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Urban Space and the Proliferation of Illegal and Substandard Crèche Facilities in Nigeria

Abstract

There are growing concerns on the proliferation of illegal schools across the world but with less attention given to pre-school facilities which are often not categorised as schools. With abundant evidences in Nigeria, that most of these preschools metamorphose into schools, this study examines the proliferation of illegal and substandard crèche facilities in selected suburbs in Lagos State, Nigeria. Drawing on qualitative data collected from fifteen (15) proprietors and operators of crèche facilities, twenty-four (24) families with children in attendant, it was discovered that crèches were conceived as an informal business, seen as an extension of the home front. Thus the need for registration and formalisation of crèche facilities was deemed not necessary. Similarly, narratives of parents' unwillingness to pay standard crèche fees and the unreliability of nannies accounted for the status quo. Neighbourhood location, proximity, and cost were other primary correlates for the continuous patronage of illegal and substandard crèches. The study concluded that economic concerns rather than adequate and proper wellbeing of infants cum children were major factors fostering the proliferation and patronage of illegal crèches in Nigerian urban space. There is an urgent need for the state and local councils to enact laws prohibiting substandard and illegal crèches in city centres.

Key words: crèche, paid labour, economic exploitation, children's wellbeing, urban space

Introduction

The 21st century has witnessed the surge of people continuously into urban centres for employment of which several women are now engaged in paid employment which redefines the traditional family system for couples with children (Bureau of Labour Statistics 2009; Corsaro 2014; United Nations 1995). With the work load in paid employment and the significant effect on women and childcare, many women are found wanting in complementary baby feeding (Nerlove 1974; Winikoff, Castle and Laukaran 1988; Fields 2003; Bureau of Labour Statistics 2010). In Nigeria, many organisations have found it difficult to support breastfeeding mothers with employee benefits and services in the work place by failing to incorporate modern day clarification call and global policies to support breastfeeding women; providing designated private space for breastfeeding or expressing milk; allowing flexible scheduling to

support milk expression; giving mothers options for returning to work, extended maternity leave, providing on-site or near-site childcare (International Labour Organisation 2005; 2012). This has implications for the long-held traditional structure of the family, most especially the physiological and psychological wellness of the child. Thus, crèche facilities are springing up in every nook and cranny in city centres, sometimes as pre-schools to assist with parenting (Winikoff et. al. 1988; United Nations 1995). Crèche facilities have been linked to some of the contributory factors in explaining the rate of under-five morbidity and mortality, decline in exclusive breast feeding, children's malnutrition and improper attention and care for children in African cities. In line with the fact that government is less concerned with the growth of illegal and substandard crèches facilities in Nigeria, private individuals and the informal sector in generally is rapidly growing and providing low income jobs for nannies and secondary school dropouts. No doubt informal sector is very important in reducing poverty in many developing countries especially in urban centres. Apart from the increasing population in cities, the demand for jobs, goods and services are typically growing more quickly than expected and too rapidly for the formal job market to absorb. Moreover, years of structural adjustment and corresponding reduction in government employment in Nigeria have reduced formal sector job opportunities in many urban areas (Ikuomola 2014). The informal sector provides many of the jobs needed by the growing workforce and compensates for much of the formal sector's failure to provide goods and services (Okunola, Ikuomola 2010). The importance of informal sector activities that operate from the home is being increasingly recognized (CARDO 2000; Gilbert 1988; Rogerson 1991; Tipple 1993). Although it is difficult to determine the extent of home-based work, since it is rarely included in national statistics (Gough and Kellett 2001). Micro-level studies suggest that home-based workers comprise a large and growing portion of the workforce in many countries (Chen et al. 1999). The proliferation of informal sector services in cities has been noted as complementary, but also in competition with a number of hitherto jurisdictions of the formal sector. For instance in providing employment, education, and healthcare services, many informal sectors have been found to be very active and competing for space in African cities, and the unregulated nature of many informal sectors and their activities have also been questioned, especially with the growing concern for adequate use of urban space and children's welfare in African cities (Gough, Tipple and Napier 2003; Ikuomola 2014).

