HAZARDS ENCOUNTERED BY JUVENILE HAWKERS IN MARKETS AND MOTOR PARKS IN KANO CITY, NORTHERN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Background

A growing number of juvenile hawkers are found on the streets and markets in developing countries including Nigeria. They face significant physical, emotional and psychological hazards which have not been fully explored. We studied these hazards, including sexual assault, in Kano City, Northern Nigeria.

Method

A cross-section of 282 juvenile hawkers was interviewed in markets and Motor Parks in Kano city in northern Nigeria.

Results

Of the 282 children, majority were female (61.7%), of Hausa ethnicity (57.1%) and Muslim (97.2%). There was also a high illiteracy rate 76/282 (27.0%) and a high school dropout rate 22/282 (7.8%). Their ages ranged from 10 to 17 years with a mean of 13.8 \pm 2.1 years. Most (73.8%) of their parents were still married, 14.9% were divorced while 11.3% had lost both parents. Hazards faced by these children included involvement in road traffic accidents (29.1%), physical assault (27.3%), fighting (37.2%) and theft (14.5%). Others included gang beating (9.6%) and kidnap (0.7%). 44 of them had been sexually assaulted, a prevalence of 15.6% (95%CI=11.6% to 20.4%). This was 23.6% among females and 2.8% among males. This difference was statistically significant [χ^2 =21.9 P<0.001 Odds ratio=10.8(95%CI=3.1-44.9)]. Only half (n=22) of the sexually assaulted children reported the incident to their parents or guardians, and only three parents went to the police.

Conclusion

Juvenile hawkers face substantial risk, hence the urgent need to provide alternative avenues for skill acquisition and poverty alleviation. The child rights act should be adapted to local socio-cultural and religious peculiarities with emphasis on responsible parenthood.

Key words: Child labour, Hazards, Sexual assault, Nigeria

Introduction

UNICEF estimates that globally, 158 million children aged 5-14 years are engaged in child labour. Similarly, the International Labour Organization (ILO) reports that there are 218 million child laborers worldwide with approximately 126 million in low income countries engaged in fulltime employment that is hazardous to their physical and mental health. Juvenile hawkers are children found with wares along streets and within markets and motor parks. They are mostly sent by their parents or guardians to sell petty articles such as sachet water, GSM recharge cards, kola nuts and groundnuts, only returning home at night. In the process they are exposed to various physical hazards and come in contact with different people and hence may imbibe habits, mostly unhealthy. The females face the danger of being raped.

These children are involved in work that is essentially exploitative and injurious to their physical, social, cognitive and moral development. This occurs when children are exposed to long hours of work in dangerous and unhealthy environments, with too much responsibility for their age and at the expense of their schooling. Most of these children are in developing countries, especially sub-Saharan Africa.⁴ In Nigeria, the most recent data indicates that 26% of children aged 5-14 years are engaged in economic activity.⁵ Poverty is believed to be the primary reason for child labour. Unlike in Asia and Latin America, where globalization and outsourcing for cheap labour have been blamed for child labour, its effects in Africa are much more visible in service oriented sectors such as communication and retail trade. As a result, children are engaged as street hawkers, vendors and domestic servants. In addition, child labour has been attributed to socialization. This is the process where children under the guidance of their parents or guardians receive training in order to develop vocational skills. These children are exposed to several hazards and these include those that may cause total deformity or at the extreme, loss of life. The findings of studies 7-10 carried out between 1986 and 1997 in Nigerian cities of Lagos, Osogbo, Calabar, Kaduna and Bauchi indicate that the degree of hazard in child labour depends on the age and gender of the child, as well as the condition and characteristics of different types of work. Girls face greater challenges because of gender discrimination at both household and community levels. They are more vulnerable to discrimination, exploitation and abuse than boys. 11 In addition to deprivation of

education and recreation, child labour may also expose girls to the risk of sexual assault. ¹²Although childhood sexual assault is prevalent worldwide, girls in employment or hawking are more prone to this exploitation. WHO estimates that at least one in five of the world's female population has been physically or sexually assaulted. ¹³This is gender based violence involving wrong use of sexuality whether in action, touching of breast or buttocks, very intimate body contact or actual sexual intercourse with a minor. ¹⁴ Street hawking is a common form of child labour in Northern Nigeria and the female child is usually involved. Apart from exposure to the risk of injuries from accidents, respiratory tract infection, substance abuse, the young female hawker is vulnerable to all forms of violence including sexual exploitation by men. ¹⁵Men prefer young girls as sexual partners because they assume they are sexually inexperienced and, as such, less likely to be infected with sexually transmitted infections, especially HIV/AIDS. Paradoxically, the fear of stigmatization deters victims from reporting such violations to their parents or guardians. Even when they do, the parents are not keen on reporting to law enforcement agents for similar reasons.

