



Journée scientifique organisée par Pôle Suds (Ined)
Pôle Suds Research Workshop (Ined)

« Jeunes migrantes et petites bonnes en Afrique »

« Migrant girls and little maids in Africa »

Ouagadougou, 4 décembre 2011
Hôtel Laico, Complexe Ouaga 2000

Session : 5. Regards croisés sur les migrations des jeunes filles

Auteur-e-s : Ina GANKAM TAMBO

Titre : Child Domestic Workers in Nigeria:

Rural-Urban Migration for a Better Education

VERSION PRELIMINAIRE : merci de contacter les auteur-e-s pour les citations

DRAFT : please contact the author-s for any quotation

Child Domestic Workers in Nigeria: Rural-Urban Migration for a Better Education

Education appears not only to be a push- and pull-factor for migration, but also seems to be a disposition that enables child domestic workers to better cope with aversive working- and living conditions. Numerous parents – especially those living in rural areas in Nigeria – cannot offer their children¹ acceptable living conditions without the help of others, and thus revert to traditional models of socialization, according to which children are sent to i.a. well-to-do members of the extended family, so as to have the chance to grow up under better developmental and educational conditions (Ekechi 2003: 173). Oftentimes children particularly from rural areas decide to migrate to urban areas to work as a child domestic worker in alien households and thereby hope to achieve a better future. Hence, their work serves their survival and the progression of financially indigent people in Nigeria. This paper tries to illustrate the double role of education as a cultural capital, which is on the one hand a (a) *pull-factor for a child's rural-urban migration* to a well-off household, (b) and on the other hand a *mediating factor of a child domestic worker's coping strategies* when facing aversive situations in his/her guardian's household. Thereby the here presented preliminary results of the ongoing Ph.D. project are based on a one-year field research the author undertook in Nigeria.

Introduction

In numerous sub-Saharan African countries children and youth have a traditional obligation to domestic work in family households. This is often been understood as a measure of socialization as well as an attestation of solidary participation in the community (African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, article 31). Child domestic workers are children who work in households either of their extended family or of strangers. Predominantly these are girls aged between six and seventeen years (ILO 2004; Internationales Arbeitsamt 2002: 32). Their work is diverse: besides the common household tasks like washing, going on errands, cooking (Bourdillon 2007; Camacho 1999; Ebigbo 2003; ILO 2004; Jacquemin 2004; 2009; Lawson 1998; Oloko 1992; 2004; 2004a), child domestic workers also undertake other tasks e.g. gardening, the work as a shop tenant, hawking. Currently, there are about 54 million children in Nigeria; about 13 million are regarded as so called working children. However, reliable data about children working as domestic servants are not available. The Global March mentions elder data of the year 1998 counting about 40,000 child domestic workers in Nigeria – however the author of this texts regards this number as too small in view of the fact that the same source constitutes that nearly half of all domestic servants are children (Global March 2011).

If children work in third party households it is regarded as economic exploitation of children and due to the risks and rights violations involved with this work, it is considered as one of the worst forms of child labour according to the ILO Convention 182 (ILO 2004: 4). Yet, their life in poverty and the experienced lack of education and opportunities to a personal development constitute 'push-factors', either to migrate from rural to urban settings, or be sent by their parents to urban areas, and thereby take certain risks (aversive living- and working conditions) into account.

¹ According to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) 'children' are all people younger than 18 years. Hereafter I will recur to this definition when talking about children and child work.

Particularly the living circumstances for children in Nigeria's rural areas are characterized by a lack of infrastructure: schools are located far from home and have a poor quality. Yet, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa counting about 152 million people. Despite her huge oil-fields and gas-in-place which constitute the largest rate of the GDP (Bureau of African Affairs) the country belongs to the so called low-income-countries and has a Human Development Index (HDI) of 0,423 (upward trend)². However according to the Child Development Index (CDI) the living conditions for children have improved tentatively in the years 1990-2006 (Save the Children 2008: 22), even though still 70% of the population live below the poverty line (CIA 2011).

Theoretical Background: Cultural, Social and Economic Capital

Due to the lack of a modern infrastructure and modern goods in Nigerian rural areas, children decide to migrate to urban areas, hoping to achieve a betterment of their living situation, precisely of their educational development. Schools in Nigerian cities are estimated to have a better quality than the schools in Nigerian villages. And in order 'to be someone' children regard education as the key to it. Hence, they strive to achieve 'cultural capital' in form of a sound formal education which they hope to later transform into economic (and social) capital, in terms of a good income and finally, to experience it as a well-paid occupation and as comfortable living circumstances.

Cultural capital, according to Pierre Bourdieu (1986: 241) can thus be defined as 'accumulated labour' and can exist either 'in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; or in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.) (ibid.: 243). In its *institutionalized* form of academic qualifications it thus differentiates the autodidact from holder of a legally guaranteed academic qualification certifying cultural competence. Not only is it possible to compare different academic qualifications, but also, to transform cultural capital into economic capital, i.e. into money.

The rate of the conversion correlates to the amount of i.a. economic capital invested into cultural capital, as well as the value which it has achieved at the end of an educational career. The qualification certifies the invested time and economic capital, and therefore can be exchanged at the labour market (ibid.: 247 et seq.). The acquisition of cultural capital hereafter affords 'personal costs'; but Bourdieu also remarks that in class-divided societies the social background of the parents influences the length of time their children can spend on their education. Not all parents can provide necessary economic means (economic capital) or the cultural capital (intellectual closeness to education and academics) to enable the education for their children. Arising thereby qualifications (accumulate cultural capital) with a high value for transformation, which can enable them to attain well-paid occupations (ibid: 246). Hence, '[d]ifferences in the cultural capital possessed by the family imply differences first in the age at which the work of transmissions and accumulation begins - the limiting case being full use of the time biologically available, with the maximum free time being harnessed to maximum cultural capital - and then in the capacity, thus defined, to satisfy the specifically cultural demands of a prolonged process of acquisition. Furthermore, and in correlation with this, the length of time for which a given individual can prolong his acquisition process depends on the length of time for which his family can provide him with free time, i.e., time free from economic necessity, which is the precondition for the initial accumulation (time which can be evaluated as a handicap to be made up)' (ibid.).

But it is not only the opportunity for the formation of cultural capital which enables an individual to reach higher vertical social mobility. Social capital, which is manifested in the membership in

² The HDI is composed of the three indicators education, health and standard of living. For comparison: Germany has a HDI of 0,855 (UNDP database 2011).

durable networks, or memberships in groups which are based on mutual recognition, share a common 'collectively owned capital'. They can be institutionalized as for instance a family or a school (ibid.: 248). However, the amount of networks an individual possess is further linked to his/her owned cultural and economic capital (ibid.: 249). Cultural capital visualized as a habitus³ of a certain class, e.g. certain distinguished manners, indicates the belonging to a privileged group (ibid.: 256). If an individual is a recognized member of a group or network he/she can in solidary profit from this membership, which is the unifying reason for the existence of the group or network (ibid.: 249).

The amount of socially highly valued cultural capital adjudicates the individual's position in society (*social field*). This is what the child domestic workers have realized and thus they want to take the acquisition of cultural capital into their own hands. Hereafter, social capital in form of being part of the familiar network in an urban region appears to be a way to achieve vertical social mobility for a rural migrant child. It is assumed that the network might *in solidarity* share the profits of being a member and might send the migrant child to school for him/her to accumulate further cultural capital; to be *economically set free* to find time to prolong his/her own educational career. This might be the case for some children, while many other children experience not to be recognized as equal members of the 'family-network' and are thus not legitimized to share the profits and therefore face greater challenges in acquiring sufficient cultural capital to later find an adequate occupation.

Data and Method

The research project is part of the author's ongoing Ph.D.-project and tries to generate insights about child domestic workers in Nigeria. Thereby the author tries to answer the following research questions:

1. How do child domestic workers regard their own conditions of socialization?

Different types/cases of child domestic workers are identified, in order to understand their specific conditions of socialization (their motives for migration and work, their living conditions as well as experienced violations of rights).

