Western, Lagos City, Lagos Lagoon, and Lekki Lagoon). Much of the area West of Lagos City was surveyed in two trips. The communities in Lagos City, Lagos Lagoon, and Lekki Lagoon were reviewed in four other trips.

In all instances, we verified the existence of the listed communities and determined that their primary activity was fishing. In some cases, particularly in communities along either side of the intercoastal waterway, coconut harvesting was an additional cash crop. It was learned through discussions with local residents that communities that exist solely on coconuts as a cash crop are not located near the water where coconut groves are, because coconut trees can be taxed. By settling away from the groves, the harvesters can deny ownership when the tax collector visits. Riverine communities by definition are located on the water and by necessity among their coconut groves.

3. **Understand the presence of communities not indicated on the maps.** During the verification process, it was clear that a number of riverine communities were not in the place name database. When we surveyed, we would visit the village where we would typically meet with the village chief, and then involve him and his elders in a discussion of contiguous communities. They had very good knowledge of the communities, their names, and their sizes. They could typically describe in detail all of the communities within 10 miles of their own and provide estimates of the number of households in these communities. The chief would then assign a village resident, typically a fisherman, to take team members along the waterways, where these communities were observed to exist and to have the approximate number of households described by the elders. We found that most of the unlisted communities were either smaller than the listed communities—often 50 households or less—or occupied seasonally. We were unable to

list all of the communities on the shoreline within Lagos State because of resource constraints. Therefore, we could not develop a comprehensive sample frame. Our field efforts did provide insights into the validity and usefulness of the GIS maps developed for the sample selection

4. **Once Steps 3 and 4 are confirmed, draw sample of riverine communities on the maps.** Using mapped communities, both based on the GIS-related databases and updates based on site visits, ICF and its subcontractor RMS drew a sample of communities using a Simple Random Sampling (SRS) methodology. The selected locations on the developed maps, once verified as riverine communities, were then used for the sample. If a community did not exist or proved to not be a riverine community, we then randomly selected a replacement community. Only one community was replaced, as it proved not to be a riverine community
5. **Conduct fieldwork.**

Training. Training for this project was conducted by an ICF representative together with the project manager and Research Executives. The training covered:

- Background and objectives of the study;
- Research methodology—household and respondent selection techniques; and
- Executing the interview.

After the main training session, mock interviews or rehearsals were conducted to familiarize interviewers with the questionnaires and line of questioning using real-life situations.

Pretesting. Before the commencement of the main survey, the questionnaire was pretested among 10 respondents aged 5 to 17 (typical of those to be interviewed in the actual surveys). The questionnaire was administered to respondents in a manner that simulated the real fieldwork. The objective of the exercise was to ensure that the questionnaire flowed well and avoided ambiguous wording and any illogical sequence of question ordering, as well as to determine the sensitivity that any question might arouse. Upon completion of the pilot study, a debriefing session was held in which field observations were discussed and rectified.

Household Selection. Within each sector, dwellings were selected using the date code method. If the date of the interview was a single digit, the house with this number on the left hand side of the starting point would be the house to be approached for an interview. If the date of the interview was a two-digit number (e.g., the 22nd), then a quick addition of the two digits (e.g., yielding 4) identifies the target household on the left side of the starting point (e.g., the interviewer targets the fourth household). The sampling interval was observed after this—a gap of five buildings after each successful call.

Respondent Selection. In each selected household, the head of the household or most knowledgeable member of the family was selected for the main interview. In about 3 out of 4 cases, the male head of the household was selected. The first part of the interview entailed the listing of all family members from the oldest to the youngest. Children to be interviewed were selected from this list of family members if they were within the 5 to 17 age range.

The following tables describe the results from the mapping exercise and then the outcome of the surveying. Table 3 describes the sampled communities and those contiguous to them. It indicates that for the 11 sampled communities, interviewers working with the fishermen identified 58 contiguous communities. Table 4 describes the number of estimated households per sampled and contiguous communities. The sampled communities included an estimated 1,030 households, and the contiguous communities had approximately 2,900 households combined. The household size per type of community differed. The sampled communities totaled 93.6 households, and the contiguous communities totaled 50 households per community. This was expected, as the sampled communities were identified from a place name database and were assumed to be more prominent than the unidentified contiguous communities.

Table 3: Sampled and Contiguous Communities

Western Waterways

Sampled Community	Communities to the Right	Communities to the Left
Topo	Ojoogun, Iragor, Apcon	Iragbor
Gbaji	Dash, Moba, Ajara Zinwe, Kweme, Okogbo, Yeketome, Yesufu, Airoji	None
Ilashe	Iubinrin	None

Lagos

Sampled Community	Communities to the Right	Communities to the Left
Tomoro	None	None
Ebute Meta	Agbojedo, Okun Eti, Aba Ogbo, Apese	Agala, Ikate, Okun Eti
Oworoski	Leone Street	Bariga

Lagos and Lekki Lagoons

Sampled Community	Communities to the Right	Communities to the Left
Ofin	Iminu, Oniyanrin, Igboru	Obada, Ikerun
Ise	Imahuhusa, Eruntan	Luguda, Lumose
Epe	Igboru, Ilaje Ajiran, Inupa	Igbosere, Itrin
Ibeshi	Ebute Oko, Olosa, Eti Okun	Olukotun, Itedo
Ajido	Akanbo, Eti Ebute	Olofin Ogoyo

Table 4: Estimated Numbers of Households in Sampled and Contiguous Communities

Western Waterways

Location	Estimated Households in Sampled Communities	Estimated Households in Identified Communities to Right and Left
Topo	80	200
Gbaji	50	650
Ilashe	50	50

Lagos

Location	Estimated Households in Sampled Communities	Estimated Households in Identified Communities to Right and Left
Tomoro	100	400
Ebute Meta	200	350
Oworoski	200	100

Lagos and Lekki Lagoons

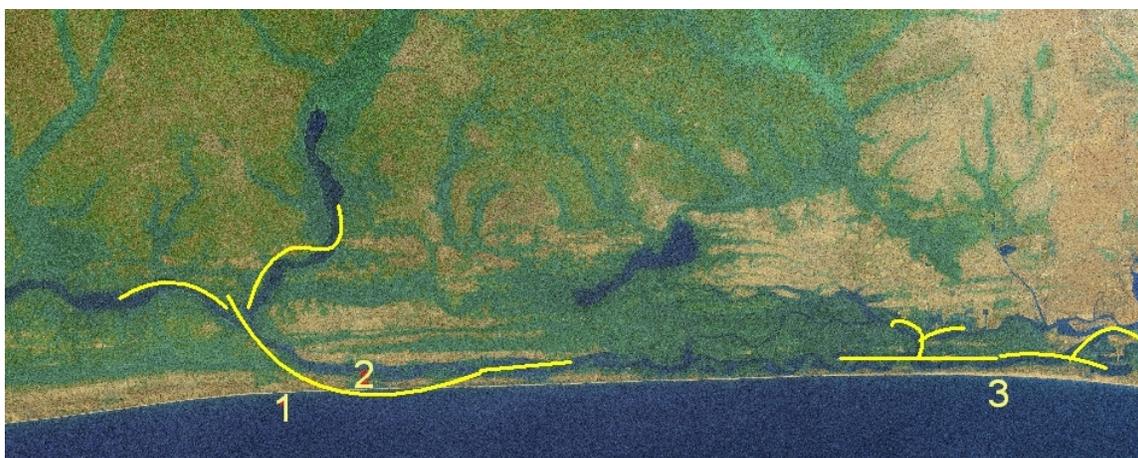
Location	Estimated Households in Sampled Communities	Estimated Households in Identified Communities to Right and Left
Ofin	100	250
Ise	50	200
Epe	100	300
Ibeshi	50	250
Ajido	50	150

Total

Location	Estimated Households in Sampled Communities	Estimated Households in Identified Communities to Right and Left
All Locations	1,030	2,900

Once surveying was complete, the locations of all identified communities, including all sampled and contiguous communities, were mapped. The following maps indicate the lengths of shoreline occupied by sampled and contiguous communities.

Western Lagos State Waterways with Identified Shoreline and Sample Points



The preceding map indicates the sample points and the lengths of shoreline where local fishermen identified riverine communities in the Western Waterways. The identified shoreline is lined in yellow. The sample points are indicated by the numbers. They are as follows:

1. Gbaji;
2. Topo (Tawpo); and
3. Ilashe.

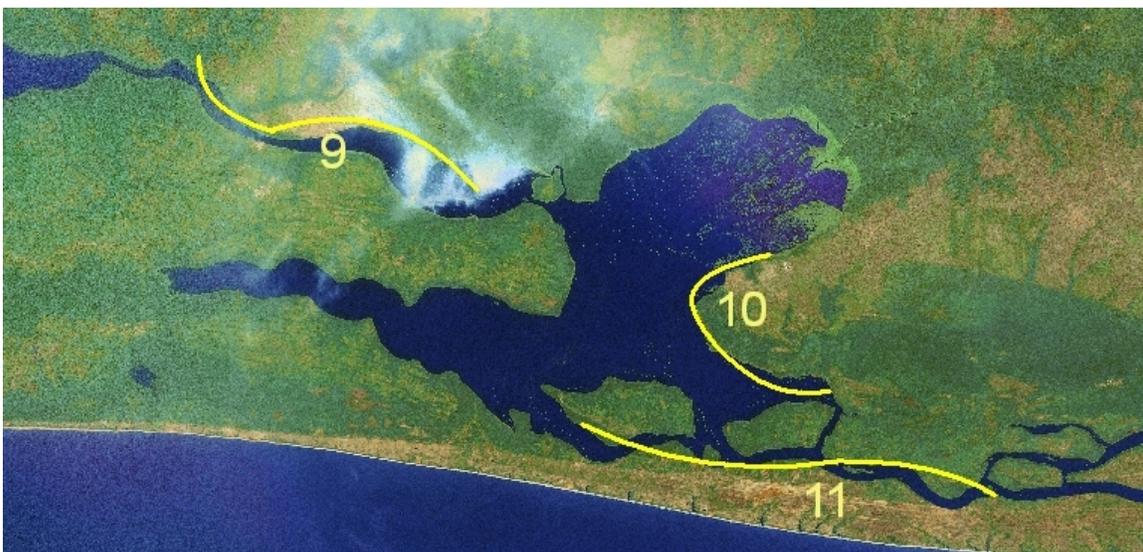
Central Lagos and Lagos Lagoon with Identified Shoreline and Sample Points



The preceding map indicates the sample points and the lengths of shoreline where local fishermen identified riverine communities in Lagos City and Lagos Lagoon. The identified shoreline is lined in yellow. The sample points are indicated by the numbers. They are as follows:

4. Ebute Meta;
5. Oworosoki;
6. Tomoro;
7. Ibeshi; and
8. Ofin.

Lekki Lagoon with Identified Shoreline and Sample Points



The preceding map indicates the sample points and the lengths of shoreline where local fishermen identified riverine communities in Lekki Lagoon. The identified shoreline is lined in yellow. The sample points are indicated by the numbers. They are as follows:

9. Epe;
10. Ajido; and
11. Ise.

We had intended to conduct 480 household interviews⁸⁴ and had selected 6 communities for 80 interviews each, but because some communities were smaller than anticipated and could not sustain this number of interviews, the final selection included 11 communities, using an SRS methodology. They are listed in Table 5.

Table 5: Communities Included in the Study

Sample Communities	Sample Households
Topo	40
Epe	50
Ilashe	35
Ajido	34
Ofin	32
Ebute Meta	50
Ise	50
Gbaji	40
Ibeshi	29
Oworoski	60
Tomoro	60
Total	480

Step 2: Developing General Expansion Factor

Information from the previously described steps was used to develop expansion factors that would be applied to the estimates derived from the quantitative study in the riverine communities. There are three expansion factors needed to take an estimate from the survey to an estimate of all riverine communities in Lagos State.

Expansion Step 1: Expand the surveyed households to include all households in the surveyed communities. Not all households in the sampled communities were included in the interview. We included 480 households. There were 1,030 households in the communities surveyed.

⁸⁴ In this study, each household is considered a data point. A sample size of 480 was selected in order to obtain adequate representativeness at or above the 95 percent confidence level.

Table 6: Expansion Factor 1

Category	Value
Sampled HH in Sampled Communities	480
All HH in Sampled Communities	1,030
Expansion Factor 1	2.15

Expansion Step 2: Expand the estimates in Step 1 to include contiguous communities identified by local fishermen during the interviewing. The survey team leaders asked local fishermen in the surveyed communities to enumerate other riverine communities on either side of their community. They were asked to enumerate as many as they could with good reliability (i.e., they had been there and/or had relatives living there). They were also asked to estimate the number of households in each of the enumerated communities. The following table describes these results.

Table 7: Expansion Factor 2

Category	Value
HH in Sampled Communities	1,030
HH in Contiguous Communities	2,900
All	3,930
Expansion Factor 2	3.82

Expansion Step 3: Expand the estimates in Step 2 to include all riverine communities in Lagos State. This requires an estimate of the population of all riverine communities. This is accomplished by first measuring the miles of shoreline having riverine communities identified during the survey (sampled and contiguous communities). The remaining shoreline was then measured. This yielded an estimate of 91.4 miles of shoreline with identified communities and 299 miles of shoreline with unidentified communities. We excluded the ocean side of the Western Waterways. We found in our initial site visits that the barrier island separating the waterways from the ocean is quite narrow, between a few hundred yards and a mile. All the communities we visited on barrier islands fished both the ocean side and the waterway side of the barrier island. We excluded the ocean side of the barrier island to avoid double counting potential communities.

Table 8: Expansion Factor 3

Category	Value
Observed Shoreline (miles)	97.38
Unobserved Shoreline (miles)	300.00
All Shoreline	397.38
Expansion Factor 3	4.08

These expansion factors are applied to survey findings to develop estimates for all riverine communities in Lagos State. For example, the surveyed households reported 1,035 children aged 5 to 17. We can apply the expansion factors to estimate the number of children aged 5 to 17 in Lagos State's riverine communities. Given that families in surveyed households reported that there are 1,035 children, we can apply the expansion factors to estimate 34,682 children aged 5 to 17 in riverine communities in Lagos State ($1035 * 2.15 * 3.82 * 4.08$).

