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RECITING THE AGONIES OF CHILD DOMESTIC WORKERS IN KUCHA WOREDA,
SELAMBER TOWN

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This is to declare that the thesis prepared by Alemayehu Anja, entitled: **Reciting the Agonies of Child Domestic Workers in Kucha Woreda** and Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts in Sociology and Social Policy complies with the rules and regulations of the University.

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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CDW	Child Domestic Worker
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
EDHS	Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey
E.C	Ethiopian Calendar
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme to End Child Labour
KWFEDO	Kucha Woreda Finance and Economic Development Office
KWEO	Kucha Woreda Education Office
KWHO	Kucha Woreda Health Office
KWCTO	Kucha Woreda Culture and Tourism Office
LSA	Labour and Social Affair Office
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PIN	Peoples in Need
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Network
SNNPR	Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
UNFPA	United Nation Population Fund
UNCRC	United Nation Convention on the Rights of Child
WCAO	Women's and Children Affair Office

Abstract

There are various types of child labor in the informal sectors but this study focuses mainly on the situation of child domestic workers in SelamBer town, Kucha Woreda. The study is qualitative in its nature and it employed a qualitative research approach informed with case study design. The data were collected using in-depth interview, key informant interview, focus group discussion and case study. Child domestics, parents, employers and key informants were purposively sampled for study. Snowball sampling was also applied as a back up to purposive sampling to locate some child domestics in their various homes.

The findings of the study revealed that children engage in domestic work by various push and pull factors. The core causes of child domestic labor identified in the study as the push factors were poverty, family divorce and death of parents. Also, as a pull factor the study revealed peer influence, inducement of siblings and expectation for better life. It was uncovered that child domestics were working under without terms of employment with their employers. All of the participants have no written contract with their employers. Their remuneration is incompatible with the workloads they are assigned to do in their day to day life. Furthermore, they were working for long hours without allocated time for rest. The finding of the study also revealed that most child domestics were living in uncomfortable condition. The child domestic said that they were eating leftovers, inadequate and different types of food from the one eaten by their employers' and family members. They were sleeping on the floors of store cupboards and salon while the employer's family sleep on bed with mattress.

Apart from these, the study found out that most of the working children have become victims of various forms of physical, verbal and sexual abuses at their tender age. It was also found that these abuses have exposed them to various side effects. The relationship between the children and their employers is characterized by master-servant relationship. They have to get permission from their employers even to visit their parents let alone other things. Hence, they are generally under the complete control of their employers in every aspect of their life.

Key Words: *Child domestics, Kucha, abuses and working conditions*

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Chapter One

1.1 Background of the Study: Birds' Eye-View of Child Domestic Abuse

Child domestic work is common phenomena in all over the world. Despite the regional variation, across the world thousands of children engage in domestic work to perform tasks such as cleaning, ironing, cooking, minding children, running errands, washing cloth and gardening (International Labour Organization 2007 and Veitch 2013). As far as domestic work is concerned doing household chores in the home of another person by children is often considered as part and parcel of a child's socialization as well as development process. Particularly, in relation to girls it is considered as important apprenticeship for her later life as mother and wives (ILO 2007:Global March 2013: ILO 2013). Hence, due to this outlook domestic work by children continues to be culturally acknowledged and prevalent in many parts of the world (ILO 2006 and ILO 2007).

However, due to hidden and inaccessible nature of the work in their employer's household these children frequently face denial of basic rights, related social services, and decent terms of employment, living and working conditions as well as opportunity to make contact with their family and friends. Moreover, they are also vulnerable to physical, verbal and sexual abuses (Anti-Slavery International 2013; ILO 2005; Islam; Mahmud; Rahman 2013).

Even though the aforementioned dangers exist, a large number of children engage in the home of another person to work as domestic worker. This is because child domestic work requires no formal training from children to be employed (Anti-Slavery International 2013 and Black 2002). But more than this, there are variety of push and pull factors for their engagement in domestic service. Literature indicates that poverty, lack of education, gender inequality, domestic violence in their own family home, dislocation, rural to urban migration and loss of parents are just some of the multiple push factors for many children to join others' homes for domestic work worldwide (ILO 2013; Blagbrough 2008; International Programme to End Child Labour 2009). On the other hand, increasing social and economic inequalities, traditionally accepted perception for home based activities as safe for children compared to out of home activities, increasing need for children as helper in household to enable the women to enter labour market and the illusion that domestic

service gives the child worker a chance for education are some of factors which lure children into domestic work sector at their tender age (ILO 2013 and Global March 2013).

