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International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)

Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 38
Ethiopia
Child Domestic Workers in Addis Ababa:
A Rapid Assessment

By
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Preface

Unacceptable forms of exploitation of children at work exist and persist, but they are particularly difficult to research due to their hidden, sometimes illegal or even criminal nature. Slavery, debt bondage, trafficking, sexual exploitation, the use of children in the drug trade and in armed conflict, as well as hazardous work are all defined as Worst Forms of Child Labour. Promoting the Convention (No. 182) concerning the Prohibition and immediate action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999, is a high priority for the International Labour Organization (ILO). Recommendation (No. 190, Paragraph 5) accompanying the Convention states that “detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up to date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms, as a matter of urgency.” Although there is a body of knowledge, data, and documentation on child labour, there are also still considerable gaps in understanding the variety of forms and conditions in which children work. This is especially true of the worst forms of child labour, which by their very nature are often hidden from public view and scrutiny.

Against this background the ILO, through IPEC/SIMPOC (International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour/Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour) has carried out 38 rapid assessments of the worst forms of child labour in 19 countries and one border area. The investigations have been made using a new rapid assessment methodology on child labour, elaborated jointly by the ILO and UNICEF¹. The programme was funded by the United States Department of Labor.

The investigations on the worst forms of child labour have explored very sensitive areas including illegal, criminal or immoral activities. The forms of child labour and research locations were carefully chosen by IPEC staff in consultation with IPEC partners. The rapid assessment investigations focused on the following categories of worst forms of child labour: children in bondage; child domestic workers; child soldiers; child trafficking; drug trafficking; hazardous work in commercial agriculture, fishing, garbage dumps, mining and the urban environment; sexual exploitation; and working street children.

To the partners and IPEC colleagues who contributed, through their individual and collective efforts, to the realisation of this report I should like to express our gratitude. The responsibility for opinions expressed in this publication rests solely with the authors and does not imply endorsement by the ILO.

I am sure that the wealth of information contained in this series of reports on the situation of children engaged in the worst forms of child labour around the world will contribute to a deeper understanding and allow us to more clearly focus on the challenges that lie ahead. Most importantly, we hope that the studies will guide policy makers, community leaders, and practitioners to tackle the problem on the ground.



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¹ Investigating Child Labour: Guidelines for Rapid Assessment - A Field Manual, January 2000, a draft to be finalized further to field tests, <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/simpoc/guides/index.htm>

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The objective of this study is to identify, describe and analyze the characteristics of the working and living conditions of child domestic labourers in Addis Ababa, using a rapid assessment method. The rapid assessment methodology implemented includes an in-depth interview, observation of physical conditions, focus group discussions, case studies, role play, and daily activity logs.

Following is a summary of the main findings of the study:

- The average number of children in the families of the child domestics interviewed is about six. This is more than the national average for the size of a family. If an average of four or more children in a family is considered a large family, then more than 80% of the respondents come from a large family.
- A large number of the study population (72%) migrated from regions outside Addis Ababa.
- The survey revealed two types of relationships with their employers. Most of the child domestics (59%) are paid and the rest (41%) work without fixed monetary compensation. A large number of child domestics pay all or a portion of their wages to parents directly or through employers.
- It is possible that some of the children joined domestic labour when they were six years old or younger.
- There is no child bondage in Addis Ababa.
- Many children start work as early as 6.00 A.M and go to sleep as late as 12 P.M.(midnight). They work about 11 hours/day, seven days a week about 80 hours/week.
- Eighty percent of the child domestics interviewed do not have the right to voluntarily quit their jobs.
- Child domestics have no security at the employers' home. They have no "freedom from fear."
- Most children in the study population (65%) are currently enrolled either in a literacy class or in formal education while 35% are not currently enrolled at all. Reasons for not enrolling in school include no school near their rural residence, expense of school fees, non-willingness of employers, and lack of time.

- A large number of domestics cannot study or do their homework at home, and are often late or absent from school.
- The survey revealed that poverty of the family is the single most important cause of children entering into domestic child labour (destitute family, disintegration of family or death of one or both parents are common).
- Employers of child domestics are reported to believe that what they are doing is really good for the sake of the children.
- The children have no time and means for recreation and leisure as they work on the average more than 11 hours per day, seven days a week.
- Most child domestics interviewed are not allowed to play with children of the employers, watch television nor listen to the radio at home and hence their freedom to obtain information on topics that are necessary for life skills such as vital information on HIV/AIDS is curtailed. The only place to get information is in schools, but this is a privilege of only those who are attending schools.
- Child domestics perform their work under stress, intimidation, and threat.
- All the child domestics interviewed reported that they do not participate in cultural life outside the home environment nor in cultural activities that are performed at the household level with their employer's family members.
- Children engaged in domestic work are not expected to have or develop initiative. The study revealed that most employers of child domestics constantly and mercilessly criticize and belittle them and no matter what strenuous jobs they accomplish, their employers do not recognize their good work. The lady mistress frequently treats them as scapegoats for all the problems encountered at home. Child domestics feel they have no respect at all in the home of their employers and have multiple bosses in the home.
- The status and role of the child domestic vis-a-vis the children and other members of the employing family is not a person-to-person relationship but a master and servant relationship. Verbal and physical violence are frequent among child domestics. Many child domestics are the victims of physical violence.
- The employers and their children violate children's rights in their treatment of child domestic workers. Only a small number of child domestics interviewed are allowed to visit their parents on a monthly basis. A large number of child domestics are not allowed to leave the premises of their employer's house unless on an errand, accompanying someone from

the house or going to school. As a result, many children are starved for affection and for play and socialization with other children, as they are neither allowed to play with children of their employers or to socialize with other children in the neighbourhood.

- A moderate number of child domestics interviewed have no one in the family with whom to share their problems, sorrow or secrets, including what they are most eager or wish to do. Most child domestics feel greater freedom in school than at home.
- A number of child domestics who have one or more of their parents still alive have not visited them for between 5-6 years.
- The rapid assessment revealed that a good proportion of girls, particularly those over 12 years of age, were sexually harassed, mostly by sons of the employers. As a result, some girl child domestics worry about or fear the sexual intentions of members of the family. These feelings are in part due to the notion of possible rape that keeps girls in a constant state of fear because of their belief that, when a victim of these circumstances, a girl loses her right to life, dignity and security.
- Cursing, avoidance and sulking affect most child domestics. The children strongly believe that curses made by older people will one day come true.
- In a large number of cases the child domestics feel either “very inferior” or “inferior” when they compare themselves to others in their community/school.
- Most child domestics are exposed to an environment that is morally and/or psychologically compromising. Child domestics interviewed have reported that they could not differentiate what is wrong and what is right because they see the employers' children participating in and enjoying activities that they are forbidden to do or enjoy.
- A large number of the child domestics do not like their sleeping conditions, and a good proportion of them have neither bed sheets, or a blanket to use while they are sleeping.
- Despite their circumstances, the child domestics interviewed think that their quality of life has improved since entering domestic work.
- The number of child workers is estimated to range from 250 to 300 in one district, and consequently the size of child domestics in Addis Ababa to range from 6500 to 7500.
- Key informants unanimously supported - in principle - the idea of enforcement of conventions and laws protecting children from exploitation, particularly child labour. However, prohibiting child domestic labour without first combating its source can have

detrimental effects, inviting tragedy for the poor children and their families. It will encourage even more destitute children to join the army of street children in all major urban areas of the country.

The study has included some recommendations (immediate and long term) that - if implemented - will go a long way to alleviate some of the worst forms of child labour. The study has also suggested institutions that will be responsible for implementing the recommendations. Please find these below:

1. The Government should **immediately** ratify the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour 1999 (No. 182) as it could serve as a basis for all actions to protect children from exploitation (Government and House of Representatives).
2. Every domestic child labourer has to be protected against all forms of exploitation on the job. In this context, the society needs to be informed and mobilized on key issues of child labour and education. Steps should, therefore, be taken to promote a more positive concept of childhood based on the principles of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child. Advocacy campaigns and sensitization programmes have also to be designed
 - 1.1 to give a greater recognition of the primary role of education, rest and leisure as well as parental affection to child domestics (immediate by NGOs and local Government);
 - 1.2 to sensitize children, parents, teachers, community workers, and community and religious leaders on children's rights and how they apply to child domestic workers, as well as on the high cost of premature work (immediate action by NGOs and local Government);
 - 1.3 to craft strategies to organize child domestics in order to heighten awareness for increasing recognition for their work in order to defend their rights to mitigate exploitation. This is a sensitive issue and should be astutely handled with care (long term by Government).

Most of these could be achieved (a) through continuous and effective programmes on childhood through the mass media, (b) through schools, and (c) through organizing an awareness creation workshop for the community.

3. A reliable system of information on child domestic labour should be created at the *kebele* (sub-district) level to learn more about domestic child labourers. In this regard a viable system must be created for reporting cases of the worst forms of domestic child labour amongst child domestics in each *kebele*. Although this could be a long term project work has to be started immediately.

4. Measures should be taken to evaluate and strengthen the work of institutions responsible for resolving the child labour problem (long term by the government with ILO and other partners).
 1. In order for the ideal of mitigating child domestic labour to succeed one has to focus on prevention and treatment rather than only the treatment aspect. Whatever services are intended to mitigate child domestic labour, they should not only reach children while they are in the employers' house, but also while they are still with their families, schools or communities (long term by Governments and NGOs, and civil societies).
 2. The Government should focus on how to gradually eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour and finally child labour from the country (long term by the Government - should develop a long-term strategy).
 3. As it is noted above, it is long recognized that education is the core of the struggle against child labourers in general. Schools that enroll many domestic child labourers should be identified and given some modest financial support to
 - (a) help teachers to develop special interest on the social and academic activities of child domestics (immediately by NGOs and Civil Societies coordinated by Kebele administration),
 - (b) hire tutors for the child domestic workers for individualized lessons, and (immediately by NGOs and Civil societies coordinated by Kebele administration)
 - (c) arrange make-up classes for child domestics on Sundays and Saturdays (immediately by NGOs, Civil Societies such as Teachers association, and coordinated by Kebele administration).
 4. Commission a study on the effect of domestic work on the teaching-learning activities of child domestics (immediately by ILO, in collaboration with NGOs and Teachers Association).
 5. There are many child domestics who pay for school tuition from their modest salaries. This is one of the things that discourage child domestics from going to school or employers from sending the children to school. A project should be designed to mobilize support for child domestics to have free education in evening schools (immediate by NGOs and Civil Societies and Woreda (District) Administration). In this regard the efforts of FOCUS ON CHILDREN, a local NGO, should be encouraged because it has already started a special free programme on non-formal education for poor children from 3.30 PM - 600 PM. This programme is highly appreciated and valued by both the children and the community. Children as well as some employers have revealed that had it not been for this FOCUS programme many child domestics would not be educated at this time.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Child labour is a widespread phenomenon in the developing world. Despite the International Labour Organization (ILO) Conventions to protect children from child labour, namely ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182) and ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138), as well as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) (CRC), the practice still continues unabated.

Children are engaged in all forms of paid work, in factories, service industries, shops, and market places and in household chores. Many studies cite the root causes to be chronic poverty, broken homes and unemployment in the formal and informal sectors. The families of many of these working children are known to struggle for survival due to the pressing and chronic problem of poverty as a result of the underdevelopment of the country. Some of these children have neither access to education nor have adequate remuneration, satisfactory working and living conditions. They are not protected from the most harmful and exploitative practices. They work under extreme conditions, which constrain their holistic development (Bequele and Myers).

The ILO estimates that there are around 200 million children aged between 5-14 working worldwide. Of this number some 180 million are suspected to be toiling in the worst forms of child labour. That is, close to 90% of the 200 million children are estimated to work in the worst forms of child labour (Every Child Counts – New Global Estimates on Child Labour, April 2002). Still, these figures are remain but an estimate because traditional national statistics do not capture the true number of children, especially girls, working in “invisible” activities such as domestic work.

Child domestics are a most vulnerable section of society in Ethiopia. Their work is likely to expose them to exploitation and verbal, physical and sexual abuses at their tender age when they need the utmost care and protection by adults. Many of the children’s activities violate basic provisions of the UN Conventions on the Rights of the Child, which Ethiopia has ratified. The Convention provides a set of universally accepted standards for the well being of children and provides a legal framework which society can use in their progress of the protection, survival and development of children. Nevertheless, these rights appear to be a distant goal and unachievable for the working child. First, working children are not aware of them, and secondly, they are not enforceable. The situation of many child domestic workers also violates the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour 1999 (No. 182) which has not yet been ratified in Ethiopia.