3.1.3 Limitations

Resource constraints placed a number of limitations on the representativeness of the estimates discussed above. We believe that these methodological limitations can be reduced to two central issues:

1. Lack of Accurate Maps

Our estimation methodology required building a sample frame by mapping locations along the waterways of Lagos State. This implied determining the situation of these locations relative to the water in order to judge whether a community could be classified as “riverine.” In order to do this, we relied on GIS maps and satellite imagery. We have anecdotal evidence from field observations that small locations, which had been removed from the frame due to their apparent distance from the water, were in fact near small waterways that did not appear on the map. This problem could be avoided in the future if better maps are developed, or if more time in the field is available during the development phase of the sample frame

2. Lack of Access to Local Population Data

Although the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) collects detailed population data, this data is not typically released to the public. In Nigeria, the census data is considered sensitive information because, among other things, it is used by the federal government to allocate oil revenues among the different states and regions. In the absence of population data, we cannot adjust the probability of selection proportionately to the size of each location, having to rely instead on a Simple Random Sample (SRS) of communities. Since an SRS of communities will over-represent smaller communities (given that typically there are more small than large communities), and the final estimate is based on a direct extrapolation of the population found in these smaller locations, the final total population, and consequently the population of working children in riverine communities, may have been underestimated. Future strategies to resolve this problem may include greater collaboration between the U.S. Embassy and the NBS to obtain the census data required for sampling, or providing the NBS with a stipend so that they can directly deliver the final sample frame. Although these limitations all suggest that the number of working children may have been underestimated, we believe that the magnitude of this problem is fairly limited and does not compromise the validity of our estimates

3.2 Quantitative Findings

3.2.1 Introduction

The following section reports the results of research conducted in October 2006 in the riverine communities using the following four research instruments:

- A household survey questionnaire;
- A child survey questionnaire;
- A village observation checklist; and
- A working child observation checklist.

The household and child questionnaires that most of these findings are based on are slightly modified versions of the National Child Labour Surveys (NCLS) developed by SIMPOC, an agency within ILO-IPEC.

The SIMPOC survey is a complex survey that is administered in two parts—a household interview in which the most knowledgeable household member is asked general questions about the household and particular questions about every household member, and a child interview in which each child is asked about him or herself. While both surveys are geared toward assessing the frequency of occurrence and nature of the economic activity of children, they also cover the subjects of education, health, economic wellbeing, and noneconomic activity.

The child and household surveys are similar and, for many items, are virtually identical. The purpose of the redundancy is: (1) to capture similar data for adult residents over age 17, (2) to provide some reference data to assess the quality of data, and (3) to allow for some comparison between how children and adults respond.

The SIMPOC convention is to use the child interview data in most cases when examining issues related to the activity of children. The basic assumption, which has been tested rather vigorously, is that children have more intimate knowledge of their activities than adults do and that, with some care, more accurate and detailed information can be gained directly from the child. For this reason, unless otherwise indicated, child-related results reported in the section will be data from the child portion of the survey.

3.2.2 Profile of Riverine Communities in Lagos

Village Observations

Researchers filled out a village observation questionnaire for each village included in the sample. The questionnaire includes descriptions of housing characteristics, schools and school access, available health facilities, types of businesses, and media access.

For this portion of the research, the villages were treated more broadly to include nonriverine communities. Since two of the riverine communities were, in fact, on different sides of one town, only one observation was recorded, resulting in a total of 10 observations for 11 riverine communities. The villages sampled range in size from 200 households to 2,000 households. Four of the 10 villages have no access to any roads and are only accessible by water. Of the other six, two have access to dirt or gravel roads; the remaining ones have access to a paved road. All are within 10 kilometers from the nearest urban area.

Housing structures are of a variety of types, including wood, mud, concrete, brick, tin, and thatch. While most villages are of mixed housing types, two of the villages only accessible by water are entirely made of wood structures with wood floors and thatched roofs.

There is no access to a sewer system in any of the villages, and most households in most villages use an open or closed latrine. In 3 of the 10 villages, most or all households rely on an unprotected water supply—either an unprotected well; pond, river, or stream water; or rain water. In the other villages, most people retrieve their drinking water from a variety of protected sources, with some having indoor plumbing.

Kitchens in some villages are more common indoors, but in other villages, outdoor kitchens are predominant. Contrary to household survey data, kerosene appears to be the most common cooking fuel, followed by wood, charcoal, and electricity. Electricity is fairly common in one village, with observation indicating near-universal access to the electrical grid for lighting. All villages have some access to electricity, but access appears marginal in four villages.

Two of the villages have no schools. In these villages, children have to travel 10 kilometers or more to the nearest school. The remaining villages all have primary schools, but only three have secondary schools in the village. These communities are less remote, however, and all have a secondary school within 5 kilometers.

According to the researchers, only two villages had a sufficient number of primary school teachers, and none had a sufficient number of secondary teachers. While some schools are reported to have sufficient basic infrastructure (e.g., desks, chairs, and chalkboards), all were lacking in basic supplies.

Table 9: School Characteristics

Primary School

Characteristics	Sufficient to Meet Needs	Have, but Insufficient to Meet Needs	Do Not Have
Number of teachers	2	6	2
Supplies and equipment	0	8	2
Desks	1	7	2
Chairs	1	7	2
Chalkboards	2	6	2
Paper	0	8	2
Books	0	8	2

Secondary School

Characteristics	Sufficient to Meet Needs	Have, but Insufficient to Meet Needs	Do Not Have
Number of teachers	0	3	7
Supplies and equipment	0	3	7
Desks	0	3	7
Chairs	0	3	7
Chalkboards	1	2	7
Paper	0	3	7
Books	0	3	7

Only half of the villages with a primary school have schools with electricity, and two have no lighting at all. The three secondary schools, however, are comparatively well equipped with electricity, lighting, and latrines.

Table 10: School Infrastructure

Primary School

Type of Infrastructure	Yes	No
Electricity	4	6
Lighting	6	4
Latrines	4	6
Buses	2	8
Safe walking routes	6	4

Secondary School

Type of Infrastructure	Yes	No
Electricity	3	7
Lighting	3	7
Latrines	3	7
Buses	2	8
Safe walking routes	2	8

Four of the 10 villages have no doctor, nurse, or pharmacist. In two of the villages, the nearest nurse, doctor, and pharmacist are 10 or more kilometers away.

The villages vary greatly in their level of isolation and self-sufficiency. In 4 of the 10 observations, no commercial establishment (e.g., markets, restaurants, clothing stores, or internet cafes) was identified. In contrast, in two observations, there was an estimate of over 100 commercial establishments within a half-kilometer radius. The remaining four had between 10 and 12 establishments.

Demographics⁸⁵

Key Findings

While riverine communities are bound by tight family relations, they typically live in small households consisting of a male head, his spouse, and their children. The average household contains 2.5 children. The riverine community is slightly younger than the population of Nigeria and substantially younger than the population of the state of Lagos.

Family Structure

While residents of riverine communities are often related and bound by tight family relations, the typical household structure in the riverine fishing communities can best be described as nuclear. The median household has five members, and most households (87.3 percent) include no extended family or nonrelatives. Households typically consist of a male head of household, his spouse(s), and the children of the head of household.

⁸⁵ Demographics reported in this section for Nigeria and Lagos State come from the 2006 Core Welfare Indicator Questionnaire (CWIQ) Survey—a large survey developed by the World Bank and conducted by Nigeria’s National Bureau of Statistics, with assistance provided by the World Bank.

Ninety-six percent of the households surveyed include a head of household and one or more spouse. In all but one household surveyed, the head of household is male. A small percentage of heads of household have two wives (1.3 percent).⁸⁶

The average household contains 2.8 children of the head of household, but some of these children are adults. Of the average 2.5 children per household (aged 17 and younger), 96.6 percent of these are the children of the head of household.

Most households in the riverine fishing communities (87.3 percent) contain no extended family beyond the head, his spouse(s), and his own children. The remaining households surveyed contain extended family. With the possible exception of one adopted son, all household members recorded were related by either blood or marriage.

Age and Gender

The riverine fishing communities are slightly younger than the rest of Nigeria and substantially younger than the population of the state of Lagos. While 47 percent of the population of Nigeria and 36.3 percent of Lagos State are 17 or younger, this group represents more than half (50.8 percent) of riverine residents. In terms of mean age, riverine residents are on average 5.5 years younger than other Lagos State residents and 2.7 years younger than others in Nigeria.

Table 11: Comparison, by Age

Age	Riverine Communities	Nigeria*	Lagos State*
Mean	21.0	23.7	26.5
17 years and less	50.8%	47.0%	36.2%
18 through 34 years	28.0%	26.6%	33.1%
35 years and up	21.2%	26.4%	30.6%

* Source: 2006 Core Welfare Indicator Questionnaire (CWIQ) Survey.

The survey sample of the riverine communities is slightly more male than the population as a whole. Males account for 53.9 percent of the riverine sample, whereas they account for 51.8 percent of Lagos residents and 51.1 percent of the overall population of Nigeria.

The gender and age makeup of the riverine communities follows a pattern similar to the rest of Nigeria. The mean age of the two groups is quite similar, with the average male being a year and a half older than the average female (21.7 years compared with 20.1 years)—a slightly larger gap than found nationally.

The riverine gender and age distribution appears slightly distorted. In all, 53.2 percent of men are 17 years old or younger, as compared with 47.9 percent of women. This slightly higher figure for men is in part due to a sharp decline in the 18- to 34-year-old age group. This decline follows the pattern seen in most countries where higher death rates among young men drive down the proportion of men in these age groups. While it is likely that death rates are considerably higher for boys in the fishing industry, this in itself is likely to explain the magnitude of the drop.

⁸⁶ This figure may understate the frequency of polygamy. The figure could be marginally higher if some of the absent heads (2.5 percent) are living with other families.

A portion is almost certainly due to higher rates of migration for young men who go to Lagos seeking economic opportunity.

Another anomaly in age and gender distribution in the riverine communities is the magnitude of the decline in the proportion of women aged 35 or older. Again, some decline is to be expected due to maternal mortality, but this is not sufficient to explain the magnitude of the decline. It is speculated that this may be in part due to a parallel migration in which women leave the villages to live with their sons (or daughters) as they start their own families in the city.

Table 12: Comparison, by Age and Gender

Age	Riverine Communities		Nigeria	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
17 years and less	53.2%	47.9%	49.2%	44.7%
18 through 34 years	21.8%	35.3%	23.6%	29.7%
35 years and up	25.0%	16.8%	27.2%	25.6%

Education

Key Findings

Forty percent of riverine residents over age 10 indicate that they cannot read. Nearly one-third have never attended school, and 58 percent have not completed primary school. The data, however, show that this situation has improved rapidly. Illiteracy for those aged 10 to 17 years is one-third of what it is for adults, and more than three-quarters of riverine children are currently in school.

The riverine community is slightly younger than the population of Nigeria and substantially younger than the population of the state of Lagos.

Literacy

Two out of 5 (39.7 percent) riverine community residents 10 years or older indicate that they cannot read a letter or newspaper at all. This figure is slightly higher for women (42.9 percent) and much lower for those aged 10 to 17 (16 percent). Almost half (49.5 percent) of children aged 10 to 17 can read a newspaper or letter easily, according to respondents. The most literate 5-year age group is aged 14 to 18, of which, according to the survey, 64.2 percent can read a letter or newspaper easily.

The relatively high rate of literacy among youth is suggestive that access to school has improved during recent years. The relative low rate of literacy of older residents may, however, be low because better educated community members are more likely to abandon the riverine communities and seek opportunities elsewhere, most likely in nearby Lagos.

Table 13: Literacy, by Gender and Age

Gender and Age	Can Read a Letter or Newspaper		
	Easily	With Difficulty	Not at All
Male	31.9%	31.2%	36.9%
Female	27.9%	29.2%	42.9%
10 to 17 years	49.5%	34.5%	16.0%
18 years or more	21.8%	28.5%	49.7%
Total	30.0%	30.3%	39.7%

Educational Attainment

More riverine community residents receive some education than do those in other parts of Nigeria. In riverine communities, 30 percent of those 5 years or older have not attended any schooling, compared with 43.4 percent nationally and 10.7 percent in Lagos State.⁸⁷

While school attendance is slightly higher than the national average, the level of education attained by students is lower. In all, 22.6 percent of riverine residents over 5 years of age have some secondary education or higher, compared with 27 percent nationally and 60 percent in Lagos State.⁸⁸ With an average grade level of 4.0 attained, the riverine community matches the national average, which is half of the grades attained by the average Lagos resident.

Riverine community residents, however, lag behind the national average by a full year, in terms of average grade achieved for those that have at least some primary education (6.2 compared with 7.3 nationally). This seems to indicate that (whether because of work, access to schools, or the perceived value of education in these communities) fewer children tend to continue with their studies beyond a primary education.

Table 14: Educational Attainment by Gender

Level	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
None	28.3%	31.6%	29.9%
Preschool	5.7%	5.5%	5.6%
Primary Incomplete	23.0%	22.3%	22.7%
Primary Complete ¹	19.5%	18.6%	19.1%
Secondary Incomplete	14.8%	14.0%	14.5%
Secondary Complete ²	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%
Higher	0.8%	0.3%	0.6%
Average Grade	4.1	3.9	4.0
Count	1,189	1,018	2,207

¹ Reached sixth grade of primary school.

² Reached sixth grade of secondary school.

There is an educational gender gap in riverine communities, but the gap is relatively small. Almost one-third (31.6 percent) of women 5 years or older have never attended school, compared with 28.3 percent of men. This difference of 3.3 percent is small compared with a gap of 12.1 percent nationally and 7.6 percent in Lagos State. While nationally and in Lagos State women achieve on average roughly a full grade less education than men, in riverine communities, this gap is only a fraction of a year. Also, in riverine communities, there is no measured gender gap in educational attainment for those who have ever attended school, while the national and Lagos State figures indicate that women who have started primary school tend not to achieve as high a level of education as men. The lack of a sizable gender gap in the riverine population is possibly due to lower rates of postsecondary education. On a national level, postsecondary students are majority

⁸⁷ National Population Commission & Macro International Inc. (2004). *Nigeria DHS EdData survey 2004*.

⁸⁸ These figures may not necessarily be comparable because the wording of the questions and the context of the survey are different.

male. Moreover, there is a demand for boys to work in the fishing industry, which may trump their school attendance and thereby close the educational gap between girls and boys.

Table 15: Educational Attainment by Age

Level	Age		Total
	5 to 17 Years	18 Years or More	
None	16.7%	41.6%	29.9%
Preschool	11.8%	0.2%	5.6%
Primary Incomplete	43.6%	4.1%	22.7%
Primary Complete ¹	9.6%	27.5%	19.1%
Secondary Incomplete	17.1%	12.1%	14.5%
Secondary Complete ²	1.2%	13.5%	7.7%
Higher	0.1%	1.0%	0.6%
Average Grade	3.3	4.7	4.0
Count	1,038	1,169	2,207

¹ Reached sixth grade of primary school.

² Reached sixth grade of secondary school.

The educational attainment data also show that educational opportunities have improved substantially. Those aged 5 to 17 are less than half as likely to have never attended school as their adult counterparts

Current Attendance

In riverine communities, 76.9 percent of those aged 5 to 17 are currently attending school. This figure is above the national figure of 66 percent and below the rate across Lagos State (94.6 percent). Current attendance will be examined more closely later in this report.