As a result of the aforementioned reasons millions of children were working in the domestic sector across worldwide. According to the ILO estimate in 2013 across the globe about 17.2 million children aged 5-17 years were working in domestic sector. Of this, the number of child domestic workers between 5-14 years old is estimated to be 11.2 million. The estimate also shows a significant gender difference in child domestic work, girls outnumber boys. According to the estimate throughout the world 5.6 million boys aged 5 to 17 years old are involved in domestic work (that constitutes 3.8% of all working boys), compared with 11.5 million girls in that age range (9.9% of all working girls). This gap increases as the children get older, so that domestic work among 15 to 17 year olds affects 1.8% of all boys who work, and 9.8% of girls who work (ILO 2013).

Like in other parts of the world, domestic work is major sector of work for thousands of children in the African continent to secure their survival needs. Although reliable data did not exist with respect to their number in the continent, empirical researches conducted in different parts of the continent reveals various figures. For instance, in Uganda National Labor Force and Child Activity Survey (2011/12) estimate that about 2000,000 children of 5-17 years are working in domestic sphere (Turyahebwa 2015). Similarly, Munubi in his study indicate that in Tanzania residents of urban areas recruit children from rural to urban areas by using friends, agents and the children's families. It has been estimated that out of the total 11,965,146 children between 5-17 years in Tanzania about 5,721,496 are engaged in domestic work (Munubi 2013).

Empirical evidences indicate that child domestic workers in Africa have been working in abusive and exploitative working situations. For instance the study conducted by Anti-Slavery International (2013) in Togo affirms this idea. The study revealed that child domestic workers commonly face physical, verbal and sexual abuses. It also indicated that child domestic workers work long hours for little or no pay and denied the opportunities to

attends schools, make contact with their families, relatives and friends.

Like other African Countries in Ethiopia a large number of boys and girls have been working in urban areas as a domestic worker. According to EDHS (2011) survey about 18% of children age 5-11 and 40% of children age 12-14 are engaged in household chores due to several factors. Some of the major factors include poverty, escape from early marriage in rural areas, misconception regarding better life in urban areas (Kifle 2002 and Kumar 2015). Further, IRIN (2004) added that children being pushed into domestic labour due to lack of opportunity for schooling in rural areas and increasing number of orphanhood due to different factors.

In Ethiopia, girls are particularly engaged in domestic work mainly because it is considered to be an essential component of a girl's upbringing exercise for her later life as mothers and wives (Hachallu as cited in Admasse 2000). However, even though domestic work is an important source of income for girls' boys also engage up on it as a source of income. In line with this idea the survey conducted in 2010 by Population Council and UNFPA on 31 districts in Ethiopia revealed that domestic work is the most common form of paid work for both 22% of girls and 0.8% boys.

Like in other parts of the world child domestic work is in its exploitative and abusive state in Ethiopia. For instance the rapid assessment conducted by (Kifle 2002) in Addis Ababa point out that many child domestic workers work for seven days a week. Further, it also indicated that a girls those over 12 years of age face sexual abuse mostly by sons of the employers. In addition, it uncovered that verbal and physical abuses are commonly experienced by child domestic workers in all study areas.

Like other areas of the country child domestic work is mounting phenomenon in Kutch Woreda, SelamBer town though it has not studied yet. Therefore, the purpose of this study was aimed to examine and provide an understanding of the present situation of child domestic workers in Kutch Woreda, SelamBer town.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Child domestic workers are a necessity as well as the norm in an Ethiopian family. However, they remain invisible because of the very fact that domestic work is performed in the home (Kifle 2002). As a result of the invisible nature of work even though the work is beneficial in the sense that it enable child domesticsto support themselves and their destitute families, they are usually subjected to long hours of work for little or no payment. They are also prone to various forms of verbal, physical and sexual abuses at their immature age (Aberra et al. 2003 and Kifle 2002). As Flores-Oebanda (2006) pointed that child domestic work is therefore a child labor issue, a children's rights issue, and gender issue. It is a child labor issue as it involves economic exploitation and hazardous working conditions. It is a children's rights issue because the nature and condition of the work is not good for the healthy development of children's. Finally, it is also a gender issue as it expose children to sexual abuse and risk of sexual assault.