Domestic work is the traditional domain of the girl child in Ethiopia. It is known that children who are deployed outside domestic work, for instance, in factories are not normally beneficiaries of the

traditional rights and privileges that are extended to adult workers. In domestic work in Ethiopia, there are no such rights and privileges extended to any domestic worker, whether adult or child.

The child domestic work environment has a unique characteristic as children work in another family's house, cut off from their own family and friends. Child domestic workers are expected to provide cheap domestic labour during which they are subjected to household chores and treated with utmost incivility. They are less visible than other categories of workers and are under complete control and authority of their employers. Furthermore, the domestic work environment, most of the time, encourages continuous contact with employers' children of similar age but who receive very different treatment. The employers' children normally enjoy at least the affection and care of their parents while the domestics are neglected, and lack affection and care. Working children will always have therefore the tendency to unconsciously compare their situations with those of the children of their employers and compete with them. These circumstances tends to result in feelings of frustration and grow in an atmosphere devoid of basic trust (UNICEF, 1993). The children develop a sense of hopelessness, low self-esteem, and an inferiority complex. For instance, a WHO study (WHO, 1987) on social and psychological problems of domestic child workers showed, among others, withdrawal, regressive behavior, and inferior status identity to be common problems.

ILO Minimum Age Convention 1973 (No.138) sets the minimum age for work in developed countries at 15 and in developing countries at 14 years. Accordingly, the Labour Proclamation of Ethiopia Number 42/1993, Article 82(2) established the 1975 minimum age for employment at 14 years, defined hours of work per day, prohibited over-time work and night work, and prohibited children from working under hazardous conditions consistent with the ILO Conventions. The Government of Ethiopia is therefore committed to eradicating the many abuses perpetrated against working children, but it has not initiated enforcement of the law that it has enacted. The view exists that the eradication of child labour can only be achieved over the long run and that enforcement requires considerable resources. Because of these and other reasons enforcement of the laws to protect the rights of children remains a distant goal and dream.

Despite the existence of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Ethiopian Labour Proclamation, it is known that many children between the ages of 5 and 14 engage in domestic work for various socio-economic reasons in Ethiopia. However, no visible enforcement measures have been taken, only those that focus primarily on modest awareness raising activities. It is now reported that Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MOSLA) is in the process of drafting a national policy on children (Tedla Diressie, 1999).

Child abuse practices are prevalent in Ethiopia, not only at the work place but also by individuals and families who indulge in one form or another of child abuse (Haile Gabriel et al, 1998).

The ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour 1999 (No. 182) Article 3 identifies the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) as follows:

- a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;*
- b) the use, procuring, or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;*
- c) 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 treaties;*
- d) work which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.*

In determining the types of work referred to in Article 3(d) of the Convention, accompanying Recommendation No.190 defines the following:

- a) Work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse;*
- b) Work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces;*
- c) Work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads;*
- d) Work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health;*
- e) work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unnecessarily confined to the premises of the employer.*

Some studies have been undertaken in Ethiopia to assess the cause and extent of child labour. However, these studies, which the consultants who carried out his rapid assessment are aware of, focus only on the formal and informal sectors with little or no adequate coverage of domestic employment (for example see Seyoum, 2000, Tirussew et al, 1999, Dawit G., 1995). Thus there was the need for commissioning the present study on child domestic labour in Addis Ababa, to supplement the current knowledge on the characteristics of the working and living conditions of child domestic workers.

For this study a child is defined as a person below the age of 18 years old, as per the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour 1999 (No. 182). The definition of a **Child Domestic Labourer** assumed by this study is a child - under 18 years of age – who:

- works for pay in cash or in kind;
- is employed by adults other than their parents; and

- lives inside the house of others, regardless of whether the child attends school on a full-time or part-time basis or not.

1.1 Objective of the study

The objective of the study is to identify, describe and analyze the characteristics of the working and living conditions of child domestic labour in Addis Ababa, using the rapid assessment methodology, in order to:

- (a) have a preliminary understanding of the conditions of domestic child labour;
- (b) provide insight into the problems and nature of child domestics;
- (c) provide a relatively complete and reliable picture of the situation of child domestics in Addis Ababa, focusing on the magnitude, characteristics, causes, and consequences of child domestic work as a worst forms of child domestic work, as well as the pathways that lead children to worst forms of child labour (WFCL);
- (d) test and evaluate the rapid assessment methodology and report on adaptations made in regards to the specific worst forms of child domestic in Addis Ababa.

1.2 Dimension of the problem

The ILO estimates that there are around 200 million children aged between 5-14 working worldwide. Of this number some 180 million are suspected to be toiling in the worst forms of child labour. That is, close to 90% of the 200 million children are estimated to work in the worst forms of child labour (Every Child Counts – New Global Estimates on Child Labour, April 2002). These figures remain just an estimate, however, because traditional national statistics do not accurately capture working children, especially girls, in invisible activities such as domestic work.

According to a projection for 2000, Ethiopia has a population of 62 million (Medium Variant 1994, Population and Housing Census). The share of the population under the age of 15 years is 27 million. About 50% of the projected total population of Ethiopia will be children under the age of 18 years.

Rapid rural-to-urban migration is the cause for the increasing rate of domestic child labor in urban areas of developing countries. Children are often prompted by their parents to leave their poor conditions for cities in order to search for economic opportunities that often do not exist. In the last 40 years, this movement has been drastic throughout the world. In 1950, 17 percent of the population of the developing world lived in urban areas. This increased to 32 percent in 1988. By the year 2000 it is estimated that this proportion will increase to 40 percent, and to 57 percent by the year 2025 (United Nations 1989). Such an increase coupled with worsening economic trends, forces children into urban poverty; children are soon required to work (Barker and Knaul

1991) in any occupation. One of the many occupations in which children traditionally participate is in domestic work.

The urban population contributes 15% of the total population of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa constitutes a total of 2.6 million inhabitants (Medium Variant Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, 1994) out of 9.3 urban population of the country. The growth rate of the population of the city in the last 10 years has been 3.3%. It is in this socio-economic milieu of high fertility rates and very high unemployment (one in three unemployed) that child domestics are naturally produced and flourish in Addis Ababa.

Under the assumption that 1 in 50 to 1 in 40 households have child domestics, it is estimated that the number of child domestics in Addis Ababa ranges from 6500 to 7500. According to this estimate, roughly 1.0 – 1.2% of those under 18 years of age serve as child domestics.

CHAPTER 2

Approach and methodology

As this study was undertaken using the rapid assessment methodology, no attempt was made to select a representative random sample of child domestic workers. Had it not been for the difficulties that would be encountered in arranging the on-site presence of investigators at households, the ideal approach and technique for data collection would have included observation of the working and living conditions of domestic child workers at the household level. In light of this constraint, the study was limited to interviews, informal discussions, focus group discussion, and case studies of child domestic workers.

2.1 Identifying locations where child domestics could be found

The study's first task was to identify child domestics. There were multiple methods for locating and identifying domestic child workers using facilitators/enumerators who knew the districts well. The key locations where the facilitators identified the child domestics include the following:

- Kindergartens/schools to which child domestic workers escort/accompany children of their employer's household and/or their neighbours;
- Market places/ shops/kiosks/gulites (mini-open market) where children are doing errands for their employers;
- Schools that conduct evening classes and literacy centres in the study areas;
- Water points; and
- Domestic employment broker (*delala*) stands.

2.2 Instruments

2.2.1 Interview guide

A detailed interview guide that consists of two parts was prepared in the Amharic language. The first part is for facilitators to read to the identified child domestic workers and then to be completed by the enumerators. It consists mainly of the child domestics' personal data, their background, their family context, and other short miscellaneous questions that required short answers such as "yes" or "no". This part greatly helped the researchers to triangulate the information obtained through direct interviews.

The second part consists of an in-depth interview guide by the researchers. Both parts of the interview guides were pre-tested on a number of child domestics in another district.

The three researchers then interviewed those child domestics who have completed the preliminary questionnaire. During the in-depth interview, researchers concentrated only on the interview and not on note taking in order to focus more on gaining insights on the causes and problems of child domestics. They later completed their notes on the interview upon returning home in the evenings.

From the results of the pretest and the researchers' experience, the possible interview "likely responses" were first prepared as a working category. Every other day, the researchers, based on field experience gained, then reviewed the likely response categories. When the same categories and topics began reappearing again and again the researchers finalized the categories and then started to tabulate the result of the interviews.

Three trained facilitators - teachers with extensive experience in questionnaire administration in social studies - were recruited. They teach non-formal basic education and are well attuned to problems of child domestics. They were given training in the objectives of the survey, on how to complete the questionnaire, and on how to interact with children. The researchers provided close supervision and support.

The facilitators/enumerators were given brief training in observation and interview skills. The facilitators were also given strict advice to write down their observation and interview notes immediately following completion of each interview and observation.

2.2.2 Observation guide

An observation guide for recording the physical appearance, health, clothing, and general conditions of the child was also included in the main questionnaire.

The four facilitators/enumerators divided the 100 child domestics equally into three districts (33, 33, 34). The children were interviewed out of the presence of their employers - to avoid having to respond under duress and intimidation - at a place some distance from their homes and not within sight of employers or other family members. The child domestics were not interviewed during their free time. Some were interviewed when taking grain to the grinding mills, others were interviewed when fetching water or gathering leaves for fire fuel, others when going to school with the permission of teachers to take some child domestics out of their classes, and so on.

Some child domestics were embarrassed, felt ashamed to respond, and preferred to just keep quiet, especially when asked about sexual abuse/harassment. The child domestics who voluntarily participated in the study were given some modest convenience/transportation money.

2.2.3 Interviewees and focus group discussions

Knowledgeable persons from *kebele* (sub-district) administration, employers, outreach workers of social service agencies, teachers, members of women groups, community opinion makers, religious

leaders (mosque and church-linked workers), and a broker (*delala*) active in the *woreda* (district) were selected as special informants. They later actively participated in an interview conducted by the researchers. Some of these key informants also participated in a focus group discussion. A second focus group discussion was held with some child domestics who were identified based on their knowledge, experience, willingness, and verbal skills when they were interviewed.

The focus group discussion sessions and the interviews of key informants were considered multiple sources of information for new insights into the magnitude and problems of child domestics in the study areas. They were also used as a forum to triangulate the validity and credibility of data found through the direct interviews of child domestics.

2.2.4 Case studies

The study also included three specific and in-depth case studies of children that vividly revealed the living and working conditions of child domestic work as a worst form of child labour. Accordingly, all the relevant information from each case has been described, analyzed and highlighted in this study.

2.2.5 Role play

Some child domestics were asked to prepare a very short drama/play in a school hall depicting the behaviour of their employers and how they treat them (the child domestics) as well as the relationship of the child domestics and the children of the employers. The children selected for this were those who were less shy, had better verbal skills than other child domestics interviewed, who appeared to know more about the predicament of child domestics, and who were willing to actively participate in the role play. The child domestics selected the theme and topic of the play and acted in front of other child domestics and the researchers. The child domestics in the “audience” were asked to comment and elaborate upon the theme of the drama at the end of the play. This activity generated a lively discussion, especially on the environment under which child domestics work. The theme of the drama and the act vividly show the relationship between the child domestics and their employers and the work environment. In a very vivid and dramatic way the plays brought out what is really on the mind of the child domestics. This exercise greatly helped the researchers to capture the situation under which child domestics work. It was found that through this approach the children were able to better communicate with the researcher in a relaxed and educative way, more so than when they were asked to explain and describe their situation during the formal interviews (see Annex 3).

2.2.6 Daily activity log

In the middle of the interview each child domestic was asked to give a step-by-step and hour-by-hour description of the activities he/she often carries out as a child domestic. This method was found to be effective in two ways: (i) as a means of capturing, in a very casual manner, how busy

child domestics could be in terms of their heavy work load and the amount of break or rest time possible for them to actually have; (ii) to precisely pinpoint the types of activities the children engaged in, their magnitude and the volume of work the children perform during a normal working day (for detail see Annex 2).

2.3 Data analysis

Data analysis was done manually as it was found very difficult to handle the huge amount of data collected through the direct interviews of child domestics. As a result the study work slowed beyond the expectation of the researchers.

2.4 Limitations of the rapid assessment study of child domestics

The following are some of the limitations of the rapid assessment study of child domestics.