2. What are the measures of interventions implemented in Nigeria? In how far are they child rights based and/or child-centered? Which impact do they have on the conditions of socialization of child domestic workers?

Measures analyzed according to the World Polity Theory (Meyers/Ramirez 1998; Boli/Ramirez 1986) comprise the Nigerian Child Rights Act (2003) and measures employed by different law enforcement agencies as well as by other state and federal institutions dealing with the matter of child rights and child protection. Thereby the author focuses on the regions Enugu and Lagos. The question being addressed was in how far these institutions adapt and implement international human rights policies and domesticate them to the specific environment.

3. What measures are undertaken by the civil society, esp. by NGOs?

Which role in terms of child protection and child rights advocacy do NGOs play in Enugu and Lagos? In how far do they intervene and/or support child domestic workers?

Within a one year field research in the years 2008/09 the author collected the data for her analysis. Overall she interviewed 75 stakeholders in Lagos and 64 stakeholders in Enugu and collected policy papers as well as other relevant documents. Among the interview partners are employers, 'biological' parents of child domestic workers, 'biological' children of the employer,

³

'The habitus is precisely this immanent law, *lex insita*' (Bourdieu 2010: 81), and a 'strategy generating principle' and a 'system of durable transposable dispositions' (Bourdieu 2010: 72) which has been 'laid down in each agent by his earliest upbringing, which is the precondition not only for the co-ordination of practices but also for practices of co-ordination (Bourdieu 2010: 81).

middlemen, teacher, clerics, traditional ruler, ministers, NGOs, lawyer, law enforcement agents, trade unionists, media etc. Moreover she interviewed 64 child domestic workers; the sample of them has been comprised through theoretical sampling in the course of the field research.

Government schools were mainly chosen as a place for data collection because government officials, she previously interviewed referred her to them as a place where she could easily meet them. Six cases were not collected from the government schools; she was referred to them through the snowball method and was thus able to i.e. talk to children domestic workers who do not attend a school. The schools were selected according to their location in partially 'better-off' districts of Lagos (Lekki/Sangotedo), districts with a broad middle-class (Surulere and Opebi), as well as districts with slum-areas (Makoko and Ojota). In Enugu the author made enquiries in an afternoon-school of an underprivileged district (Ogui) and in a 'better-off' district (Independence Layout).

The field research was based on a Child-Rights based Approach - CRA (Save the Children UK 2007 and Save the Children Sweden 2005). This approach moves away from a 'deficit-only' perspective and allows taking over a child-centered perspective of children, viewing them as right-holders and competent actors in the society. In her field research the author focused on the Child Rights Situation Analysis (CRSA) (Save the Children UK 2007: 15). This approach guided the author to structure her field-research into the categories (a) immediately investigating the working and living conditions of child domestic workers through interviewing them directly, and (b) questioning the status quo of child rights based on interventional measures through interviewing stakeholders located in ministries and affiliated law enforcement agencies, as well as (c) enquiring in how far the civil society reacts to the phenomenon child domestic workers and to question concerning child rights. Since the author's objective was to critically examine the situation of child rights and not to design a program, she only applied the first step of the CRA, namely the CRSA.

The CRSA tries to identify rights-violations as well as provisions made concerning children's rights (Save the Children UK 2007: 15). Thereby different stakeholders and duty-bearers within the explored fields are analyzed with regard to their influence on the life of the child as well as their obligations and responsibilities in fulfilling children's rights; reciprocally, it is also been examined in how far the child as a right-holder makes use of his or her entitlements in claiming provisions or announcing experienced violations of rights.

All the interviews were held in English or in rare cases in the mother language (either Igbo or Yoruba) with the help of a translator. The author employed three different types of interviews with her informants: (1) the semi-structured interview mainly with the child domestic workers and their parents (Friebertshäuser 2003); (2) the expert interview with the duty-bearers (Meuser/Nagel 2003); (3) group-discussion with 'biological' children of employers of child domestic workers (Bohnsack 2010).

The interview transcripts of the interviews held with the child domestic workers were analyzed according to the intersectional multilevel analysis (Winker/Degele 2009) in combination with the Documentary Analysis (Bohnsack 2010a). The interview transcripts of the secondary- and key stakeholders as well as policy papers are analysed according to the documentary method. The author selected seven interviews of child domestic workers according to the *Formulating Interpretation* (Nohl 2007: 257) which enabled a broad heterogeneity reflecting the variety of different cases within the sample of child domestic workers and thus offering contrasting comparison horizons as well as consisting of a wealth of focusing metaphors (ibid.).

With regard to the here presented results the author analyzed the interview transcripts according to the intersectional multilevel analysis examining their constructed identity, the symbolic representations and the social structure against the background of the research question how they

perceive their working- and living-conditions. Adjacent she formulated a meaning generative typology according to the Documentary Method (Bohnsack 2010a) with regard to the child domestic workers motives for migration, their experienced living and working conditions and their employed coping strategies.

The Documentary Method is a reconstructive method of analysis, as it follows a praxeological approach in analyzing generated data from the field. The aim of this method is to find an access to the reflexive and action-guided knowledge of actors, and through this to reconstruct patterns of behavior by reconstructing their awareness in everyday-life as well as their further development. According to Bohnsack, the main objective is to reconstruct frames of orientations or patterns of orientation of individuals which are manifested according to Mannheim as 'a-theoretical knowledge' (Bohnsack 2010a: 191). According to Pierre Bourdieu's (2010: 72) praxeological approach the documentary method tries to 'pass from the *opus operatum* to the *modus operandi* from statistical regularity or algebraic structure to the principle of production of this observed order, and to construct a theory of practice, or, more precisely, the theory of the mode of the generation of practices, which is the precondition for establishing an experimental science of the dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality, or more simply, of incorporation and objectification'. Documentary Method thus tries to scrutinize and formulate theories of second order about certain '*habitus*', i.e. behavioral patterns, which are produced by 'structures constitutive by certain particular type of environment' (Bourdieu 2010: 72).

The objective of employing the documentary method is to (a) generate a meaning- and socio-generative typology of child domestic workers; and (b) to generate a meaning- and socio-generative typology of the stakeholders as well as their interventive measures.

The Nigerian Rural-Urban Educational Divide⁴

According to the sample of child domestic workers – who were mainly child domestic workers who regularly attend school lessons – their pull-factors of migration were often times argued as to better their own opportunities, for example to attend 'good schools' compared to the schools in their villages. This argumentation is in accordance with findings in secondary literature and official statistical data of the Nigerian school system reflecting the current gap between rural and urban school attendance. This condition yet persists although Nigeria's government of the third civil democratic republic has enacted the Universal Basic Education Act No. 66 (2004) which legally enshrines the Universal Basic Education (UBE), and which has already been introduced in the year 1999 and should guarantee each Nigerian child nine years of an obligatory, free basic school education (UNESCO-IBE 2010: 2 et seq.).

Today, there are besides government or state run schools, private schools (in particular faith-based e.g. Islamic schools), as well as informal traditional educational systems (Qualification Recognition 2010). However, Nigeria faces the challenge to overcome the yet persisting educational inequalities in the Nigerian society. Currently it appears unreachable to achieve the internationally set milestone to provide basic *Education For All* until the year 2015. In the year 2007 an increase of 70 percent compared to the year 1999 was measured, in which the net-enrolment rate amounted 55 percent (UNESCO 2010: 3). Still according to the key marginalization statistics of the year 2008 24.5 percent have not attended any school, while 25.3 percent have only attended a school for less than two years, and 27.9 percent have attended a school for less than four years (UNESCO 2011).