Like other urban areas of the country, child domestic labor is one of prevalent phenomena in the study area. This is mainly because large number of children flock from rural parts of the district to the town in search of work due to various vulnerability factors. Besides, children also migrate to the study areas from surrounding kebeles of other districts because Kucha Woreda is circled by different districts of Gamo Gofa zone such as Daramalo, Zala, Uba Debre Tsehay and Demba Gofa. All those who migrated to the study area from rural parts of the district and surrounding districts have no any skill to be employed in other forms of works. Hence, informal sector works like domestic work is only available option to them.

Cognizant of the situations of child laborers in general in the country currently government is working to protect the rights and welfare of all children's. The government ratified both Convention on the Rights of Child (CRC) and African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC). It also ratified ILO Conventions on minimum age of employment (No. 138) and worst form of child labour (No. 182). These conventions are being under implementation by Ministry of labour and Social Affairs so as to protect children's from child labour exploitation. Besides, the government also enacted National Plan of Action to End worst form of child Labour in 2013 to eradicate child labour from

the country in 2016.

Researchers and authoritative institutions such as (Anti-Slavery International 2013; Blagbrough 2008; Islam 2010; Islam et.al 2013; Munubi 2012; Save the Children 2006; Save the Children 2007) conducted study on the situation of child domestic workers and psychosocial impact of the domestic work on children in different countries. All researchers came up with the argument that domestic work by children make them vulnerable to various forms of abuses as well as have effect on their health, physical, and psycho social well-being.

Like studies in different parts of the world in Ethiopia also different empirical studies were conducted in different parts of the country. To see some of them Abera et.al (2003) conducted study on child laborers in Shebetown in Jimma Zone. Also, Erulkar (2012) conducted the study on the child domestic workers condition in Addis Ababa. Further, (Kifle 2002) conducted rapid assessment on the living and working condition of child domestic workers in Addis Ababa.

Though studies conducted so far on child domestic workers situation in the country they were mainly conducted in the capital and South Western part. Thus, it provides inadequate information to fully understand the extent of child domestic workers situation in the overall country because the context varies from area to area. As far as knowledge of the researcher is concerned yet no study has been conducted on the situation of child domestic workers in Kucha Woreda, Selam Ber town in southern part of the country. Therefore, this study tries to fill the research gap on the agonies of child domestic workers. In addition, all the previous studies employed more of quantitative methods but this study employed purely qualitative method to deeply examine the agonies of child domestic workers in the study area.

1.3. Objective of the Study

The general objective of the study is to study situation of child domestic workers in Kucha Woreda.

The study attempt to address the following specific objectives:

- To identify the underlying factors for children to join domestic work in the study area.
- To study the terms of employment for child domestics in the study area.
- To see the living and working condition of child domestics in the study area.
- To analyze forms of child domestic abuses in the study area.
- To see side effects of child domestic abuses up on child domestics in the study area.
- To see the interaction of child domestic workers, employers and parents.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Despite various studies conducted on the various types of child labour in general, researches done on situation of child domestic workers are still quite inadequate to comprehensively understand their situation in overall country. Hence, it is assumed that this study provide a brief description about the situation of child domestic workers in the study area. As there is not written document on the situation of child domestic workers in Kucha Woreda, it contributes by serving as a springboard for those who are interested to make further study on this theme. In addition, it is thought that the study also augment the literature in the area of study. Furthermore, besides the above academic significances the study have the following significances:

- The study also sheds more light on and create awareness for the public about the agonies of child domestic workers.
- The study also helps district level decision-makers to have information on the situation of child domestic workers and design appropriate strategies to mitigate their problem.

1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study

1.5.1 Scope of the Study

The above stated problem is the problem of child domestics across the country. Even though it is difficult to examine all areas with a single study, studying some specific area can make immense contribution for detailed investigation. Hence, in order to investigate the problem this study is narrowed its focus on situation of child domestic workers in Kucha Woreda SelamBer town. This involves the geographical delimitation.