1. Systematic observation of the child domestics and the work conditions to have a concrete feeling of the daily activities and work conditions was not possible because, due to the sensitive nature of child domestics, the employers were not cooperative. In the instances when the employers were cooperative and made an appointment with the researchers, on the day of the appointment they showed conditions and treatment totally different from the usual days. This was an insurmountable obstacle to the research.
2. As the child domestics were interviewed as conveniently found, the study population cannot be labeled as representative. The results thus cannot be representative and generalized to the research area, let alone beyond it. Therefore, users should be careful in generalizing the results of the rapid assessment study in the three areas.
3. The information could be slightly exaggerated because the child domestics interviewed might have wrongly believed, even though the facilitators and the researchers made the aim of the study clear from the start, that they would get financial assistance immediately following the end of the study. The researchers at times suspected a tendency of some children to exaggerate some of the ordeals of child domestics. There were sincere attempts to correct this tendency during the interviews.
4. The child domestics are so fed up with the conditions of their work that they spontaneously bring out grievances that they have accumulated and stored for long periods of time to a sympathetic and patient listener. Hence there may be a tendency for the children to condense, exaggerate and/or make up their circumstances.

CHAPTER 3

Findings: characteristics of child domestic workers and their lives

According to the 1994 Population and Housing Census, the woredas selected have populations of 89000, 66000, and 58000 respectively of which close to 85% are literate and close to one-third are unemployed.

The net enrollment ratio, which is a ratio of children aged 7-12 that are in primary level to the total number of children in the age group 7-12, is close to 70%; for junior school for the age group 13-14 years it is 34%. The woredas are mainly residential areas.

Practically all the ethnic groups of Ethiopia are represented in the woredas although the Amhara ethnic group dominates. There are a number of NGOs involved in work focusing on concerns surrounding children and women.

3.1. Characteristics of the study population

The study population is composed of 100 child domestic workers of which 17% are males and 83% are females. Since the study sample is not statistically representative, this figure cannot confirm the actual proportion of girl domestics in Addis Ababa. However, as domestic work is the traditional domain of women, a brief glance at the data summarized in Table 1 suggests that females have greater propensity to be involved in domestic work situations than males.

Table 1: Gender distribution

Sex	Frequency
Male	16
Female	84
Total	100

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 2: Age distribution of the study population

Age	Male N=16	Female N=84
<8	0	1
8	1	4
9	2	6
10	1	8
11	5	11
12	3	14
13	3	15
14	1	13
15	0	8
16	0	4
17	0	0
18	0	0
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

3.2 Size of the families of child domestics

Data of household size can be used as a proxy for estimation of the degree of crowdedness, and economic status of the family of the respondents and has great implication to health and poverty of the families of the child domestics. Since one of the factors contributing to poverty is high fertility, the number of children in the family of child domestics could be an indicator of how the available resources of the family could also provide support for all members of the family. The survey reveals the following distribution of the size of children of the families of the child domestic workers.

Table 3: Distribution of the number of children in the families of child domestics

Number	Frequency
Less than 2	7
3-5	19
6-8	47
More than 8	27
Total	100

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

The average number of children per family is about six. This is higher than the national average for the size of a family. If an average of four or more of children in a family is considered a large family, then more than 80% of the respondents come from a large family.

Traditionally, the eldest child in the family is assumed to carry out the responsibilities of parents in case of any mishaps in the family. In order to ascertain whether the eldest sibling has left the family in search of work to support the family, a question was asked regarding whether the respondent is indeed the eldest sibling. A large number of respondents (more than 80%) confirmed that they are not the eldest child. However, a small number of child domestics affirmed that they are the oldest in the family.

Table 4 Are you the eldest sibling?

Eldest	Frequency
Yes	11
No	82
DK	7
Total	100

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Since a family is central to income maintenance, and economic status, marriage information has economic and social implications of the families of the child domestics. Furthermore, information on marital instability may give insight to understand and solve social problems such as an increase in the number of street children and child domestics. It was found that out of the parents of the child domestics, 31% are living together.

Table 5 Number of siblings of child domestics

Number of Siblings	Male N=16	Female N=84
<2	0	0
2-3	0	12
3-4	5	15
4-5	5	29
5-7	5	22
>7	1	6
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

It is known that many of the non-skilled workers in most urban areas are migrants from different regions outside Addis Ababa, not because of “the pull” for better opportunities by the urban areas but perhaps more due to the “push” from extreme poverty of the rural areas. Child domestics are no exceptions. A large number of the study population migrated from regions outside Addis Ababa. A very small number do not know whether they are from Addis Ababa or from outside regional states.

Table 6 Previous residence of children

Previous Residence of child domestic	Male N=16	Female N=84
Addis Ababa	2	26
Outside Addis	14	58
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 7 Reasons for moving to new residence

Reasons for moving to new Residence (multiple responses)	Male N=16	Female N=84
Search for employment	10	68
To be able to go to school	6	52
Poverty of family	9	84
Lost one or both parents	3	13
Employers beat me often	0	5
Fired from work	0	0
Too much work	1	5
In search of higher wage	0	10
Others	0	1

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

3.3 Employer - child domestic relationship

The survey revealed two types of relationships between child domestic workers and their employers. Most of the child domestics (59%) are paid and the rest (41%) work without fixed monetary compensation. This latter category of children serves in return for food, clothing and lodging, and, in some cases, going to school. Among those who are paid, almost a third regularly get their pay, while close to a quarter of child domestics are not regularly paid. There is a small number of child domestics who do not know whether they are paid or not. It could be that this group of children does not know whether they are paid a monthly salary because the employers often transfer money directly to their parents or other representatives.

Table 8 Child domestics working for salary

Working for Salary	Male N=16	Female N=84
Working for paid compensation	10	49
Working for in-kind compensation	6	33
Don't know	0	2
Total N=100	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

A large number of child domestics pay all or a portion of their wages to parents directly or through employers. Under these circumstances, the contribution to family income derived from children's work appears to be minimal. The children's earnings to the family's subsistence are not that significant. It does not appear to compensate for their exclusion from the educational system, nor does the work contribute significantly to the child's personal development.

Table 9 Do you pay for your parents and school?

	Male N=9	Female N=50
Pay to Parents	4	29
Pay for school Fee	5	21
Total	9	50

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=59

The length of time the children have worked for their present employer ranges from less than half a year to six years. The average length of time is roughly two years. This means that it is possible that some of the children may have joined domestic labour by the age of six or even younger.

Table 10 Number of years of service in present employment

Number of years	Male N=16	Female N=84
>1	2	25
1-2	6	39
3-4	4	6
5-6	4	11
NS	0	3
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

It was further inquired whether there is a written employment contract between the domestic worker and the employer in cases where the child receives a monthly salary. The response was that there is no written contract, only verbal “gentlemen's agreement”. The employment contract is an informal verbal one. Hiring and firing provisions are not agreed upon in the verbal contract during negotiation.

For most of the child domestics, the current job is their first employment; only a small number of them have been previously engaged in work other than domestic work.

Among the indicators used to measure the extent to which employers exploit their domestic workers is whether or not the employers pay an adequate monthly salary. In order to assess the amount of the monthly salary of the child domestics and compare it with the average salary of adult domestics, the distribution of the monthly salary was analyzed. It was found that the average salary is barely Birr 18 (US \$1 = 8.8 Birr), which is almost one sixth of the salary of the lowest paid adult domestic worker in Addis (according to the *delala* informant). Of this small amount, a moderate number of child domestics (33%) also contribute money to support their families. Close to the same number (44%) of those who earn a salary also pay school fees. No exact information was obtained on what proportion of their income they spend on other items such as clothes.

Table 11 Monthly salary distribution

Birr (US \$1 = 8.8 Birr)	Frequency Both	Male (N=16)		Female (N=84)	
		No.	%	No.	%
0	41	7	18	34	37
1-10	9	1	6	8	12
11-20	27	1	24	26	25
21-30	8	2	27	6	12
31-40	9	3	15	6	6
41-50	2	1	6	1	1
51-60	2	1	3	1	1
DK	2	0	0	2	4
Total	100	16	100	84	100

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

3.4 Absence of child bondage in Addis Ababa

There is a form of labour -- a variant of slavery-- that is practiced in other developing countries that is known as bonded labour. It is a form of labour where children work to pay off the debts of their parents. This study was thus concerned about the possible existence of child bondage in Addis Ababa. Accordingly, a question was included to ascertain this fact and the responses were overwhelmingly negative. It was confirmed in the interviews of the key informants that they have

never heard of child bondage. It therefore appears that the concept of child bondage is alien to the culture in Addis Ababa.

Table 12 Distribution of working hours

Hours/Day	Male N=16	Female N=84
12-13	1	4
14-15	5	38
16-17	6	26
18-19	4	16
Total	16	84
Average	15.8 hrs	15.3 hrs
<i>Total average = 15.4 hrs/day</i>		

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 13 Duration of break times

Break hours/day	Male N=16	Female N=84
<1	0	0
1-2	0	8
3-4	2	20
5-6	8	33
>6	4	10
No break of any sort	2	13
Total	16	84
Average	4.7 hrs	3.9 hrs
<i>Total average = 4.2 hrs/day</i>		

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

As can be seen from Table 13 the average informal break time per day is 4.2 hours. This means that on the average, child domestics work about 11 hours/day (15.4 - 4.2), while female child domestics work slightly longer per day than males. The 11 hour work days thus take place within an average 15 hour time span. It should be noted that even though the remaining nine hours of the day are considered sleeping hours, there could be elements of always being on call.

3.5 The right to quit their jobs

One of the basic rights of workers is the right to quit their work at any time on their own initiative. In order to ascertain whether children in the study were granted this right, the interview included a question regarding whether they can leave their present job or not. The data are shown in the tables below.

Table 14 Can you quit your present job?

	Male N=16	Female N=84
Yes	4	12
No	12	68
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 15 Reasons for child domestics not leaving their current job

Reasons (multiple responses)	Male N=16	Female N=84
No person to help	7	50
Beating if caught when running	10	78
Fear of losing the current job	14	84
Employers do not allow to search for a new job	10	78
Employment other than domestic work is difficult to get	16	84

3.6 Lack of security and “freedom from fear”

Child domestics have no security at the employer’s home. They have no “freedom from fear”. When asked if they normally experience a feeling of fear in the house or if there is anything there that contributes to their fear, a large number of them replied in the affirmative. The focus group discussion revealed that they have no sense of security in the work they do. Child domestics fear verbal and physical as well as sexual assaults.

They are in a constant state of fear that they might lose their job whenever the employer gets mad at them or if they do not accomplish the order given to them to the satisfaction of their employers. Only a small number of child domestics are confident that they will secure another job. A great majority of child domestics fear that they will be starved to death or will have no shelter if they lose their present job. One of the biggest concerns of their labour is job security. A large number of child domestics think that they cannot leave their present job or association with their present employer in order to look for another or similar job.

It appears that although the children detest their present predicament, and may wish to find a way out of their present state of affairs, they believe they have no real choice but to remain under their present conditions. They have a strong feeling that they are doomed to stay there forever. This was made abundantly clear during the focus group discussion with the children.

3.7 Family context

Twenty-eight percent of the child domestics in the study population were orphans with both parents deceased, 22% reported that both parents were alive, and 50% had one parent alive and the other dead. In close to one third (68 %) of the cases the mother or the father is the breadwinner.

Table 16 Do parents of the child domestics live together?

Parents living together	Male N=16	Female N=84
Living together	5	26
Not living together	11	58
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 17 Socio-economic status of the families of child domestics

Family status	Male N=16	Female N=84
Poorer	15	80
Richer	0	0
Average	1	4
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 18 Are parents alive?

Circumstances of parents	Male N=16	Female N=84
Both alive	4	18
Only one alive	7	43
Both deceased	5	23
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 19 Family breadwinner

Breadwinner	Male N=16	Female N=84
Father	9	43
Mother	4	12
Other	3	13
DK	0	16
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

3.8 Schooling of child domestics

Most children in the study population (65%) are currently enrolled either in literacy class or in a formal school while 35% are not currently enrolled at all. Of those who are currently enrolled 26% are enrolled during the day in non-formal schools, whereas 72% are either enrolled in the evenings or from 3.30 PM - 6.00 PM in non-formal education arranged by local NGOs like *Focus on Risk Children*. Regarding their educational attainment, none of the respondents have completed primary school.