The poor quality of schools is due to lack of educational materials, teacher shortages, insufficient teacher training etc. In addition there are social structures that lead to the fact that

⁴ Parts of this section have been published in Gankam Tambo (forthcoming).

children are neither provided formal nor non-formal education which results in a high rate of adult illiterates. Yet Nigeria recorded an increase of literates of 13 percent (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2008: 37). According to the statistical data the rate of illiterates is currently about 69 percent. However, the Nigerian government defines literacy pretty narrow and the definition only comprises aspects of reading and writing as well as simple capacities in calculation. This is with regard to today's working society and especially with view on the 'digital age' no longer contemporary (Fasokun & Pwol 2008).

Fasokun and Pwol (2008) regard as the main reasons for the high rate of illiterates the low rate of school enrolment in elementary-school sector, the high rate of school drop-outs, insufficient teaching- and learning materials as well as curricula which are not adjusted to the specific living conditions. Moreover, adults hardly attend the literacy programs, because of their fear of financial penalties they have to suffer due to loss of working hours. Finally there are not enough programs for populations in rural areas: hence, they remain excluded because of their geographically marginalized situatedness.

A study comparing the level of education in rural and urban areas (Akande 1987) illustrates that especially in rural areas where the population predominantly earns their living with agricultural work and which lacks of modern goods and infrastructure, has a higher rate of illiterates. The study interviewed a sample of 359 female pupils of senior secondary school aged between 13 and 21 years. 62.4 percent of the sample lives in urban, 37.6 percent in rural area of the state Oyo in southwestern Nigeria. The results of the study show that there are obvious differences in levels of school education between the rural and urban population. These can be manifested at the success in school education, i.e. the performance in school. While only 2.2 percent of the students from rural areas showed good performances in school, 11.1 percent of the students from urban settings showed equal results. More than 27.2 percent of the rural students had weak performances in school in contrast to only 14.1 percent of the students from urban settings. The students from rural areas named factors hindering their work for school at home, counting taking care of their younger siblings, household chores and going on errands. In contrast to this, students from urban areas counted such factors much less. The involvement in domestic and familiar activities seems to be predominantly demanded from female students from rural areas, compared to the importance given to their school activities; this may be ascribed to the educational backgrounds of the parents or to the gender specific role of the woman they hold, and which does not give school education a meaningful significance in the life of a woman.

These results correspond with the data of UNESCO (2011) which also verify that especially populations from rural areas are affected from education poverty. Marginalization with regard to education is a mélange of inherited disadvantages. Deep rootedness in social processes, unjustified social agreements and maladjusted measures reinforce existing social structures which lead to education poverty (ibid.).

The UNESCO (2011) data-set on *'Deprivation and Marginalization in Education'* (DME) structures education poverty in dimensional factors regarding economic background, gender, language, ethnicity, religion and geographic background. The data-set gives information on the education poverty for the respective dimension. The dimensions refer to the age-group of 17 to 24 years and comprise those who have attended a school for less than four years (ibid.).

In summary the DME (ibid.) for Nigeria shows that the population from southern states (South-South 5.4 percent; South-West 4.7 percent) has a lower rate of education poverty than Northern states (North-East 54.7 percent; North-West 58.0 percent). It also shows that the rich population of Nigeria (9.580 years) attends school double as long than the poor population (3.501 years); and

males (10.304 years) in rural regions one year longer than girls (9.608 years) and thereby even longer than males (9.766 years) and females (9.406 years) in urban regions; whereas poor males in rural regions (4.095 years) even attend schools for twice as long as poor girls (2.586 years) but count to the 'education poor' of Nigeria.

Typology of Child Domestic Workers Perceptions on their Conditions of Socialisation and Motives for Migration

Striving for education as well as better living conditions are the main motives for migration of child domestic workers. Moreover, education can also function as a mediating factor when employing coping strategies, as the results presented here show.

With regard to the first research question the author analyzed eight interview transcripts and formulated three meaning-generative typologies with regard to the child domestic workers perception of their conditions of socialization: (a) their initial motives for migration; (b) the problems they are facing at their employers'/guardians' households; (c) their coping strategies. Within the context of the presented topic of this paper, the typologies illustrating the double role of education, namely 'good education as a pull-factor for migration' and 'education mediating coping strategies' are portrayed in the following.

Migration for a 'better Education': Meaning-Generative Typology of Motives for Migration

In correspondence with the above illustrated rural-urban differences in education, the following (preliminary) results show that especially the living conditions in rural areas constitute the motives for migration. The motives for the child's migration partially based on the *voluntary* will to migrate as well as partially a *forced* migration. Yet, the fact that children are trafficked to work as child domestics should not be denied. Thus, there are children deciding to leave their limiting rural settings and who look for places to stay and work, and offering them the chance for school education. But there are also children who are sent to other households by their parents, due to the parents limited financial possibilities to care for their children themselves. Migration thus, is a channel to a better education and to other – hopefully – better circumstances of living.

If the children live and work at their guardians'⁵ households they face new, different, and also problematic living and working conditions they have to cope with. The more or less new problematic working and living conditions the child domestic workers then face, lead to different outcomes of considerations, on whether they decide to cope and stay at their guardian's household, or whether they decide to return back to the parental house.

Thus, the author has identified two different types of migration among her sample, which are the *voluntary migration* and *forced migration*. Among the *voluntary migration* she differentiates four different constitutions of the working- and living-conditions, which are (1) endurance of aversive conditions; (2) wanting to stay; (3) wanting to go. And on the side of the *forced migration* she differentiates between (4) wanting to stay and (5) wanting to go; (6) has left guardian's household (cp. graph 1). Half of the sample stays with a member of the extended family (32 from 61 child domestic workers)⁶. The majority of cases mentions to find better opportunities for personal

⁵ The child domestic workers never speak of an employer because they hardly identify their relationship between them and their guardian as a work-relationship. Rather they try to convert it into a kind of 'familiar' aunty/uncle and niece/nephew relationship. This will be further discussed with regard to the coping strategies employed by them. Notwithstanding the author will use the terms guardian/employer synonymously.

⁶ 61 from 64 interviewed child domestic workers were analysed because three cases live with a sibling and not with an extended family member or stranger and are not in accordance with above definition of a child domestic worker.

development and education as reasons for staying with the guardian as it is been explained in the following (47 from 61 child domestic workers). However, the here presented typology does not exclude other types of perceptions of child domestic workers on their working and living conditions.

(1) Endurance of Aversive Situation

Tracy is a sixteen year old girl who grew up with her single-parent mother. Her father died and she lived with her mother in a village in Enugu state. Tracy decided to leave and stay with an acquaintance of her family. After staying there for a while she actually wanted to return to her mother, but the guardian vehemently asked to stay. Finally she considered to stay because of her possibility to have better educational conditions, and to endure the aversive living conditions.

Tracy⁷ (line 8): *I saw that the school that I was going on in my village. I did not like it, because, they are not serious. They don't teach us with English. And they are stubborn. So I decided to look for one person to stay with.*

Tracy (162): *I like that Sunday. Because sometimes he used to advise me, he used to encourage me. Just to manage and stay. Because I decided to go back on second term. Because of what daddy [her guardian] did.*

Ben is a fifteen year old boy who migrated from the south-eastern ethnic group of the Igbo to southwest of Nigeria, to the Yoruba-speaking region, Lagos. He decided to migrate, due to his father's lack of financial means to support him in his school education and because in the village where he comes from, there is no school of the same quality, like the one he is attending in Lagos.

Ben (line 37): *Over there in the east, before you could get a government school like this you move, like from our place to Agbani. You almost get to Agbani before you see a government school. That is not ready to giving me teaching things plus transport money every day. Unless, if I should come I am ready to register myself. And I said, but, where will I get the money? He said when come I just look to where they used to sell this, I should come. And I said no. That I can't do that. That if (...) my father (...) That I wouldn't come (...). I don't have any other thing than to do than to stay. (...) I am just looking for a solution to do about my education. If it means for me to be moving down to the east, I don't care. What I am looking up is my education.*

(2) & (5) Wanting to stay

While Ben and Tracy rather endure the problems they are facing every day other child domestic workers want to stay and are feeling well at their guardians' households – regardless the fact whether they were forced to go or left voluntarily. In accordance with above findings the aspect of education and personal development are put forward as the key arguments for their wish to stay.