Adult Economic Activity

Almost all adults (94.5 percent) carried out some type of economic activity during the last week. Fishing and trading accounted for 94.6 percent of all activities. Fishing-related activities (fishing and fish trading) occupied more than 3 out of 4 adults in riverine communities in Lagos. On average, adults in riverine communities work 43 hours per week, with 2 out of 3 working 6 days a week. While males spend on average 3 hours more than females at work (per week), females spend on average 10 hours more than males doing domestic chores. There is also a clear division of occupations by gender. While about 3 out of 4 females work in trading-related occupations, 9 out of 10 males fish.

Table 16: Economic Sectors

Sector	Frequency	Percentage
Fishing	639	57.4%
Trading	414	37.2%
Labor	9	0.8%
Agriculture	7	0.6%
Transport	5	0.4%
Mining	3	0.3%
Other	3	0.3%
NR	33	3.0%
Total	1,113	100%

Base: n=1113 riverine adults (18 years old or older) who worked in the last 7 days.

Skilled jobs are very scarce in these communities. Ninety-five percent of heads of household have fishing, farming, forestry, or mining occupations. About 9 out of 10 of them own some type of boat. Only 2 percent of heads of household have either skilled or semiskilled jobs.

Table 17: Main Occupation of the Head of Household

Main Occupation	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Farming/Forestry/Fishing/Mining	457	95.2%	95.2%
Blue collar skilled and semiskilled	9	1.9%	97.1%
Self-employed/Own small business	8	1.7%	98.8%
Unskilled	3	0.6%	99.4%
Self-employed (informal sector, e.g., hawkers, vendors)	2	0.4%	99.8%
Sales manager/Representative/Insurance broker	1	0.2%	n/a
Total	480	100%	100%

Base: n=480 riverine heads of household.

Household Wealth

Key Findings

Households in the riverine communities are better off than many others in Nigeria, but much poorer than other Lagos State households. A wealth index analysis reveals that 87.7 percent of riverine residents are in the top 3 quintiles of Nigerians. The remaining 13.3 percent, however, are substantially poor. One in five lives in a home with dirt floors. Also, 7.1 percent of households get their drinking water from open rivers, ponds, and dugouts, and one-quarter have no system for handling human waste.

Housing

Houses in the riverine communities seem to differ by village. According to village observations, some communities consist entirely of wooden houses, others of a combination of cement brick and mud houses. According to the household survey, three-quarters of the households in the riverine (77.8 percent) have two rooms or less, and more than half (54.5 percent) are either mud or makeshift structures. While indoor plumbing is rare, more than half of riverine houses (54.1 percent) use electricity for lighting. Nearly three-quarters of the homes (72.4 percent) are owned by those who reside in them.

While a majority of riverine residents have a roof over their head and a cement floor, many live in grave conditions. One in five riverine households has dirt or sand floors, and 5 percent have a plastic sheet or fabric roof. Even more alarming is that 7.1 percent of households get their drinking water from open rivers, ponds, and dugouts, and one-quarter have no system for handling human waste. On average, riverine households have better housing situations than many other Nigerians. In Nigeria, only 16.4 percent of households use electricity for lighting, and 54.7 percent of households are made of mud (compared with 21.7 percent in the riverine). In terms of sanitation and access to water, riverine residents also fair better than many. Across Nigeria, 24.9 percent get their drinking water from rivers, streams, or ponds.

Table 18: Housing Characteristics in Riverine Communities

Housing Characteristic	Percentage	Count	Housing Characteristic	Percentage	Count
Type of Dwelling			Ownership Status		
Single-family house	14.2%	68	Owned	72.4%	347
Room and parlor	14.8%	71	Rented from private owner	27.1%	130
Single room	16.5%	79	Other	0.4%	2
Mud house with thatched roof	11.5%	55	Cooking Fuel		
Mud house with zinc roof	10.2%	49	Wood/straw	70.8%	339
Wood and makeshift structures	32.8%	157	Charcoal	2.9%	14
Type of Flooring			Kerosene	25.7%	123
Dirt or sand	20.5%	98	Electricity	0.4%	2
Wood	22.8%	109	Other	0.2%	1
Cement	56.2%	269	Source of Drinking Water		
Other	0.6%	3	Pipe-borne inside house	0.2%	1
Number of Rooms			Pipe-borne outside house	3.5%	17
1 room	39.3%	188	Tanker service	0.8%	4
2 rooms	38.5%	184	River/stream	2.1%	10
3 rooms	11.9%	57	Borehole	43.0%	206
4 rooms	7.9%	38	Private well	5.4%	26
5 or more rooms	2.3%	11	Public well	39.9%	191
Kitchen Arrangement			Dugout/pond/river	5.0%	24
Inside house and exclusive	6.7%	32	Source of Lighting		
Inside house and shared	3.8%	18	Kerosene	45.5%	217
Outside house and exclusive	39.6%	190	Electricity	54.1%	258
Outside house and shared	47.1%	226	Other	0.4%	2
Not available	2.9%	14	Type of Roofing		
Bathroom Arrangement			Natural material	37.3%	178
Inside house and exclusive	3.3%	16	Plastic sheets or fabric	5.0%	24
Inside house and shared	4.2%	20	Tiles, asbestos, cement, or fibrous	40.5%	193
Outside house and exclusive	39.0%	187	Other	17.2%	82
Outside house and shared	52.4%	251	Type of Toilet		
Not available	1.0%	5	Flush to sewage or septic tank	0.2%	1
Toilet Arrangement			Improved pit latrine (e.g., VIP)	0.6%	3
Inside house and exclusive	0.8%	4	Traditional pit latrine	22.3%	107
Inside house and shared	2.3%	11	Open pit	18.1%	87
Outside house and exclusive	20.4%	98	Bucket	0.6%	3
Outside house and shared	26.0%	125	Bush/field	24.6%	118
Not available	50.4%	242	Other	33.5%	161

Base: n=480 riverine heads of household.

Durable Goods

Riverine residents have similar durable goods possession rates as the rest of Nigeria. Riverine households have a higher rate of television ownership (33.5 percent, compared with 26.2 percent nationally). This is not surprising, because televisions are likely to be more common due to these households' proximity to Lagos and access to its over-the-air television stations, which are not available in most of Nigeria. A similar observation could be made for radio ownership, which, at

80.6 percent in the riverine area, is above the national average of 69.7 percent. A more comparable wealth indicator could be refrigerator ownership, which, despite greater access to electricity, is substantially lower in the riverine communities than nationally (3.8 and 12.3 percent, respectively).

The preferred mode of transportation is clearly by water. More than one-quarter (25.8 percent) of riverine households have a motorized boat, and 9 in 10 (90.8 percent) have some sort of boat. Not surprisingly, land vehicle ownership is quite low. Bicycle ownership is less than one-tenth of the national rate (2.1 and 31.1 percent, respectively).

Table 19: Durable Goods among Riverine Households

Communications

Durable Good	Percentage	Count
Televisions	33.5%	161
Radios	80.6%	387
Refrigerators	3.8%	18
Telephones ⁸⁹	9.2%	44
Computers	0.2%	1

Transportation

Durable Good	Percentage	Count
Cars/trucks	0.2%	1
Motorbikes	2.1%	10
Bicycles	9.0%	43
Boats w/ motors	25.8%	124
Boats w/o motors	75.2%	361
Ox or horse carts	0.8%	4

Other

Durable Good	Percentage	Count
Wardrobe	2.3%	11
Sewing machine/loom	1.0%	5
Agricultural land	12.3%	59

Base: n=480 riverine heads of household.

Wealth Index

Wealth is a concept that is difficult to capture accurately through surveys. Each aspect of a household, from the structure in which it lives to its individual possessions, is considered a component of wealth. In order to get a complete picture, one has to be able to summarize each component in a scale. ICF, with support from The World Bank, developed a methodology for creating such a summary scale using variables from its Demographic and Health Survey (DHS)—a survey conducted in more than 75 countries throughout the developing world.

⁸⁹ The survey questionnaires only asked whether a household owned a telephone. Our researchers in Nigeria have assured us that Nigerians would interpret this as including mobile phones.

This wealth index uses a multivariate data reduction technique to create a wealth factor score, which can later be ranked in quintiles.⁹⁰

For this study, ICF created a modified wealth index using the 2003 DHS data from Nigeria. The index was modified so that it included only variables available in both surveys. This modified index proved very similar to the original wealth index derived for DHS.⁹¹ The index was then applied to riverine household data.

Table 20: Wealth Index Comparison

Index Measure	Riverine	DHS	
		Lagos State	Nigeria
Mean	0.051	1.477	0.000
Median	-0.071	1.374	-0.417
Minimum	-1.084	-0.788	-1.235
Maximum	1.630	3.246	3.252
Lowest Quintile	3.1%	0.0%	20.0%
Second Quintile	9.2%	0.5%	20.0%
Third Quintile	33.3%	1.4%	20.0%
Fourth Quintile	45.6%	21.7%	20.0%
Highest Quintile	8.8%	76.4%	20.0%

The wealth index seems to indicate that, while the riverine residents are substantially less well off than other Lagos residents, on average they are better off than much of the Nigerian population. This data, however, may overstate the wealth of households in the riverine. The relatively high ownership of televisions, for example, may be as much of an indication of location as of wealth. Televisions are likely to be more common, due in part to proximity to Lagos and access to its over-the-air television stations, which are not available in most of Nigeria. Also, cement floors are relatively common in the riverine, in part because the sand for cement is harvested locally. Combined, all else equal, a household with a television and cement floor has a wealth index rating 0.64 points higher than a household with a dirt floor and no television—enough, in most cases, to raise it a full quintile or perhaps two quintiles.

While the wealth index may overstate the wealth of riverine residents, the difference is likely to be small. Proximity to Lagos provides a number of wealth-producing opportunities that are not available to the poorest Nigerians. The poorest Nigerians are often in remote parts of the country where access to markets is limited, and even if they are involved in the cash economy, the price they get for their goods is likely to be relatively low and the goods available to them limited. Riverine residents have access to markets and are more involved in the cash economy, which is necessary to buy goods. Also, in some communities, infrastructure (particularly electricity) is available due to proximity to Lagos.

While it is expected that riverine residents, on average, would be better off than many Nigerians, it is important to note that poverty of the worst kind does exist in the riverine communities. While 87.7 percent of riverine households are in the top three quintiles nationally, the remaining

⁹⁰ See Rutstein, S. O., and Johnson, K. (2004). *The DHS wealth index. DHS comparative reports No. 6.* Calverton, MD: Macro International Inc.

⁹¹ Regression analysis revealed a 93.9 percent correspondence between the original index and the modified version.

12.3 percent are in the lowest two wealth brackets, and 3 percent of riverine households are in the bottom 20 percent nationally.

Migration

Key Findings

Migration and relocation of entire households to riverine areas is fairly uncommon and consists almost entirely of relocation within or between riverine communities. There is, however, strong anecdotal evidence that many riverine residents migrate to the city of Lagos to seek better economic opportunities.

The level of migration into riverine communities or between the communities is small. Only a small portion of households (5.4 percent) has ever relocated, and only 1.5 percent have been at their location for 5 years or less. Among the households that had ever relocated, nearly all indicated that they moved seeking better land or work—half were seeking better land. Nearly all reported that relocation was internal—within or between riverine communities. While it was not measured in this survey, there is strong evidence that there is significant migration out of the riverine communities to nearby Lagos.

Table 21: Time Household Has Resided at Location

Time	Percentage
5 years or less	1.5%
6 to 10 years	2.1%
11 to 20 years	1.0%
Longer	0.4%
No response	0.6%
Never moved	94.4%

Family Hardship

Key Findings

Fourteen percent of families in the riverine have faced a significant hardship in the past 12 months, including death, illness, or injury; crop failure; or flood or drought. Two in five of these families incurred debt to manage these crises, but none indicated that they were paying off the debt by providing direct labor.

Respondents in the household survey were asked to identify which of the provided list of hardships the household had faced in the past 12 months. In all, 13.5 percent of households had faced one or more of the hardships. The most cited hardship faced by these households is flood or drought, which affected 7.9 percent of households. It is assumed that, in most or all of these cases, the problem faced was flooding. The next most common response was loss or destruction of property (3.8 percent), followed by injury or illness that prevented the person from performing usual work (2.9 percent).

Table 22: Hardships Faced in Last 12 Months

Hardship Faced	Percentage
Death of a household member/income earner	1.3%
Illness/injuries that prevented person from usual work	2.9%
Crop failure	1.9%
Flood or drought	7.9%
Loss or destruction of property	3.8%
One or more hardship	13.5%

Base: n=480 riverine households.

Households that faced hardships relied most on borrowing (43.1 percent) and the reduction of household expenditures (29.2 percent) to get them through the difficult times. A smaller percentage (20 percent) received some sort of assistance—usually from a combination of government agencies and NGOs. In all, 3.1 percent of respondents indicated that they took actions that directly affected children in the household, including sending children to work, increasing their household work, or removing them from school. However, because of the small number of respondents (n=65), we must view these findings with appropriate caution.

Table 23: How Household Survived Hardship

Coping Strategy	Percentage
Assistance	20.0%
Assistance from government agencies	16.9%
Assistance from NGOs	16.9%
Assistance from religious organizations	1.5%
Assistance from local community organizations	1.5%
Borrowing	43.1%
Borrowed money from bank or other institutions	3.1%
Borrowed money from friend/relatives	32.3%
Borrowed money from nonrelatives	10.8%
Direct Impact on Child	3.1%
Sent children to work	3.1%
Increased used of children in household work	1.5%
Took children away from school as could not afford	1.5%
Sold property	3.1%
Reduced household expenditures	29.2%
Others	4.6%

Base: n=65 riverine households that had faced hardship.

The SIMPOC survey includes a follow-up question that attempts to measure the prevalence of debt bondage. Respondents who indicated that they had taken on debt to make it through some hardship were asked how they would pay off this debt. None of these 28 respondents indicated that they were paying debt off with any form of labor.

3.2.3 Child Labor in the Riverine Communities

Frequency of Child Labor

Key Findings

The child interviews indicate that 31 percent of riverine children between ages 5 and 17 have engaged in economic activity in the past 7 days. The figure for the past 12 months is only marginally higher, indicating that work is fairly constant in the lives of these children.

Definition of Work

For the purpose of this study, work is defined as it is by ILO-IPEC—a definition that is implicit in all other surveys that have used the SIMPOC methodology.

ILO-IPEC defines working children as those in an economically active population, with the exception of those who are currently unemployed and seeking work. According to ILO-IPEC, the economically active population “comprises all persons of either sex who furnish the supply of labor for the production of economic goods and services as defined by the United Nations system of national accounts and balances during a specific time-referenced period.”⁹²

This definition includes the following:⁹³

- Paid employees (paid in cash or in kind);
- Self-employed persons;
- Own-account workers;
- Apprentices who receive payment in cash or in kind; and
- Unpaid family workers who produce economic goods or services for their own household consumption.