Table 20 Number of currently enrolled child domestics

	Male N=16	Female N=84
Yes	12	53
No	4	31
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 21 Type of programme in which child domestics are enrolled

Programme	Male N=12	Female N=53
Day-formal	0	0
Day non-formal	4	22
Evening-formal	4	19
Afternoon/Evening-non-formal	4	12
Total	12	53

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=65

Table 22 Time it takes from home to the primary school of child domestics

Time taken from home to school in minutes	Male N=12	Female N=53
< 5 minutes	0	0
5-10 min	0	3
11-15	0	0
16- 20	1	7
21-25	3	10
26-30	4	14
31-35	0	3
36-40	0	8
41-45	1	2
More than 45 minutes	3	6
Total	12	53

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=65

Table 23 Reasons for not enrolling in school now

Reasons (multiple responses)	Male N=4	Female N=31
No school near the rural residence	1	18
Cannot afford to go to school	3	30
Non-willingness of employers	1	6
Have no time	4	27
Others	0	1

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=35

Table 24 Educational attainment of child domestics

Grades*	Male N=12	Female N=53
<4	6	31
5-6	5	16
7-8	1	3
Others	0	4
Total	12	53
* Grade 1 corresponds to age 7, grade 2 to age 8... grade 8 to age 14, etc.		

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

3.8.1 Effects of the work of child domestics on school attendance

Given the number of long hours child domestics spend working daily and weekly, they find it difficult to attend school, and when they attend it is difficult to enjoy because they are fighting exhaustion while trying to concentrate in class. A large number of child domestics are often late or absent from class.

Table 25 Effects of child domestic work on schooling

Effects of child domestic work on schooling (multiple responses)	Male N=12	Female N=53
Cannot study at home	10	42
Cannot do my homework	10	45
Feel very tired at school	9	37
Late from school often	9	39
Absent from school often	10	35
No effect	1	8
Total	12	53

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=65

The interviews with teachers confirmed that child domestics are extremely exhausted in class. Some, in fact, go to sleep in class while teaching is going on. Another characteristic of child domestics that came out clearly in the interviews with teachers is that when a teacher or a headmaster of the school tries to discipline these children the first thing that "speaks" is their spontaneous tear.

Interviews with teachers revealed that some child domestics inadvertently arrive late, and others are frequently absent. They have problems concentrating in class, and unlike other (non-child domestic) pupils, children constantly complain that they have no time to devote to homework. As expected, it appears that school attendance for child domestics implies more personal effort, dedication and fatigue than it does for non-working children of the same social status. It is a burden to them on top of their already heavy burden of domestic chores.

Why are child domestics not attending school? The response of the 35 child domestics who are not enrolled in any school confirms that a large number of child domestics have no time and are too tired to go to school in the evenings, that permission from employers is not forthcoming, or that the children cannot afford to pay for tuition. Only a few disclosed the absence of any school in the vicinity of the employer's residence, or that the neighbourhood is not convenient for a girl to attend school in the evenings

3.9 Causes of entering child domestic work

The reasons why children engage in domestic labour do not differ much from those of children engaging in other occupations. To be employed in domestic work in Ethiopia does not require sophisticated skill or expertise. The work outlined in many families requires only brute force, the energy of youth, and probably less than a week's orientation.

Generally, the causes of child labour and the factors associated with them are deeply rooted in children's social, cultural and economic orders. The child domestics normally come from socially and economically disadvantaged segments of society, and unfortunately, they are forced by poverty to reproduce the poverty of their families by not going to school to gain skills that help to get better paying jobs.

Many studies (e.g., Boyden, 1998) show that child labour in general is also rooted in the child's own desire to work rather than study because of the child's view of schooling as irrelevant. These studies also indicate poverty, family disintegration, desire to enroll in school, work as a means of self-actualization, desire/need to increase consumption, contribution to family welfare, and inducement by friends as causes of child labour. These seem only partially applicable to the case for child domestics in Addis, as the rapid assessment survey revealed that poverty of the family is the single most important cause (destitute family, disintegration of family or death of one or both parents) of children entering into domestic work.

Certain interview responses of reasons for children engaging in domestic work such as to have more freedom from family, to have own money and become more economically independent, failure in school, to be able to enroll in school, and inducement by friends have not been recorded as causes of the first order for joining the child domestic labour market. They appear to be a luxury for personal reasons to participate in the domestic labour market. It appears that children must first cope up with the basic problem of subsistence before they are concerned with other factors.

From the second hierarchy of reasons (reasons chosen for the cause of child domestic) the most important factor responsible for domestic child labour is to be able to attend school. Apparently, the reasons to be independent of family and failure in school are not even included in the second hierarchy of reasons.

Table 26 Cause of child domestics

Cause of child domestics (multiple responses)	Male N=16	Female N=84
Destitute family	16	79
Disintegration of the family	7	21
To be independent of family	0	2
Inadequate parenting	7	21
Death of parents (one or both)	2	49
Failure in school	0	0
To be able to enroll in school	0	35
Induced by friends	0	4
Not stated	0	2

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

3.10 Pathways that lead to children being employed as child domestics

It is very important to map out the possible pathways for domestic child employment in order to seek solutions in the elimination of this form of child labour.

Many children start domestic service for other people in a very informal way in their neighbourhood or a small distance from their parents' house when they are very young. Then, as they develop more physically, their relatives or acquaintances of their parents bring them to Addis Ababa at the initiation of the parents. Once they reach Addis Ababa, there are two routes for joining paid child domestic labour. The first is through a broker (*delala*) where they are usually employed with a modest wage, and the second is through relatives or friends of the family in which the child finds a temporary lodging. This is usually employment in kind (that is, working for food, clothing and lodging and sometimes schooling).

Concerning delalas, it should be noted that delalas are organized. Although it is difficult to estimate the size of the network they do work in a network. They probably have an informal link in the rural areas. It appears that some delalas work underground. But most of the delalas run as accepted businesses. They have a place where they can be contacted – a sort of office. They are part of the community, in which they work or live. No written contracts are ever made. They charge a fixed amount of fees for their service.

There are also a few runaways who seek to obtain their freedom to secure domestic work through the intervention of a kind adult – a stranger who has never met the child but is willing to assist the child for a short period of time. These strangers are not organized. They are found at random and children meet them merely by luck. First they manage to get a temporary shelter with the help of the kind adult. Then they either get employment in the adult's residence or find employment through

this person via a broker or through relatives or friends. This fact was first revealed during the interview and then confirmed in the focus group discussion with children and key informants.

The movement of children across and within Ethiopia by relatives/acquaintances or delalas is not confined to trafficking child domestics. It can occur for the purpose of prostitution. This practice is common, especially in big cities. Exploitation in one form or another is known to occur at the beginning and at the end of the process. The process occurs, and in fact, is viewed by the traffickers as doing “good things” for the children who are trafficked.

3.11 Interest of child domestics in domestic work

Asked about their motivation and interest to be engaged in domestic work, most of the child domestics interviewed expressed that they do not have interest in domestic work but they work merely for survival.

Table 27 Interest in the work of child domestics

Interest	Male N=16	Female N=84
No Interest	16	73
Yes I have interest	0	11
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 28 Would you like to be engaged in activities other than domestic work?

	Male N=16	Female N=84
Yes	16	73
No	0	11
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 29 Attitude towards current domestic work

Attitude	Frequency
Burdensome	58
Not that Burdensome	26
Not Burdensome at all	7
I like my Work	9
Total	100

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

A large number of respondents expressed their interest to work in other occupational areas, and only a small number expressed that they have interest in domestic work. But they too complained that the work of child domestics is too burdensome and exhaustive. Reasons given include the following:

- over work;
- extreme exhaustion;
- unsatisfactory human relations at employers home;
- low or no pay;
- physical and psychological abuse;
- no schooling; and
- insufficient food.

Prospects for the future could be roughly categorized into three groups. The first group (the minority) reported frankly that they have never thought about their future. The second group reported not wanting to think about their future because when they do, they do not see any bright hope given their present predicament. The third group, almost of the same magnitude as the second, is of the opinion that they are absolutely sure to have a bright future.

In the interviews of the key informants and in the focus group discussion, the motivation of employers for having a child domestic was raised. The reasons given for having a child domestic include the following:

- to obtain inexpensive and compliant labour;
- to help poor children survive;
- to train children in domestic work; and
- to teach the children how to manage a decent home.

The last three reasons suggest that employers of child domestics believe in earnest that what they are doing is really good for the sake of the children.

In the focus group discussion with child domestics, discussants emphatically expressed the fact that they have no positive attitude towards domestic labour. They further argued that this assertion does not imply that they do not have a positive attitude towards work. On the contrary, they are in favour of work with dignity and work that entails appropriate hours so that they will have time for education and leisure. They also expressed their preference to work either in the informal or formal sector even as a child labourer.

3.12 Working environment of child domestics

Studies have shown that the growth of children has been affected in the case of those who started work before the age of 14 (Desoille, 1977). Domestic work, unlike other work, impedes access to free time, and recreation and play, which are fundamental to the full and harmonious development of a child's personality. One of the measures of child exploitation is the extent of the number of working hours per day and per week. To ascertain this right, the children were asked to indicate the time they rise from bed in the morning and when they go to bed every night. The rapid assessment revealed that many children start work as early as 6.00 AM and go to sleep as late as 12 P.M.(midnight). This gives an average of 15.4 hours per day (including break time), seven days a week of work for child domestics in the study population.

3.12.1 Working conditions of child domestics

During the interviews it was further inquired whether the children had any break or rest times during the day or evening. The response of most of the children was that they need to be alert at any time to take orders from their employers. Failing that, children risk verbal and physical violence or perhaps dismissal. In spite of this, a small number of the child domestics estimated that they have some sort of a break or some lax period during the day when they are not working. This was estimated to be a break of about 4.2 hours a day, even if it is not on a continuous basis. On the other hand, a number of respondents (15%) reported that they do not have any rest between dawn and the time they go to sleep. Even if one assumes that every child domestic takes a break of 4.2 hours a day, child domestics in the study areas work for a very long day of about 11 hours per day, nearly 80 hours per week. This means that many children are toiling day in and day out, at least 11 hours per day, seven days a week, without rest, in homes of employers - be they relatives/friends or not - working on household chores. Child domestics are thus exposed to a social environment where positive personal development is practically non-existent.

The size of the family of employers has an implication on the volume of work of the child domestics. It was found that the average size of the employer's family is considered to be more than the average, and therefore, considered a large family. A moderate number of child domestics reported to have someone to help them in their daily work.

3.12.2 The work of child domestics involves carrying heavy loads

The work of child domestics involves carrying/lifting heavy loads beyond their capability. This suggests that the work of children is not only very exhaustive but damaging to their healthy physical development with their bones affected by poor posture when carrying/lifting of heavy weights.

Table 30 Carrying/lifting heavy things beyond your capability

	Male N=16	Female N=84
Yes	11	34
No	5	50
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 31 Distribution of the size of the employer's family (including the child domestics)

Size	Male N=16	Female N=84
1-5	4	42
6-8	9	36
9-11	3	5
>11	0	1
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 32 Do you get some help at home?

	Frequency
Yes	38
No	62
Total	100

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

3.12.3 Specific types of tasks that child domestics normally perform

The activity log revealed the routine tasks performed by a large number of child domestics including the following:

- preparing and serving breakfast, lunch and dinner
- preparing (roasting, punching, boiling and serving) coffee
- washing and ironing clothes on the average once a week
- sweeping, scrubbing and mopping floors, cleaning the compound
- preparing *wotte* (local version of curry or stew or goulash)

- baking *injera* (local food that is flat, round, and thin made with flour from a special species of grass type plant. Ethiopians daily take this food staff for their meals. It is eaten soaked in wotte.)
- preparing red pepper (*berberie*) on the average twice a year
- preparing *tella* (local version of beer) on the average once per two months
- purchasing commodities from the nearest kiosks and market places
- making the beds of all the family members
- washing legs and feet of employers and some guests
- helping some family members to bathe
- carrying approximately 30 kg of *tef* (grain grown in Ethiopia) to flour grinding (once a month)
- baby sitting
- helping to sell commodities in open market petty trade
- roasting or pouching peas for sale
- fetching water
- carrying vegetables and other food items from the market
- washing dishes
- herding cattle
- milking cows
- carrying leaves for fire fuel.

3.13 Domestic work can be hazardous for child domestics

Some of the tasks detailed above entail the use of hot water, hot iron, and contact with sharp knives to chop and split meat or vegetables. Most of the work of the child domestics is not performed under the form of supervision and/or conditions that ensure protection. Therefore, domestic work can be hazardous to child domestics.

The children have no time and means for recreation and leisure as they work on the average more than 11 hours per day, seven days a week.

Most child domestics interviewed are not allowed to play with the children of the employers, watch television or listen to the radio at home, and hence their freedom to obtain information on topics that are necessary for life skills such as vital information on HIV/AIDS is curtailed. The only place to get information is in schools - a privilege of only those who are attending school.

3.14 Child domestics in the employers' home

A large number of child domestics interviewed are not allowed to participate in many activities in their employer's home, as shown in Table 33.