Jody (lines 217-231): *[Jody]: I enjoy staying with my guardians because (...) I see people that I will talk with more than when I am in the village. [Interviewer]: (...) But you are staying with people in the village? [Jody]: Yes, I am staying with people. But they are travelling out, out, out. (...) [Interviewer]: Ok, and what else do you like in Enugu better than in Ebonyi State? [Jody]: I like things better, than, ... I like things better than in the village. (...) The better here is, ... you, ... you have the school, study, have reader, and others. (...) You read reader. And other things. [Interviewer]: Like what? [Jody]: You know how to solve problems in mathematics or in others.*

Felicia (lines 39 & 40): *[Interviewer]: Did you want to go back and stay with your mom, instead of staying here?*

⁷

All names of quoted child domestic workers are pseudonyms given by the author.

[Felicia]: No, I like here.

Felicia (lines 24-28): *There is many differences. You know, in the village, they normally teach with Igbo. And you know, the village school. You can't use it to compare it Enugu. Even the environment the way they do things. Township own is more better than their own. (...). The township school is more better than the village school. (...) And their teachers is well organized. Even they do they things well organized.*

(3) & (6) Wanting to go

Beside the above examples of the child domestic workers preferring to stay at their guardian's place, a child domestic worker experiences rather aversive living- and working conditions. She too attends a school; but compared to her life she had lived at her parental home, she experiences economic exploitation and corporal maltreatment. Unlike the cases presented above, she experiences worse learning conditions at her guardians place; hence, she does not longer want to stay with her guardians, but wants to return to her parents.

Laura (line 76): *As I used to stay with my parents I used to read, I used to play. But, but, when I came, when I came here, I don't used to play again. If I am going out now, I will come back in the night.*

Laura (line 22): *I say, I want to go back to my parents. I don't want to live with them.*

Laura (line 62): *After school, I used to hawk bread for them.*

Laura (lines 108-112) *[Interviewer]: When do you do your school assignment? [Laura]: They used to wake me up around one, that I should read till two o'clock. [Interviewer]: In the night? [Laura]: Yes. (...) That I should read till two o'clock, that I should now sleep back again.*

Miracle for instance voluntary wanted to go and stay with a couple in Lagos, hoping that she could profit from her stay and get a solid academic education in school and university. She now followed a relative who finally placed her at a couple's household in Lagos. However, shortly after, Miracle regretted to have migrated from the southeastern region in Nigeria to Lagos and explains that it is due to the relationship she holds to her guardian. She feels insulted, humiliated and often times misunderstood and hence, she plans to return to her mothers' house.

Miracle (line 2): *So, since I come here, now I am regretting why I come here.*

Miracle (line 22-26): *(...) I now told one of my friend, look at what they are doing. So that I want to go. She now said, do you know anyone living in this Lagos. I told her yes. My sister is living in this Lagos. And my brother is living in this Lagos. She now said, do I know where they live? (...) [Miracle] So I now told my friend, my friend now told me that is there anyone that is living in this Lagos, is there any of my brothers that is living in this Lagos? That I say, yes. My brother and my uncle that is living in this Lagos. My aunty is living in this Lagos. I have stayed with that aunty the time I was small. So, do I know that place? I say yes, that I know that place. My friend said, if they are whickering me too much, if they continue doing all those things to me, that I should go to that place. That I should not even tell her that I want to go. That, if they continue doing this, that one day, that if I come back from school or if I am going to school, I will pack some of my clothes in my schoolbag and go. [Interviewer]: But you also told me that you sometimes like staying with them. Why did you say sometimes? Because actually all the time you were talking about negative things. [Miracle]: Sometimes, the time I like staying with them is sometimes when her sister comes, she will be petting me. Doing as if she likes me. But if her sister goes, she will be whickering me.*

(4) Has left guardian's household

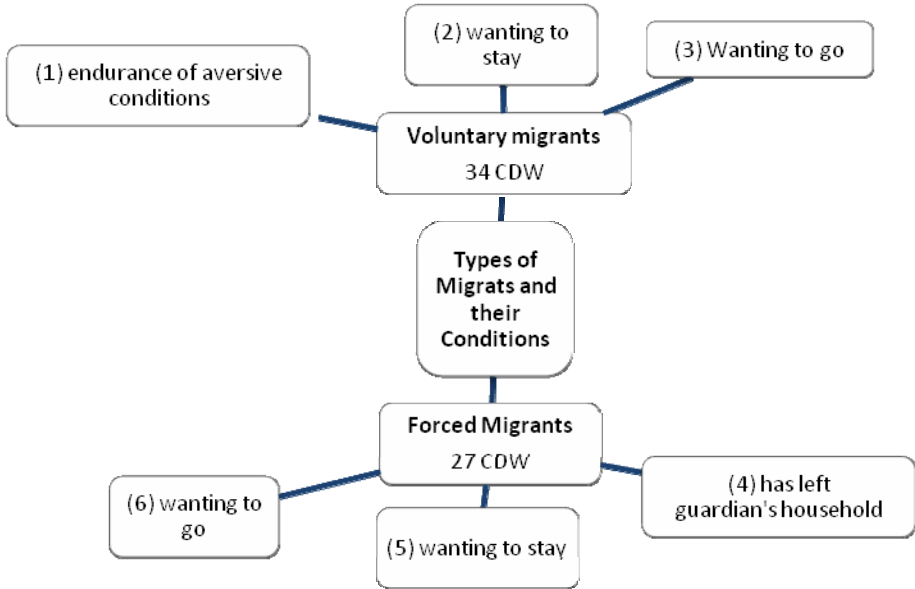
The case of Elizabeth highlights that she no longer wanted to endure the working- and living conditions she felt as unbearable. Instead she values her personal “happiness” and liberty as so important that she rather leaves and returns back to her poor parents who live in the village than to continue staying with her wealthy guardians who have constantly discriminated and maltreated her, as she states in the following:

Elizabeth (line 144): *I can't say that I have learnt. But me, for me now I can just say that I have learnt, that in. When I grow up, I can never maltreat someone's else child, like how I am being maltreated. Because I know how much pain it feels. And how uncomfortable they don't. If you know that you are not ready to train any of them as your own child, is better you don't take any of them at all. Because that is punishment. And at last, you will go through the consequences through God.*

Elizabeth (line 174): *But, as for now, I see myself as in that house-help of a thing. I think it stops now. Because after my Junior WAEC I will be going to stay with my parents at home and feel free. Even if we don't food to eat in the house. Even if it is a cup of water that takes a day. I will be happy and comfortable with it! Than a place you stay eating on and on and on and when there is no happiness, you are losing so many things. Happiness is the key word of life.*

Summarized, the above excerpts of interviews show the importance of education for child domestic workers. In the cases of Ben, Tracy and Jody education is a pull-factor for them to migrate and stay with their guardians in the city, because there they experience better chances for their development and education (to visit a ‘good school’); or spoken in the terminology of Pierre Bourdieu: the guardian’s household offers them to (partially) participate and profit from the social network of family which is the cultural capital as ‘their way of living’ as well as economic capital which is transformed into the family’s goods for living. Even the contrary situation of Laura indicates that the lack education she experienced at her guardian’s home can be a push-factor. Since the guardian does not offer her time for education – or limits her possibilities to it - she wants to return back to her parents, who enabled her to learn and prepare for school – or: who *set her economically free* to study.