Studies have been conducted in Zaria, ¹⁶ Kaduna³ and Maiduguri¹⁷ on child labour but little has been reported from Kano despite its position as a melting pot and commercial nerve center of Northern Nigeria. We studied the characteristics of juvenile hawkers, identified the hazards faced by these children in a market and motor park located within Kano city. This would shed more light on this menace and serve as a wakeup call for development of interventions that would protect the rights of these children.

Methods

Study design and population

The study was carried out among juvenile hawkers in Rimi and Kofar Wambai markets and motor parks of Kano Municipal Local Government Area of Kano state. Kano State is one of Nigeria's oldest, largest and perhaps most traditional states. Commerce and agricultural production have been the backbone of the Kano economy. Islam is the dominant religion though there are significant groups of Christians. Urban drift from rural areas within Kano, other states in Nigeria and West Africa, has provided a steady stream of migrants adding to Kano's growing population. Kano is therefore a

cosmopolitan melting pot. The city is characterized by overcrowding, high youth unemployment, and over-burdened infrastructure. There were over 9 million people in Kano state during the 2006 National Census¹⁸ and coupled with the demographic structure of developing countries the youths constitute a high proportion of this figure. The survey was descriptive and cross-sectional in design. A sample size of 300 was obtained using the hypothesis testing method¹⁹ and based on the following assumptions: 95% confidence level, prevalence of sexual assault among child labourers from a previous study¹⁷ and a 5% margin of error. The calculated minimum sample size was inflated by 5% to account for anticipated subject non-response. After identifying areas having a high concentration of juvenile hawkers in Kano municipal local government area, which included the Rimi and Kofar Wambai markets and motor parks, a census estimating the juvenile hawkers at these sites was conducted with the assistance of the market officials. A multistage sampling technique was used in selecting respondents. In the first stage, the number of respondents to be selected from each site was obtained based on the population of such children found during the initial census estimate. Samples of respondents were recruited proportional to the number of juvenile hawkers at each site. Therefore, 73, 86, 78 and 63 juveniles were selected from Rimi market, Kofar Wambai market, Rimi Motor Park and Kofar Wambai Motor Park respectively. In the second stage, juvenile hawkers were selected at the different sites using the systematic sampling technique with the starting point obtained using a random number table. Finally, eligible respondents were approached to participate in the study.

Instrument description/Data collection

Informed consent was obtained from prospective respondents prior to commencement of the interviews. The consent form was translated into the local language (Hausa). Literate respondents indicated acceptance by signing the consent form, while non-literate participants used a thumbprint. Approval for the study was obtained from the institutional review board at Aminu Kano Teaching Hospital, Nigeria.

A pretested structured interviewer-administered questionnaire containing both open and close-ended questions was used. The questionnaire was adapted from the survey tools

used in a previous study. ¹⁷ It was divided into four parts: the first section inquired about personal data including age, occupation, ethnicity, religion and educational level. The second part elicited information about parental background and the child's situation in the family. The third section asked about hazards encountered by juvenile hawkers in the course of their work. The fourth part inquired about the effect of their work on education, recreation and future aspirations. The questionnaire was pretested and revalidated in Unguwa Uku motor park located in Tarauni (another metropolitan local government area with similar characteristics to the study area). Some of the questions were rephrased for clarity based on observations made during the pretest. The questionnaires were administered by six Hausa speaking Nigerian medical students. They worked in teams consisting of two interviewers (male and female). Each team had at least one female member so as to facilitate communication with female respondents. The interviews were conducted in Hausa.

Data analysis

Data was analyzed using the EPI-Info $^{\$}$ 6.0 statistical software package (CDC Atlanta, Georgia, USA). Quantitative variables were summarized using appropriate measures of location and variability. Categorical variables were presented as frequencies and percentages. Bivariate analysis involved the use of the Chi-square test for assessing the significance of associations between categorical variables. The level of significance was set at P < 0.05.