As a participants of the study only currently working live-in child domestic workers aged below 18 years were included. This is because child means in Ethiopian context those persons below 18 year. Besides, the other point is live-in child domestics have various experiences in their day to day life since they always live with their employers. To that effect, other categories of domestic workers aged above 18 years as well as former child domestic workers were not included in the study.

In Ethiopia sending children to relative's house for domestic work is common tradition. This group of children's are most often given by poor families to the well to do families due to household economic problem or other reasons. However, this group of child workers usually have no any employment relationship in their own relative's house. As a result this study does not include children who work in their own relative's home since they have no any employment relationship. Therefore, the scope of this study is limited to those child domestic workers who have employment relationship in the home of another person.

1.5.2 Limitation of the Study

As far as limitation is concerned, a key part of the research intended to look at abuse, whether it be sexual, verbal or physical. However, some children were not willing to disclose the full details of experiences they face in their employers home. In addition, some house owner also did not allow interview with child domestics in the research process. Thus, it is a challenge to get some children out of their employers' house for interview during the field work due to their employer's uncooperativeness.

Further, statistics on the number of child domestic did not exist, and consequently, it was impossible to make random sampling from sampling frame. Accordingly, purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to select children engaged in domestic work in the town. Since purposive and snowball sampling are non-probability sampling, the resulting sample of children does not claim to be statistically representative of the whole child domestics community and generalized to the entire child domestic workers of the woreda.

Furthermore, during in-depth interview some child domestic workers spontaneously bring out grievances that they have accumulated and stored for long periods of time to a forward pertinent responses. Hence, there may be a tendency for the child domestics to exaggerate their circumstances. Finally, the research also attempt to look the views of child domestic's parents. But, getting parents by traveling to rural area was one of the major challenge in due course of the data collection process.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This part presents review of relatable works. It is categorized in to four parts. The first part presents definition of concepts. The second part provides an account of different empirical researches in the area of child domestic workers. The third part provides theoretical and conceptual framework. The final part deals with various International, Regional and National legal and policy frameworks pertaining to child domestic workers.

2. 1 Definition of Concepts

2.1.1 Child

There is no universally agreed single definition for the term child. The definition varies from country to country. The following are some of the definitions forwarded by international, regional and national instruments concerning child. According to United Nation Convention on Rights of Child (UNCRC) article (1) child means every human being below the age of 18 years. Also, ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) article 2 define child as all persons under the age of 18. In regional context, African charter on the Rights and welfare of the child (1979), defines a child as every human being below the age of 18 years.

At the national level although the concept child is not defined in constitution, other legal instruments like labour proclamation and family code define it variously. Accordingly, the Ethiopian Labour proclamation No. 377/2003 define children between 14-18 years as a young worker. On the other hand, article 215 of the Revised Family Code 2000 define minor (child) as a person of either sex who has not attained the full age of 18 years. This study used article 215 of the Revised Family Code 2000 definition accordingly for this study child means any person below the age of 18.

2.1.2 Child Domestic Work

The term domestic work encompasses different tasks and services that vary from country to country depending on the gender, cultural and economic setting. The concept of domestic work and worker is defined differently by ILO as follows. The convention No. 189 in Art.1 (a) defines domestic work as work performed in or for a household. In

similar convention in Art. 1(b) a domestic worker is defined as any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship in the home of another person (ILO 2011). On related idea ILO-IPEC and Global March (2014) define child domestic work as children's work in the domestic sector in the home of employers. This study used the ILO-IPEC definition accordingly child domestic work means domestic work performed by children in the home of another person.

2.1.3 Child Domestic Worker

There is no universally accepted definition for the concept child domestic worker. Some of the definitions forwarded by different scholars and institutions are mentioned in the coming section. Child domestic workers are persons below 18 years who work in households other than their own, doing domestic chores, caring for children, tending the garden, running errands and run their small businesses, amongst other tasks. This definition includes children who live-in and live-out, as well as those who are paid and those who are not paid (Blagbrough 2008 and Anti-Slavery International 2013).

Child domestic workers are persons under the age of 18 who work in households of people other than their closest family doing domestic chores, caring for children, running errands and sometimes help the employer by running a small businesses. This definition includes children who are paid for their work, as well as those who are not paid (Flores-Oebanda 2006).