Table 33 Activities that are not allowed by employers

Activities that are not allowed by employers (multiple responses)	Male N=16	Female N=84
Playing with children of employers	14	64
Listening to the radio	6	14
Watching television	13	78
Meeting outsiders	12	80
Leaving the premise, except for school	16	84
Playing with neighbours' children	16	84
Visiting friends or relatives	9	31
Studying during day time	12	50

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

On the positive side, the child domestics who attend school are able to do so precisely because they work. It makes school affordable for some children. As such, it represents a decisive contribution to their development. Most child domestics realize this opportunity. Most join domestic work in order to take advantage of this. On the other hand the long hours of work in the house, unfavourable living conditions, and the fact that some child domestics are not allowed to study at home, have a negative impact on their school performance. Thus, although the fact that some child domestics have the opportunity to attend school the benefits of school may be escaping them due to their predicament.

3.15 Child domestics work under stress and intimidation

Child domestics perform their work under stress. Most of the child domestics interviewed revealed that their employers want and expect them to accomplish any task, be it difficult or not, immediately and promptly.

“Every task, be it important or not, be it tiny or big, has to be performed and completed at lightening speed other wise shouting and cursing will be raining on me by the lady employer,” commented a girl of 12 when reporting on the time stress under which she normally works.

They work with little or no stimulation because domestic work is dull and involves repetitive tasks, the same routine day in and day out. Some domestics tolerate this because there are no other alternatives. A large number of child domestics interviewed expressed that they are not bothered at all with the repetitiveness of the work.

Child domestics claim that their employers do not recognize, praise, or encourage children for any work performed well. Employers and their children, however, often criticize them.

The study not only shows that child domestics work under time pressure but also that they perform their tasks under intimidation and threat. They are often engaged in altercations/rows with their employers, while a small number reported that their employers often nag them because they are not satisfied with their work. Only a small proportion of the child domestics reported that they have never experienced any type of nagging, row or altercation in the family.

3.16 Social and survival rights of child domestics

A child's survival rights include, among others, his/her social right for adequate nourishment, adequate living standards and access to health and medical services. To ascertain these basic rights of a child domestic several interview questions were framed. The data summarized below suggest that a large number of the child domestics eat three meals a day and that they feel satiated with most of the meals that they get. Further inquiry about the quality and quantity of food they get in every meal disclosed that in a large number of cases the respondents rated the quality and quantity as average, and only a smaller number labeled the quantity and quality of meals as bad.

Table 34 Meals normally taken every day

Meals taken	Male N=16	Female N=84
One	0	3
Two	5	36
Three	11	40
More	0	5
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 35 Do most meals satiate you?

	Male N=16	Female N=84
Yes	9	71
No	7	13
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 36 Evaluation of food eaten by child domestics at home

Evaluation	Quantity -Frequency		Quality- Frequency	
	Male N=16	Female N=84	Male N=16	Female N=84
Bad	5	11	1	17
Acceptable	9	25	10	36
Good	2	48	5	31
Total	16	84	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 37 Punishment by starvation

Punishment by starvation	Male N=16	Female N=84
Yes	3	7
No	13	77
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

This response regarding meals appears to be inconsistent with the fact that most child domestics serve in families that are not “well-to-do” and cannot afford to provide high quality food to the child domestics. When further inquiry was made about this response was qualified by “when compared to the quantity and quality of food we used to get at home before we were employed as child domestics.”

Even if the child is adequately nourished, the child's right to develop fully is not adequately protected unless the child is also educated, and allowed to participate in cultural and religious activities. In this regard, practically all child domestics interviewed reported that they do not participate in cultural activities that are performed at the household level with their employer family members, such as participation in *Chibo* lighting ceremony (*celebration during the end of the rainy season*), and birthday celebration ceremonies of children. Furthermore, they are not allowed to participate in cultural life outside the home environment such as *Timket* (*epiphany celebration*) and *Demera* (*celebration at the end of the rainy season*). Nor are they allowed to attend religious ceremonies or church teachings in the evenings during Orthodox saint days.

Table 38 Cultural participation at home or outside

Cultural Participation (multiple responses)	Yes		No	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
At hme	2	25	14	59
Outside the hme	3	9	13	75

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 39 Are you allowed to go to church/mosque?

	Male N=16	Female N=84
Yes	3	9
No	13	75
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

3.17 Child domestics are not allowed any initiative

Initiative is not recognized in child domestic work. Children engaged as domestics are not expected to have or develop initiative.

“When we give some suggestions regarding the work we are doing or do it in another way then we are told to do, our employer, especially the lady shouts at me, ‘do it as you are told to do.’ My employers try hard to make it so that I cannot take any initiative in the work I do,” commented a 14 year girl working in a taxi driver’s home.

The study revealed that most employers of child domestics constantly and mercilessly criticize and belittle them and, no matter how strenuous the job they have to accomplish, their employers do not recognize their good work.

Furthermore, a large number of the child domestics expressed that the lady mistress frequently treats them as scapegoats for all the problems encountered at home. The focus group discussion of children and the role play disclosed that lady mistresses often ask child domestics to tell lies in order to cover their mistakes or in order to extract what they want from other people, especially their husbands. On the other hand, it was considered that there are some positive aspects of domestic work, if one is lucky to meet good employers. For instance, some child domestics disclosed that

some employers try hard to teach child domestics the art of good housekeeping, including being good cooks, and advise child domestics to live in a very disciplined way.

3.18 Child domestics have multiple bosses

Children feel they receive no respect at all in the home of their employers and have multiple bosses. As a result, everybody in the house gives them orders and wants them to accomplish the task as promptly as they possibly can. As one child commented angrily in a focus group discussion, "every thing has to be done in a split second; and every order is very urgent."

CHAPTER 4

Findings: violence, harassment and quality of life

4.1 Violence against child domestic workers

The status and role of the child domestic vis-a-vis the children and other members of the employing family is not a person to person relationship but that of a master and servant relationship. Verbal and physical violence is frequent occurrences among child domestics. The interview showed that physical violence is committed on more than the moderate number of child domestics. Only a small number of child domestics interviewed reported to have experienced no physical violence. The type of punishment that is given to child domestics varies according to their wrongdoing and according to the temperament of the employers. Children are often slapped, lashed with a stick/cane, kicked by foot, whipped, and pinched in that order of frequency. The lady/master as well as children often scream at them and shout foul words and curse them. Verbal and physical violence is committed not only by the lady and master employer but also by the children and other members of the family of the employers.

Table 40 Frequency of inflicted physical violence

	Male N=16	Female N=84
Often	11	32
Sometimes	5	14
Never	0	38
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 41 Type of physical violence experienced by child domestics

Type of physical violence (multiple responses)	Male N=16	Female N=84
Beating with a stick	8	38
Kicking	5	27
Slapping	8	38
Whipping	8	26
Pinching	0	41
Punching	1	0
Locking in a latrine	2	6
Throwing out of the house to stay outside	4	0
Dipping up to neck in a bowl of cold water	2	7
Forcing to inhale red pepper (<i>berberie</i>)	0	3
Others	0	9
Never experienced	0	38

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 42 Persons responsible for physical violence

Persons	Male N=16	Female N=38
Employer's Children	10	20
Employer	5	14
Others	1	4
Total	16	38

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=54

Table 43 Injuries and accidents

Injuries, accidents etc	Male N=16	Female N=46
Hurt from beating	1	4
Hurt from knives	0	13
Accident when ironing clothes	0	2
Accident when running on errand	2	0
Others	0	2
Nothing whatsoever	13	25
Total	16	46

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=62

Table 44 Ever been hurt badly?

Ever hurt badly	Male N=16	Female N=46
Yes	0	6
No	16	40
Total	16	46

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 45 Seriousness of physical violence inflicted

Consequence (multiple responses)	Male N=16	Female N=46
Body bleeding/swelling	1	18
Seriously hurt	0	6
Could not work for some days	0	12
Disabled now	0	0
Bruises	2	24
None of the above (not serious at all)	13	27
Total	16	46

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=62

Table 46 Are children rebuked/disciplined by employer when committing physical violence on child domestics?

	Male N=16	Female N=46
Yes	3	9
No	13	37
Total	16	46

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=62

Table 47 How does the physical violence affect/hurt your feelings?

(multiple responses)	Male N=16	Female N=46
I am often depressed	11	46
I am immersed in fear	12	46
I think of revenge	9	13
Hate myself	9	38
Encouraged to hide what I think and do (become more secretive)	10	32
Incited to violence	0	5
Other	1	3

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=62

Child domestic labour is not only exploitative as seen earlier but it also entails violence and abuse directed at children. It is known that when children work under constant intimidation, fear, and threats this inhibits their self-confidence and self-esteem.

In Ethiopia it is considered normal that even children who live with their parents receive physical punishment. There are certain limits, however, as to when/why the punishments are given and the degree of the beatings. When the physical violence becomes harsh and occurs frequently, it is believed to transgress the accepted boundaries and to infringe on the basic rights of children. To ascertain the level of violation of the rights of children, child domestics were asked how often the physical violence is committed against them and how serious it is. Even though physical violence is common to most child domestics, in most cases the children reported that its effects have not been serious. Still, roughly half of the respondents reported that they experienced either bleeding/swelling or bruises, and 12 girls reported that they could not work for some days following the violence inflicted upon them.

Not only the employers of child domestics participate in this violation of children's rights but the children of the employers are accomplices in these acts. In fact it was most often reported that it is these children who commit most of the verbal and physical violence upon the child workers. When child domestics ranked those taking action against them the order was first the children of the employers, next the lady employer second, and the male employer third.

It is interesting to discover that, unlike the normal traditional Ethiopian behaviour towards children, many employers do not either rebuke nor discipline their children when they commit physical violence on child domestics. The child domestics expressed that this kind of behaviour on the part of employers is unacceptable, heart breaking and frustrating.

4.2 Lack of affection at employers' home

The study shows that only a small number of child domestics interviewed are allowed to visit their parents on a monthly basis. A large number of child domestics are not allowed to leave the premises of their employer's house unless on an errand, accompanying someone from the house or going to school. A large number of employers do not normally welcome family members of the child domestics to visit them.

As a result many children are starved for affection, and for play and socialization with other children, as they are neither allowed to play with children of their employers or socialize with other children in the neighbourhood. The interviews revealed that only a very small number are allowed to meet outsiders and play with children of neighbours. A large number of child domestics reported feeling the most freedom when they are at school, even surpassing when they are at the family home. The focus group discussion also confirmed that most children in domestic work are free and at a complete liberty when they are in the school compound, playing with their schoolmates, talking, studying, and discussing their homework. The interview conducted with the teachers confirmed this behaviour.

Table 48 Places where child domestics feel the most freedom

Places (multiple responses)	Male N=16	Female N=84
Family home	12	47
Employer's home	0	13
School	10	50
Other	6	19
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Teachers interviewed highlighted the unique characteristics of child domestics as follows.

“They often talk with their friends in class and seldom go to class on time when the bell rings as they keep on talking among themselves standing near the entrance of their classrooms. They have to be pressured to go to class. This perhaps is a manifestation of the children's isolated life at home and could perhaps be a consequence of not going through the normal process of child development.”

Human development begins very early in life. For a child to develop in a healthy and normal way, it is necessary to meet not only the basic needs of protection, food and health care, but also to meet the basic needs for affection, interaction and stimulation, and learning through exploration and discovery (Zigler & Hall, 2000).

A moderate number of child domestics interviewed have no one in the family with whom to share their problems, sorrow or secrets, including what they are most eager or wish to do. Only a very small number of child domestics share their problems or secrets with their employers or members of their families.

Table 49 With whom do you share your problems/worries/secrets?

	Male N=16	Female N=84
Employer	0	3
Friends	3	10
Neighbours	0	3
Parents	0	27
Others	0	5
None	13	36
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Loss of affection and long term separation from the family environment are not healthy for children's social development. Work with affection and sensitivity to the needs of children build a sense of usefulness (Myers, 1991; Assefa B. 1991). Data in Table 50 show that there are a number of child domestics interviewed who have not seen their parents for a period ranging from 3-6 years.

Table 50 Last time child domestics visited their parents

Year	Male N=16	Female N=84
Less than 1/2	1	4
1/2 – 2	9	32
3-4	3	26
5 –6	1	7
Never visited parents	2	15
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

The average time for males is two years and for girls less than 3 and one half years since they have last visited their parents.

Furthermore, there is a very small number of child domestics who have one or more of their parents still alive but have not seen their parents for a period ranging from 5-6 years. Accordingly, a large number of child domestics reported that they are longing to see or meet their parents while a small number are indifferent.

