CHILD LABOUR AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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Abstract

In recent times, there is increasing prevalence of child labour in countries of sub-Saharan Africa. Adopting the Routine Activity Theory, this paper critically examines interrelationships between child labour and delinquency. The paper argues that child labour contributes to juvenile delinquency by de-activating capable guardianship, thereby making youngsters (children aged 5 to 17 years) both motivated offenders and suitable targets. Findings confirm that worst forms of child labour relate to delinquency as both means to delinquency and as delinquency in itself. In this sense, children who have fallen victim to child labour are more likely than others to be veritable 'tools' to both delinquency and adult crime later in life. Furthermore, the COVID-19 pandemic complicates progress made so far in the fight against the increasing incidence of child labour in sub-Saharan Africa. This is as about 8.9 million children will be added into the population of child workers in Sub-Saharan Africa by the end of year 2022. With this, sub-Saharan Africa becomes the region of the world with the highest prevalence (23.9%) and largest number of children in child labour. The paper concludes that the increasing rate of child labour in sub-Saharan Africa is better explained and understood from the standpoint of juvenile delinquency. Thus, the paper recommends the domestication and implementation of Child Right Laws in all the levels of government in countries of sub-Saharan Africa.

Keywords: Child labour, juvenile delinquency, routine activity theory, guardianship

Introduction

The incident of child labour is currently ranking among the global social problems; just as it is more devastating among the developing nations in Asia and Africa. For instance, it has been projected that child labour contributed to about 22% of the workforce in Asia, 32% in Africa, 17% in Latin America, and 1% in the United States, Canada, Europe and other rich countries of the world (Nwazuoke & Igwe, 2016).

The recent global estimates show that about 160 million children, more than 62 million girls and 97 million boys, were in child labour globally in early 2020. This is about one-tenth of all the children worldwide. This equally represents about 5.3% increase (8.4 million) in four years (United Nation, 2021). What is more, seventy-nine million children, almost 50 per cent of the children in child labour, were believed to be in hazardous work that directly jeopardizes their health, security and moral development (ILO & UNICEF, 2021). According to the Report, the increase commenced before the COVID-19 pandemic. This therefore kick starts a sharp reversal of a decreasing curve in the trend that had seen child labour numbers shrink by 94 million between year 2000 and 2016. There are indications that unless a drastic step was taken to help bloating numbers of families plunging into poverty, more millions of children, especially from Asian and Sub-Saharan Africa, could be forced into child labour by the year 2023 (ILO & UNICEF, 2021). It was equally projected that about 9 million children may be pushed into child labour in the next one year, if nothing is done to reduce the rate of poverty (United Nnation, 2021).

The increase in child labour was higher in sub-Saharan Africa, where the problem of over population, persistent crises, high rate of poverty, and insufficient social protection interventions pushed about 16.6 million children into child labour since 2016 (United Nation, 2021). In this regard, about 1 in 4 children between the ages of 5 and 17 in sub-Saharan Africa are already in child labour, as against the 2.3 percent in Europe and North America (United Nation, 2021). According to the UN agencies, additional economic shocks and school closures as the result of the COVID-19 lockdown could mean that children already in child labour may be working for more hours and under deteriorating conditions (United Nation, 2021). Worse still, UNICEF statistics specialist, Claudia Cappa, projected that the number could increase more. It was further revealed that children aged 5 and 11 constitute more than half of the global figure (UNICEF, 1980). What is more, boys were evidently more susceptible than girls. In this sense, boys account for 97% of the 160 million children toiling in child labour at the start of 2020 (United Nation, 2021).

Stemming from the above, most intellectual interventions on child labour have always focused on factors, consequences, nature, forms, policy, legal and enforcement frameworks for child labour (Adegoke, 2015; Nwazuoke & Igwe, 2016; Ogayemi, 2014-2017; Owasanoye & Wernham, 2004; Oyeyemi & La-Kadri, 2016; Tajudeen, 2015; Ugal & Undyaundeye, 1998). Very few of such studies attempted to explain the nexus between the phenomenon of child labour and law breaking of children; or the contributions of child labour towards increasing incidence of juvenile delinquency. In other words, much is yet to be revealed about how the incident of child labour contributes to the law breaking of juveniles; and vice versa. For instance, Nwazuoke and Igwe (2016), in their attempt to examine the nature of child labour in Nigeria and legal regimes, glossed over the contributions of child labour to law breaking of young people as one of the consequences of child labour. Other authors like Ugal and Undyaundeye (1998), and Adegoke (2015) have also laboured to explain how such factors like poor socioeconomic status; poverty; unaffordable and unavailable education system; broken home; and others contribute to the increasing rate of child labour without mentioning the factors of child delinquency.