In Nigeria, the increase in unemployment has resulted in the informal sector reportedly becoming overcrowded with falling profit margins and falling incomes (Brydon 1999; Gough 1999). Estimating the size and contribution of the informal sector to both employment and GDP is notoriously difficult. Similarly the proportion of men and women entering the labour market is no doubt swelling over time and unprecedented in the 21st century. The implication on the family calls for concern as regarding the upbringing of the child especially among breastfeeding and working mothers. One of the roles of the family as a social institution in all societies, whether simple or complex, is to perpetuate the society by providing it with new members, to protect the children until they are able to cater for themselves and to train them in socially acceptable behaviours. In African societies, the duty of taking care of

infants usually rests mostly on women, who are expected to be at home fulltime with the children until they are grown enough to be in school (International Labour Organisation 2005; Palmer 2001). However with the dawn of modernisation, it became difficult or almost impossible for mothers to fully cater for their babies as it used to be in the past when the concept of crèche was not popular to Africans. Thus research focusing on the proliferation of crèche in urban centres has been relatively scarce and often discussed in line with the growing trend of westernisation and urban development, consequently less attention has been given to the sprout of informal and illegal crèche facilities in urban centres. This study examines the proliferation of illegal and substandard crèche facilities in the city of Lagos, Nigeria.

Methodology

The study employed the grounded theory approach where research questions emerged from interviews. The study sample consist of fifteen (15) proprietors and operators of crèche facilities and twenty-four (24) families with children enrolled in 12 selected crèches located in the following neighbourhoods of Adeshina, Ijesha-road, Ilamoye, Sesan-Moyegun, Aguda, Sanya Airways, Itire, Lawanson, Odo-eron, Marsha and Stadium, all in Surulere Local Government Area, Lagos State. Twenty-four (24) families were purposively selected while dropping their children in the crèche. The crèches were randomly selected from a poll of 25 identified crèches. Parents and crèche proprietors willingness to participate was taken into consioderation, thus only willing parents and proprietors were included in the study. Similarly through observations the physical and structural components of the environment hosting the facilities were examined. The age range of the participants was between 25 and 46 years for parents and 35 to 60 years for proprietors. The interviews were conducted in English, pidgin and in Yoruba languages. The interviews were transcribed, categorised and interpreted. The principle of anonymity and confidentiality of respondents were maintained, thus pseudo names were used in highlighting respondent's narratives.

Findings

From the interviews and discussions with respondents, three thematic issues emanated surrounding the nature and operation of crèche facilities (establishment of crèches and ownership), under which the guidelines for the establishment of private schools is highlighted in the absence of specific crèche regulations. This is followed by analysis of standards and patronage of crèche facilities (factors informing parents choices in the selection of crèche facilities for their children) and lastly professionalism (manpower and expertise), trust and confidence in local crèches. This informed the basis for the discussion of the findings.

Nature and Operation of Creche Facilities

Going by the commercial nature of Lagos state and Surulere community, which is a strategic location in terms of proximity to major places of employment and

market centres, the need for a place to keep children who are not of school age becomes germane alongside the opportunities many landlords and religious centres are catching in to lease and use their buildings for the care of pre-school children. Thus in terms of ownership of crèche facilities three categories of owners were discovered to be behind the proliferation and ownership of crèche facilities in the selected urban centres in Lagos. First was the number of crèches being owned and operated in religious spaces. This can be classified as faith based crèche facilities as they operated in either a church or a mosque. The second was by retired teachers, mostly females, while the third were those owned and controlled by individuals without any teaching, health or child handling background. The reason behind this was described to be related to the inability of government to provide pre-school facilities in the neighbourhood. This is germane in explaining the speedy growth and proliferation of crèches in the city of Lagos. Similarly, government policies for every workplace to have a crèche facility were said to have fallen on deaf ears, as many employers do not see it as mandatory to have crèche facilities attached to the workplace. It was noted that the city's development does not place priority on developing children. This is inferred from a proprietor's statement:

Since government and private employers of labour would not provide crèche facilities and children friendly workplace in the neighbourhood for working class mothers, we as private individuals have decided to assist young mothers by providing the facilities at an affordable rate. Young parents and white collar workers who do not have relatives to assist them in the cities are usually our targets. They find it comfortable because parenting is worrisome and ample time is needed to continue with the normal day to day businesses after their maternity leave (Mr. Alabi/Male/Ijesha/42 years).

A probe into the modalities of establishing a crèche facility revealed that there were no strict rules in regulating the operation of the facilities. Having a residential apartment that is spacious and well ventilated were the major requirements in setting up the facility. This is clearly stated in the Lagos State's guidelines on the establishment of private schools as highlighted below.