Table 51 Distribution of free week days

	Male N=16	Female N=84
Once a week*	0	0
Once a fortnight	0	0
Once a month	2	14
Once every 2 months	3	18
More than two months	5	21
No free week end	6	31
Total	16	84
<i>*Weekends are not assumed free</i>		

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

The employers "do not think that I can be tired, they expect me to finish any work be it difficult, time consuming or easy, in a split second. They always criticize and belittle me, they do not want me to have any initiative in the work that I do."

A moderate number think that their employees do not treat them with affection or care. A good number of employers do not seem to be sympathetic to the child domestics.

It appears that child domestics who are engaged in domestic employment in the study areas work without any or with only a little affection and work in an environment that is not very sensitive to their needs. Such an environment cannot be expected to build a sense of high-esteem in the child domestic.

Table 52 Description of employers' action regarding work performed

Description (multiple responses)	Male N=16	Female N=84
Do not think that I am tired*	15	80
Always criticize/belittle	4	68
Do not sympathize when I am overloaded with work	15	80
Encourage me to learn skills	4	22
Forbid me to take any initiative	13	48
Expect me to accomplish any task on the spot	16	74
Treat me as a scapegoat for all kinds of problems	4	32
<i>* The employer ignores when the child domestic is tired.</i>		

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

4.3 Sexual harassment

Sexual harassment and abuse are problems that are rapidly on the rise in Ethiopia. Certainly, it has been a concern of girl students and street children for some time. The assessment revealed that a good proportion of girls, particularly those who are over 12 years of age, were sexually harassed, mostly by sons of the employers, and by others, including neighbours' sons. At the same time, a large number of child domestics either have not experienced any sort of sexual harassment or have not assessed the situation in the context of sexually incited behaviour towards them. The following are some of the types of sexual harassment child domestics experienced at home environment.

Table 53 Type of sexual harassment experienced at home of employer

Type of sexual harassment (multiple responses)	Female N=84	
Vulgar and obscene language	41	48.8%
Attempt amorous advances*	18	21.4%
Touching sexually sensitive parts of body*	22	26.2%
Ogling	52	61.9%
Flirting for sexual relations*	24	28.6%
Threat to cooperate for sexual relations*	11	13.1%
Attempted rape*	3	3.6%
Promotion of intercourse*	21	25.0%
Never harassed	32	38.1%
Situation not assessed in the light of sexual relations	13	15.5%
<i>*Body contact occurs for sexual gratification.</i>		

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=84

4.3.1 Feelings of sexual insecurity at home

Some girl child domestics worry about or fear the sexual intentions of members of the family. They feel that they are constantly worrying about sexual harassment and abuse. However, a large number of child domestics feel that they are safe and protected.

Table 54 Feelings of sexual insecurity at home

Feelings	Frequency N=84	%
Fear - and threatened by - sexual intentions of employer's sons	26	31.0
Fear and threatened by sexual intentions of employers	9	34.6
Others	3	3.6
Feel safe and protected	46	54.8
Total	84	100

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 55 Persons who harass you at home

Persons	Frequency N=38	%
Employer	9	23.7
Employer's sons	26	68.4
Others	3	7.9
Total	38	100

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=38

Table 56 Feelings generated by the above sexually incited behaviour

Feelings (multiple responses)	Female N=38	
Depression	7	18.4%
Fear	28	73.7%
Suspicion	24	63.2%
Worthlessness	15	39.5%
Anger	9	23.7%
Apathy	12	31.6%
Other	2	5.3%
Not Sure	18	47.4%

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=38

These feelings are in part due to the notion of possible rape that keeps girls in a constant state of fear because of their belief that following such an act a girl loses her right to life, dignity and security. A small number of child domestics reported that they are not sure of their feelings or reported feelings other than those mentioned above.

4.4 Emotional maltreatment of a child domestic

Emotional maltreatment of a child includes, among others, a pattern of blaming, threatening, suspecting, despising, verbally attacking or demanding that a child assume responsibility that he/she is incapable of handling, and a constant lack of concern for a child's welfare etc. The following emotional abuses are reported with varying degree of frequency by interviewed child domestics in the study area.

Table 57 Description of behaviour shown by employers towards child domestics

Behaviour (multiple responses)	Male N=16	Female N=84
Frequent insults/scolding	13	78
Repeated criticism/belittling	8	72
Row/altercation/nagging	15	80
"Do only as I tell you to do"	16	80
Avoiding/sulking	2	45
Frequent cursing	14	78
Being threatened	14	69
Being despised	13	72
Being suspected	15	47

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

From the above behaviours and actions, those that affect child domestics most are cursing and avoiding and sulking. They strongly believe a curse made by older people will one day come true. These are followed by repeated criticism/belittling. Constant altercation, nagging, and repeated row do not seem to bother child domestics very much.

"I could not sleep most of the time, I often weep alone without any cause. I always have fear and worry that the curses will one come true. What will happen to me if and when the curses comes true? My parents put all their hopes in me. I do not want anything to happen to me at this young age. This is why I am worried," expressed one 10 year old girl during the interview, with tears on her cheeks.

As a result of this behaviour/action, child domestics think that they are seriously affected emotionally; they particularly appear to have serious depression. The manifestations enumerated by the child domestics themselves include worry, weeping, lack of sleep and fear.

Table 58 How does your employer's behaviour towards you affect your feelings?

Affect on feelings (multiple responses)	Male N=16	Female N=84
Very worried	6	58
Often weep/cry	0	39
Sometimes could not sleep	1	28
Worry only momentarily	8	67
Not worried since used to it	10	25
Fear that the curse will come true	12	71

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

4.4.1 Inferiority complex

Children's self perception and that of others perhaps are manifestations of how they regard the work they do and the conditions of their work. The attitude of most employers and the way they treat child domestics at home – through actions of outright imposition allowing no rights to domestics to complain or respond - have made child domestics completely docile and left them without self confidence. This was clearly apparent during the interviews when the interviewers could hardly hear their voices as they spoke so softly.

Furthermore, child domestics seem to be psychologically uncomfortable in their surroundings. A good proportion of them think that they are very much looked down upon. Although there are some who think that they have never observed any specific attitudes towards them or that they are accorded the appropriate respect. Regarding the attitudes of their schoolmates, the child domestics observations are similar.

A glance at the data clearly shows that in a large number of the cases the child domestics feel that they are either very inferior or inferior when they rate themselves in comparison to others in their community/school. Only very few of them have a feeling of some sort of superiority or that there are no special attitudes or feelings towards them.

Table 59 How do you rate yourself in comparison to others in your community or school?

Rating	Male N=16	Female N=84
Inferior	9	53
Superior	0	10
Nothing special	7	21
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

The main reason for the children's feelings of inferiority could be that they are ashamed of their domestic work (79% reported that they are ashamed). They feel that child domestic work is devoid of dignity and prestige. They think it falls among the lowest status in Ethiopian society. Feelings of inferiority can also stem from the attitude of teachers towards them. This is due mainly to poor class performance and that they do not do their homework. Additionally, the inferiority complex is worsened by the children's poor quality clothing, the way their employer's family treat them in the home and the attitude of the employers towards them.

These feelings are evident in some children when they are interviewed. There were outbursts of tears that spontaneously flowed from their eyes and completely covered their cheeks when they were asked to tell about the kind of treatment they received by the employer and the children of their employers. They were also observed to be extremely shy and could hardly look directly at the face of the interviewer.

In contrast to the above, the demeanor of children when participating in the focus group discussions was very active and talkative. This is perhaps due to the fact that the discussions allow them to be in a group of children who experience more or less similar conditions. It could be interpreted that there is a sense of relief to have someone to talk to and to socialize with.

Many educational studies on child development emphasize the variety and intensity of experience needed to stimulate both cognitive and psychological growth (Zigler & Hall, 2000). Children involved in domestic work in Addis Ababa do not have the opportunity for extended breaks during the day, to play or to socialize with other children. They are not allowed to play with the children of the employers or do the activities that they do. As a result, it is not expected that they will experience positive social and psychological development.

On the other hand, child domestics are constantly engaged in household chores that are repetitive and lack stimulation and creativity. There is thus a tendency for the children to be dull in their conversation. This was clearly observed in the two-hour discussions that were held with children with better verbal skills who participated in the extended interviews.

4.4.2 Feelings of injustice and frustration

Child domestics are normally exposed to an environment that is morally or psychologically compromising. Child domestics interviewed have reported that they could not differentiate what is wrong and what is right because things they are not allowed to do or enjoy, they see the employers' children are doing or enjoying. Adult domestics can better understand the rationale and the effect the actions have on them if they get similar treatment. However, child domestics' age and level of development make it difficult to rationalize and accept the injustice of the situation of the psychological trauma they suffer as they daily witness employers' children enjoy all the privileges that they are denied.

A large number of child domestics disclosed that they often take orders from their juniors in the home. They are beaten by the children of their age or even younger and are forbidden to respond in kind when insulted by them. Child domestics are not allowed to respond to physical and verbal violence. There is nothing more frustrating for children than not being able to respond in kind to the physical violence committed on them. This state of affairs dehumanizes even grown ups, let alone children who cannot rationalize the situation. This feeling of elementary injustice and frustration, stemming from their inability to do what others do could has a negative effect on their personal relationships and their own personality.

4.5 Quality of life of child domestics

Table 60 Living conditions

Condition of sleeping place (multiple responses)	Male N=16	Female N=84
Very crowded	7	38
Sleep on a mattress only	3	15
Sleep on a bed and mattress	2	11
Have no blanket but a piece of thin cloth	2	17
It is cold	1	18
Rain leaks from the roof	1	4
Sleep on the floor	4	42
Others	1	3

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

An indicator of the quality of life of children is their sleeping conditions such as crowdedness, the types of clothing they have to keep them warm, etc. In light of this, a large number of the child domestics do not like their sleeping conditions, and a good proportion of them have neither bed sheets, blanket nor "gabie" (hand woven local clothes to be worn to keep warm) to put on while they are sleeping. This could only be some material like sacks, cardboard paper or leaf-carpets etc. A moderate number of children reported to have blankets. They also reported that they sleep on the ground/floor without any mattress. Only a small number of child domestics sleep on a bed with a mattress. Furthermore a large number of the child domestics interviewed sleep in a small room with others, separate from the children of their employers. Considering the fact that the families tend to have a large family size of seven and the size of a house of the average person in Addis Ababa indicates that child domestics in the study area are living in very crowded conditions. This is not surprising as most children in Addis Ababa, even those who are living with their parents, live more or less in similar crowded conditions.

Table 61 Have you ever been taken for medical treatment?

Taken for medical treatment	Male N=16	Female N=84
Yes	2	14
No	0	7
Never fallen ill	14	63
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Table 62 Who paid for your medical treatment?

Paid for medical treatment	Male N=2	Female N=21
Employer	0	5
Self	2	16
Total	2	21

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=23

Regarding medical attention, most child domestics interviewed had not - during their tenure as domestic child workers in the past - had serious illness and therefore did not get medical attention. Out of those who got medical attention, most child domestics who have monthly wages themselves paid for their medical treatment, while those who are not salaried reported that their employers settled their medical bills.

4.6 Life improvement of the child domestics

The child domestics interviewed think that their quality of life has improved since entering domestic work. In the interview child domestics were asked to list some of these improvements.

Table 63 Life improvements of child domestics after joining the current job

Improvements (multiple responses)	Male N=16	Female N=84
At least I am surviving	16	84
At least I have something to eat	16	84
I have a secured shelter	16	84
Now I am able to attend school that will help me build my future	10	65
I feel a sense of usefulness because I am contributing money to alleviate the suffering of my family	2	31
It has opened up a new opportunity for my future	12	69

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

Despite their exploitation, verbal and physical violence as well as emotional maltreatment, the above positive answers are understandable and predictable when one compares their personal experience of the poverty of their parents with their present conditions. The children are not obviously aware what their present conditions really imply for their current and future physical, mental and emotional development as children.

CHAPTER 5

Observations, perceptions and discussions

5.1 Results of the physical observations of respondent children

Children were observed while completing the main questionnaire with the help of the facilitators/enumerators for clothing, shoes, physique, conditions of fingers, general physical appearance and the way they responded to the questions. Many children were observed to have rough and tough fingers and palms, perhaps due to constant work for an extended period of time. No stunted children were observed.

Many children interviewed had soiled, old, and torn clothing that appeared “second-hand.” Most had some sort of shoes on. There were a number of children without shoes but their feet did not appear to be regularly shoeless. The researchers thought that perhaps these children had heard rumors that if they impress the enumerators and show them a semblance of destituteness, they might get support from local and international NGOs.