This definition excludes the following:

- Household chores; and
- Activities that are part of schooling.

Measuring Work

The SIMPOC survey instruments measures work with a three- or four-part question designed to capture information on all children who work, whether in a traditional sense, in an employee/employer relationship, or in a more informal sense, such as unpaid work for the family business. These questions are asked about work conducted in the past week and in the past year, and they are asked in both the child and household surveys.

⁹² International Labour Organization. (2000). *Current international recommendations on labour statistics: 2000 edition*.

⁹³ International Labour Office-Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour. (2004). *Manual for child labour data analysis and statistical reports*. Geneva: Author.

Table 24: Example SIMPOC Survey Questions

Question	Categories		
During the last 7 days, did you work?	1. Yes—working 2. No		
Since last (day of the week) did you undertake any activity for the following types of payment?	<table style="border: none;"> <tr> <td style="border: none;"> 1. Payment in cash 2. Payment in kind 3. Own account 4. His/her own enterprise 5. A family member without pay 6. No </td> <td style="border: none; vertical-align: middle;"> } Working </td> </tr> </table>	1. Payment in cash 2. Payment in kind 3. Own account 4. His/her own enterprise 5. A family member without pay 6. No	} Working
1. Payment in cash 2. Payment in kind 3. Own account 4. His/her own enterprise 5. A family member without pay 6. No	} Working		
Since last (day of the week) did you undertake any of the following activities for sale and/or own use, or for someone else?	<table style="border: none;"> <tr> <td style="border: none;"> 1. Cultivate or harvest agricultural products, catch or gather fish or seafood, or participate in mining activities 2. Prepare food, clothes, or handicrafts for sale 3. Sell articles, newspapers, drinks, food, or agricultural products 4. Wash, iron, clean, or repair tools or equipment for someone else for payment in cash or in kind 5. Maintain or repair boats 6. Transport goods to market or for storage, or other activities related to the transport of goods for sale 7. Carry out construction or maintenance of buildings, homes, or boats for someone else 8. Other similar activities 9. No </td> <td style="border: none; vertical-align: middle;"> } Working </td> </tr> </table>	1. Cultivate or harvest agricultural products, catch or gather fish or seafood, or participate in mining activities 2. Prepare food, clothes, or handicrafts for sale 3. Sell articles, newspapers, drinks, food, or agricultural products 4. Wash, iron, clean, or repair tools or equipment for someone else for payment in cash or in kind 5. Maintain or repair boats 6. Transport goods to market or for storage, or other activities related to the transport of goods for sale 7. Carry out construction or maintenance of buildings, homes, or boats for someone else 8. Other similar activities 9. No	} Working
1. Cultivate or harvest agricultural products, catch or gather fish or seafood, or participate in mining activities 2. Prepare food, clothes, or handicrafts for sale 3. Sell articles, newspapers, drinks, food, or agricultural products 4. Wash, iron, clean, or repair tools or equipment for someone else for payment in cash or in kind 5. Maintain or repair boats 6. Transport goods to market or for storage, or other activities related to the transport of goods for sale 7. Carry out construction or maintenance of buildings, homes, or boats for someone else 8. Other similar activities 9. No	} Working		
Even if you did not work since last (day of the week), did you have a job, business, or enterprise from which you were temporarily absent?	1. Yes—working 2. No		

Percentage of Children Working

The household and child surveys reveal a rate of past-week work of just over 30 percent. There is little difference between the SIMPOC calculation and the slightly lower rate revealed by the direct question, which asks simply if the individual has worked in the past 7 days or 12 months. The follow-up questions that are designed to capture less formal types of work did not add much to the total. This does not necessarily indicate that children work in more formal arrangements, but rather that they could simply identify the informal activity as work.

Table 25: Riverine Children Who Worked in the Past Week and in the Past 12 Months

Type of Survey	Worked in Past Week			Worked in Past 12 Months		
	Reported Percentage	Calculated Using SIMPOC Methodology*	Estimated Number of Children	Reported Percentage	Calculated Using SIMPOC Methodology*	Estimated Number of Children
Household Survey	29.4%	30.4%	10,582	31.4%	31.4%	10,915
Child Survey	28.7%	30.9%	10,723	30.3%	31.7%	10,991

*Includes those temporarily absent from work.
Base: n=1035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

Another finding of interest in these data is that nearly all children who worked in the past year also worked in the past week. This suggests that either the data were collected during a peak of child work, or that the work is a near constant in the lives of working children in the riverine communities. Child interviews indicate that 84.1 percent of working children work 10 to 12 months per year, which seems to confirm the latter.

These figures from the riverine communities are comparable to data from the World Bank’s 2006 Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire. For this survey, respondents were asked whether they work and whether they participated in a number of specific economic activities. Unfortunately, the economic activity questions were not linked to a timeframe and can only be applied to annual work. In this case, the reported rate of work is substantially lower than the calculated measure that includes participation in all forms of income-generating activities.⁹⁴ The results of the annual calculated measure, however, are quite similar to the riverine survey for the target ages of 5 to 17.

Table 26: National and State Child Labor Data

Type of Data	Worked in Past Week— Reported	Worked in Past 12 Months	
		Reported	Calculated
Nigeria	14.4%	20.0%	36.0%
Lagos	3.8%	4.2%	30.1%

Selecting a Measure

For the purpose of this report, it is necessary to choose one measure of work to be used consistently throughout the report. We have chosen to use the weekly measure because the annual measure provides little in terms of increased sample and is likely to obscure the findings. A calculated measure was chosen to be comparable with other SIMPOC surveys. The figure derived from the child survey was selected as the default measure. The child survey figure is cited the most in SIMPOC literature and is presumed to be more accurate.

It is important to note, however, that in some cases, other measures of work are used when the logic of the survey instrument dictates. For instance, if a child is asked how many months he or she worked in the past year, we use the child-reported, 12-month measure as the base.

⁹⁴ The low levels of reported work relative to calculated work may be in part the result of the fact that the survey was conducted by the Nigerian government and people may be reluctant to report that they put their children to work. It would make sense that this would be more so the case in the predominantly urban Lagos State, where child labor is likely to have a greater stigma attached to it. In general, economic activity not associated with work, such as helping out with chores related to agricultural production or other family-based industries, is less stigmatized and people are more likely to admit child participation. For this reason, we generally expect to see a larger gap between calculated and reported work than was revealed in the riverine survey. As stated before, the lack of a gap in the riverine data is an indication that children and adults associate the activities in which the children participate as work. This may not be the case, for example, in an agricultural environment where many economic activities may be considered household chores.

Demographic Characteristics of Children Working in the Riverine Areas

Key Findings

The rate of work differs substantially across gender and age. Boys are around 50 percent more likely to work than girls are. Age is also a determining factor. Fourteen percent of children aged 5 through 9 are working, and 4.5 times as many children aged 14 through 17 can be found working.

Work is more common for boys than for girls in the riverine communities. More than one-third of boys (35.9 percent) have worked in the past week. The rate for girls is much lower at 24.2 percent. As a result, two-thirds of the working children aged 5 to 17 in the riverine communities are boys. Boys also represent a similar proportion of children who are working and not currently in school. This difference is somewhat more pronounced than national or state data indicate.

Table 27: Riverine Children, by Gender

Gender	N	Total Percentage	Estimated Number
Male	593	57.3%	19,803
Female	442	42.7%	14,879
Total	1,035	100.0%	34,682

Table 28: Working and Not in School Status, by Gender

Gender	Percentage of Children Working	Percentage of Children Working and Not in School
Male	35.9%	14.5%
Female	24.2%	9.3%
Total	30.9%	12.3%

As can be expected, the likelihood that a child works increases with age. Nearly half (46.9 percent) of the working children are aged 14 to 17—a group which represents less than one-quarter (23.3 percent) of the 5- to 17-year-old target demographic. The work rate for these older children, as it happens, is 62.2 percent—70.4 percent for boys. In contrast, children aged 5 to 9 have a work rate of 14.1 percent. This group represents more than half of the target population (52.7 percent) but less than one-quarter (24.1 percent) of working children. Interestingly, children in the youngest group who work are less likely to be in school than are other working children. Of these young working children, 45.4 percent are not currently attending school, compared with 37.8 percent of older working children.

Table 29: Riverine Children, by Age

Age	N	Total Percentage	Estimated Number
5 to 9	545	52.7%	18,243
10 to 13	249	24.1%	8,393
14 to 17	241	23.3%	8,081
Total	1,035	100.0%	34,682

Table 30: Working and Not in School Status, by Age

Age	Children Working		Children Working and Not in School	
	Percentage	Estimate	Percentage	Estimate
5 to 9	14.1%	2,572	6.4%	1,168
10 to 13	37.3%	3,131	12.0%	1,007
14 to 17	62.2%	5,026	25.7%	2,077
Total	30.9%	10,717	12.3%	4,266

Family

Key Findings

Children who work are roughly 3 times more likely to come from a household with one or more parent who is absent or deceased.

Death or Absence of Parent

The death or absence of a parent is more common among working children than among nonworking children in the riverine communities. In the riverine communities, 2.1 percent of children have survived the death of one or more parent—lower than the 5.9 percent for Lagos State and 5.7 percent nationally. For working children, the figure is more than twice as large (4.4 percent), and for nonworking children, the prevalence of the death of a parent is 1.3 percent.

Table 31: Working Status among Children with Deceased or Absent Parent

Death of Absence of Parent	Not Working	Working	Total
One or More Parent Deceased	1.1%	4.4%	2.1%
One or More Parent Absent	2.1%	6.3%	3.4%

Base: n=1035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

Similar results are obtained when examining the absence of a parent. In all, 3.4 percent of children have one or more parent absent—much lower than the national and state figures of 14.1 and 20.8 percent, respectively.⁹⁵ Of working children in riverine communities, 6.4 percent have an absent parent, compared with 2.3 percent of nonworking children.

Number of Family Members and Children

Although the difference is not large, children from smaller families are less likely to work than are children from larger families. Children from families with less than four household members work at a rate of 5 percentage points lower than those from larger families (27 and 32.3 percent, respectively). Most of this difference, however, is likely explained by the age of the children in the smaller households. The average age of children in the target population (aged 5 to 17) is almost 2 years less in the smaller families (8.4 years compared with 10.3 years). When adjusted for age, children from smaller families are more likely to work than are children from larger families.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ 2006 Core Welfare Indicator Questionnaire (CWIQ) Survey.

⁹⁶ If weights are generated to adjust the age distribution of small families to be equivalent to large families, the work rate of children in small families increases to 40.8 percent, compared with 32.3 percent for larger families.

Table 32: Riverine Children, by Number of Household Members

Number of Household Members	N	Total Percentage	Estimated Number
3 or Less	63	6.1%	2,116
4	204	19.7%	6,832
5	312	30.1%	10,439
6	198	19.1%	6,624
7	144	13.9%	4,821
8 or more	114	11.0%	3,815
Total	1,035	100%	34,682

Table 33: Working and Not in School Status, by Number of Household Members

Number of Household Members	Percentage of Children Working	Percentage of Children Working and Not in School
3 or Less	28.6%	22.2%
4	26.5%	14.2%
5	33.7%	12.8%
6	30.8%	6.1%
7	30.6%	10.4%
8 or more	33.3%	14.9%
Total	30.9%	12.3%

Households with fewer children also have a lower work rate than households with more children. Just over one-quarter of children (27.7 percent) from a household with two or less children work, compared with one-third of children (33.4 percent) from households with three or more children. When adjusted for age, however, this relationship disappears but is not reversed as in the case of family size.

Table 34: Riverine Children, by Number of Children in Household

Number of Children	N	Total Percentage	Estimated Number
1	167	16.1%	5,584
2	284	27.4%	9,503
3	354	34.2%	11,861
4	147	14.2%	4,925
5 or More	83	8.0%	2,775
Total	1,035	100%	34,682

Table 35: Working and Not in School Status, by Number of Children in Household

Number of Children	Percentage of Children Working	Percentage of Children Working and Not in School
1	25.7%	15.6%
2	28.9%	11.3%
3	33.3%	13.0%
4	34.7%	6.8%
5 or More	31.3%	15.7%
Total	30.9%	12.3%

Income and Wealth

Key Findings

Reported income and wealth are both good predictors of child labor. Children from households in the lowest two quintiles for either reported income or wealth are more likely to work than children from the upper three quintiles. While this difference is notable, it is also notable that child labor remains fairly common, even among the relatively well off.

Reported Household Income

While reported income is generally not the most accurate measure, it can be valuable at least as a proxy for real income and, in this case, proves to be related to child labor. Children in the household with the lowest reported income are more likely to work than are children in families that have higher reported income. While 27.8 percent of children from families in the highest three income quintiles⁹⁷ work, 35.1 percent of those from households in the lower two income quintiles do as well. Children from households with less reported income are similarly more likely to be both working and not attending school. One in 10 (9.8 percent) children from the highest three income quintiles is working and not attending school, compared with 15.5 percent of children from the lowest two income quintiles.

Table 36: Riverine Children, by Household Income Quintiles

Income Quintile	N	Total Percentage	Estimated Number
1st	220	21.3%	7,387
2nd	224	21.7%	7,526
3rd	183	17.7%	6,139
4th	208	20.1%	6,971
5th	199	19.2%	6,659
Total*	1,034	100%	34,682

*1 missing case in a98.

Table 37: Working and Not in School Status, by Household Income Quintiles

Income Quintile	Percentage of Children Working	Percentage of Children Working and Not in School
1st	33.6%	16.4%
2nd	36.6%	14.7%
3rd	23.5%	7.7%
4th	28.4%	13.0%
5th	31.2%	8.5%
Total*	30.9%	12.3%

*1 missing case in a98.

⁹⁷ A quintile is a ranking of cases by grouping them together in sequential order into five equal-sized groups. In this case, the first quintile represents the bottom fifth of households (20 percent) in terms of reported income. It is important to note that the quintiles are based on households, not children, which is why, for instance, the first quintile represents 21.3 percent of children rather than 20 percent—an indication that poorer families in the riverine have more children than wealthier families.

Wealth Index

A more accurate but possibly less intuitive assessment of the economic wellbeing of a household is the wealth index (see discussion in section 4.2.2). The wealth index reveals an even stronger relationship between economic wellbeing and child labor. Nearly 2 in 5 children in the lowest two wealth index quintiles (39.3 percent) are engaged in work, compared with just over one-quarter (25.4 percent) of children in the upper three quintiles. Similarly, 16 percent of children in the lower two wealth index quintiles are working and not attending school, compared with 9.3 percent of children in the upper three quintiles.