Lagos State Guidelines for the Establishment of Private Schools

The Lagos State Guidelines on the establishment of private schools including crèches (as implied) stipulates that intending proprietors should first among other criteria and procedures have a building made up of classrooms and furniture. The preferable type of building should be a purpose-built bungalow building with either a U or an L shape that would enhance adequate ventilation and space for sports and games. Although it could be one storey building, provided that the nursery section occupies the ground floor. The minimum number of classrooms is 15, for primary and secondary schools including special rooms such as library, sickbay, and administrative office computer room. A minimum of eight (8) toilets for pupils and at least two (2) toilets for teachers be made available. The classrooms should be painted with bright/warm colours, have ornamentals and flowers. Some equipment such

as balls, skittles, swings, and crossbars play pens should be provided. Fire extinguishers must be available in all schools. For the purpose of smooth lesson delivery, instructional materials like large magnetic white boards/chalk board, charts, and posters should be available in every classroom. Furniture must be adequate, comfortable and child-friendly. These include low tables and single seats for pupils in the Nursery, dual desks and benches for those in the primary school. Teachers/nannies tables and chairs should be ideal and comfortable. While electronic/computerized boards are good, they are very expensive. It is important to state here that unlike Europe, America, South Africa, there are no specific guidelines targeting pre-school children, such as the national guideline for child minders, under the Department of Children and Youth Affairs in Ireland, the National Department of Social Development in South Africa are mandated to carry out inspections of pre-school services such as sessional, part time day care, full day care, childminding, drop-in centres, temporary drop-in centres and overnight pre-school services (Cape Town Project Centre 2016; National Guidelines for Childminders 2010). Having met with these conditions, it is expected for the proprietors to declare their intention known to the Lagos State ministry of Education as the first step, in which a request for a name and a name search for to avoid duplication of names. Three names can be given. The second step involves site inspection by officers of the Ministry of Education. Thereafter, the prospective proprietor may be advised to obtain an approval/registration form if the premises were considered suitable for school business. This costs N25, 000 only (about a \$100). The third step is Approval inspection by officers of the Ministry of Education and other relevant agencies to be carried out after the purchase of registration form. Site inspection officers are expected to routinely visit and give advice to the ministry regarding the state of the schools (Lagos State Ministry of Education Guidelines for Private Schools 2010).

From the field observations, two-third of the crèches was not having signboards with registered trademarks. Similarly the apartments used as crèches ranged from a two bedroom apartment to mere joint single rooms with bathrooms. In terms of personnel, depending on the number of children there were at least two nannies and a head mistress often the proprietor's wife and relatives, or the proprietor if she is a woman. The average ratio of children to a nanny is about ten. Common to all the crèches, there were at least three (3) nannies including the proprietor running the day to day affairs of the facilities. Thus most of the crèches were administered as a family business with husbands and wives as joint owners including some of the faith based crèches discussed below. In buttressing the ownership and structure of crèches in Lagos, proprietors described crèches as an informal business, just like a home. Thus the need for registration and formalisation of crèche facilities were deemed not necessary:

Apart from having the building and space, the next requirement is to build trust. This is very easy once parents can ascertain that the owners of the crèche facilities have their own biological children, trust is then built, and that is what is needed to start a crèche. One does not necessarily need to have a gigantic structure in as much as it is not a school.

It is just like a home, we are their parents, when their real parents are at work (Mrs. Jumoke/Female/Itire/50 years).

Apart from private individuals taking decisions to venture into crèche businesses, parents' narratives acknowledge themselves as sometimes motivating religious leaders to setting up crèche facilities for the needs of members and interested public:

The decision to have a crèche in the mosque emanated from the cry of many parents and the council of elders bought the ideas. Initially the idea was to accommodate Muslims parents only, but later, it was opened to all residents in the community. Five years down the line, it has metamorphosed into a Muslims only primary school. In no time I think they will also venture into secondary schools as it progresses (Mrs. Jimi/Female/Odo-eran/39 years).