Results

Socio-demographic characteristics

Of the 300 respondents approached, 282 interviews were completed giving a response rate of 94.0%. Their ages ranged between 10 and 17 years with a mean of 13.8 ± 2.1 years. Among the respondents, 174 (61.7%) were female, 161 (57.1%) of Hausa ethnicity and 274 (97.2%) were Muslims. More than a quarter (27.0%, or n=76) were illiterate while 22 (7.8%) had dropped out of school. 54 (19.1%) and 62 (22.0%) were currently attending primary and secondary schools respectively. Their socio-demographic characteristics are shown in table I. Of the 22 students that had dropped out of primary and secondary

schools, 11 (50.0%) left school due to poverty (inability to pay fees, buy uniforms and books etc.). Of the 11 others, 4 females (18.2%) had been withdrawn to get married and 7 males (31.8%) expelled for criminal offences.

The parental background of the children showed that 208 (73.8%) had their parents still married and living together, 42 (14.9%) had divorced parents while 32 (11.3%) had lost both parents. Of those that had lost both parents, most (37.5%, or n=12) lived with uncles and 10(31.3%) lived with grandparents. Seventeen (8.2%) of the children lived with single caregivers. Most 31/282 (11.0%) of the fathers and 69/282 (24.5%) of the mothers were illiterate. Life aspiration of most 189(67.0%) of these children was to be successful and to obtain enough capital to set up their own businesses. Some 49(17.4%) wanted to further their education in order to become professionals and have better jobs. Majority 201(71.3%) reported that life was difficult; highlighting the high levels of poverty and risk they faced during the course of their work.

Hazards faced by juvenile hawkers

Hazards faced by these children included the following: 82 (29.1%) had been involved in road traffic accidents 77 (27.3%) in physical assault, 105(37.2%) in fighting 41(14.5%) had been accused of theft. Other reported hazards include: 27 (9.6%) had experienced gang beating and 2(0.7%) kidnap. 44 of the 282 children had been sexually assaulted giving an overall prevalence of 15.6% (95%CI=11.6% to 20.4%). This prevalence was 23.6% among females and 2.8% among males. This difference was statistically significant [χ^2 =21.9 P<0.001 Odds ratio=10.8(95%CI=3.1-44.9)].

Only half (n=22) of the assaulted children reported the incidence to their parents or guardians. Furthermore, only three parents had reported the assault to the police.

Discussion

The age distribution and the educational status of the respondents showed that most of those involved in hawking are very young and out of school, with the age group 12 to 15 years contributing as much as 80.1%. Half of the study sample either had no formal education or had dropped out of school, especially at the primary school level. The typical hawker in Kano city's markets or motor parks is an illiterate teenage Hausa girl. The preponderance of the girl child is not by chance. The girl child faces several cultural challenges in northern Nigeria, among which is the hesitation of families to spend on her education because she would soon be given out into marriage. ²¹ She is however, expected to be economically productive to support the family and mobilize resources for the procurement of materials required for her wedding. This practice has been reported earlier by Okojie *et. al* ²² and King ²³ among the Hausa and other tribes in northern Nigeria.

Hazards faced by juvenile hawkers in the present study included involvement in road traffic accidents, physical assault, fighting and theft. Other reported hazards were gang beating, kidnap and sexual assault. Other studies have reported that child laborers are exposed to hazards that may cause total deformity or at the extreme, loss of life. These studies⁷⁻¹⁰ indicate that the degree of hazard in child labour depends on the age and gender of the child, as well as the condition and characteristics of different types of work. The children suffer great deprivation and work in violence-prone, brutish, and unprotected environments which are not conducive for their development. It was recently reported in Anambra state, Nigeria ¹⁴ that child laborers involved in hawking are exposed to a lot of dangers which include malnutrition, mental illness and substance abuse as well as physical and sexual abuse, all with the attendant consequences. Variations in hazards faced in different locations could be due to differences in cultural practices, population density, vehicular traffic and importance attached to educational pursuits. Child development psychologists believe that the environment and circumstances where children grow up exert significant influences on their personality and later development in life. Also, their work environment influences their physical, emotional, social and other developmental aspects.