Conceptualizing Deviance, Crime and Juvenile Delinquency

Deviance, defined as those behaviours that depart from established and approved life-way of a people, has two components: crime and delinquency. While crime refers to the adult law-breaking, delinquency is for the children or young people (Haralambos & Holborn, 2004). Juveniles are referred to as persons under the age of 18 years (Child Right's Act, 2003). In this regard, both young persons and children shall be referred to as juveniles in this paper.

Generally, young people have fewer rights than adults; and are regarded as not being able to make drastic decisions, and therefore must legally be supervised by a responsible adult. In this regard, therefore, a deviating adult must be charged with violation of criminal law; but a court intervention in the case of a deviating child or delinquent could occur in three dimensions: Firstly, a young person may be found to have violated the criminal law. Secondly, a young person can be charged for committing a status offense. Thirdly, a child may be punished by a court because of the behavior of an adult (Inciardi, 1990; Owasanoye & Wernham, 2004). Incidentally, the phenomenon of child labour falls within the ambit of the third category of delinquency (i.e., where a juvenile falls within the jurisdiction of court because of the behavior of an adult).

Child Labour in Sub-Saharan Africa

There is a very high incidence of child labour in Africa. About 41% of children on the continent are economically active. Such ugly development is suspected to be connected with poverty, limited access to basic social services, natural disasters, poor governance, among others (La Rédaction, 2022). What is more, records show that countries in Sub-Saharan Africa are the worst hit on the incidence of child labour in the globe (United Nations Children's Fund, 2021). While interventions have started yielding positive results globally, same cannot be said of Sub-Saharan region. For instance, steady progress on child labour have been recorded since 2008 among Asia, the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean; but similar progress has not been witnessed in Sub-Saharan Africa sub-region (International Labour Organization, 2021).

The COVID-19 crisis is another clog in the wheel of the progress made so far in the fight against the increasing incidence of child labour in Africa. New analysis suggests a further 8.9 million children will be added into the population of child workers in Sub-Saharan Africa by the end of 2022 as a result of rising poverty driven by the pandemic (United Nation, 2022). It is also important to point out that for about 2 decades now, Sub-Saharan Africa have stood out as the region with the highest prevalence (23.9%), and largest number of children in child labour (86.6 million) (International Labour Organization, 2021).

In Rwanda, for instance, it was estimated that about 400,000 children between 5 and 17 years old were victims of child labour. 120,000 of them were supposed to be involved in the worst forms of child labour and 60,000 were of domestic workers (La Rédaction, 2022). In the same vein, about 4,600 children were estimated to be working in small-scale mining in Tanzania. Indeed, children as young as eight years old were seen digging 30 metres underground in mines for eight hours a day, without proper lighting and ventilation (United Nation, 2022).

The story is not different in Kenya. Official records have it that 1.9 million children, between the ages of 5-17, are working children. Only 3.2% of these children have attained a secondary school education and 12.7% have no formal schooling at all (La Rédaction, 2022). In Zambia, there are some 595,000 children in paid works. Of these, 58% were 14 years or younger and, therefore, ineligible for any form of employment under the Employment of Young Persons Act. It was also recorded that between 10,000 and 15,000 children from Mali were working on plantations in Côte d'Ivoire. It was recorded that many of them were victims of child trafficking (International Labour Organization, 2021; La Rédaction, 2022).