Table 38: Riverine Children, by Household Wealth Index Quintile

Household Wealth Index Quintile	N	Total Percentage	Estimated Number
1st	208	20.1%	6,971
2nd	204	19.7%	6,832
3rd	212	20.5%	7,110
4th	221	21.4%	7,422
5th	190	18.4%	6,381
Total	1,035	100.0%	34,682

Table 39: Working and Not in School Status, by Household Wealth Index Quintile

Household Wealth Index Quintile	Percentage of Children Working	Percentage of Children Working and Not in School
1st	39.9%	12.5%
2nd	38.7%	21.1%
3rd	25.9%	9.0%
4th	31.2%	11.8%
5th	17.9%	6.8%
Total	30.9%	12.3%

Migration and Hardship

Key Findings

A child from a household that has relocated or has faced a hardship in the past 12 months is more likely to be engaged in economic activity. Nearly half of the children from families that have relocated are currently working.

A similar percent of children whose households have faced a hardship are working. Interestingly, this figure is lower for children in households that incurred debt as a result of the hardship.

Migration⁹⁸

Children from households that have ever relocated are much more likely to work than are children from households that have never relocated. Nearly half (49.2 percent) of the children from households that have relocated are currently working, compared with 29.7 percent from households that have not moved. The number of children in the survey from households that have relocated is small (63 children from 27 households). Despite the small sample of households that have relocated, the difference in the work rates is significant at the household level. Almost two-thirds of households that have relocated (65.4 percent) contain at least one

⁹⁸ Migration appears to be almost entirely between riverine villages. See section 6.1.5.

working child, compared with 40.7 percent of households that have not relocated. Households that have moved more recently appear to be more likely to have children who work. Four of five (80 percent) children from households that have moved in the past 5 years work, but this figure is based on a very small sample of 20 children from 7 households.

Table 40: Riverine Children Who Changed Place of Residence

Changed Place of Residence	N	Total Percentage	Estimated Number
Yes	63	6.1%	2,120
No	970	93.9%	32,562
Total	1,033	100%	34,682

Table 41: Working and Not in School Status among Children Who Changed Place of Residence

Changed Place of Residence	Percentage of Children Working	Percentage of Children Working and Not in School
Yes	49.2%	20.6%
No	29.7%	11.8%
Total	30.9%	12.3%

Hardship

Work rates are substantially higher for children whose households have faced any one or more of the hardships asked about in the study—including a death in the family, illness that prevented work, crop failure, flood or drought, and loss or destruction of property. The rate of work for children from a family that has faced one or more hardship is 17.5 percentage points higher than those from households that have not faced any of these hardships (45.7 and 28.2 percent, respectively). For children from households in the lower two quintiles of the wealth index, this difference is more severe. The work rate for these poorer children is 36.2 percent if they have not experienced a hardship and 72.2 percent if they have.

Table 42: Riverine Children Who Experienced Any Hardship

Experienced Any Hardship	N	Total Percentage	Estimated Number
Yes	162	15.7%	5,445
No	873	84.3%	29,237
Total	1,035	100%	34,682

Table 43: Working and Not in School Status among Children Who Experienced Any Hardship

Experienced Any Hardship	Percentage of Children Working	Percentage of Children Working and Not in School
Yes	45.7%	19.1%
No	28.2%	11.0%
Total	30.9%	12.3%

While no households report providing labor directly to pay off debt incurred during hardship, those that acquired debt are more likely to have children that are working. More than half (55.7 percent) of children from households that acquired debt in response to hardship are currently working, compared with 39.6 percent of those whose households faced hardship but did not incur debt. It is important to note that access to credit in itself is an indication of wealth. When adjusted for wealth and age, a logistic regression indicates that borrowers are 1.9 times as likely to work.

Table 44: Riverine Children in Families That Borrowed to Overcome Any Hardship

Borrowed to Overcome Hardship	N	Total Percentage	Estimated Number
Yes	61	37.7%	2,053
No	101	62.3%	3,392
Total*	162	100%	5,445

*Includes only children whose households have borrowed money to overcome hardship.

Table 45: Working and Not in School Status among Children in Families That Borrowed to Overcome Any Hardship

Borrowed to Overcome Hardship	Percentage of Children Working	Percentage of Children Working and Not in School
Yes	55.7%	27.9%
No	39.6%	13.9%
Total*	45.7%	19.1%

*Includes only children whose households have borrowed money to overcome hardship.

Literacy and Educational Attainment of Head of Household

Key Findings

The literacy and educational attainment of the head of household is a strong indicator of whether children in the household work.

The literacy of the head of household of a child's home is a good predictor of whether a child works. A child who is from a household where the head cannot read a newspaper or letter at all is more than twice as likely to work than a child whose household head can read a letter or newspaper easily (37.9 and 15.9 percent, respectively). The literacy of the head of household is likewise related to whether a child works and does not go to school. A child of an illiterate household head is 4 times as likely to work and not attend school as a child with a literate household head (17.5 percent and 4 percent, respectively).

Table 46: Riverine Children, by Literacy of Head of Household

Can Read Letter/Newspaper	N	Total Percentage	Estimated Number
Easily	151	15.3%	5,295
With difficulty	300	30.3%	10,520
Not at all	538	54.4%	18,866
Total*	989	100.0%	34,682

*46 cases missing literacy of head of household.

Table 47: Working and Not in School Status, by Literacy of Head of Household

Can Read Letter/ Newspaper	Percentage of Children Working	Percentage of Children Working and Not in School
Easily	15.9%	4.0%
With difficulty	26.3%	5.0%
Not at all	37.9%	17.5%
Total*	31.0%	11.6%

*46 cases missing literacy of head of household.

The educational attainment of the head of household is also a good predictor of whether a child from that household works. A child from a household where the head has never completed primary education is more than twice as likely to be working than a child who lives in a household where the head has completed primary education or higher (40.7 and 19.1 percent, respectively). A child who is from a household whose head has not completed primary school is 5 times more likely to work than is a child from a household whose head has completed primary school or higher (19.5 percent and 3.5 percent, respectively).

Table 48: Riverine Children, by Educational Attainment of Head of Household

Educational Attainment	N	Total Percentage	Estimated Number
Primary incomplete or less	514	52.7%	18,277
Primary complete or secondary incomplete	360	36.9%	12,798
Secondary complete or higher	101	10.4%	3,607
Total*	975	100.0%	34,682

*60 cases missing educational attainment of head of household.

Table 49: Working and Not in School Status, by Educational Attainment of Head of Household

Educational Attainment	Percentage of Children Working	Percentage of Children Working and Not in School
Primary incomplete or less	41.6%	19.1%
Primary complete or secondary incomplete	21.1%	3.6%
Secondary complete or higher	11.9%	3.0%
Total*	31.0%	11.7%

*60 cases missing educational attainment of head of household.

Characteristics of Work

Key Findings

Most children working in the riverine areas work every day of the year except for Sundays. They work 4 hours a day on average, with an additional 2 hours dedicated to household chores. The amount of working children who are unpaid family workers is 81.6 percent.

Although they do not typically carry heavy loads or operate machinery, most working children are exposed to extreme humidity, and many have to swim, launch boats into the water, and dive below water.

Due to their participation in fishing activities, working children are injured or sick more often than children who do not work.

Types of Occupations and Business Sector

Fishing-related activities (activities that are directly related to fishing, such as casting nets, unloading fish, boat maintenance, etc.—not including sand harvesting) are the main occupation of 2 out of 3 working children in the riverine communities in Lagos State. Within the fishing industry, 80.3 percent of male children do direct fishing, while females split themselves between fishing (38.3 percent) and trading (55.1 percent) activities.

Table 50: Child's Occupation, by Gender

Industry	Male	Female	Total
Fishing	80.3%	38.3%	66.3%
Trading	13.6%	55.1%	27.5%
Transport	1.9%	0.9%	1.6%
Labor	1.9%	0.9%	1.6%
Agriculture	0.5%	0.9%	0.6%
Mining	0.9%	0.0%	0.6%
NR	0.9%	3.7%	1.9%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Base: n=320 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days.

There were no great differences in terms of child occupation by geographic location, although there was a higher ratio of fishing to trading activities in the Lagos sector than in other sectors.

Tasks Performed

According to key stakeholders, children begin fishing between ages 3 and 5. Most believed girls and boys begin at the same age. A male NGO worker from Lagos thought that children started work by “stand[ing] by the riverine catching fish and from there they give it back to their parents to sell.” Activities of children in riverine communities include fishing, paddling boats, and smoking and selling fish. The activity of fishing involves casting nets, diving, and fishing from canoes and other types of fishing boats. Children’s gender roles mimic those of adults. Male children tend to participate in fishing and paddling boats, whereas female children are more involved in smoking and selling fish.

Information from working children observations in riverine communities (see Table 51) suggests that casting nets is the main activity that working children perform. Although communities where sand harvesting was the predominant activity were excluded from the observation frame, sand harvesting was the second most frequent task children were seen performing. There were important gender differences by types of tasks carried out. While almost no girls were seen casting nets or harvesting sand, they widely outnumbered boys in tasks such as offloading wood and carrying, selling, and preparing fish.

Table 51: Child's Activity, by Gender

Activity	Male	Female	Total
Fishing (casting nets)	33.6%	6.3%	25.0%
Sand Carrying	16.1%	0.0%	11.0%
Offloading Wood	7.3%	15.9%	10.0%
Carrying Fish	5.1%	19.0%	9.5%
Selling Fish	2.9%	20.6%	8.5%
Maintaining Boats	9.5%	3.2%	7.5%
Being a Boat Captain/Driver	8.0%	6.3%	7.5%
Unloading Fish	6.6%	6.3%	6.5%
Being a Canoe Assistant	7.3%	3.2%	6.0%
Preparing Fish	2.2%	12.7%	5.5%
Carrying Goods to the Boat	2.9%	4.8%	3.5%
Maintaining Gear	2.2%	1.6%	2.0%
Weaving Nets	0.0%	1.6%	0.5%
Hawking Snacks	0.7%	0.0%	0.5%
Separating Coconut from the Back	0.7%	0.0%	0.5%

Base: n=200 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) observed working.

Working Hours/Days and Seasonality

About 3 in 5 working children in riverine fishing communities work 6 days a week (typically from Monday to Saturday) for 12 months a year.⁹⁹ These communities are traditionally Christian, and a majority of adults and children generally observe a day of rest on Sunday. Nonetheless, about 1 in 5 child workers, regardless of age, works 7 days a week.

Table 52: Number of Months Child Worked in the Last Year, by Gender

Number of Months	Male	Female	Total	
			Percentage	Estimate
3 to 6	1.5%	6.6%	3.2%	342
7 to 9	7.9%	6.6%	7.5%	798
10 to 12	90.6%	86.8%	89.3%	9,583
Total	100%	100%	100%	10,723

Base: n=327 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 12 months, according to household survey respondents (19 of them did not have information about the duration of their main job).¹⁰⁰

There are some gender differences in this group, with 18 percent of boys working the entire week compared with 30 percent of girls. Two out of three of the girls who work 7 days a week do so in a shop, market, kiosk, or their family dwelling, while the same proportion of boys who work the whole week work on the water or lagoon.

Table 53: Number of Days Child Worked in the Last Week, by Gender

Days Worked	Male	Female	Total	
			Percentage	Estimate
1	1.9%	1.0%	1.6%	172
2	5.3%	1.9%	4.2%	450
3	1.4%	1.9%	1.6%	172
4	3.8%	1.9%	3.2%	343
5	5.7%	6.7%	6.2%	665
6	63.6%	56.7%	61.3%	6,573
7	18.2%	29.8%	22.0%	2,359

Base: n=320 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days; 7 cases missing information on number of days worked.

Even though anecdotal observations of riverine communities and qualitative information from key informants suggest that a great deal of fishing occurs before dawn, most child workers reported working during the day. The 9 percent who work at night are mostly unpaid family workers in the lagoons. This might suggest that most children are spared from working during the night hours, which would be a mostly adult endeavor.

⁹⁹ Sixty-two percent of children under 14 years old and 71 percent of those aged 14 and above work 12 months a year.

¹⁰⁰ The household survey using SIMPOC methodology found a slightly higher number of working children than did the aforementioned.

A majority of children described their main work as temporary, with slight gender differences: More boys described their work as casual or seasonal compared with girls, while 3 out of 4 girls, about 10 percentage points higher than boys, claimed that their work is temporary.¹⁰¹ There may also be cultural factors regarding the interpretation of “temporary.” Most households in riverine communities perform a variety of activities for their survival, which might be integrated into their daily routine; these include fishing, harvesting sand, picking coconuts, or tending their crops. These activities may be performed concurrently on any given day, and the fact that they do not take up the entire daily schedule of any single member of the household might explain why this work is described as temporary. The low rates of seasonal work can also be explained by the nonseasonal nature of fishing, which is the main economic activity in these communities.

Table 54: Nature of the Child’s Main Work, by Gender

Type of Work	Male	Female	Total
Temporary	62.4%	73.8%	66.3%
Permanent	10.8%	14.0%	11.9%
Seasonal	11.3%	4.7%	9.1%
Mainly casual when it suited me	6.1%	0.0%	4.1%
Casual when it was possible to find work	2.8%	1.9%	2.5%
No response	6.6%	5.6%	6.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Base: n=320 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days.

While most child workers in riverine communities seem to work almost every day of the year except for Sundays, very few are working long hours on average. Approximately 2 out of 5 worked less than 4 hours per day on average during the last week, while an additional one-third worked between 4 and 6 hours per day. Only 8.6 percent reported working longer than 8 hours.

Table 55: Average Daily Hours Worked, by Gender

Average Hours Worked per Day	Male	Female	Total	
			Percentage	Estimate
4 hours or less	38.8%	39.4%	39.0%	4182
4 to 6	32.1%	34.6%	32.9%	3528
6 to 8	20.1%	18.3%	19.5%	2091
8 to 12	9.1%	7.7%	8.6%	922
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	10,723

Base: n=314 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days (6 cases missing values on hours worked per day).

Working children who are not in school tend to work more hours on average. While most (53.2 percent) working children in school worked 4 hours or less, about 8 in 10 working children currently not attending school worked more than 4 hours per day.

¹⁰¹ The term “temporary work” typically refers to any type of work that is performed regularly but is not considered permanent or long term. “Seasonal work” also refers to a type of temporary work that is performed regularly, but only during specific seasons of the year, such as school holidays. “Casual work” is typically used to refer to temporary work that is performed on an ad hoc basis, without regularity.

Table 56: Average Daily Hours Worked, by School Attendance Status

Average Hours Worked per Day	In School	Not in School	Total	
			Percentage	Estimate
4 hours or less	53.2%	17.6%	38.9%	4,171
4 to 6	27.7%	40.8%	32.9%	3,528
6 to 8	13.8%	28.0%	19.5%	2,091
8 to 12	5.3%	13.6%	8.6%	922
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	10,723

Base: n=314 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days (6 cases missing values on hours worked per day).