Studies conducted much earlier²⁴ suggest that street vending and hawking were generally safer than now as not only has traffic become heavier, but the menace of commercial motorcyclists in Nigeria have compounded issues. Furthermore, much younger children become juvenile hawkers now compared to earlier periods. It is no longer rare to see underage children hawking sachet-packed water (popularly referred to as "pure water") at bus stops, motor parks and markets, thereby exposing themselves to high risk of accidents among other hazards.²⁵

The prevalence of sexual assault among children in this study (15.6%) is much lower than that observed among juvenile hawkers in Enugu (69.9%)¹⁴ and domestic servants in Maiduguri (77.7%).¹⁷ The significantly higher risk faced by the girl child has also been observed by other workers in other parts of Nigeria²⁶ and Kenya.²⁷ Furthermore, in the United States, prevalence estimates of childhood sexual abuse for girls range from 6–62%, while these estimates range from 2–11% for boys.²⁸ These differences may be a reflection of variations in socio-cultural practices especially as it relates to child rearing. The Sharia law being practiced in the study area prescribes severe punishment for such crimes and therefore could serve as a deterrent. It must be noted that these juveniles are minors and thus by law lack knowledge and experience to give a properly informed consent on sexual issues.²⁹

It has been reported that children in similar conditions are either coerced or induced by money, enticing promises, food or other gifts or a place of shelter and rest. Reasons given for hawking among our respondents were similar to those reported in other parts of the country^{14,26} where majority of the girls hawk because of the high level of poverty in their families²⁶ and after spending many hours on the street, are often tired and hungry. These factors add up to make them vulnerable and an easy prey. Up to half of the victims of sexual abuse in this study did not report their ordeal to any one while the rest reported to their friend, mother, sister or guardian in that order. This is in keeping with finding in other studies were victims accept it as their lot for fear of being stigmatized.³⁰ In this study, half of the victims did not inform their parents or guardians after the incident.

Only three parents reported to the police. This could be because of lack of counseling services for such victims and the need to protect the child and family from stigmatization.

One of the most important consequences of child labor is denial of educational opportunity. As can be seen in the present study, 7.8% dropped out of school. Among those that managed to combine hawking with schooling, there was a high level of school absenteeism, late-coming or leaving early to take their wares to the market or Motor Park. Hawking takes precedence over schooling. This has been observed in other parts of the country, where children involved in fishing, agriculture and cattle herding had similar consequences on their educational attainment. For instance, a study in three riverine areas of Nigeria found that 76% of children aged 6-16 years were not attending school, either because of difficulty of accessing school or the involvement of children in fishing. This study had several limitations: first, interviewing adolescents and children required a lot of patience, tact and sensitivity. This was emphasized during the training of the interviewers who were also young adults. There is the likelihood of withholding information regarding sexual assault due to the stigmatization associated with such disclosures. This was minimized by assuring respondents of confidentiality and conduct of the interviews in privacy.

We found that juvenile hawkers in Kano city's markets and motor parks are exposed to several hazards including sexual assault. These children are pushed into this trade to supplement family income and prepare for their wedding expenditure with a high opportunity cost of denying them education. They are also denied the right to protection.

Conclusion

Specific measures should be taken to limit the hazards to which these children are exposed. The public, especially parents should be enlightened on the hazards associated with juvenile hawking. It should be discouraged. Government and non-governmental organizations should work in partnership to identify children at risk and provide alternative avenues for skill acquisition and poverty alleviation in order to dissuade parents from sending their children to the streets. The Child Rights Act should be adopted to suit the socio-cultural and religious peculiarities of the states with particular emphasis on responsible parenthood.