Most Ethiopian children are shy when they talk to persons they have not met before. But the case of the children interviewed was strikingly different. They are very soft spoken, extremely shy and could hardly look directly at the face of the interviewers. They appeared not to have confidence in themselves. When they narrated their grievances a number of children were extremely tearful, with tears flowing down their cheeks, especially when they were asked to tell how employers and their children normally treat them.

5.2 Perception of parents of children working at home

In the interviews with adults and subsequent focus group discussions, the perception of the interviewees and discussants was that domestic service is much preferred by poor parents to employment on the streets and in hostels or brothels. Their perception is that working at home is, in general, safe. There is supposedly someone, i.e. the employer, who will treat the child as part of the household, care for them, and control them from engaging in indecent activities like prostitution and other immoral activities because they live in a family environment. However, parents appear to oversee freedom and happiness of childhood rather than good behaviour.

5.3 The notion of economic exploitation of child domestics

In the focus group discussion of children, one of the topics discussed was the exploitation of domestic workers. Most of the discussants' perceptions include the following:

- constraining child domestics from playing with children of the employers;
- giving too little food and giving too much work;
- not allowing children to attend school;
- not allowing children to visit and see their parents or relatives periodically.

Their limited perceptions are not surprising as most of the child domestics interviewed are not aware of the existence of the UN and ILO Conventions on protecting the rights of the child which stipulate that children should not be allowed to work.

Table 64 Are you aware of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child?

Aware	Male N=16	Female N=84
Yes	6	16
No	10	68
Total	16	84

SOURCE: Interview with child domestic workers, 2002, N=100

5.4 The controversy behind enforcing the Labour Proclamation, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and ILO C182

One of the important issues discussed in the focus group discussions with some of the key informants as well as children is whether the relevant organs of the government or civil societies enforce the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Labour Proclamation. The discussant unanimously supported in principle the idea of enforcement of the convention and the law. However, prohibiting child domestic labour without first combating the source of domestic child labour is suicidal because it will invite tragedy for the poor children and their families. It will encourage even more destitute children to join the army of street children in all major urban areas of the country. They suggested either to raise the income of poor families who tend or are tempted to send their children into the market of domestic work, or to establish centres in every community for poor children to live and go to school, or to arrange for volunteer families to take care of destitute

children. They argue that these suggestions require considerable resources that the society can currently ill afford. Therefore enforcement must remain a distant dream and a long-term project of the government or civil societies. They suggested short-term policy measures that will help mitigate the maltreatment and exploitation of domestic children. They further suggested establishing a mechanism that encourages child domestic employers to send their child employees to school and promote awareness in the communities of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

CHAPTER 6

Estimation of the number of child domestics in each of the study areas

UNICEF-Ethiopia reported almost a decade ago the existence of " ---- an uncounted number of children working as domestic servants, child menders etc." (UNICEF, 1992). Apart from this general statement on the prevalence of child domestics in Ethiopia, there has not been any estimate on the number of child domestics in the country.

An attempt was therefore made during this study to make a very rough estimate of the number of child domestics in each district of the study area to have a feeling of the magnitude of the problem. Discussions on the issue were held at many levels.

Child domestics were asked to estimate the number of child domestics in terms of households with child domestics. They were advised to use their experience of their surroundings and the child domestics they know in school or in their residential areas. The key informants were also asked to estimate from their experience of the prevalence of child domestics in Addis Ababa, again in terms of households with child domestics. Some *kebele* officials (neighbourhood associations) were also approached to estimate the size of child domestics based on their experience of door-to-door campaign for literacy classes and polio vaccination. Some people from the social sector of the District Administration Office have also participated in the estimation of the size of child domestics. The average of all of the estimates was taken to arrive at the working figures indicated below.

It was noted that some ethnic groups, for instance the Gamu and Guragie ethnic groups, traditionally use the services of children for their domestic activities more than any other ethnic groups. It was also remarked that many people from Amhara ethnic groups traditionally bring in children, whether relatives or not, who are in search of work or education in Addis Ababa. This information was taken into account when estimating the size of the child domestic workers in the woreda.

Based on these facts and assumptions, the number of child domestic workers is estimated to range from 1 in 50 households to 1 in 40 households. This brings the estimate of the number of child workers to range from 250 to 300 in one district, and consequently the overall number of child domestics in Addis Ababa to range between 6500 and 7500. This estimate has been based on a very limited set of data. It should not therefore be taken as a precise figure but only as a rough figure for the purpose of appreciating the child domestic problem in Addis Ababa and for looking into ways and means of dealing with the problem.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion and recommendations

7.1 Conclusion

We have seen that children labouring in domestic work are the objects of extreme exploitation in terms of toiling for long hours for minimal pay or modest food and shelter. Their work conditions are rather severe, often not providing the stimulation needed for proper physical, mental, and emotional development. They are deprived of the simple joy of childhood, relegated instead to a life of drudgery. However, there are problems with the intuitive solution of immediately abolishing child labour to prevent such an abuse and exploitation. The struggle against child labour becomes naive and weak if it is not combined with a broader struggle against poverty and social injustice.

Domestic child labourers live with and are under exclusive constant control and supervision of their employers. They work beneath a veil of maltreatment of their employers because they are beaten frequently and the frequent beating has made them depressed and forced them to live in a state of constant fear. The result of the frequent beatings and living in an environment devoid of affection, constant bickering and harassment have a negative effect on children in that it incites them into violence and instills in them a sense of insecurity; it motivates them to hate themselves. Furthermore, most child domestics seem to be psychologically uncomfortable in their surroundings (communities and schools), perhaps because of the maltreatment they get at home.

The immediate elimination of child domestic work, however, may hinder the livelihood and education of some child domestics if other necessary measures to improve the community's quality of life are not put in place. This is because many of the children are working in order to survive, and for some their work allows them to be able to afford schooling costs. Until the deeper reasons for children working can be corrected, conditions of child domestic work must be changed to remove these activities from the worst forms of child labour category, respect children's rights, and abide by minimum age laws.

Having signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Ethiopia is formally committed to protecting the rights and well being of its children. However, state agencies charged with responsibility for serving and defending the rights of children are grossly ineffective. Regulations and institutions have been unable to respond to the need to eradicate child work among children and to ensure protection for working children.

There is an urgent need to formulate socio-economic strategies that enable children not to forsake their education and parental care for domestic jobs that contribute little to their preparation for the future, and provide no useful experience towards enhancing their social mobility and personal development.

7.2 Recommendations

The prime cause of child domestics is widespread poverty of families. Accordingly, only through policies that focus on equity and those that are capable of generating employment, creating resources for investment in the social sector, and safe-guarding the environment for the future generations will it be possible to effectively tackle inequality and poverty, along with child domestic work. It is very difficult to understand the widespread use of child domestics. Unskilled labour is abundant in Ethiopia. The unemployment rate is one of the highest in the world. Work has to forcefully be done to mitigate the economic, moral and psychological “exploitation” of child domestics. Action should immediately be taken to stop the worst forms of child domestics in the short run.

The study will, therefore, provide the following modest recommendations that if implemented will go a long way to alleviate some of the problems of child domestics.

1. The Government should **immediately** ratify the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour 1999 (No. 182) as it could serve as a basis for all actions to protect children from exploitation (Government and House of Representatives).
2. Every domestic child labourer has to be protected against all forms of exploitation on the job. In this context, the society needs to be informed and mobilized on key issues of child labour and education. Steps should, therefore, be taken to promote a more positive concept of childhood based on the principles of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child. Advocacy campaigns and sensitization programmes have also to be designed
 - 1.4 to give a greater recognition of the primary role of education, rest and leisure as well as parental affection to child domestics (immediate by NGOs and local Government);
 - 1.5 to sensitize children, parents, teachers, community workers, and community and religious leaders on children's rights and how they apply to child domestic workers, as well as on the high cost of premature work (immediate action by NGOs and local Government);
 - 1.6 to craft strategies to organize child domestics in order to heighten awareness for increasing recognition for their work in order to defend their rights to mitigate exploitation. This is a sensitive issue and should be astutely handled with care (long term by Government).

Most of these could be achieved (a) through continuous and effective programmes on childhood through the mass media, (b) through schools, and (c) through organizing an awareness creation workshop for the community.

3. A reliable system of information on child domestic labour should be created at the *kebele* (sub-district) level to learn more about domestic child labourers. In this regard a viable system must be created for reporting cases of the worst forms of domestic child labour amongst child domestics in each *kebele*. Although this could be a long term project work has to be started immediately.
4. Measures should be taken to evaluate and strengthen the work of institutions responsible for resolving the child labour problem (long term by the government with ILO and other partners).
- 8 In order for the ideal of mitigating child domestic labour to succeed one has to focus on prevention and treatment rather than only the treatment aspect. Whatever services are intended to mitigate child domestic labour, they should not only reach children while they are in the employers' house, but also while they are still with their families, schools or communities (long term by Governments and NGOs, and civil societies).
- 9 The Government must focus on how to gradually eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour and finally child labour from the country (long term by the Government should develop a long strategy).
- 10 As it is noted above, it is long recognized that education is the core of the struggle against child labourers in general. Schools that enroll many domestic child labourers should be identified and given some modest financial support to
 - (d) help teachers to develop special interest on the social and academic activities of child domestics (immediately by NGOs and Civil Societies coordinated by Kebele administration),
 - (e) hire tutors for the child domestic workers for individualized lessons, and (immediately by NGOs and Civil societies coordinated by Kebele administration)
 - (f) arrange make-up classes for child domestics on Sundays and Saturdays (immediately by NGOs, Civil Societies such as Teachers association, and coordinated by Kebele administration).
- 11 Commission a study on the effect of domestic work on the teaching-learning activities of child domestics (immediately by ILO, in collaboration with NGOs and Teachers Association).
- 12 There are many child domestics who pay for school tuition from their modest salaries. This is one of the things that discourage child domestics from going to school or employers from sending the children to school. A project should be designed to mobilize support for child domestics to have free education in evening schools (immediate by NGOs and Civil Societies and Woreda (District) Administration). In this regard the efforts of FOCUS ON CHILDREN, a local NGO, should be encouraged because it has already started a special free programme on non-formal education for poor children from 3.30 PM - 600 PM. This programme is highly appreciated and valued by both the children and the community. Children as well as some

employers have revealed that had it not been for this FOCUS programme many child domestics would not be educated at this time.

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Annex 1

Summary of findings

1. The average number of children of families of the child domestics interviewed is about six. This is bigger than the national average for the size of a family.
2. A large number of the study population (72%) migrated from Regions outside Addis Ababa.
3. Most of the child domestics (59%) are paid and the rest (41%) work without fixed monetary compensation.
4. A large number of child domestics pay all or a portion of the wages to parents directly or through employers.
5. It is possible that some of the children joined domestic labour at the age of six years old or younger.
6. There is no child bondage in Addis Ababa.
7. They work about 11 hours/day, seven days a week, about 80 hours/week.
8. 80% of the child domestics interviewed do not have the right to voluntarily quit their jobs.
9. Child domestics have no security at the employer's home. They have no "freedom from fear."
10. Most children in the study population (65%) are currently enrolled either in literacy class or in a formal school while 35% are not currently enrolled at all. Reasons for not enrolling in school include no school near the rural residence, affordability of school fees, non-willingness of employers, and lack of time to attend school.
11. A large number of child domestics who are enrolled in schools cannot study at home, they cannot do their homework at home, and are often late and absent from school.
12. The rapid assessment survey revealed that poverty of the family is the single most important cause (destitute family, disintegration of family or death of one or both parents).
13. Employers of child domestics believe in earnest that what they are doing is really good for the sake of the children.
14. The children have no time and means for recreation and leisure as they work on the average more than 11 hours per day, seven days a week.

15. Most child domestics interviewed are not allowed to play with children of the employers, watch television nor listen to the radio at home and hence their freedom to obtain information on topics that are necessary for life skills such as vital information on HIV/AIDS is curtailed.
16. Child domestics perform their work under stress, intimidation, and threat.
17. The child domestics do not participate in cultural life outside the home environment nor in cultural activities that are performed at the household level with members of their employer's family.
18. Children engaged in domestic work are not expected to have or develop initiative. The study revealed that most employers of child domestics constantly and mercilessly criticize and belittle them and no matter what strenuous jobs they have accomplished, their employers do not recognize their good work. The lady mistress frequently treats them as scapegoats for all the problems encountered at home.
18. Child domestics feel they receive no respect at all in the home of their employers and have multiple bosses in the home.
19. The status and role of the child domestic vis-a-vis the children and other members of the employing family is not a person-to-person relationship but that of a master and servant relationship. Verbal and physical violence are frequent occurrences among child domestics.
20. The employers and their children of child domestics participate in the violation of children's rights.
21. Only a small number of child domestics interviewed are allowed to visit their parents on a monthly basis. A large number of child domestics are not allowed to leave the premises of their employer house unless on an errand, accompanying someone from the house or going to school. As a result, many children are starved for affection.
21. A moderate number of child domestics interviewed have no one in the family with whom to share their problems, sorrow or secrets, including what they are most eager or wish to do. Most child domestics feel the most freedom in school and not at home.
22. A number of child domestics who have one or more of their parents still alive have not visited their parents for a period ranging from 5-6 years.