There were responses also buttressing other reasons why some religious institutions venture into crèches and schooling businesses. These reasons ranged from the pressure members mount on their overseers to provide such services for young couples and religious faithful as well as the rationale that crèches are economically viable; and that it will boost the financial standing of the institution in the long run. There were other opinions that it will help in catching the children young by not allowing their parents to place them in other rival religious domination owned crèches; that it will also help in spreading religious doctrines and their capacity to engage in community development through charity. A respondent noted that there is also the fear that both parents and children can be lost to other faith if crèches are not available in their own place of worship. These rivalries are often between Christians and Muslims. A father whose child was in one of the crèches belonging to an apostolic church in Lawanson echoed:

Just about five years ago the members of the church called the wife of one of the resident pastors, to see if the church can convert a section of the parking space into a crèche to accommodate and assist the working mothers. The church council welcomed it by setting apart the church land to help members in nurturing their children while at work. It has in no small measure relieved young married couples facing difficulties in their marriage and working environment where crèches are not available (Mr. Okoro/Male/Lawanson/44 years).

For another respondent, it was the relative cheaper cost of local and faith based neighbourhood crèche facilities and the absence of extended family to assist in babysitting that serve as major factors in opting for the closest crèche:

Often times we do not have relatives to hand our children over to while hustling at the work place. So we are left with the option of looking for a cheaper and nearby crèche. And the readily available ones are either faith based or privately owned by landlords with extra space in their compound (Mr. Ejembi/Male/40 years/Itire).

Faith based crèche was described as spiritually fulfilling by parents. It was also perceived as relatively cheaper and safer. Children are taught and socialised in the ways of the Lord. A respondent claimed:

Our church crèche is one of the best in this area because the people in-charge are strong Christians who will do things in the way of the Lord. There is no need for us to be afraid while at work. The church is very safe and the children are guaranteed proper socialisation. To cut a long story short, the wife of the pastor serves as the proprietress and she is also a mother. This ultimately gives us peace of mind while doing our work in a distant environment (Mrs. Ogomudia/Female/26 years/Ijesha).

Standards and Patronages of Crèche Facilities

The patronage of crèches was discovered to cut across different divides of working mothers, from the formal to the informal sector of the economy. Nevertheless as most literature tend to assume that crèches are modern phenomenon meant for urban elites, educated families, working parents and breastfeeding mothers, this was not necessarily the case as there were also many in the low income bracket, single parents and parents who are self employed, whose children are also in attendance and constitute a significant number (about 70 percent) of those patronising the crèches. Major factors affecting patronage were the proximity and cost. Narratives of the high fees and cost of formalising crèche facilities accounted for the status quo, corroborating parents' justifications for the continuous patronage of substandard crèche not approved by the state or city council. Messrs. Adewundun and Oghenetega, (both parents), were of the opinion that cheaper crèches get more patronage than established and standard ones, thus proprietors pay less attention to standards and look at how best they can make the highest profit from parents. Similarly Mrs. Lebi, a female proprietor, echoed the excessive cost of registering crèches in the same manner as regular schools in the city of Lagos, as unfair. For her, this accounts for one of the factors discouraging owners of crèches from operating legitimately. Notwithstanding the safety and spirituality underlining the patronage of crèches in the neighbourhoods, twenty of the twenty-four parents noted the rapid rate at which the children fees were being increased continuously. It was noted as seriously eating deep into parents' finances; in the same vain they nevertheless agreed that it is a necessary evil in modern day city struggles. This is captured in the narrative of a couple, with a set of twins:

My two kids are in this crèche, though I am comfortable with the proximity to my place of work. In recent times I have started complaining about the geometric ratio in which fees are increased. But I still do not have other choice than to continue paying. It is really disturbing, paying too much for a child in a crèche, which is not a school in every ramification. The argument put forward by these greedy proprietors is often on the general cost of accommodation and living expenses in the city of Lagos (Mr. Robinson/36 years/Adeshina/Male/Parent).

From the narrative above one will expect that the fluctuating fees will translate into standards, this was however not the case as my respondents were much more interested in where to place their children while at work. From personal interviews and observations with the proprietors to ascertain the status of crèche, the study

revealed that two-third of the sampled crèches were not approved, with no form of registration whatsoever. The socio-demographic characteristics of staff of most of the crèches shows that majority of the workforce were females with 64 percent of them having only secondary school certificates, while others were either secondary school dropouts or personnel without formal education. From this, it can be said that proprietors of crèche facilities are business-minded people who take advantage of both parents and low skilled manpower to maximise profits. Little wonder, most of the sampled crèches (about two-third) were not approved as opposed to one-third who are attached to religious centres (Churches and Mosques). In relaying the reasons for such, all but one proprietor asserted that the cost of getting a crèche approved is almost similar with the procedures it takes to get a school approved. In the broader interrogations of both proprietors and parents it was discovered that only very few of them (about 21 percent) perceived crèche to be a form of school. Mrs. Aremu buttressed this point thus:

The local government council is always on our necks, to get the crèche registered. We keep telling them that we are not into business, and that we are only assisting the community and workers who do not have relatives to carter for their children while at work (Female/54 years/Proprietor/Sesan-Moyegun).