Graph 1: Typology of Migration



Education mediating coping strategies

When children decide to migrate in order to live and work in another persons’ household other than their parental, for the sake of e.g. the betterment of their educational career, they usually face different types of problems and adversities. The pull-factor for their migration was in most of the cases the better opportunities for education and development which were hoped to be found in

Nigerian cities; hitherto, in several cases their right to education and development is yet been violated. Either the child domestic workers stated in the interviews that they arrive late at school or only hardly find time to do their school assignments. In one case a child does not even go to school at all and barely knows how to read and write. These conditions undermine the child's right to education according to article 29(1) (a) of the United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child which states that 'the education of the child shall be directed to the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential'; as well as according to article 6(2) which determines that state parties 'shall ensure to the maximum extent possible the survival and development of the child'; and article 3 putting forward that the best interest of a child has to be a primary consideration and protection as well as care have to be provided to the child from the side of the parents and other duty bearers. Yet, they manage to cope with these situations and some children even seem to feel good at their guardians'. Thereby different coping strategies on a spectrum from 'avoidance' and 'approach' as actively dealing with the conflict or avoiding it are employed (Roth/Cohen 1986).

Hence, coping is to be understood as an adaptational process addressed to a stressor, in order 'to manage distressing problems and emotions affects the physical and psychological outcomes of stress' (Sommerfeld: 2000: 620). In this context however, the author refers to the concept of coping according to Grover (2005: 528) as 'anything that increases the survival likelihood of the child emotionally and/or physically whether or not the strategy the child employs is socially acceptable or devoid of appreciable risk.' Hereafter, coping does not in all cases lead to an improvement of the situation. One reason in this context may be the social position of the child in the Nigerian society – and in particular the social position of a child domestic worker: one has to bear in mind that these children lack a social advocacy and their workplace is practically unreachable. Furthermore, the concept of childhood still regards children as those, who 'were meant to be seen, not heard (because they had "no wisdom")'. The principle of seniority applied and the elders had absolute decision-making power' (Dixon-Fyle 2002: 5). Given this, the author also bears in mind the cultural context the children are situated in. Culture plays a pervasive role and thus affects the strategies employed in problem solving (Heppner 2008: 812). Certain strategies which are culturally legitimate in one socio-cultural context may be destructive in another (ibid.).

As explained above, the main objective of the child domestic workers coping efforts is to manage with their social environment for the sake of their school education. Thereby the author has generated four different coping strategies employed by them (cp. graph 2): (1) emancipation/direct problem solving; (2) positive reframing which is further differentiated into (a) minimization and (b) positive thinking; (3) avoidance strategies; (4) support seeking.

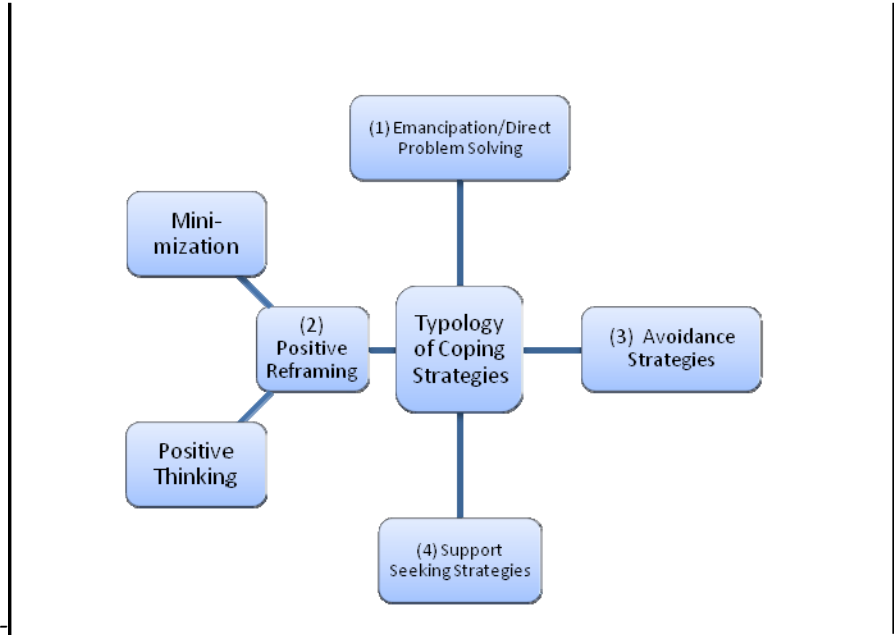
The definitions of the applied coping strategies are oriented at the 'Children's Coping Strategies Checklist – CCSC' which is a self-report inventory in which children describe their coping efforts' as focusing on children's situational measures of coping (Program for prevention research Arizona State University: 2000: 4). CCSC (ibid: 6 et seq.) differentiates a child's coping strategy into problem focused coping (cognitive decision making, direct problem solving, seeking understanding), positive reframing coping (positive thinking, optimistic thinking, control, minimization), distraction strategies (physical release of emotions, distracting actions), avoidance strategies (avoidant actions, repression, wishful thinking) and support seeking coping strategies (support for actions, support for feelings). The categories of coping are based on different dimensions of coping strategies elaborated in various other studies on coping (ibid.: 4 et seq.). Since the author's data does not allow abstracting dispositional (i.e. psychological) measures of coping her focus rests on the situational measures the child domestic workers employ. Hence, CCSC serves her as a suitable framework to formulate a

typology on the child domestic workers coping strategies. Moreover, since it has been successfully applied on children, and thus lends itself to identify the employed coping strategies of the child domestic workers.

The structure of the four types of coping strategies suggests a kind of hierarchy of coping measures. To a certain degree it can be regarded as such; the ability for example to overcome intersectional discrimination as a child domestic worker, possibly by leaving the unbearable situation experienced at the guardian’s house and to try to find a better place to stay, so as to complete the school education, requires several competencies and cognitive conditions, especially awareness on the situation the child is stuck within. In fact it can be seen as the interplay of the different forms of capital – especially the social, and the cultural type of capital which finally can enable the child domestic worker to emancipate from being discriminated and maltreated from the guardian or to liberate him- or herself from the suppression and the disruption of rights experienced and felt in the guardian’s house. To this belongs an awareness and knowledge about rights and to be able to identify child maltreatment and child abuse. Some of the interviewed children are not capable of doing this and try to minimize the problem or to positively reframe it; or in extreme cases to even identify with their aggressor.

The following examples demonstrate in how far education as a cultural capital mediates coping strategies of the child domestic workers in different ways.

Graph 2: Typology of Coping Strategies of Child Domestic Workers



(1) Emancipation as Direct Problem Solving

Elizabeth left her guardian’s house and is now staying with an acquaintance to complete her school examination. Decisive for her leaving was the guardian’s beating which led to serious eye problems. Due to her experiences she does no longer want to work as a househelp because she regards it as discriminating and as a condition in which children are disrupted of their rights. Her main objective now is her education and to feel ‘happy’. Due to her intellectual competences she knows children’s rights and was thus in the position to make direct efforts to improve her situation. Hence, she was in the position critically reflect and reconstruct her perception on her living and working conditions

objectively and left the guardian's place. This coping strategy shows that Elizabeth was in the position to emancipate herself from the economic dependency of her guardian caring for her living and education, realizing and following alternatives ways of action.

Elizabeth (lines 166-170): *(..). I am not fit for being a house-help. And I don't enjoy it. Being a house-help is the worst I can ever see on this earth! I can take it as the worst. Because so many of them are being hawkers out there! Some of them that are been sent out to. So it is even, that is, I can even say is a kind of, is it, child trade, child trafficking or something like that. (...) Discriminating, a kind of stopping children from their rights.*

Elizabeth (line 174): *But, as for now, I see myself as in that house-help of a thing. I think it stops now. Because after my Junior WAEC I will be going to stay with my parents at home and feel free. Even if we don't food to eat in the house. Even if it is a cup of water that takes a day. I will happy and comfortable with it! Than a place you stay eating on and on and on and when there is no happiness, you are losing so many things. Happiness is the key word of life.*

(2) Positive Reframing

By 'thinking about the good things that happened' (Program for prevention research Arizona State University: 2000: 7) Jody tries to avoid reflecting the 'stressors' or problems encountered at her guardian's household. Though she also mentions aspects which negatively affect her emotions (line 267: 'Sometimes, I see myself as their child. Sometimes I see myself as their slave. (...) Sometimes, if they give me a hard work, I see myself as their slave'), she predominantly reframes her living circumstances positively. Even the fact that her guardian's daughter attends the secondary school in full length, and Jody has to wait for her to return and thus comes late to her afternoon school every day, is not formulated as a problem. It appears that most of the time she avoids to realize that she is not been regarded as a full and equal privileged member of the family. Instead she tries to only positively describe her living conditions with regard to the educational, developmental and social opportunities that are offered to her and which are better than in the village compared to where she lived with her parents. Also she points out that to a certain extent she *is* even regarded as an equal member of the familiar network, because she is allowed to watch TV in the parlor together with them and takes the meals together with their children. She also seems to feel healthier and better at her guardian's place.