In Nigeria, it was projected that over 15 million children aged 5 - 14 years were engaged in child labour (Nwazuoke & Igwe, 2016). Of course, it is expected that the figure must have increased recently with the worsening

economic crises, insecurity and the negative consequences of COVID regime. Maishanu (2022) even reported that Almajiri system in the Northern Nigeria is one of the major drivers of the increasing incidence of child labour in Nigeria. Almajiri system is a scholastic system of sending young peope as early as 4 years to strange environments to be taught religious and Arabic education hundreds of miles away (Maishanu, 2022). The writer contended that Almajiris, who litter at garages, ATM centers, hotels, brothels, motor parks, go-slow gridlocks, Churches, and Mosques, have largely contributed to the worst forms child labour in Nigeria including: street urchins (area boys), male prostitutes, petty and hard criminals, garage boys and most recently, Boko Haram, Iswap, and Bandits.

Conceptualizing Child Labour

Though, there is no jurisdictional consensus on the legally accepted age for employment (for review, see Minimum Age Convention, 1973; Nwazuoke & Igwe, 2016), child labour is conceptualized in this paper as any work that deprives a child of its childhood and right to education or is detrimental to the physical, mental, moral and social well-being of the child. In this sense, a work is regarded as a child labour if it is exploitative and/or harmful to any aspect of the developing personality of the child (International Labour Organization, 1992; Nwazuoke & Igwe, 2016; United Nations Children Emergency Fund, 1980).

Child labour, in this regard, could be discussed in three categories: Light or child work; conventional child labour; the worst forms of child labour or bad child labour.

Light or child work: While child labour tends to affect children negatively; child work or light work tends to be positive. Child work is seen, in this regard, as doing light household chores and can actually have some learning value (ILO, 1995). Child work involves a situation where children engage in some activities that are neither remunerated nor injurious to their overall wellbeing. Light work implies any work that does not inhibits a child's health and development; as well as its regular school programme (Nwazuoke & Igwe, 2016, p.2).

Conventional or ordinary child labour: To concretize the concept of child labour, UNICEF (1980) delineated some activities as follows: commencing full-time work at a very early age; too many hours expended on work within or outside the family leading to extreme tiredness; denying children of their rights to education where schools are available or disrupting their education; partaking in a work that results in undue physical, social and psychological stresses on the child; a lot of responsibility for a child; poor remuneration;

and work that does not enable the psychological wellbeing of the child, for example, dull repetitive tasks which do not stimulate a child's imaginative capabilities, etc.

The worst forms of child labour or bad child labour: Such worst forms of child labour include: all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trading of children, debt bondage, serfdom and compulsory labour- including forced recruitment of children for use in armed battle; the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international agreements; work which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to damage the health, safety or morals of children (ILO, 1973).

Theoretical Framework

Routine activities theory was first articulated in a series of papers by Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson (Cohen & Felson, 1979). They concluded that the volume and distribution of predatory crime (i.e., violent crimes against a person and crimes in which an offender attempts to steal an object directly) are closely related to the interaction of three variables that reflect the routine activities of the typical American lifestyle. Such three variables include: the availability of suitable targets; the absence of capable guardians; and the presence of motivated offender. It has this aetiological formula: (offender + target - guardian = crime). In this angle, targets are more likely to be victimized if they are poorly guarded and exposed to a large group of motivated offenders such as child traffickers. This theory underscores the importance of guardianship in the sense that even the most motivated offenders may ignore valuable targets if they are well guarded. In this sense, even the most dangerous offender may hesitate to attack a wellprotected target. On the other hand, a group of teenagers might rip off an unoccupied home within a moment (Hochstetler, 2001). Again, routine activity theory is embedded in opportunity and lifestyle (Siegel, 2010).

Empirically, Cohen and Felson (1979) argued that crime rates sky rocketed between 1960 and 1980 because the number of adult caretakers at home during the day (guardians) reduced due to the increase in female participation in the labour force. In this regard, mothers would be at work and children in daycare, homes are left unprotected. Again, Tench (2018) found dependence among terror attacks perpetrated by the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) during "The Troubles" in Northern Ireland. RAT

has also been utilized in explaining criminalities such as burglary (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and others.

Stemming from the above, the nature of child labour, especially the worst form, bestows onto the juvenile the status of both offender and victim. This relates more to a scenario where a child is used for drug trafficking, prostitution, and others. What is more, in statutory offenses, and the case of abandonment, a child can equally become both offender and victim. In the present scenario, RAT helps to explain the more likelihood of delinquency among the juveniles who are involved in both conventional child labour, and the worst forms of child labour; than those who are involved in child work. Such exposure to the worst forms of child labour increases their chances of being both suitable target and the motivated offender in the absence of surveillance.