Although household chores do not constitute an economic activity according to its definition (and according to the registration of this type of activity within the system of accounting and statistics used in most countries), they constitute an important part of the child's daily activities. In the riverine communities of Lagos State, almost all children, regardless of working status, help with the household chores weekly. These tasks typically consist of cleaning utensils or the house, fetching water or wood, and washing clothes.

Table 57: Household Chores, by Working Status

Type of Chores	Total	Estimated Number
Cleaning utensils/house	74.3%	25,769
Fetching water/wood	62.2%	21,572
Washing clothes	46.6%	16,162
Shopping for household	12.7%	4,405
Cooking/serving food	11.1%	3,850
Minor household repairs	9.2%	3,191
Caring for children	1.9%	659
Other similar activities	0.7%	243
Caring for the old/sick	0.4%	139
Total doing any chores	92.5%	32,081

Base: n=1,035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

Table 58: Household Chores, by Working Status

Type of Chores	Percentage Not Working	Percentage Working
Cleaning utensils/house	79.5%	63.5%
Fetching water/wood	57.5%	71.8%
Washing clothes	40.6%	59.0%
Shopping for household	9.0%	20.5%
Cooking/serving food	8.1%	17.3%
Minor household repairs	6.2%	15.4%
Caring for children	2.2%	1.3%
Other similar activities	0.6%	1.0%
Caring for the old/sick	0.3%	0.6%
Total doing any chores	90.2%	97.5%

Base: n=1,035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

Three out of 4 children devote an average of 2 hours or less to these daily tasks. Almost 13 percent of children report working 3 hours or more per day on household chores. Working children spend as many hours on household chores as do children who do not work. About 16 percent of working children spend 3 hours or more per day on household chores, compared with about 12 percent of nonworking children.

Table 59: Average Daily Hours Child Worked on Household Chores

Average Household Chore Hours per Day	Total	Estimated Number
0 to 1	33.8%	11,723
1 to 2	37.0%	12,832
2 to 3	16.2%	5,618
3 to 4	8.6%	2,983
More than 4	4.4%	1,426
Total*	100%	34,682

Base: n=1,035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

*1 case missing data on number of days spent doing chores.

Table 60: Average Daily Hours Child Worked on Household Chores, by Working Status

Average Household Chore Hours per Day	Percentage Not Working	Percentage Working
0 to 1	35.4%	30.0%
1 to 2	37.0%	37.2%
2 to 3	15.8%	17.2%
3 to 4	7.4%	11.3%
More than 4	4.3%	4.4%
Total*	100%	100%

Base: n=1,035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

*1 case missing data on number of days spent doing chores.

Adding the total daily hours spent working and doing household chores shows that working children typically spend 4 to 6 hours per day between both activities. Nonetheless, 10.2 percent of working children spend more than 10 hours a day on both work and household chores combined.

Table 61: Average Daily Hours Working Children Spent on Work and Household Chores Combined

Average Hours of Household Chores Plus Work per Day	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Less than 4	25	8.0%	8.0%
4 to 6	102	33.2%	41.2%
6 to 8	94	29.4%	70.6%
8 to 10	60	19.2%	89.8%
More than 10	33	10.2%	n/a
Total	314	100%	100%

Base: n=313 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days (7 cases missing values on hours worked per day).

Observed Working Conditions and Other Relevant Labor Issues.

Similar to the activity breakdown, there are clear gender differences by work locations. While nearly 3 out of 4 boys carry out their main work on the water or lagoon, girls are more evenly distributed across work locations. Approximately half work either at their family dwelling, a shop, a market, or a kiosk. Girls also perform most of the mobile work and work on the street. Still, 25 percent of all girls work on the water or lagoons.

Table 62: Location of Main Work

Location of Main Work	Male	Female	Total	
			Percentage	Estimate
Water or lagoon	74.1%	25.2%	57.8%	6,198
His/her family dwelling	7.3%	24.3%	13.0%	1,394
Shop/market/kiosk	4.9%	27.2%	12.3%	1,319
Street	5.4%	15.5%	8.8%	944
Employer's house	5.4%	1.9%	4.2%	450
Different places (mobile)	1.0%	3.9%	1.9%	204
Plantation/farm/garden	0.5%	1.9%	1.0%	107
Other	1.5%	0.0%	1.0%	107
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	10,723

Base: n=320 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days (12 cases with no information about the location).

Although the majority of working children in riverine communities do not operate machinery (80.6 percent), 17.5 percent of working children report doing so. Those who operate machinery are mostly males over age 14. While only 6.6 percent reported carrying heavy loads often, as shown in Table 64, 39.4 percent reported sometimes carrying heavy loads. Over half of all working girls reported carrying heavy loads sometimes or often while they work.

Table 63: Use of Machinery, by Gender

Operated Machines or Equipment	Male	Female	Total
Yes	21.6%	9.3%	17.5%
No	76.1%	89.7%	80.6%
Don't know	0.5%	0.0%	0.3%
No response	1.9%	0.9%	1.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Base: n=320 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days.

Table 64: Carrying of Heavy Loads, by Gender

Carry Heavy Loads	Male	Female	Total
Always/often	5.2%	9.3%	6.6%
Sometimes	38.0%	42.1%	39.4%
Seldom/rarely	30.5%	28.0%	29.7%
Never	25.4%	19.6%	23.4%
No response	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Base: n=320 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days.

The hazards most working children are exposed to are primarily connected to fishing or sand-harvesting activities. Approximately two-thirds of the children report being exposed to extreme temperatures or humidity, while 1 in 3 said that they usually swim and launch boats into the water. An additional 1 out of 4 children reports diving below water. These reports are consistent with qualitative witness reports of fishing and sand-harvesting communities, where children may be in charge of fishing boats or canoes and may also be diving to the bottom of the river to scoop sand from the riverbed, which is then usually sold to building contractors. There do not seem to be important differences by age, with a similar proportion of children experiencing these conditions across age categories, as shown in Table 66. When the most knowledgeable member of the household was asked these same questions, similar levels of exposure to hazards for working children were found, with two exceptions: most knowledgeable

members reported a much higher rate of insufficient lighting (22 percent) and a lower rate of exposure to extreme temperatures or humidity (55 percent).

Table 65: Hazard Exposure

Hazard	Estimate	Percentage
Extreme temperatures or humidity	7,034	65.6%
Swimming and launching boats into water	4,118	38.4%
Diving below water	2,552	23.8%
Dangerous tools (e.g., knives)	2,316	21.6%
Noise	1,812	16.9%
Dust, fumes, gas (oxygen, ammonia)	1,608	15.0%
Insufficient lighting	976	9.1%
Work underground	268	2.5%
Work at heights	236	2.2%
Chemicals (e.g., pesticides, glues)	0	0.0%
N/A	600	5.6%

Note: Multiple responses; adds to greater than 100 percent.

Table 66: Hazard Exposure, by Age

Hazard	5 to 9	10 to 13	14 to 17
Extreme temperatures or humidity	61.0%	62.4%	70.0%
Swimming and launching boats into water	37.7%	38.7%	38.7%
Diving below water	22.1%	20.4%	26.7%
Dangerous tools (e.g., knives)	19.5%	22.6%	22.0%
Noise	14.3%	15.1%	19.3%
Dust, fumes, gas (oxygen, ammonia)	10.4%	16.1%	16.7%
Insufficient lighting	10.4%	7.5%	9.3%
Work underground	2.6%	1.1%	3.3%
Work at heights	0.0%	1.1%	4.0%
Chemicals (e.g., pesticides, glues)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
N/A	10.4%	5.4%	3.3%

Base: n=320 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days.

Regarding the direct effect of work on children's health status, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that child workers get sick or injured more often than nonworking children do. While slightly more than half of the children who do not work were injured or ill in the last year, almost 3 out of 4 children who work experienced an injury or illness. A larger proportion of working children, compared with nonworking children, were injured or ill between 3 to 5 times during the last year. Few children who got injured or ill more than 5 times during the last year actually worked, which is probably because their health is too poor for them to work

Table 67: Frequency of Injury or Illness in the Last 12 Months

Frequency of Injury	Total	Estimated Number
Never	39.5%	13,699
Once or twice	39.7%	13,769
3 to 5 times	18.6%	6,451
More than 5 times	1.8%	624
NR	0.3%	104
Total	100.0%	34,682

Base: n=1,035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

Table 68: Frequency of Injury or Illness in the Last 12 Months, by Working Status

Frequency of Injury	Not Working	Working
Never	44.5%	28.4%
Once or twice	37.3%	45.0%
3 to 5 times	15.5%	25.6%
More than 5 times	2.2%	0.9%
NR	0.4%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Base: n=1,035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

According to the heads of household, the main health problems affecting children in riverine communities during the last 12 months were malaria, headaches, and fever. Malaria is one of the most common health problems within this age category (5 to 17 years old) in Nigeria, affecting about 2 out of 3 children who fell ill during the last month.¹⁰² Within riverine communities in Lagos State, malaria has a similar incidence among working and nonworking children. Nonetheless, there are other less common ailments that have a higher incidence among working children. Although the total numbers are low, child workers report a much higher rate of lung problems, back or muscle pain, and fatigue than children who do not work. They also suffer from skin problems, wounds or deep cuts, headaches, fever, and other unspecified illnesses more often than nonworking children do, although by a smaller margin.

Table 69: Illnesses or Injuries during the Last 12 Months

Illness or Injury	Total	Estimated Number
Malaria	41.7%	14,462
Headache	37.6%	13,040
Fever	23.7%	8,220
Fatigue	6.0%	2,081
Other	5.6%	1,942
Skin problems	3.9%	1,353
Wounds/deep cuts	3.5%	1,214
Back/muscle pain	1.7%	590
Diarrhea	1.2%	416
Lung problems	0.9%	312
Broken bones	0.3%	104
Allergies	0.1%	35
None	25.3%	8,775

Base: n=1,035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

¹⁰² *National Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire Survey, 2006.*

Table 70: Illnesses or Injuries during the Last 12 Months, by Working Status

Illness or Injury	Not Working	Working
Malaria	41.0%	43.4%
Headache	34.3%	45.0%
Fever	22.2%	26.9%
Fatigue	3.9%	10.6%
Other	4.6%	7.8%
Skin problems	2.7%	6.6%
Wounds/deep cuts	2.8%	5.0%
Back/muscle pain	0.4%	4.7%
Diarrhea	1.4%	0.6%
Lung problems	0.1%	2.5%
Broken bones	0.3%	0.3%
Allergies	0.1%	0.0%
None	28.7%	17.8%

Base: n=1,035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

When asked if their most recent injury or illness was work related, approximately one-quarter of working children responded positively. Boys under 9 years old had more work-related injuries (44 percent) than did older boys (26 percent) or girls of any age (20 percent). While a majority of these injuries were not extremely serious, they prevented the children from working temporarily in 2 out of 3 cases. The same proportion of children who both work and go to school had to stop schooling temporarily as a result of their illnesses or injuries. Again, there were gender differences regarding the tasks or occupations that children were performing when injured. Fishing seems to be the most dangerous activity, although as a result of the gender differences by occupations, fishing-related injuries or illnesses affect a greater proportion of males, especially those over age 14. Females are injured more often while trading the fish.

Table 71: Task or Occupation Performed When Injured or Became Ill, by Gender

Occupation	Male	Female	Total	
			Percentage	Estimate
Fishing	78.1%	23.8%	64.7%	7,034
Trading fish	10.9%	47.6%	20.0%	4,118
Hawking	1.6%	14.3%	4.7%	2,552
Smoking/drying fish	0.0%	9.5%	2.4%	2,316
Removing fish from net	3.1%	0.0%	2.4%	1,812
Collecting firewood	1.6%	0.0%	1.2%	1,608
No response	4.7%	4.8%	4.7%	976
Total	100%	100%	100%	268

Base: n=85 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who experienced work-related illnesses or injuries in the last year.

Data from child observations also suggest that males are affected by hazards connected to fishing, while females face hazards connected to fish preparation and selling. The most widespread hazard observed was the fact that no working children observed were wearing any type of protective gear. Besides this, males were observed working in rough or deep water (68 percent), facing cold temperatures (59 percent), and handling fresh fish (53 percent), while a greater proportion of females were seen handling fresh fish (70 percent), using knives (64 percent), or being exposed to the sun (52 percent). Almost half of all females observed were handling money, which can put them at risk of being assaulted.

Table 72: Main Physical Risks, by Gender

Risk	Male	Female	Total
Not wearing protecting gear	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Working in deep/rough water	67.9%	49.2%	62.0%
Handling fresh fish	53.3%	69.8%	58.5%
Exposure to cold	59.1%	31.7%	50.5%
Leaning or bending	46.0%	39.7%	44.0%
Hooks	42.3%	31.7%	39.0%
Sun exposure	29.2%	52.4%	36.5%
Knives	19.0%	63.5%	33.0%
Handling money	25.5%	46.0%	32.0%
Exposure to heat	16.8%	22.2%	18.5%
Hunching over	15.3%	22.2%	17.5%
Hoists	14.6%	14.3%	14.5%
Large nets	14.6%	11.1%	13.5%
Needles	9.5%	6.3%	8.5%
Noise	5.1%	14.3%	8.0%
Smoke	1.5%	19.0%	7.0%

Base: n=200 children observed while working. Note: Multiple responses; adds up to greater than 100 percent.

Beyond these main physical risks, several emotional risks were also registered.¹⁰³ More than half of all children were observed carrying out repetitive tasks; 2 out of 5 were under time stress, such as working long hours or working too early in the morning; and 1 out of 4 was observed being punished by restricting their access to food, rest, or toilet facilities. Perhaps more worryingly, 22 percent of children had visible signs of physical abuse.

Table 73: Main Emotional Risks, by Gender

Risk	Male	Female	Total
Repetitiveness of tasks	54.7%	49.2%	53.0%
Time stress (long hours, early morning hours, etc.)	36.5%	44.4%	39.0%
Punishment, including insufficient food, rest, or use of toilet facilities	19.7%	38.1%	25.5%
Signs of physical abuse (black eyes, bruises, welts)	19.7%	27.0%	22.0%
Quality stress (failure, mistakes, etc.)	21.9%	20.6%	21.5%
Verbal abuse	10.9%	22.2%	14.5%
Difficulty completing tasks	13.9%	9.5%	12.5%
High/low prestige of industry or task	15.3%	4.8%	12.0%
Physical threats	8.8%	15.9%	11.0%
Rapid execution of tasks	9.5%	12.7%	10.5%
Sexual harassment	1.5%	12.7%	5.0%

Base: n=200 children observed while working. Note: Multiple responses; adds up to greater than 100 percent.