Jody (line 177): [Interviewer]: *Are you allowed to watch TV with them in the parlor?* [Jody]: *Yes.*

Jody (line 200): *Me and the other children I eat in an extra place.*

Jody (line 204): *I feel stronger when I am with my guardians.*

And even if asked, which work she actually dislikes, she does not mention the hoeing of weed she later talked about and makes her feel like a 'slave'. She gave the general answer 'I like all the work that they give to me' (line 74). The syntactical analysis of her narration displayed that her coping strategy is to positively reframe and think about her living circumstances, rather than critically reflect them and to value them as detrimental. Finally, Jody's coping strategy can be tried to be understood against the background of the fact that she does not know children's rights and thus lacks the knowledge and competence to identify and react child rights violation in her everyday life (line 317-318: '[Interviewer]: Do you know children's rights? [Jody]: (silence)').

Stacy, who works as a child domestic worker and in her guardian's shop and does not go to school, also employs the strategy of positively reframing the entire situation by not even reflecting

the fact that in particular her rights to development and education are ignored and violated, because she too has not had any human/children's rights education (line 109-110: [Interviewer]: Do you know children's rights? [Stacy]: No.) and hence, appears not to be sensitized towards rights violations. She does not even regard it as a problem; instead she argues, that 'I didn't go to school my side' (Stacy line 14) and thus *minimizes* the whole aspect as well as the consequences of the problem, 'not making a big deal out of it' (Program for prevention research Arizona State University: 2000: 7), because previously it had not been different. This may be related to the fact that her intellectual capabilities are not developed to the extent to raise awareness towards this and to recognize that this could be a detrimental situation to her for her future and currently, as it can hinder her in being an informed social agent in the society. Education to her does not appear as a capital, necessary to acquire in order to transform it later into a well-paid occupation (economic capital) offering her a reasonable income. Her future wish is to be a hairdresser (line 108); and for this job the requirements are rather low and do not necessarily premise the capacities of reading and writing.

In a similar way Felicia plays down conflictual situations with her guardians and states that '[i]f it happened like that (...) I will take it, you know. I don't know how to explain it. I will tell myself, that, you know, if that thing will happen like this, I will not, you know do it to anybody. (...) You know (...) if it happened I will just forget it then. If I (...) carry it, it won't really help me. I don't really have to carry burden. Especially, quarrel with somebody. I don't like it' (line 102-104). However, she has the intellectual capacities to also focus on her main objective which is education and thus regards this as one of the main important things she can profit from by staying with her guardian (lines 29-30: '[Interviewer]: What else do you prefer to the village, living here? [Felicia]: (...) [L]iving here, you know I like it you know. I also want to train myself, you know, to do many things'). Education for her is a precious capital which she wants to achieve in order to later attend a university and work as an accountant (line 114-116: 'I wanted to read banking and accounting') and thus to have finally profited from her initially forced migration by achieving social advancement.

(3) Avoidant Strategies

Laura's strategy of coping with her problems experienced at her guardian's place is to use wishful thinking that 'the problem was better', that she wished to go back to her parents or at least to no more hawk for her guardian (lines 119-120: '[Interviewer]: What would you like to change about the work you are doing? [Laura]: I don't even want to stay there again!'). She does not mention any strategies of opposing her guardian nor the effort to have contacted her parents; instead she mentions that she is not even sure whether they know where she currently lives, and that she is not even allowed to call her parents (line 200: 'So my parents, to where they have now packed to the place of maybe now, my parents will not know, where we are living again'; line 152: 'Because, if I said, I want to call my parents she will not allow me').

Due to the fact that she is being strongly intimidated by her guardian she does not even report the maltreatments she is suffering from to her teacher or school counselor – instead she regards this strategy as an endless vicious circle, rather than a way out and intervention into her guardians maltreatments. Her guardian beat her in a way that it left scars and wounds on her whole body. Yet she argues that '(...) if I told the school counselor and they call her, when I reach home she will beat me.' Thus, the only solution she sees, is thus to endure and wish a better future.

Laura seems to lack not only the cultural capital in form of an education on children's and human rights, so as to realize that she is being maltreated and deprived of her rights to rest, play and to learn for school and to be free from corporal maltreatments. She also lacks the knowledge of

networks that could advocate for her and enable her to be empowered so as to employ other coping strategies which can release her from the aversive conditions she is currently experiencing. Thus, her social capital, appears to be very limited and this is conditioned by her cultural capital (knowledge) which does not enable her to exhaust networks in her environment e.g. social institutions at her school to support her in her current living and working circumstances. Since she does not realize her situation as child maltreatment she might not realize that she can prosecute her right not to experience maltreatments

Laura (lines 270-275): [Interviewer]: Do you know children's rights. [Laura]: No. [Interviewer]: But you know the word child abuse? [Laura]: No [Interviewer]: But do you know the word child maltreatment? [Laura]: No.

(4) Support seeking strategies

Ben and Tracy have a notion of their experiences and that these experiences are child abusing. Yet, they resist in acting directly and are more or less content to only seek support for action in the way of using 'other people as resources to assist in seeking solutions to the problem situation' (Program for prevention research Arizona State University: 2000: 7).

In the case of Ben it seems as if he does not have any alternative at the moment, since he cannot go back home, because his father lacks of financial means to support his education. So, he follows his friends advise to 'endure', since his situation is only temporarily (line 27: 'Most of my friends have tell me that no matter what they tell me, no matter what they do to me, I should not look (...) on it as bad. Because maybe that's the way, that God wants it. That (...) endurance is the best teacher. That I just endure. At least it is just a couple of time'). This strategy seems to work for Ben, since the problems, he had identified, can be kept under control by enduring them and focusing on education (line 37: 'What I am looking up is my education').

Tracy too tries to endure. But it seems to her that she is not under the full control of the situation. She follows the advice her guardian's brother gave her: '[H]e used to advise me, he used to encourage me, just to manage and stay. Because, I decided to go back on second term, because of what daddy did' (line 162). She feels intimidated, hopeless and bad: 'I feel so bad, I don't like scratching him. It's just that, I want him to be happy with me. But if I, if I refuse to scratch him on his penis he don't used to be happy with me' (line: 124). Yet, she does not seek for further help, nor does she employ other strategies due to lack of and social and cultural capital – or as she calls it 'trust':

Tracy (lines 147-158): [Interviewer]: *What makes you think that he cannot talk about it with him?* [Tracy]: *Because I don't trust him.* [Interviewer]: *Who don't you trust? Daddy or the brother?* [Tracy]: *I don't trust Comfort, daddy, in short: all of them self.* [Interviewer]: *You don't trust all of them? What do you mean by that?* [Tracy]: *Because after telling, after telling Comfort, she will go and tell daddy about it. And daddy used it against me.* [Interviewer]: *Ok, you are afraid that those people will use your complaints against you. So what do you do? You just manage, keep the thing to yourself. How do you feel.* [Tracy]: *I feel so bad. So that I will go back when we close this third term. I want to go back to my village and start JS 3. I have already written letter to my uncle that I come back.* [Interviewer]: *Did you tell him what is happening in this house?* [Tracy]: *Yes.* [Interviewer]: *Did he reply your letter?* [Tracy]: *No.*

Since she does not trust the others in the house who all know about what her guardian is doing, she tried to seek for help within her own family – yet without avail. Although she had written a letter to her uncle and talked to her guardian's brother about the sexual abuses she is experiencing, she has

overcome her inhibition of talking about it. Still she does not search for other options, which could be based on the fact that she lacks of knowledge on human rights (lines 233-234: '[Interviewer] And do you know about children's rights? [Tracy]: No.')

which could have made her search for interventional measures to support her. A further strategy she employs in coping with the situation is to partially identify herself with the aggressor (her guardian). This strategy is said to be quite typical for victims of sexual abuse and to cope with the traumatic experience it entails (Hirsch: 109 et seq.). Tracy euphemizes actually insignificant events with her guardian and even identifies herself as his sister and thus tries to construct a bizarre closeness and fraternity between them.