Methodology

Unobtrusive research method was adopted for the study through which data for this paper emerged. Secondary and archival sources reviewed include International Labour Organization (2021); International Labour Organization Minimum Age Convention (1995); International Labour Office and United Nations Children's Fund (2021) documents. The sub-Saharan Africa is the area and regions of the continent of Africa that lies south of the Sahara. These include West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa and Southern Africa. Sub-Saharan Africa was chosen for this study based on the fact it is among the less developed region of the African continent. Sub-Saharan Africa, despite being the continent's most endowed region with all manner of natural resources, still houses most poverty stricken countries in the world (Bello, 2017). The region is characterized with unfavourable socio-economic indices; including massive and pervasive poverty, doubledigit inflation, unemployment, dwindling foreign exchange receipts, poor GDP growth rates, high infant and maternal mortality, high levels of illiteracy, and millions of school-age children out of school (Bello, 2017).

Conventional Child Labour and Juvenile Delinquency

In carrying out this objective, the UNICEF (1980) delineated instantiations of child labour was used as tool of analysis. The delineated instantiations or activities include:

"commencing full-time work at a very early age; too many hours expended on work within or outside the family leading to extreme tiredness; denying children of their rights to education where schools are available or disrupting their education; partaking in a work that results in undue physical, social and psychological stresses on the child; a lot of responsibility for a child; poor remuneration; and work that does not enable

the psychological wellbeing of the child, for example, dull repetitive tasks which do not stimulate a child's imaginative capabilities, etc".

In accordance to UNICEF (1980) delineated instantiations of child labour, and the tenets of RAT, the conventional child labour contributes to juvenile delinquency by de-activating guardianship; thereby making juveniles both motivated offenders and suitable targets in Sub-Saharan Africa. This was the case in Rwanda, where it was projected that about 400,000 children between 5 and 17 years old were victims of child labour. 120,000 of them were supposed to be involved in the worst forms of child labour and 60,000 were of domestic workers (La Rédaction, 2022). In the same vein, about 4,600 children were estimated to be working in small-scale mining in Tanzania. Indeed, children as young as eight years old were seen digging 30 metres underground in mines for eight hours a day, without proper lighting and ventilation (United Nation, 2022).

In case of Nigeria, Maishanu (2022) reported that Almajiri system, which puts children outside their home at a very tender age, have largely exposed young people to various forms of child labour. Such system removes young people from capable guardians, and exposes them as suitable targets for delinquencies. This is quite in line with Nwazuoke and Igwe (2016)'s position. In their study titled "Worst Forms of Child Labour in Nigeria: An Appraisal of International and Local Legal Regimes"; the duo concluded that the consequences of child labour in Nigeria are: injuries, disabilities and deaths; sexual consequences; perpetuation of poverty; crime.

What is more, child labour correlates with delinquency when examined in the light of child abuse. Child abuse, in this regard, is a term describing any physical or emotional trauma to a child for which no reasonable explanation, such as an accident or ordinary disciplinary practices, can be found (Kempe & Kempe, 1978). Child abuse can also result from actual physical beatings administered to a child by hands, feet, weapons, belts, sticks, burning, and so on. Yet, there is another form of abuse results from neglect—not providing a child with the care and shelter to which he or she is entitled (Siegel, 2010); and the conventional child labour falls within this category of child abuse. Therefore, child labour is a form of child abuse and neglect.

Furthermore, the UNICEF (1980) delineated instantiations of child labour is capable of disrupting a child's normal life course. According to the life course view, even as toddlers, people begin relationships and behaviors that will determine their adult life course. At first, they must learn to conform to social rules and function effectively in society. Later they are expected to begin to think about careers, leave their parental homes, find permanent relationships, and eventually marry and begin their own families (Siegel,

2010). These transitions are expected to take place in order—beginning with finishing school, then entering the workforce, getting married, and having children. Some individuals, however, are incapable of maturing in a reasonable and timely fashion because of family, environmental, or personal problems, like commencing full-time work at a very early (Beyers & Loeber, 2003).