Also, according to Save the Children (2007), Child domestic worker refers to a child engaged in domestic chores in a home outside their families for a wage in cash or kind. This definition includes all those children who perform household tasks of the employers. Furthermore, Global March and ILO (2014) define Child domestic workers as a persons below 18 years of age who do domestic work under an employment relationship. This study used ILO and Global March 2014 definition, hence child domestic workers in this study means a person below 18 years of age who do domestic work under employment relationship in another people home.

2.1.4 Child Abuse

The concept of child abuse is defined differently by different organization. As a result there is no single universally agreed definition. The following are some of the definitions forwarded by different institution. National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (2009) define child abuse as maltreatment of a child. Also, Child Welfare Information Gateway (2013) define child abuse as act of inflicting physical, verbal and sexual harm up on the children. This study used child welfare information gateway definition. Accordingly in this study child abuse means act of inflicting physical, verbal and sexual harm up on the children.

2.1.5 Live-In and Live-Out Child Domestic Worker

The concept live-in and live-out CDW is defined differently by various scholars. According to (Blagbrough 2008 and Oyaide 2000) live-in child domestic workers refer to children, who are living with, as well as working for their employers. On the other hand, live-out child domestic workers refer to children who come to their employers' home for work and live separately from them. This study focuses on live-in child domestic workers because this group of child workers experience various agonies in their day to day life due to their residence with their employer's family.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Theories are the lens through which we see the world and guide us in the interpretation of our data. The perspectives presented by various theories here will help to give further explanations to the topic being studied. Thus, in the subsequent section relevant theories employed by the researcher in due course of the study are described briefly with their central tenets.

2.2.1 Push and Pull Factor Theory

Push and pull theory was systematized by Everett Lee's in 1966. It was a theory developed to explain the underlying factor for the migration of people from one area to another area in terms of push and pull factors (Jones 2015). Lee states the push factors as a things which make it unfavorable for one to stay in his or her own environment. He also state the pull factors as an attractions that attract one to another area (Amisshah 2015).

According to Lee, not all persons who leave his/her own original place reach that decision themselves rather due to push-supply and pull-demand factors. The decision to leave and live in one area is therefore, never completely rational, but largely depend on the push as well as pull factors (Lee 1996).

The researcher employed push and pull factor theory as theoretical framework for underpinning the study. The researcher used the theory to analyze and examine how various push and pull factors force children to leave their families home and join others home for domestic work in the town area. Thus, this theory helped the researcher to analyze the major underlying factor for their engagement in domestic work at their childhood age.

2.2.2 Deprivation Theory

The term deprivation theory was first coined by the Sociologist Samuel A. Stouffer (1900-1960) after World War II. He first wrote the theory in his study entitled “The American Soldier” (1949) which is part of a four-volume series entitled “Studies in Social Psychology in World War II.” He developed it while conducting research for the U.S. Army during World War II. Later on, the theory developed immediately following World War II, as part of the large change in the field of sociology when the U.S. Government and Western European corporations adopted sociological tools, theories, and research methods to study various social, political and organizational issues (Heck and Wech 2003).

As Morrison (1971) states that deprivation theory refers to the idea that feelings of deprivation and discontent are related to a desired point of reference (i.e. reference groups). Accordingly, “a person’s sense of deprivation depends not on objective conditions, but on the subjective perceptions and comparisons of self to others.” Proponents of this theory assume that social comparisons are naturally occurring phenomena that play an important role in how we judge ourselves, our opinions, our abilities, and our possessions (Walker and Pettigrew 2011).

Generally, the central idea of deprivation theory as an analytical framework suggests that individuals or groups feel deprived when their current circumstances are negatively

compared to the situation of others or people feel deprived based on their evaluations of what they think they should have compared with what others (reference groups) have.

The researcher used the idea of deprivation theory to examine and analyze how the child domestic workers join others home for domestic work due to their deprivation of basic needs. Also, the researcher used the theory to analyze and examine how child domestic workers were deprived adequate food, rest, opportunity to play to play with their fellow friends and comfortable sleeping arrangements in comparison with their employers' children since they were their reference groups. Further, the researcher used the theory to analyze how child domestics deprived the protection from various verbal, physical and sexual abuses in comparison with their employers' children at their tender age.