Mrs. Uchena, on the other hand, who is also pastor's wife, noted that they operate the crèche facility as a form of charity to the neighbourhood and specifically to assist church members within. For her the need to register the crèche as if it is a school does not arise:

To be candid, crèche is not a school. The pressure is becoming much on us. Both the ministry and local council officials have continuously issued the church several notices that the premises will be sealed if it is not registered appropriately as a school. The idea is that every crèche will eventually metamorphose into a school. This is not our intention for now. When it becomes a school, we will get it registered (Female/49 years/Proprietor/Stadium).

The feelings proprietors have regarding crèche as a non educational institution is closely related to the failure on the part of Lagos State Ministry of Education Guideline to stipulate clearly what constitutes a school and the complete omission of the term 'crèche' in the guideline. In the course of discussion, proprietors noted that officials from the ministry of education often argue that crèche facility is categorised under the term 'nursery schools'. On the other hand, parents find it difficult to pay the fees of standard, registered and approved crèches equipped with the state of the art facilities and well trained nannies and matrons. Proprietors noted that parents are always in the habit of complaining about the crèche environment as poor, and that nannies are not professional but they will not take their children or wards elsewhere to the so called superior or standard crèches. They always brag about standard but are not willing to pay. They know that these standard crèches are expensive. Standard crèches as described by parents are not located within the neighbourhood, and their locations are often too distant. Factoring the cost of

transportation, proximity and convenience, the price is said to be on the high side for most of the respondents (parents), thus they are forced to manage the affordable and nearby crèches.

Professionalism, Trust and Confidence in Local Crèche Facilities

Analysis of professionalism in the study of children in the 21st century has identified the scale and purposes of intervention into childhood (Mayall 2000). In modern European societies, children and childhood have become the object of massive interventions. Thus, a whole armies of health and social workers work are need to assist in childhood development (Hendrick 1994; Woodhead 1997). The perceived 'need' to monitor children's development has led to unprecedented surveillance of children – both at school and at home.. As observed in this study, bulk of the staff in the neighbourhood were either relatives of the proprietors, members of the same church, and co-tenants living nearby. Issues of manpower, personnel expertise, competence and security were found wanting, as professionalism was seriously lacking in all the crèches. This is quite contradictory to the expectation of the United Nation (1995) mandate and campaign for safer childhood in city centres. By this expectation, there should be expertise in the operation of crèches and in handling children, because of their fragile nature and vulnerability in cities. Such expertise should include a medical practitioner, certified nurse, nutritionists, trained nannies and teachers specialised in catering for children with special needs, and auxiliary personnel in handling sanitation issues. The realities in the sampled crèches show clearly the lack of professionalism in the management of children and their agencies. According to Piaget (1968) children, from the first days of infancy, interpret, organise, and use information from the environment and come to construct conceptions (known as mental structures) of their physical and social worlds. The help of professionals no doubt have the multiplier effect on effective development of the children in the absence of their parents, especially the mothers (Corsaro 2014). Examining parents' confidence and trust in the chosen crèche, key responses revealed that trust and confidence are built on the gendered nature of crèche facilities being owned and mostly operated by women (mothers). The assumption goes that any woman who has a child of her own will certainly be knowledgeable on how to cater for another's child or children, and will definitely be responsible and responsive towards children generally. Though this sounds primordial, it is a valid thought for decades. This is buttressed by Mayall (2000: 243), in his work on the sociology of childhood in relation to children's rights, noting that:

'Children's welfare in the last 100 years has been inextricably woven into women's welfare and women's social condition; to an extent, children's welfare has been subsumed under the composite concept 'women-and-children' (P.243).

Thus women are active players in the business of crèches facilities either as owners or as workers. Mr. Donald narrated the influence a motherly character plays in building trust and confidence, which also inform his choice and patronage of neighbourhood crèche irrespective of standards:

The first thing in selecting a crèche is to make sure there are a number of women around to cater for the children, most especially if the proprietor is someone who has passed through the process of labour (or has witnessed a woman giving birth, if he is a man), having children of her own, she will certainly know what it takes to handle a child in any condition or environment (Male/Parent/38 years/Marsha).