Some of the family problems, or what sociologists called 'family dysfunction' that may associate with the obstruction of the normal flow of life course of a given child, among other things, include educational underachievement (Haralambos & Holborn, 2004). According to problem behavior syndrome (PBS) viewpoint, educational underachievement is one among a group of interrelated antisocial behaviors that cluster together and typically involve family dysfunction, sexual and physical abuse, substance abuse, smoking, precocious sexuality and early pregnancy, suicide attempts, sensation seeking, and unemployment (Stouthamer-Loeber & Wei, 1998).

Having established that child labour is a kind of exploitation, many a scholar are of the opinion that that there is correlation between child abuse and deviance. As Charlotte (1997) put it:

There seems to be common agreement among practitioners and researchers in criminal justice that youths, who are abused, often become participants in the juvenile justice system. Sandberg (1989) believes that early abuse can produce a variety of social deficits that set in motion a pattern of behavior that leads to delinquency. Specifically, the strongest association was found between interpersonal aggression and delinquent behavior".

Worst Form of Child Labour and Delinquency

In pointing out the connection between the worst kind of child labour and delinquency, the phenomenon of the worst forms of child labour would be divided into 2: i) the worst forms of child labour as means to delinquency; and ii) the worst forms of child labour as delinquency in itself.

The worst forms of child labour as means to delinquency

The worst forms of child labour include the following: "child trafficking; debt bondage and serfdom; forced labour; prostitution; pornography; drug trafficking; other illicit activities; works capable of harming health, wellbeing, and morals of children". This is line with the provisions of RAT which predicts that crime or delinquent will always be the outcome of the convergence of suitable target, motivated offender and lack of surveillance. Worst forms of child labour expose juveniles in Sub-Sahara Africa as motivated offender and suitable targets for delinquencies. A case in point was the report by Maishanu (2022) on Almajiri system in the Northern Nigeria. According to Maishanu (2022), Almajiri system, which puts

children outside their home at a very tender age, have largely exposed young people to the worst forms child labour in Nigeria including: street urchins (area boys), male prostitutes, petty and hard criminals, garage boys and most recently, Boko Haram, Iswap, and Bandits. And the explanation for correlation between worst form of child labour and Almajiri system in Nigeria is not farfetched. Such system removes young people from capable guardians, and exposes them as suitable targets for delinquencies.

The same scenario was witnessed in Mali. It was reported that about 58% of child labourers were 14 years or younger and, therefore, ineligible for any form of employment under the Employment of Young Persons Act. It was also recorded that between 10,000 and 15,000 children from Mali were working on plantations in Côte d'Ivoire. It was recorded that many of them were victims of child trafficking and other worst forms of child labour (International Labour Organization, 2021; La Rédaction, 2022).

Stemming from the above, child trafficking, debt bondage and serfdom; forced labour; and works capable of disrupting the health, safety and morals of children, as witnessed in many of the Sub-Saharan Africa countries, could be regarded as means to delinquency. This is because such works expose young people as motivated offenders and delinquents in line to the provisions of RAT. It can further be deduced that these categories are 'transit camp' for delinquent activities. Children who have fallen victim to such child labour appear to be more likely than others to be in conflict with the law (Nwazuoke & Igwe, 2016).

The worst forms of child labour as delinquency in itself

This category includes: prostitution; pornography; drug trafficking; and other illicit activities, like conscription for terrorism. For instance, it has been reported that Almajiri system has been a graduate school for delinquencies and criminalities like banditry, terrorism, kidnapping, and others in Nigeria (Maishanu, 2022). This was also the case in Mali, where it was reported that many of the child labourers were victims of child trafficking (International Labour Organization, 2021; La Rédaction, 2022).

Studies show that children who are involved in the categories of child labour are more likely to graduate into adult criminality (Haralambos & Horlborn, 2008; McCord, 1991; Rhoades, 2016). This also agrees with the theoretical orientation (RAT). According to the theory, criminal acts are more likely to be avoided if: (a) potential targets are guarded securely, (b) the means to commit crime are controlled, and (c) potential offenders are carefully monitored (Steffensmeier, 1987). In this respect, juveniles who are victims of such worst forms of child labour, like child trafficking, are not guarded securely, nor carefully monitored. Therefore, they are veritable raw materials to delinquency, and crime afterward. This is in concurrence with

Oko, Okosun, and Job (2017), who concluded that children are trafficked within Africa and other parts of the world for the purposes of adoption, for domestic and agricultural labor, and for sale of human body parts.