The health condition of working children is the concern that the most knowledgeable member of the household reported most often (29.1 percent), followed by poor grades in school (13.8 percent).

¹⁰³ It must be noted that some of these risks, such as severe types of punishment and physical abuse, are both emotional and physical.

Earnings

Children in riverine communities primarily work within the family context. As such, most children are not paid, as their work is seen as similar to family undertakings or household chores. Of the working children surveyed, 81.6 percent characterized their main work situation as “unpaid family workers,” while only 8.4 percent said they work on their own account.

Table 74: Main Work Situation

Work Situation	Frequency	Percentage
Unpaid family worker	261	81.6%
His/her own business without employees	27	8.4%
Casual employee	6	1.9%
Domestic paid worker	4	1.3%
Regular employee	2	0.6%
No response	20	6.3%
Total	320	100%

Base: n=320 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days.

As a direct reflection of this work situation, only 8.1 percent (26 working children) reported being paid for their work, either in kind or in cash. More than half of these children were over 14 years old, and 2 out of 3 stated that fishing was their main occupation. Although the proportion of children working in mining or transportation in riverine communities is low (1 and 1.6 percent, respectively), virtually all reported being paid.

Table 75: Paid for Work—Gender Differences

Work Pay Status	Male	Female	Total
Yes	10.3%	3.7%	8.1%
No	85.0%	90.7%	86.9%
No response	4.7%	5.6%	5.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Base: n=320 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days.

Of the 26 children who reported receiving payment for their work, 7 reported being “paid in food.” For most of these children, payment in food was not the only form of payment they received, but a complement to their payment in cash. A majority of the children who were paid received less than 2,000 nairas (about US\$16) daily. The Nigerian Minimum Wage Act of 2000 set the minimum monthly wage at 5,500 nairas, so while most children are not being paid at all, those who are reported earnings well above the minimum national wage. The small base of respondents for this question and the presence of outliers (1 child reported earning as much as 11,000 nairas daily, while another claimed just 2) indicates that these figures should be taken cautiously.

Table 76: Gender Differences in Amount Paid Daily

Nairas	Male	Female	Total
1–1,000	31.8%	25.0%	30.8%
1,001–2,000	27.3%	50.0%	30.8%
2,001–3,000	4.5%	0.0%	3.8%
3,001 +	9.1%	0.0%	7.7%
No response	27.3%	25.0%	26.9%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Base: n=26 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days and are paid for their work.

About 3 out of 4 children gave part or all of their earnings to their parents, guardians, or other relatives. A majority of children who were paid and kept some or all of their earnings either spent their earnings on “personal needs,” or saved part or all of them. There were some differences between the spending patterns of girls and boys, with the latter spending their earnings mostly on themselves and the former saving them. Those children who saved part or all of their earnings claimed that their main reasons were to start their own business, buy something better for themselves, or go to school (although the latter response category was only chosen by girls). Again, these proportions are based on a small number of cases, so the level to which they are representative must be considered with caution.

Table 77: Personal Spending Patterns, by Gender

How Did You Spend Your Earnings	Male	Female	Total
Met personal needs	84.2%	50.0%	81.0%
Saved part of them	42.1%	100.0%	47.6%
Bought household needs	15.8%	0.0%	14.3%
Bought school needs	5.3%	0.0%	4.8%
Paid my school fees	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Met brothers'/sisters' needs	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Base: n=21 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days, are paid for their work, and kept some or all of their earnings.

School Attendance Information

Key Findings

Only about 1 in 4 children aged 5 through 17 who are in school are working, compared with more than half of those who are not in school. This figure is driven by very high work rates of children aged 14 through 17.

School attendance declines rapidly as the number of hours a child works increases. Only one-third of those who averaged more than 5 hours of work per weekday in the last week are currently in school.

School Attendance

Working children are much less likely to attend school than those who are not working. While most nonworking children (85.3 percent) are currently enrolled in school, only 3 out of 5 working children (60.3 percent) are enrolled. As a result, more than half (54.7 percent) of those children who are not attending school are working.

Table 78: School Attendance

Currently in School	N	Total	Estimate
Yes	803	77.6%	26,908
No	232	22.4%	7,774
Total	1035	100%	34,682

Table 79: School Attendance, by Working Status

Currently in School	Percentage of Children Working
Yes	24.0%
No	54.7%
Total	30.9%

The high work rate of nonstudents is driven principally by older children. Nearly all children (92.5 percent) aged 14 through 17 who are not in school are working. This is not to say that work does not play a factor in the absence of younger children from school. Younger working children have nearly as low of a school attendance rate as older working children (61.8 and 58.7 percent, respectively). Furthermore, the work rate of these younger children (aged 5 to 13) who are not in school is more than double that of children in the same group who are in school (39.4 and 16.7 percent, respectively).

Table 80: School Attendance, by Age

Currently in School	Percentage		Estimate	
	5 through 13 Years	14 through 17 Years	5 through 13 Years	14 through 17 Years
Yes	79.2%	72.2%	21,077	5,529
No	20.8%	27.8%	5,831	2,245
Base/Total	794	241	26,908	7,774

Table 81: School Attendance, by Working Status and Age

Currently in School	Percentage of Working Children	
	5 through 13 Years	14 through 17 Years
Yes	16.7%	50.6%
No	39.4%	92.5%
Total % of children in sample	21.4%	62.2%

Base: n=1,035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

While the work rate of girls is substantially lower than that of boys, the attendance rate of working and nonworking boys and girls is quite similar. The attendance rate of working girls is slightly higher than that of boys (62.5 and 59.9 percent, respectively).

Table 82: School Attendance, by Gender

Currently in School	Percentage		Estimate	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Yes	75.9%	79.9%	15,079	11,829
No	24.1%	20.1%	4,792	2,982
Base/Total	593	442	19,871	14,811

Table 83: School Attendance, by Working Status and Gender

Currently in School	Percentage of Working Children	
	Male	Female
Yes	28.2%	18.7%
No	60.1%	46.1%
Total % of children in sample	35.9%	24.2%

Base: n=1,035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

The more hours a child works during weekdays, the less likely he or she is to attend school. Most children (90.2 percent) who work an average of 3 hours or less per day during weekdays attend school. This figure drops to two-thirds (67.5 percent) for children who work 3 to 5 hours per day and to less than one-third (32.2 percent) for those who work more.

Table 84: School Enrollment, by Number of Hours Worked on Weekdays

Hours Worked	N	Percentage Attending School
Not working	721	85.3%
3 hours or less	76	89.5%
3 to 5 hours	119	67.2%
5 to 7 hours	79	32.9%
7 hours or more	33	24.2%
Total	1,028	77.6%

*7 cases missing information on hours worked.

Working and School

Of the children who are currently working and attending school, most (80.3 percent) said that they work mainly after school hours, while only 8.8 percent said that they work on days with no school activity.

Table 85: Child Worked during School Days, by Gender

Work during School Days	Male	Female	Total
After school hours	81.1%	78.8%	80.3%
On days with no school activity	8.7%	9.1%	8.8%
No response	10.2%	12.1%	10.9%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Base: n=193 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days and are currently attending school.

Access to Schools

More than 1 in 5 children in the riverine areas (21.4 percent) live in villages with no schools, and almost two-thirds (62.8 percent) live in villages with no secondary schools. This access has a strong impact on whether children go to school and/or work. Only two-thirds (67 percent) of children in villages that have no schools currently attend school, compared with 80.5 percent of children in villages that have some schools. This results in a higher incidence of child labor in communities with no schools (35.3 percent compared with 29.7 percent) and nearly twice the incidence rate of children who are working and not attending school (19.5 percent compared with 10.3 percent).

Table 86: Types of School Available in Village of Riverine Children

School in Village	Count	Percentage	Estimate
No School	143	21.4%	7,406
Primary School Only	293	41.4%	14,342
Both Secondary and Primary	279	37.3%	12,935
Total	1035	100.0%	34,682

Table 87: Work and School Attendance, by Types of School Available in Village

School in Village	Percentage of Children Working	Percentage of Children Attending School	Percentage of Children Working and Not Attending School
No School	35.3%	67.0%	19.5%
Primary School Only	31.5%	73.6%	12.6%
Both Secondary and Primary	27.7%	88.1%	7.8%
Total	30.9%	77.6%	12.3%

Reason for Not Attending School

Key Findings

Inability to pay for school is the number one reason children and adults provide for why a child is not in school, followed by age (too young). One-quarter of children cite the distance or availability of schools, followed by the need to work for pay or for the family business. Work was cited by 17 percent of children and 23 percent of adults. Low value placed on education by the family and poor performance of the child are both responses associated with high work rates

The most cited reason for not attending school given by children is that their parents cannot afford to send them to school—cited by 61.6 percent of children. Being too young is cited second most frequently (28.9 percent), followed by the distance of the school (24.6 percent) and the lack of available schools in the community (22.8 percent). Obviously, those who indicated that they do not attend school so that they can work have the highest work rate (90 percent). Interestingly, the next two highest ranked responses in terms of work rate are not related to economic necessity, but rather to the value the child and the family place on school. The next highest work rate is for respondents who indicated that they were poor students or were not interested in school (87.1 percent), followed by respondents who indicated that the family does not consider school to be valuable. These responses, however, were provided by a small number of working children. The most common reason provided by working children was that their parents could not afford school—a response provided by nearly three-quarters (74 percent) of working children who are not in school.

Table 88: Child’s Reason(s) for Not Attending School, by Working Status

Reason	Not Working	Working	Combined
Parents cannot afford schooling	46.7%	74.0%	61.6%
Is/was too young	61.0%	2.4%	28.9%
School too far	33.3%	17.3%	24.6%
School not available in community	23.8%	22.0%	22.8%
Work for pay, or family business or farm	3.8%	28.3%	17.2%
Poor in studies/not interested in school	3.8%	21.3%	13.4%
School not considered valuable by family	3.8%	18.1%	11.6%
Help at home with household chores	9.5%	10.2%	9.9%
Family does not allow schooling	5.7%	9.4%	7.8%
School not safe	2.9%	3.9%	3.4%

*Values do not add up to 100 percent because multiple responses were accepted.

Base: n=232 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who are not attending school.

Key informants noted that, in some riverine communities, children would need to cross a river to the interior to attend school, as there are no schools in their immediate community. However, if families could not afford the boat fee, the children would stay at home and help catch and sell fish. Village observations indicate that this might be the case with some communities, but only at the secondary level. One NGO worker from Lagos mentioned that even those who can afford to cross to the interior for school do not attend regularly during the season when the winds are high because it is too difficult to cross the river. However, other key informants viewed children in riverine communities as fortunate since schools are more accessible. A local government worker from Lagos said that the schools are “within their doorsteps, in fact, they are so lucky in that area, [because there is] one community to a school.” From his perspective, the problem was a lack of teachers, not a lack of schools. According to the key informants, teachers claimed that they did not

make enough money to go to remote riverine areas, and that there was not enough money for them to commute back and forth between the riverine areas and the interior. A representative from an international organization (IO) in Lagos also mentioned that teachers do not want to work in the riverine areas because there is a lack of electricity.

Table 89: Child’s Reason(s) for Not Attending School, by Working Status

Reason	Percentage of Children Not Working	Percentage of Children Working
Parents cannot afford schooling	34.3%	65.7%
Is/was too young	95.5%	4.5%
School too far	61.4%	38.6%
School not available in community	47.2%	52.8%
Work for pay, or family business or farm	10.0%	90.0%
Poor in studies/not interested in school	12.9%	87.1%
School not considered valuable by family	14.8%	85.2%
Help at home with household chores	43.5%	56.5%
Family does not allow schooling	33.3%	66.7%
School not safe	37.5%	62.5%

Base: n=232 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who are not attending school.

The reasons provided by adults for a child not attending school are similar to those of children. As with child respondents, the most common response is that the family cannot afford school—a response provided by 51.7 percent of adults responding about children not in school. As with child respondents, age, the need to work, and distance to and availability of schools complete the top five responses, but for adults, the need for the child to work is the third most frequent response, while for children it is the fifth most frequent response.

Table 90: Adult’s Reason(s) for Child Not Attending School, by Working Status

Reason	Not Working	Working	Combined
Cannot afford schooling	37.1%	63.8%	51.7%
Is/was too young	64.8%	4.7%	31.9%
Work for pay, or family business or farm	6.7%	37.0%	23.3%
School too far	33.3%	9.4%	20.3%
School not available in community	15.2%	19.7%	17.7%
Help at home with household chores	9.5%	14.2%	12.1%
School not considered valuable	6.7%	15.7%	11.6%
Poor in studies/not interested in school	1.9%	17.3%	10.3%
Family does not allow schooling	0.0%	11.8%	6.5%
Disabled/illness	2.9%	1.6%	2.2%
School not safe	0.0%	0.8%	0.4%

*Values do not add up to 100 percent because multiple responses were accepted.

Base: n=232 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who are not attending school.

Table 91: Adult’s Reason(s) for Child Not Attending School, by Children’s Working Status

Reason	Percentage of Children Not Working*	Percentage of Children Working*
Cannot afford schooling	32.5%	67.5%
Is/was too young	91.9%	8.1%
Work for pay, or family business or farm	13.0%	87.0%
School too far	74.5%	25.5%
School not available in community	39.0%	61.0%

Reason	Percentage of Children Not Working*	Percentage of Children Working*
Help at home with household chores	35.7%	64.3%
School not considered valuable	25.9%	74.1%
Poor in studies/not interested in school	8.3%	91.7%
Family does not allow schooling	0.0%	100.0%
Disabled/illness	60.0%	40.0%
School not safe	0.0%	100.0%

Base: n=232 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who are not attending school.

Work and Past Attendance

Key Findings

Nearly half of children aged 9 through 17 who are not currently in school have never attended school in the first place. This group, however, has near-identical work rates as children in their age group who have attended school in the past.

There is no significant difference between the work rates of those who have never attended school and those who have been enrolled in the past but are currently not enrolled. Younger children who have attended in the past have a higher work rate, but this is a function of age above anything else. More than one-third of children aged 5 to 17 who have never attended school are 5 years old and, thus, have not started school or begun to work.

Table 92: Percentage of Children Who Have Never Attended School, by Age

Currently in School	Percentage		Estimate	
	5 through 8 Years ¹⁰⁴	9 through 17 Years	5 through 8 Years	9 through 17 Years
Yes	4.2%	51.3%	168	1,944
No	95.8%	48.7%	3,820	1,843
Base/Total	119	113	3,988	3,787

Table 93: Working Status and Ever Attendance, by Age among Children Who Are Not Attending School

Ever Attended School	Percentage of Children Working	
	5 through 8 Years	9 through 17 Years
Yes	40.0%	87.9%
No	22.8%	87.3%
Total	23.5%	87.6%

Base: n=232 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who are not attending school.