2. 3 Empirical Literature

The participation of children in domestic work is common phenomena across the globe despite the problem is prevalent in developing countries. Accordingly, various empirical studies were conducted in different parts of the world concerning child domestic workers issues. Some of the studies conducted in different part of the world with their empirical findings are presented in the coming section.

Anti-Slavery International (2013) conducted multi-country study on the psychosocial wellbeing of child domestic workers (CDWs) across three continents namely Latin America, Africa and Asia. Accordingly, it was conducted in Peru, Togo, Tanzania, India and Philippines. The study revealed that family poverty was one of the main push factor for the engagement of children into domestic labor. In addition, personal goals like hopes for an education were also identified as the factors for their engagement. Further, the study also revealed parental break-ups, death of parent and experience of violence or abuse within the home as other contributory factors for the engagement of children in to domestic sector in the study areas (Anti-Slavery International 2013).

The study attests that child domestic workers were poorly paid or not paid. The payments were either paid in form of cash or kind. The result of the study also shows that even though they were paid low wages in some cases those low payments were directly sent to their parents in Togo. Moreover, it was also indicated that employers delay payments and

deduct from their wages for days off. With regard to the living and working condition child domestics work for long hours wide range of various indoor and outdoor tasks, such as cleaning, cooking, dishwashing, laundry, gardening, and taking care of pets or animals with limited time for rest (Anti-Slavery International 2013).

The finding of the study revealed that significant proportion of child domestic workers (CDWs) in Togo and India were clearly abused in the home of their employers. In these two countries it was stated that child domestics commonly face physical abuse. It also indicated that child domestics face various verbal and sexual abuses in the study areas. Furthermore, the study revealed that child domestic workers have little opportunity to make contact with their friends, relatives and families (Anti-Slavery International 2013).

Another study was conducted by Aida Aragoa-Lagergren on the living and working condition of child domestic workers in Guatemala City in 2003 by employing mixed method approach on 288 child domestics. The finding of the study uncovered family poverty as a major cause for the engagement of children in domestic work. Also, the study revealed that children engage in domestic work by their expectation for better life in urban area. It indicated that this feeling mainly emanates from their dissatisfaction on their village life and works. Hence, as an alternative children choose to engage in domestic work in the town area by expecting better life.

Save the Children and Aino Salish Kendra (2010) jointly conducted the study on the child domestic workers condition by employing mixed method in Bangladesh. The study revealed that 92% of children engaged in the line of work due to their family poverty. The study also indicated that 36% of CDWs work in average 9-12 hours a day, 30% of CDW work 13-15 hours and as many as 16% CDWs work 16-18 hours, 18% CDWs work 1-8 hours in a day and less than 1% CDWs work 19 hours various indoor and outdoor tasks. It also revealed that child domestic workers were not provided the same food stuffs like their employers' children. Further, the study revealed that child domestic workers face physical, verbal, and sexual abuses. Furthermore, the study shows that child domestics were not allowed to visit their parents.

Munubi(2013) conducted study on the causes and effects of domestic child labor employment and their impacts on society in Dare Salam, Tanzania. The study revealed poverty and death of parents as the major factors for the engagement of children in domestic labor. It also indicated that children receive very little compensation for their work. Moreover, the study revealed that child domestic workers face various physical, verbal and sexual abuses in their employer's home.

Oyaide (2000), also conducted study on the condition in which children were working in Zambia. The finding of the study revealed poverty, divorce and death of parents as the major push factor for the engagement of children in domestic work. In terms of remuneration the study revealed that child domestic workers were paid very low salary. Among the total participants of the study, only 34% were paid regularly. Further, the study revealed that children face wage deductions as punishment for offences. Moreover, finding of the study indicated that child domestic workers face various physical, verbal and sexual abuses.

Also, Islam et al. (2013) conducted study by employing mixed research method on the situation of child domestic workers in Bangladesh in five selected areas of Dhaka city. The study revealed that 100 % of study participants' employment contract is oral. And child domestics work for a very low salary or on kind basis. In some cases their salaries transferred to their parents and guardians.