23. A good proportion of girls, particularly those who are more than 12 years of age, were sexually harassed, mostly by sons of the employers. As a result, some girl child domestics worry or fear about sexual intentions of members of the family.
24. Cursing and avoiding/sulking affect most child domestics. They strongly believe a curse made by older people will one day come true.
25. A large number of the cases the child domestics feel that they are either very inferior or inferior when they rate themselves in comparison to others in their community/school.
26. Child domestics are normally exposed to an environment that is morally or psychologically compromising. Child domestics interviewed have reported that they could not differentiate what is wrong and what is right because things they are not allowed to do or enjoy, they see the employers' children are doing or enjoying it.
27. A large number of the child domestics do not like their sleeping conditions, and a good proportion of them have neither bed sheets, or blankets to put on while they are sleeping.
28. Despite their circumstances, child domestics interviewed tend to think that their quality of life has improved since joining domestic work.
29. Key informants unanimously supported in principle the idea of enforcement of International Conventions and legislation supporting children's rights. However, prohibiting child domestic labour without first combating the source of domestic child labour is considered "suicidal" because it will invite tragedy for the poor children and their families. It will encourage even more destitute children to join the army of street children in all major urban areas of the country.
30. The number of child workers is estimated to range from 250 to 300 in one district, and consequently the size of child domestics in Addis Ababa to range from 6500 to 7500.

Annex 2

CASE STUDIES

Girl 1

Girl 1 is ten years old. She was taken away as a domestic live-in maid by her aunt from Assella, Arssi in Region 4, to Addis Ababa because both her parents died two years ago and her aunt cannot afford to maintain her. She has been living in this house for the last three years. Her aunt was promised by a broker (*delala*) that the girl would have no other work except providing company to a four-year-old child in the house. She was also promised to be fed and clothed well and to be sent to school. Consequently, Girl 1 was gladly handed over to a family of seven.

In reality, the girl was given strict orders not to play with the children and not to touch any of their toys. She was not also allowed to go out of the compound alone in the guise that she might be lost since she does not know the area. She was simply confined to the house.

She was given left over meal twice a day and quite often, if no food was left, she slept with an empty stomach.

Girl 1 narrates " I am busy all day. I wake at around 5.30 AM and sleep at about 11 PM when the TV programme is over. The first thing I do in the morning is to tie the two dogs in the doghouse. Then I prepare breakfast for all members of the family, make all beds and then clean the house and the compound. Once a week I wash and iron tons of clothes of all members of the family. In addition to this, I wash the clothes of the two children aged four and six every three days." Fortunately, I am not responsible for baking injera or preparing *wott* for lunch or dinner.

All the children go to school or kindergarten. However, I am not allowed to go to school. I always beg the house lady to send me to night school. But she always reminds me that I am not there to go to school but to work for the family in return for food, lodging and clothing.

All members of the family give me orders to do odd things. I am expected to complete my tasks, simple or not, at lightening speed. The house lady does not think I can get tired like every other human being. She hates to see me resting. When she sees me sitting idly for a minute, she insults me, swears fowl language at me for not cleaning the house properly, and tells me to hurriedly clean the house again. She frequently beats me mercilessly with a stick if I am found playing with the children or do not finish my work promptly.

One Sunday morning when she came home from church she found me playing with the children. She was so furious and told me "I do not know what to do with you. You neither heed to beating nor to genuine advise." She then hurriedly went into the kitchen, brought fire and some red pepper (*berberie*) and dragged me to the fire and forced me to inhale the smoke of the red pepper. I was

unconscious for some minutes and when I gained consciousness I promised the lady that I would never play with the children. I also promised myself that day that I will run away from that house to whatever destination. I would take no more of this kind of treatment. No life can be worse than the present one.

The next day I ran from the house. I was afraid to ask passers by of my whereabouts. Then I saw children going to school. I followed them. When I reached the school the guard would not let me in. Then I started weeping. A man, I later discovered that he is a teacher, on entering the school, saw me weeping and asked me why I am weeping. I told him the whole story. He was very sympathetic with me and asked the guard to let me in and asked me to wait for him near the gate. After an hour or so he came back to me and took me to his house. The next morning he took me to a family that employed me for 25 Birr per month. Now I get 25 Birr per month and I am allowed to go to night school. I pay school fees out of my salary. I am now receiving, so far, better treatment and I am allowed to visit the teacher's family every month.

Girl 2

I work in a family of six not including me. I am 13 years of age. I am very busy all day. I wake up early and sleep very late. By the end of the day I am completely exhausted. I prepare breakfast, lunch and dinner. I prepare injera and wott for all the meals. Since the family is not a well-to-do family the preparation of the meals does not take much time. The worst part of my routine predicaments is to wait, usually until midnight, for the oldest son of the family to open the gate for him and give him dinner if he wants to eat. It is after this that I go to bed to sleep.

My mother, I was told, was living in the same compound as the present family. She died when I was very young. I was told that I was four then. I do not know either of my parents. The present family volunteered to foster me when there was no one to take me. I consider both the woman and her husband as my parents. They volunteered earlier when I was about 10 years old to send me to night school but I refused because I am often so exhausted that I was afraid that I might not effectively attend school. I have the affection of the family including the children. But cursing, screaming, and yelling occur daily by the mistress of the house not only to me but also to her children. I am also now starting to suspect the sexual intention of the eldest son towards me. He often uses vulgar sex language late at night when I offer him dinner when every member of the family is sleeping. Apart from this, I am secured at home like every member of the family.

Girl 3

"My mistress beats me brutally almost every day. One day she was so angry with me that she spilled very hot water on my right hand," recalled a 13 year old girl (Girl 3). This savage and inhuman treatment was a punishment for slipping and breaking a cup of coffee, which was intended for the master employer. She was told not to tell anybody of what happened. Otherwise the girl was threatened that she will be fired and would be sent back to her parent in Motta. Girl 3 was brought to Addis to look for a job as a domestic worker by a relative of hers from Gojjam, Motta, Region 3 at the suggestion of her poor parents. Girl 3 narrates that there is insufficient food to eat there. My father works as a porter (Coolie) in the town. Because my father is a drunkard he spends practically all the money he gets every day on drinks. My mother goes around the neighbourhood and bakes injera. She does not earn much for this work. I have three sisters and two brothers.

When I came to Addis I was hoping that I would have better opportunities.

At the advice of the neighbour of my relative who brought me to Addis, I got employment with a friend of the neighbour. My salary every month is Birr 15. The place of my work is very far away from my relative's house. My mistress gives me my salary regularly but I really do not know what to do with it since I get food regularly. It is only once that I gave money to the mistress to buy some clothes for me.

Whenever my relative comes to see me they are told that the house mistress has gone with me to see her parents. Other times they tell her a different story. I have not seen my relative for the last two years. I know my relative often comes to see me but she is not allowed to see me because of fear that I might tell her my grievances.

There is nothing that I am not doing in the house. The size of the family is five, including me. When I tell my mistress employer that I am tired she is furious at me. Insults and curses "rain" on me. In fact, one day she was so furious at me that she locked me in a latrine for the whole day. I screamed and wept for help continuously with no help forthcoming. She completely ignored me. Had it not been for her husband who came in the evening and wanted to use the latrine, I would not have come out of that horrible place.

I am longing to see my parents. I prefer to live in Motta even if the living conditions there are intolerable.

**This girl was interviewed three times when she was fetching water at the community water standpipe.*

**Please note that these three girls were also interviewed during another study on the welfare of children.*

ANNEX 3

DAILY ACTIVITY LOG OF ONE GIRL CHILD DOMESTIC

5.00 A.M.–7.00 A.M.

Wake up in the morning. Wash up. Unlock the gate. Tie the dogs in the dog house. Prepare some food for the dog and feed the dog. Clean the compound. Fetch water from the neighbourhood and come back home.

7.00AM – 8.00 A.M

Burn charcoal. Prepare and serve breakfast for the family. Put lunch in boxes for children. Iron (straighten) the clothes that the girls and lady employer wears on that particular day. Clean the shoes of children and employers. Clean and dry dishes, cups, pans and other utensils used for the preparation of breakfast. Wash the towel used for drying dishes and cups. Make all the beds.

8.00A.M – 9.00A.M

Accompany the children to school, carrying their meals and school bags. On my way back from the children's school, shop food items for the day and carry back to the house.

9.00 A.M – 9.30A.M

Clean the house. Polish the floor. Arrange the sofas and the chairs of the dining table.

9.30 –11.30 P.M

Prepare injera (local food that is flat, round, and thin made with flour of a special species of grass type plant. Ethiopians daily take this food staff for their meals. It is eaten soaked in wotte). This is prepared once every three days. Collect dry leaves for fire fuel to bake injera every other day. Wash clothes every week. Iron clothes every week

11.30 A.M. – 1.00P.M

Prepare Wotte (local curry or goulash-type).

1.00 – 2.00 P.M

Serve lunch. Wash dishes, glasses, and pans. Clean the floor of the dining room. Eat lunch after employers have taken theirs. Clean the kitchen. Eat lunch.

2.00 – 3.00P.M

Fetch water for the afternoon and evening of the day. Prepare berberie (local spice made of pepper and other spices). Cleaning and sieving cereals to be ground. Going and staying at grinding mills carrying from 5- 30 kg of cereals. Roasting peas for ingredient of wotte. Preparing tella (local beer) once a month. Throwing garbage (once every three days).

3.00 – 3.30 P.M

Accompany children from school. Serve children tea and some food (bread or injera with wotte prepared in different ways).

3.30 P.M – 5.45P.M

Prepare wotte for dinner

5.45 – 8.00 P.M

Go to and from school. Attend classes.

8.00 – 9.30 P.M

Warming wotte for dinner. Serving dinner. Cleaning the table. Washing dishes. Cleaning kitchen floor.

9.30 – 10.30 P.M

Coffee Ceremony (attended by some neighbours)

- Charcoal fueling

- Washing coffee

- Roasting the washed coffee

- Pounding the roasted coffee

- Boiling the pounded coffee

- Cleaning coffee cups and coffee tray

- Pouring coffee into cups

- First round serving boiled coffee

- Boiling coffee again – second round

- Cleaning coffee cups and coffee tray

- Serving coffee- second round

- Boiling coffee –third round

- Cleaning cups and coffee tray

- Serving coffee- third and final round

- Clean the floor (mop up the floor)

10.30P.M – 11.30 P.M

Giving food to the dogs. Releasing the dogs (untie dogs). Lock the gate. Stitching children's clothes. Washing socks and pants. Opening the gate for the eldest son of employer late in the evening. Warming wotte. Serving dinner. Washing dishes and cleaning table. Prepare charcoal to heat water and provide the son with warm water to wash his feet. Go to sleep.

N.B. The times given are approximate, as the girl child has no watch.

ANNEX 4

ROLE PLAY BY CHILD DOMESTICS

Role-play took place in the evenings at the Evening School where the child domestics attend. The actors were selected from child domestics who attend school. Child domestics who are less shy, have more verbal intelligence than other child domestics interviewed, who appear to know more about the predicament of child domestics, and who are willing to actively participate in the role play were selected. The child domestics selected the contents of the acts. Ample time was given for the preparation.

ACT 1. How the lady employer of child domestics treats her child domestic employer and her attitude to the child domestics are portrayed. The characters acted out were a child domestic worker, a lady employer, two guests who came to visit the family, and a relative of the child worker who came to visit her. The audience was comprised of students from the class of the actors.

ACT 2. How a son of the child employers harasses and tries to abuse a child domestic of 15 years is portrayed. The characters portrayed were an employer's son, a child domestic who is harassed, another son of the employer, and the lady employer who was present at the beginning of the play but then departed. When she left the house the boy started to harass the child domestic by touching her body, twisting her arms, pulling her towards him, trying to fool and induce her by giving her sweets, forcing her to touch his body, and trying to kiss her and the child domestic tries to resist the boy. The audience was comprised of students from the class of the actors.