¹⁰⁴ The 5 to 8 age group was chosen for this analysis because it was the clear cut point in the data. Children in the riverine often do not begin going to school until they reach age 9. Separating out this group is therefore important because at these ages, “never attended” often means “not attended yet,” whereas those older than 9 years old are much more likely to never attend school.

Work and Absence from School

Key Findings

Only 1 in 10 children who are in school reported missing a day of school in the past week. This figure is slightly higher for children who work and go to school.

Working children who are in school are more likely to miss days of school than children who are not working, but the difference is not large. Most students who are not working (93.8 percent) attended 5 days of school in the past week. The proportion of working students who attended a full week of school was marginally less (87.8 percent). Subsequently, the work rate of students is significantly higher for students who attended less than a full week, compared with those who have attended 5 days of school (37.7 and 22.4 percent, respectively).

Table 94: Number of Days Attended School in Last Week

Number of Days	N	Total
2	3	0.4%
3	6	0.8%
4	52	6.5%
5	735	92.3%
Total	796	100.0%

Table 95: Number of Days Attended School in Last Week, by Working Status

Status	Average Days Attended
Nonworking Children	4.92
Working Children	4.86
Total	4.91

Base: n=796 responding riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who are currently attending school.

Perceptions of Parents/Guardians about Working Children

Key Findings

Families in riverine communities consider child labor to be a means of increasing the family income or providing the help needed in the family business.

Most parents would prefer that their children not work and instead focus solely on attending school and doing household chores.

Heads of households suggest that children who work in riverine communities would benefit from more educational support and better healthcare.

For 2 out of 3 households, child labor, particularly that of girls and children over 14 years old, is a means of boosting family income. Heads of household also gave having the children help in the household enterprise (38.1 percent) a reason for why they let them work. “Learning skills” was mentioned by 30.6 percent of household respondents. Despite the role child labor plays in the family economy, a majority (62.6 percent) of parents or guardians would prefer that their children not work, and that they would concentrate on attending school and doing their household chores instead. Parents and guardians have a somewhat higher acceptance of boys (19.2 percent) working for income and doing household chores than of girls (9.1 percent).

Table 96: Preferred Child Occupational Status, by Gender

What Do You Prefer Your Child to Be Doing at This Time	Male	Female	Total
Attending school and assisting with family household chores	58.1%	69.7%	62.6%
Working for income and assisting at home in household chores	19.2%	9.1%	15.8%
Attending school only	12.6%	14.1%	13.1%
Assisting with family business and household chores only	6.1%	4.0%	5.4%
Working for income	3.0%	3.0%	3.0%
Base	198	99	297

Base: n=297 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days and had responses.

These differences might be the result of the fact that boys participate to a greater extent in the fishing or sand-harvesting activities that constitute the main livelihoods of many riverine families. Indeed, when asked what would happen if their child was to stop working, a greater proportion of parents or guardians said that the “household enterprise would not be able to operate fully” if a male child stopped working (32.3 percent) than if a female child stopped working (24.0 percent). An additional 51 percent of heads of household said “nothing would happen” if a female child stopped working, but only 39.2 percent said the same if a male child stopped working.

Table 97: Consequences of Child Not Working, by Gender

What Will Happen if Your Child Stops Working	Male	Female	Total
Nothing will happen	39.2%	51.0%	43.2%
Household living standard will fall	33.3%	35.4%	34.0%
Household enterprise will not operate fully since labor will not be available	32.3%	24.0%	29.5%
S/he will be involved in undesirable activities	25.4%	20.8%	23.9%
S/he will lose skills being learned	22.8%	15.6%	20.4%
Household will not be able to afford to live	7.9%	5.2%	7.0%

Base: n=285 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who worked in the last 7 days and had responses.

Note: Columns do not add up to 100 percent because up to 2 responses were allowed.

Even though child labor does not seem indispensable for a large percentage of households, approximately one-third of the heads of household said that their living standard would fall if their child stopped working, while 1 out of 4 said that the household enterprise would not be able to operate fully because they cannot afford to hire any help.

To address the problems faced by working children, most heads of household who offered an opinion thought that it would be necessary to provide educational support to working children, be it free education, more schools, more teachers, scholarships, books, or affordable school fees. Some also mentioned the need for more hospitals or medical care. These two suggestions are directly related to the main problems that the heads of household perceive to be affecting their working children: injuries, illnesses, or poor health (31.6 percent) and poor grades in school (15.3 percent). A few other suggestions involved infrastructural needs, such as better roads, drinking water, and electricity, while some mentioned direct support to fishermen through better fishing equipment or loans and credits.

Aspirations and Plans of Children in the Riverine Communities

The child questionnaire ended with asking the children about their short- and long-term aspirations and plans.

Short-Term Aspirations

Key Findings

By a large margin, the most cited short-term aspiration of children is to go to school. While this aspiration is more common among children currently in school, more than half of those not currently in school indicated that their short-term ambition is to go to school. More than two-thirds of children who work cite school as a short-term goal.

Other short-term aspirations commonly cited include completing education or training and starting work, learning a trade or skill, and owning a small business. Children who work are more likely to cite these aspirations.

A large majority of riverine children (90.0 percent) indicated that their current aspiration was to go to school. Girls (93.6 percent) are more likely than boys (87.3 percent) to indicate that they wanted to go to school. The second most common response was to finish school and begin work (21.0 percent), followed by learning a trade or skill (16.4 percent) and owning a small business (14.7 percent).

Table 98: Short-Term Ambitions, by Gender

Short-Term Ambitions	Male	Female	Total
Go to school	87.3%	93.6%	90.0%
Complete education/training and start work	22.6%	18.7%	21.0%
Learn a trade/skill	16.0%	17.0%	16.4%
Own a small business	15.5%	13.7%	14.7%
Work part time in household enterprise or business	10.3%	7.6%	9.1%
Go to school part time and work part time	6.8%	5.7%	6.3%
Work for income full time	4.7%	3.1%	4.0%
Help full time in household enterprise	3.8%	2.1%	3.1%
Work full time in household chores	1.2%	0.9%	1.1%

Base: n=997 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who provided a response.

Children who are currently in school are much more likely to aspire to go to school. Nearly all (97.7 percent) of current students aspire to go to school, compared with 61.5 percent of those who are not in school. However, this indicates that more than half of the children not in school prefer to seek an education. Those who are not currently students are more likely to cite more career-oriented aspirations, such as learning a trade or owning their own business.

Table 99: Short-Term Ambitions, by School Enrollment

Short-Term Ambitions	Currently in School	Not Currently in School	Total
Go to school	97.7%	61.5%	90.0%
Complete education/training and start work	22.4%	15.5%	21.0%
Learn a trade/skill	13.6%	26.8%	16.4%
Own a small business	11.4%	27.2%	14.7%
Work part time in household enterprise or business	8.3%	12.2%	9.1%

Short-Term Ambitions	Currently in School	Not Currently in School	Total
Go to school part time and work part time	5.2%	10.3%	6.3%
Work for income full time	1.8%	12.2%	4.0%
Help full time in household enterprise	2.0%	7.0%	3.1%
Work full time in household chores	0.8%	2.3%	1.1%

Base: n=997 riverine children (aged 5 to 17) who provided a response.

While more than two-thirds (69.6 percent) of working children aspire to go to school in the short term, they are less likely to aspire to go to school compared with nonworking children. It appears, however, that as a group, they are not low on aspirations. Working children provide more responses for this multiple-response question than nonworking children do. Working children are more than twice as likely to want to learn a trade and substantially more likely to want to own their own business.

Long-Term Aspirations

Key Findings

School is cited less by children as a long-term aspiration than it is as a short-term aspiration. Nonetheless, nearly half of those who are not currently in school continue to view an education as a goal. In the long term, many children cite career goals, such as owning their own business or learning a trade. Working children and children not currently in school are more likely to cite these as long-term goals.

While school is not rated as highly by children as a long-term (5-year) aspiration as it is in the short term, it remains the most cited long-term goal. In comparison, other aspirations, such as completing education or training and starting work and owning a small business, increase in importance in the long term.

Table 100: Long-Term Ambitions, by Gender

Long-Term Ambitions	Male	Female	Total
Go to school	62.5%	67.1%	64.5%
Complete education/training and start work	47.4%	45.5%	46.6%
Own a small business	43.2%	37.3%	40.7%
Learn a trade/skill	27.5%	31.5%	29.2%
Work for income full time	20.2%	16.7%	18.7%
Work part time in household enterprise or business	15.0%	15.5%	15.2%
Go to school part time and work part time	7.8%	8.0%	7.9%
Help full time in household enterprise	3.0%	3.1%	3.0%
Work full time in household chores	1.9%	1.6%	1.8%

Base: n=1,035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

While school is cited less overall as a long-term aspiration by children than it is as an immediate aspiration or goal, this decline is small for children who are currently not in school (from 61.5 percent short term to 50.2 percent long term). Children not in school are, not surprisingly, more likely to cite career-related, long-term goals, such as owning a small business, learning a trade or skill, and working for income full time.

Table 101: Long-Term Ambitions, by School Enrollment

Long-Term Ambitions,	Currently in School	Not Currently in School	Total
Go to school	68.6%	50.2%	64.5%
Complete education/training and start work	55.2%	16.6%	46.6%
Own a small business	39.0%	46.6%	40.7%
Learn a trade/skill	27.5%	35.0%	29.2%
Work for income full time	15.8%	28.7%	18.7%
Work part time in household enterprise or business	13.5%	21.1%	15.2%
Go to school part time and work part time	6.9%	11.2%	7.9%
Help full time in household enterprise	2.1%	6.3%	3.0%
Work full time in household chores	0.9%	4.9%	1.8%

Base: n=1,035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

Children who are working are more likely to cite owning a small business as a long-term aspiration than they are to cite education. Like those not in school, working children are more likely to cite long-term aspirations related to career development, including working for income full time and learning a trade or skill

Table 102: Short-Term Ambitions, by Working Status

Short-Term Ambitions	Not Working	Working	Total
Go to school	74.6%	42.3%	64.5%
Complete education/training and start work	46.7%	46.5%	46.6%
Learn a trade/skill	32.8%	58.0%	40.7%
Own a small business	25.4%	37.5%	29.2%
Work part time in household enterprise or business	14.1%	28.8%	18.7%
Go to school part time and work part time	16.3%	12.8%	15.2%
Work for income full time	5.8%	12.5%	7.9%
Help full time in household enterprise	3.2%	2.6%	3.0%
Work full time in household chores	0.9%	3.8%	1.8%

Base: n=1,035 riverine children (aged 5 to 17).

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4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Conclusions

While the riverine communities are not the poorest communities in Nigeria, they stand in stark contrast to the relative prosperity of the city of Lagos. More than half of the households in the riverine areas are fairly well off by Nigerian standards. Many live in sturdy houses and have luxury goods, such as electricity and televisions. A small but substantial minority, however, faces the most abject poverty, living in makeshift shacks with no access to clean water.

Child labor in Nigeria is fairly commonplace, and the riverine is no exception. In the riverine communities of Lagos State, an estimated 10,498 children aged 5 through 17 work, which is equivalent to 30.9 percent of all children in the community.

Children work primarily on the lagoons and waterways. Of these children, 83.3 percent work either 6 or 7 days per week, and 61.0 percent work more than 4 hours per day and do an estimated additional 2 hours of chores. The age group with the highest concentration of working children is 14 through 17, with an estimated 4,995 working children. Since the majority of child work occurs among the family, many children are unpaid. Approximately 82 percent of children surveyed classified themselves as “unpaid family workers,” indicating a link between child participation and a family’s economic survival.

There is a difference between the work conducted by boys and girls within the riverine communities. In terms of industry, the majority of girls are involved in trading, while the majority of boys reported involvement in fishing. This finding coincides with anecdotal evidence gathered from key informants that describes boys’ participation in fishing and paddling boats and girls’ participation in the smoking and selling of fish.

Primary schools are available in most riverine communities, but secondary schools are much rarer. Of the 10 communities included in the study, 8 have a primary school and 3 have a secondary school in the community. According to the researchers conducting the village observations, shortages of teachers and supplies are close to universal across the riverine areas.

Approximately three-quarters of the children surveyed attend school. Common reasons for not attending school among children surveyed include educational expenses, distance to the school, or needing to help their family. While it is impossible, in the current study, to determine if work causes low school attendance or if lack of school attendance increases work rates, the correlation is quite clear. More than half (54.7 percent) of children who are not in school are working—a figure that is deceptively low because it includes many children who are too young for work or school. The work rate of children 14 through 17 years of age not attending school is 92.4 percent, compared with 50.6 percent for those not in school. These figures are likely due to the lack of access to quality secondary schools.

Approximately 60 percent of children report that they would rather attend school and perform chores than work. However, the need for children to work is apparent in many families, as over half of the parents surveyed claim that children were needed in order to maintain economic

stability. One-third of these parents said that household income would decrease, and one-fifth stated that the household business required the child's labor.

In addition to educational consequences, children who work in riverine communities face various hazards. Tasks required of children, such as diving and launching boats into the surf, can be dangerous. Work associated with fishing also exposes children to sharp instruments. Injuries among working children are common; more than 70 percent of children report being injured while working at least once in the last year. The majority of these injuries and illnesses occurred either on the water or while trading fish.

4.2 Recommendations

Invest in Education

Effort needs to be made to fill in the gaps so that every child will have access to quality primary education. In some cases, this will mean building schools in communities where no primary schools are available. In other communities, the goal should be to provide teachers and school supplies that are deficient in most schools. Improving access to secondary education is also essential to giving children a continuous alternative to work; but it is a difficult task, given the low levels of current access. In this case, secondary schools need to be strategically placed so that they improve access for the largest number of villages.

Instill a Value for Education

Improving access and quality of education will not be sufficient if parents do not see a value in children attending school. The parents of children in the riverine communities are often poorly educated themselves. A startling 11.6 percent of adults, when asked why a child was not in school, indicated that school was not considered valuable—three-quarters of these children worked. While this minority is an extreme example, it is likely that this sentiment lingers in other households and may sway a family's choice between sending a child to school or to work. It is therefore essential to change the impressions parents have of schools.

Target Those in Need

The riverine is a diverse place. Some areas covered in this research are bustling towns with schools, hospitals, and a variety of shops. Other villages are very isolated—only accessible by water with no commerce, medical care, or schools. Economic wellbeing is also disparate. While a majority of riverine residents are fairly well off, a substantial portion live in abject poverty and are in need of the income their children help generate, or cannot afford school fees, supplies, and/or transportation. Improving the lives of children in these circumstances will require helping their parents.

Change Hearts and Minds

To reduce child participation in economic activity in general, and dangerous economic activity in particular, it will be necessary to raise the level of awareness about the problem of child labor and the dangers that children face. To do this, it may be useful to monitor and expose cases of children injured while working, in order to create a dialogue in the community about the risks of working.

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