Delinquency as a possible factor of child labour

Turning to the other side of the coin, juvenile delinquency could also encourage child labour. In this sense, studies show that delinquent children are more likely to be out of parental control and care; and as such, more likely to be exposed to child labour, especially the worst forms like drug trafficking, prostitution, etc. Again, children who are victims (direct or indirect) of adult criminality are also more likely to end up as child labourers. The submission is in tandem with Nwazuoke and Igwe (2016). Nwazuoke and Igwe (2016) concluded that children who suffered sexual victimization or dangerous neglect in their homes may run away from home and tend toward street life. In this sense, such children live, sleep and work on the street.

In line with the provisions of RAT and reports from most of the Sub-Saharan African countries, juveniles in streets are likely to go into crime in order to survive. To analyse this objective, efforts would be made to x-ray how child labour contribute to delinquency through the instrumentality of third variables like poverty, poor school performance, family problems, etc. In this sense, Benard (1991; quoted in Charlotte, 1997) found that the relationship between child labour and juvenile delinquency are likely to be indirect relationship. As he put it:

When looking at the possible predictors of juvenile delinquency, variables other than child abuse and neglect may be examined in a search for relevant correlates, such as dysfunctional families, poverty, poor school performance, substance abuse, and peer group influence.

In this light, it appears that the ordinary child labour or abuse could be an intervening variable between poverty, poor school performance and socioeconomic status, on one hand, and juvenile delinquency, on other hand. This position is supported by Problem Behavior Syndrome (PBS) viewpoint. According to this viewpoint, child labour, or even delinquency is one among a group of interrelated antisocial behaviors that cluster together and typically involve family dysfunction, sexual and physical abuse, substance abuse, smoking, precocious sexuality and early pregnancy, suicide attempts, sensation seeking, and unemployment (Stouthamer-Loeber & Wei, 1998).

It can therefore be inferred that in as much as troubled socioeconomic and family background of a child could be a direct determining factor to delinquency; it could also trigger delinquency through the vehicle of child labour, abuse and neglect. Concurring with this submission, Adeoti (2021) concluded that the concept of child labour is inevitable in some societies as

the poverty and socio-economic conditions of the families push them out and only when this is improved that the trend can stop.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Given the increasing incidence of child labour especially in Sub-African countries, and the limited intellectual interventions in that regard; we argued that increasing rate of child labour can be better explained by the incident of juvenile delinquency. In doing this, we demonstrated that the conventional child labour contributes to juvenile delinquency by de-activating capable guardianship; thereby making juveniles both motivated offenders and suitable targets. Again, we pointed out that the phenomenon of the worst forms of child labour relates to delinquency as both means to delinquency; and as delinquency in itself. In this sense, children who have fallen victims to such child labour appear to be more likely than others to be veritable 'raw materials' to both delinquency and adult crime afterward. It was also demonstrated that juvenile delinquency is capable of encouraging child labour in the sense that delinquent children are more likely to be out of parental control and care; and as such, more likely to be exposed to child labour. In the same way, children who are direct or indirect victims of adult criminality are also more likely to end up as child labourers. Finally, we opined that ordinary child labour or abuse could be an intervening variable between poverty, poor school performance and socioeconomic status, on one hand, and juvenile delinquency, on other hand. The meaning of this is that both child labour and juvenile delinquency are integral components of the bigger picture known as 'Problem Behavior Syndrome'.

We conclude that the increasing rate of child labour is better explained and understood from the standpoint of juvenile delinquency. We therefore argue that by discovering that child labour, especially the bad child labour, increases the chances of juveniles conflicting with the law; just as the conventional child labour contributes to juvenile delinquency by deactivating capable guardianship, and making juveniles both motivated offenders and suitable targets; interventions can be implemented to: harmonizing the disparities in the minimum employment and for hazardous work for children as provided in the relevant labour Acts. It will also provoke the domestication of the undomesticated ratified international convention and protocols; proper implementation of the Child Right Laws in all the levels of government.

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