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Table I: Socio-demographic characteristics of juvenile hawkers, Kano, Nigeria

	Frequency		
Characteristics	No. (%)		
Age group	Male	Female	Total
10-11	13(12.0)	21(12.1)	34(12.1)
12-13	37(34.3)	51(29.3)	88(31.2)
14-15	51(47.2)	87(50.0)	138(48.9)
16-17	7(6.5)	15(8.6)	22(7.8)
Total	108(100.0)	174(100.0)	282(100.0)
Education			
None	13(12.0)	63(36.2)	76(27.0)
Non-formal	19(17.6)	24(13.8)	43(15.2)
Currently in Primary	32(29.6)	22(12.6)	54(19.1)
Completed Primary	11(10.2)	14(8.0)	25(8.9)
Currently in Seconda	ry 25(23.1)	37(21.3)	62(22.0)
Dropped out	8(7.4)	14(8.0)	22(7.8)
Total	108(100.0)	174(100.0)	282(100.0)
Religion			
Muslims	103(95.4)	171(98.3)	274(97.2)
Christians	5(4.6)	3(1.7)	8(2.8)
Total	108(100.0)	174(100.0)	282(100)
Ethnicity			
Hausa	63(58.3)	98(56.3)	161(57.1)
Fulani	29(26.9)	42(24.1)	71(25.2)
Yoruba	5(4.6)	15(8.6)	20(7.1)
Igbo	9(8.3)	4(2.3)	13(4.6)
Others	2(1.9)	15(8.6)	17(6.0)
Total	108(100.0)	174(100.0)	282(100)

Table II: Characteristics of Parents/guardians of juvenile hawkers in Kano city, Nigeria

Parental Frequency			
Characteristics	No. (%)		
Education	Father	Mother	Guardian
None	31(11.0)	69(24.5)	13(40.6)
Non-formal	117(41.5)	150(53.2)	6(18.8)
Adult Education	23(8.2)	5(1.8)	5(15.6)
Primary	49(17.4)	31(11.0)	6(18.8)
Secondary	35(12.4)	26(9.2)	1(3.1)
Tertiary	9(3.2)	1(0.4)	1(3.1)
Total	282(100.0)	282(100.0)	32(100)
Occupation	Father	Mother	Guardian
Business/Trading	61(21.6)	38(13.5)	7(21.9)
Skilled worker	60(21.3)	23(8.2)	3(9.4)
Civil servant	56(19.9)	29(10.3)	4(12.5)
Food seller	-	80(28.4)	2(6.3)
Housewife	NA	112(39.7)	6(18.8)
Unemployed	53(18.8)	-	7(21.9)
Others	52(18.4)	-	3(9.4)
Total	282(100.0)	282(100.0)	32(100.0)
Parents' marital statu	s		
Parents living together	208(73.8)		
Parents divorced	42(14.9)		
Lost both parents	32(11.3)		
Total	282(100.0)		

Table III: Juvenile hawkers' situation in the family

	Frequency	
Characteristics	No. (%)	
No. of children in fami	ly	
1-4	24(8.6)	
5-9	127(45.0)	
10-14	89(31.5)	
15-19	23(8.3)	
≥20	19(6.8)	
Total	282(100.0)	
Desition in the family		
Position in the family 1 st -5 th	209/72 9)	
6 th -10 th	208(73.8)	
11 th -15 th	61(21.7)	
11 -15 16 th -20 th	8(2.9)	
	5(1.8)	
Total	282(100.0)	
Guardianship for those	e whose parents are deceased	(n=32)
Uncle	12(37.5)	
Grandparents	10(31.3)	
Aunty	6(18.8)	
Brother	4(12.4)	
Total	32(100.0)	
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Table IV: Hazards faced by juvenile hawkers in Kano city, Nigeria

Frequency		
Type of hazard	No. (%)	
Road Traffic Accident		
Yes	82(29.1)	
No	200(70.9)	
Total	282(100.0)	
Physically assaulted		
Yes	77(27.3)	
No	205(72.7)	
Total	282(100.0)	
Fighting		
Yes	105(37.2)	
No	177(62.8)	
Total	282(100.0)	
Accused of theft		
Yes	41(14.5)	
No	241(85.5)	
Total	282(100.0)	
Sexually assaulted		
Yes	44(15.6)	
No	238(84.4)	
Total	282(100.0)	
Gang beaten		
Yes	27(9.6)	
No	255(90.4)	
Total	282(100.0)	
Kidnapped		
Yes	2(0.7)	
No	280(99.3)	
Total	282(100.0)	

Table V: Sexual assault by gender

G 1		Frequency	
Gender	Sexually assaulted	No. (%) Not sexually assar	ulted Total
Male	3(2.8)	105(97.2)	108(100.0)
Female	41(23.6)	133(76.4)	174(100.0)
Total	44(15.6)	238(84.4)	282(100.0)