Another complemented, noting the need for the proprietor to be spiritually strong as well:

In my own case, I made preliminary investigations and confirmed that the proprietor is a Christian and a God fearing person, with strong prophetic gift. She will always pray for the children as well as for us, their parents (Mrs. Godswill/Female/25 years/Airways).

In the same manner, another reiterated:

I strongly believe that since the proprietor of my child's crèche is a faithful and a neighbour, the onus lies on her to be upright with the children and the staff of the crèche because she has a name to protect. All I need to do is to monitor my child after closing hours just in case my baby is injured or showing signs of illness (Mr. Taiwo/Male/31 years/Ilamoye).

The above reveals that parents consider much of the abilities of women and mothers as natural caregivers than their professional qualifications enhancing the care of the children. Evidences have shown clearly that although women are better in catering for children, the welfare of children from other families calls for adequate training and specialisation because children needs are very diverse (Corsaro 2014). Thus, a standard crèche should have professionals irrespective of gender in operating such vital facilities in the 21st century.

Conclusion

In line with the fact that globally, women (especially mothers) are the fastest growing segment of the labour force in many urban centres, and the need for crèches cannot be avoided; it becomes necessary for most parents with children to patronize these facilities. Based on the narratives of parents and proprietors, economic concerns rather than proper wellbeing of children is the major factor fostering the proliferation and patronage of crèches in most of the suburbs in the city of Lagos and not necessarily the need to support working couples with children as otherwise stated by owners of crèche facilities. There is an urgent need for state and local councils to enact laws prohibiting the operations of illegal and substandard crèches, as most of the crèches are not of high quality. This simply means a lot of young families are being exploited based on their population in the city and in the absence of extended family members, as in the case of rural communities where children can be left in the care of grand parents and relatives. The relaxed nature of legislation of pre-school facilities in Lagos State is also a factor in explaining why there is a rise in the number of substandard and illegal crèches springing up in the neighbourhoods. Substandard crèches are very likely to impact negatively on the

health of children, and capable of increasing the number of under-five mortality and morbidity in Nigeria, which is currently one of the highest in the world (Anyanwu and Enweonu 2004; Okoli 2012). The lack of trained manpower to cater for the special needs of children in crèches can no doubt lead to situations where children are subjected to abuse, violence and neglects. In conclusion, the establishment of crèches should therefore be perceived as a multidimensional process involving continuous monitoring, licensing, reorganising and reorienting crèche workers, and the proprietors and parents who patronise the facilities. It is expected that with these measures in place, proprietors of crèches, will change their motive from seeing the crèche as an economic venture to a social venture which must be well equipped for the ultimate benefit of children in urban centres.

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Przestrzeń miejska i rozprzestrzenianie się nielegalnych żłobków w Nigerii

Streszczenie

Rosną obawy dotyczące rozprzestrzeniania się nielegalnych placówek edukacyjnych na całym świecie, które często nie są zaliczane do szkół i przedszkoli. Podjęto działania, mające na celu zbadanie tych nielegalnych instytucji na wybranych przedmieściach w stanie Lagos w Nigerii. Opierając się na danych jakościowych zebranych od piętnastu właścicieli i nauczycieli pracujących w żłobkach, dwudziestu czterech rodzin, okazało się, że miejsca te powstały, jako nieformalne przedsięwzięcie i stanowiły przedłużenie wychowania domowego. Tak więc potrzeba rejestracji i sformalizowania obiektów żłobków jest niezwykle konieczna. Niechęć rodziców do płacenia standardowych opłat za żłobek i niewłaściwa opieka nad nimi stanowiły status quo. Położenie sąsiedztwa, bliskość i koszt były kolejnymi przyczynami do stałego posyłania dzieci do tych miejsc.

Badanie wykazało, że to obawy ekonomiczne, a nie dobre samopoczucie niemowląt były głównymi czynnikami sprzyjającymi powstawaniu nowych, nielegalnych żłobków w nigeryjskiej przestrzeni miejskiej. Istnieje pilna potrzeba, aby władze stanowe i lokalne rady wydały ustawy zakazujące nielegalnych żłobków w centrach miast.

Słowa kluczowe: żłobek, płatna praca, wyzysk ekonomiczny, dobrobyt dzieci, przestrzeń miejska