Tracy (lines 209-220): [Interviewer]: *Do you think you are part of his family?* [Tracy]: *Yes, I think so.* [Interviewer]: *What makes you think you are part of his family?* [Tracy]: *Because he used to tell me, like last week, somebody stole his fifty-thousand Naira. He told me about it.* [Interviewer] *And what makes you feel that you are not a house-help? Or: who are you in that house?* [Tracy]: *I take myself as his sister. (...)Because sometimes if he buys something, he will share it to all of us. All of us will share it together.*

In a similar way Laura argues as she states 'I'm just like a sister to her' (line 228) and that she likes them for how they have been to her before she started staying with them.

Laura (lines 280-285): [Interviewer]: *Do you like them?* [Laura]: *Yes. (...) Because, before, as I was not living there, as I was still living with my parents, they came to our house, they came to show this, as if they like me. But as I was living with them, they did not like me any longer.*

The examples illustrated here show that child domestic workers are generally strongly depending on their guardians. They hope to profit from staying with their guardians' through trying belonging to the guardian's family's network in one way or the other, so as to solidary render profits in terms of attaining cultural capital (education). However, as the examples have shown, this does not happen unobstructedly.

Furthermore, the examples confirm the double function of education as a cultural capital as on the one hand a motivator for rural-urban migration, and on the other hand as functioning as a coping strategy towards experienced aversive working and living conditions. Depending on the amount of possessed cultural capital it functions as an empowering mediator and enables to emancipate from detrimental conditions and to search for alternatives. It can enable to reflect certain conflicts as minor events and focus on the personal development as the main profit to be achieved while living in the guardian's house. If not possessed, especially if there is no awareness about human and/or children's rights at all, it limits the coping strategies to the point, neither that effective support can be sought, nor that the condition the child is stuck within, can be identified as abusive.

Final thoughts: Child Domestic Workers' Extension of Agency through Education

The agency of individuals or dispositions to act as agents depends – as it is been illustrated above – on the forms and amount of capital which can be mobilized by an individual. Hereunto educational processes (formally or informally) can be conducive as well as knowledge of human rights and alternative strategies of action. Arjun Appadurai (2004: 69) concludes that agency can be condensed from parts and as a compilation of certain types of capital to a 'culture of aspiration' and as a 'navigational capacity'. The capacity to 'aspire' enables individuals living in poverty to bundle their resources so as to overcome their status and participate in social processes so as to actively voice their concerns. The cultural capacity to 'aspire' can, according to Appadurai (ibid: 59) also be

understood as an 'idea of future'. Yet, '(...) as the poor seek to strengthen their voices as a cultural capacity, they will need to find those levers of metaphor, rhetoric, organization and public performance that will work well in their cultural worlds' (ibid.: 67).

This can also refer to children. They too can produce and reproduce social structures as social agents (James/Prout 1990: 8). However, as illustrated above, agency is to a great extent limited through social structures which allot children a subordinate status and limit their scope of action within the household's environment. Yet, the agency of a child can be developed as the child takes over responsibility for him/herself (and others). This can generate an awareness of structures of power and social structures and the capacity of being able to adjust to changing contexts; either individually, or collectively with other children (Homfeldt et al 2008: 8 et seqq.). The knowledge of his/her own rights plays a crucial role and can be furthered through human rights education with children.

Amartya Sen (1999) calls this awareness on rights violation and the emancipation from inferior positions in society, capabilities. Capabilities enable an individual to reach beyond cultural and social reproduction of patterns of action and to participate as a social actor in his/her social environment. Inevitable for this are, according to Sen, five central freedoms (1) political freedom (civil rights); (2) economic opportunities (access to credits i.a.); (3) social opportunities (e.g. access to educational institution); (4) guarantee on transparency (prevention against corruption); (5) security measures (e.g. social benefits).

Capabilities can be understood both objectively and subjectively. Not only must specific external conditions be provided (which can even be changed), but subjects must also be confident to claim them as well as to enforce them. Latter is generally been referred to as *agency* and describes a competence in action and the opportunity to act. The UNDP World Development Report (World Bank 2005: 48) describes agency as 'a dimension of power, alongside education, health and wealth'. Following this implies that there are 'inequalities of agency' (ibid.).

These thoughts show with reference to the above illustrated cases that child domestic workers have a rather 'thin agency' (Klocker 2007). The child domestic workers' 'thin agencies' as well as their limited capabilities are determined by their inferior position in the social field which is generated by their intersectional discrimination as a *child* from a *poor, rural background* which works in another family's household of which it is *not acknowledged as an equal member*. Their scope of action is rather limited to their position in the household, depending on the social capital they want to partake and their main aim of education they want to have. In their aspiration for a better future some rather decide to employ 'silent' and 'defensive' coping strategies. However, this makes them more 'invisible' as they already are and thus even marginalizes them more – on the one hand within their guardian's household and on the other hand in society. Consequently, they are hard to reach for interventive measures. And this makes them even more vulnerable in terms of the violation of the rights.

References

- Akande, Bolanle E. (1987): Rural – Urban Comparison of Female Educational Aspirations in South-Western Nigeria. In: *Comparative Education*, Vol. 23: 1, pp. 75 – 83.
- Appadurai, Arjun (2004). The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition. In: Rao, Vijayendra/Walton, Michael (eds.). *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 59-84.
- Bohnsack, Ralf (2010). Gruppendiskussion. In: Flick, Uwe/Kardorff, Ernst von/Steinke, Ines (eds.). *Qualitative Forschung. Ein Handbuch*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt-Taschenbuch-Verl, pp. 369–384.

- Bohnsack, Ralf (2010a). *Rekonstruktive Sozialforschung. Einführung in qualitative Methoden*. Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich. (2010).
- Boli, John/Ramirez, Francisco (1986). World Culture and the institutional development of mass education. In: Richardson, J.E. (ed.). *Handbook of Theory of Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press, pp. 65 - 92.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1986). Forms of Capital. In: Richardson, J.E. (ed.). *Handbook of Theory of Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press, pp. 241-258.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (2010). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Bourdillon, M. (2006). *Child domestic workers in Zimbabwe*. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Camacho, A. (1999). Family, Child Labour and Migration. Child domestic Workers in Metro Manila. In: *Childhood – A Global Journal Of Child Research*. Vol. 6, No. 1, Februar 1999, pp. 57 – 73.
- CIA – Central Intelligence Agency (2011): *The World Fact Book. Nigeria*. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ni.html>.
- Dixon-Fyle, Kanyhaman (2002). *Social Policy with Respect to Care: A Perspective for Sub-Saharan Africa*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Ebigbo, P. O. (2003). Street Children: The core of child abuse and neglect in Nigeria. In: *Children, Youth and Environments*. 13 (1), Spring 2003.
- Ekechi, F. (2003). Pawnship in Igbo Society. In: Lovejoy, P. E. and Falola, T. (ed.): *Pawnship, Slavery and Colonialism in Africa*. Amara/ Eritrea: Africa World Press, Inc.
- Fasokun, Thomas & Pwol, Cecilia (2008): Nigeria: The Current Situation within the Frame work of the International Benchmarks. In: *Adult Education and Development*, No. 71, http://www.dv-international.de/index.php?article_id=809&clang=1.
- Friebertshäuser, Barbara (2003). Feldforschung und teilnehmende Beobachtung. In: Friebertshäuser, Barbara/Prenzel, Annedore (eds.). *Handbuch Qualitative Forschungsmethoden in der Erziehungswissenschaft*. Weinheim/München: Juventa Verlag, pp. 503 – 535.
- Gankam Tambo (forthcoming). Das Bildungssystem in Nigeria. In: Adick, Christel (ed.). *Regionale Bildungsentwicklungen und nationale Schulsysteme in Afrika, Asien, Lateinamerika und Karibik*, Münster: Waxmann Verlag.
- Global March Against Child Labour (2011). *Worst Forms of Child Labour Data. Nigeria*. <http://www.globalmarch.org/worstformsreport/world/nigeria.html>, 05.01.2011.
- Gomis, Dominique/Moussa Harouna, (2009). *Mobile Children – From Victims to Acteurs. Early exodus and Child. Trafficking in West Africa*. Jeuda 119. Dakar: ENDA.
- Grover, Sonja (2005). Advocacy by Children as a Causal Factor in Promoting Resilience. In: *Childhood*, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 527-538.
- Heppner, Puncky Paul (2008). Expanding the conceptualization and measurement of applied problem-solving and coping: from stages to dimensions to the almost forgotten cultural context. In: *American Psychologist*, Vol. 68, No. 8, pp. 805-816.
- Hirsch, Matthias (2007). *Schuld- und Schuldgefühl: Zur Psychoanalyse von Trauma und Introjekt*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Homfeldt, Hans Günther/Schröer, Wolfgang/Schweppe, Cornelia (Hrsg.) (2008). Vom Adressaten zum Akteur. Eine Einführung. In: Dies. (Hrsg.). *Vom Adressaten zum Akteur – Soziale Arbeit und Agency*. Opladen/Farmington Hills: Verlag Barbara Budrich, pp. 7-14.
- ILO - International Labour Organisation (2004). *Helping hands or shackled lives? Understanding child domestic labour and responses to it*. www.ilo.org/public/libdoc/ilo/2004/104B09_138_engl.pdf.
- Internationales Arbeitsamt (2002). *Eine Zukunft ohne Kinderarbeit – Gesamtbericht im Rahmen der Folgemaßnahmen zur Erklärung der IAO über grundlegende Prinzipien und Rechte der Arbeit*. Genf: IAA.
- Jacquemin, M. (2004). Children's Domestic Work in Abijan, Cote d'Ivoire. The petites bonnes have the floor. In: *Childhood*, Vol. 11, No. 3, August 2004, pp. 383 – 397.
- Jacquemin, M. (2009): *So (in)visible young female migrant workers: „Young female domestics“ in West Africa – comparative perspectives from the example of girls and young women at work in Abidjan*. Workshop

- Child and Youth Migration in West Africa: Knowledge Gaps and Implications for Policy. Development Research Center on Migration, Globalization and Poverty, University of Sussex and Center for Migration studies, University of Ghana, 9.-10.06.2009. (unpublished document).
- Klocker, Natasha (2007). 'An example of 'thin' agency: Child domestic workers in Tanzania', in E. Robson, R. Panelli and S. Punch (eds.) *Young Rural Lives*, Taylor & Francis, New York, pp. 83 – 94.
- James, Allison/Prout, Alan (1990). A new paradigm for the sociology of childhood? Provenance, promise and problems. In: Dies. (ed.): *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood*. London: Falmer Press, pp. 7-34.
- Lawson, B. (1998). *Househelps – Blessing or Curse?* Achimota/ Ghana: African Christian Press.
- Liebel, Manfred (2008). „Forschende Kinder.“ In: *Neue Praxis. Zeitschrift für Sozialarbeit, Sozialpädagogik und Sozialpolitik*, 38. Jg. H. 3, 2008, pp. 239-251.
- Meuser, Michael/Nagel Ulrike (2003). Das ExpertInneninterview - Wissenssoziologische Voraussetzungen und methodische Durchführung. In: Friebertshäuser, Barbara/Prengel, Annedore (eds.). *Handbuch Qualitative Forschungsmethoden in der Erziehungswissenschaft*. Weinheim/München: Juventa Verlag, pp. 481 – 491.
- Nohl, Arnd-Michael (2007). Komparative Analyse: Forschungspraxis und Methodologie dokumentarischer Interpretation, in: Bohnsack, Ralf; Nentwig-Gesemann, Iris; Nohl, Arnd-Michael (eds.): *Die dokumentarische Methode und ihre Forschungspraxis. Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp.: 255-276.
- Oloko, S. B. (1992). *Situation analysis of children in especially difficult circumstances (CED)*. A UNICEF report in collaboration with J. Shindi; A.
- Oloko, S. B. (2004 a). *Child domestics: the face of modern child slavery*. Paper presented at the Lagos State Stakeholders' sensitization workshop organized by HDI and ILO-IPEC at the Lagos Hilton Hotel, Ikeja on Thursday, 29th July 2004. (unpublished document).
- Oloko, Sarah B. (2004). *Participatory action Research on girl domestics in third party households in Nigeria*. Final report submitted to UNICEF West African Regional Office, November, 2004. (unpublished document).
- Program for prevention research Arizona State University (2000). Manual for the children's coping strategies. Checklist and the how I coped under pressure scale. Temple: Arizona State University. <http://prc.asu.edu/docs/CCSC-HICUPS%20%20Manual2.pdf>.
- Roth, Susan/Cohen, Lawrence (1986). Approach, avoidance, and coping with stress. In: *American Psychologist*. Vol. 41, No. 7, pp. 813-819.
- Save the Children Sweden (2005). *Child Rights Programming. How to apply child-rights-based approaches to programming: a handbook for International Save the Children Alliance members*. Lima/Peru: Save the Children Sweden.
- Save the Children UK (2007). *Getting it Right for Children. A practitioners' guide to child rights programming*. London: Save the Children Alliance.
- Save the Children UK (2008). *The Child Development Index. Holding governments to account for children's wellbeing*. London: Save the Children UK.
- Sen, Amartya (1999). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford University Press.
- Sommerfield, Mark R. (2000). Stress and Coping Research. Methodological Challenges, Theoretical Advances, and Clinical Applications. In: *American Psychologist*. Vol. 55, No. 6, pp. 620-625.
- Qualifikations Recognition (2010): *Nigeria – Description of Education System*. <http://www.qualificationsrecognition.ie/nigeria-background.html>.
- UNESCO (2010): *Regional Overview: Sub-Saharan Africa. Education for all global monitoring report 2010*. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001865/186526E.pdf>.
- UNESCO (2011). *UNESCO DME Database. Country Overview - Nigeria*. <http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/ED/GMR/html/dme-4.html>.
- UNESCO-IBE (2010): *World Data on Education VII Ed. 2010/11*. http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/WDE/2010/pdf-versions/Nigeria.pdf.
- UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2008): *International literacy statistics: A review of concepts, methodology and current data*. Montreal: UNESCO. <http://www.uis.unesco.org/template/pdf/Literacy/LiteracyReport2008.pdf>.

United Nations Convention on the Right of a Child (1989). <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm>

Winker Gabriele/Degele, Nina (2009). *Intersektionalität. Zur Analyse sozialer Ungleichheiten*. Bielefeld: Transkript Verlag.

Woodhead, Martin (1999). Combatting child labour: listen to what children say. In: *Childhood*. Vol 6 (1), pp. 27 – 49.

World Bank (2005). *World Development Report 2006. Equity and Development*. Washington: The World Bank.

All sources from the internet were reviewed on the 20.11.2011.