On the other hand, in relation to living and working condition finding of the study indicated that most of the CDW did not get chance for sound sleeping. Besides, concerning daily and weekly rest period about 21.7% CDWs get rest breaks 3-4 hours and while about 19.2% did not get any opportunity to take rest during the day. And almost all 73.3 % did not get any full day off during the week. Moreover, concerning the bedding condition the study revealed that about 11.7% staying at kitchen, 11.7% in veranda, 34 % in floor, and 42% are sleep at mat and 8 % have separate cot for sleeping respectively (Islam et al. 2013).

Ara et al. (2011) conducted study in Bangladesh. The study uncovered poverty and death of parents as a major push factors for the engagement of children in to domestic labor. The study also attests that child domestic workers were paid very low wage. In terms of types of tasks performed at work the study indicated that child domestic workers perform indoor and outdoor tasks without any job description depending on the needs and interest of their employers. Due to long hours of work children have no leisure or recreational opportunity. Regarding the feeding condition the study point out that children were given leftover foods of other household members and guests to eat. It also attests that child domestics encounter various physical, verbal and sexual abuses in their work places.

Another study regarding child domestic workers was conducted by Blagbrough (2008) on more than 400 child domestic workers in over 20 locations in Africa, Asia and Latin America countries like Benin, Costa Rica, India, Nepal, Peru, Philippines, Tanzania and Togo. The study revealed various push and pull factors for the engagement of children in domestic work. Accordingly, family poverty, the desire to repay loans, need to pursue education, death of parents, family break downs, physical and sexual abuse in their own families home were identified as the major causes for the engagement of children in domestic labour in the study areas (Blagbrough 2008).

In terms of employment, the study uncovered that verbal agreements were common norms for child domestics in all study areas. In some cases as the finding indicated that those oral agreements were made between employers and parents. It was also indicated that CDWs work for a very low salary or in kind agreement. The low cash payments were in some cases transferred to their parents if their placement had been set by them. Furthermore, the study revealed that employers deduct from child domestics wages for broken and lost household items (Blagbrough 2008).

The study revealed that child domestic workers undertake both indoor and outdoor tasks. They undertake those tasks for long hours with limited time for daily rest. In addition the study also indicated difference on the child domestic workers opportunity for day off during the week. In some of the study countries CDWs were free on Sundays but in other countries they have no day off during the week (Blagbrough 2008).

With regard to abuses in all study areas child domestics commonly face physical, verbal and sexual abuses from different individuals on different occasions. Finally, the study uncovered that there was wide variation in the levels of contact between child domestic workers and their families. In view of that, in some countries child domestics were allowed to visit and to have visitors. Yet, child domestic workers in Tanzania were never allowed to visit and to have visitors in their work place (Blagbrough 2008).

Another study on the situation of child domestic workers was conducted in Dhaka city, Bangladesh by Islam (2010). It was the study conducted by employing mixed method on the child domestic laborers between 6-18 years of age. The finding of study indicated that child domestic workers were forced to start domestic work due to multi-faceted problems, which were associated with their low socio-economic status. Among the participants about 90 % of children were forced to work due to family poverty. It also revealed death of parents as another push factor for the engagement of children in domestic work. In terms of employment the study indicated that about 57 % of children gets their work through relatives, while about 19 % get the work by employers (Islam 2010).

With respect to living and working condition the study indicated that child domestics carry out both indoor and outdoor tasks. In undertaking their tasks the finding shows that just about 74 % children work more than 9hrs per a day. Due to this their recreational facilities are very limited. Watching television is foremost recreational facility of the domestic child workers, which hold 90 per cent. The study also uncovered that child domestics sleep indifferent places like empty places of the house, drawing room, kitchen, on separate room, veranda and garage. Finally, concerning the feeding condition the study revealed that child domestics get meals three times per a day (Islam 2010).

Moreover, concerning abuses the study shows that 95 % of child domestics were verbally abused. While 73% were physical abused and 17% were sexually abused. In relation to perpetrators of those abuses the study shows that 95 % are abused by the employers. On the other hand, about 30 % are being abused by the other family members and 1% by

relatives. Finally, the study revealed that contact of the domestic child workers with their family is not on regular basis (Islam 2010).

In Ethiopian context Kifle (2002) conducted rapid assessment on child domestic workers condition in Addis Ababa using a rapid assessment method. The study revealed that children were forced to engage in to domestic work mainly due to their family poverty.

As far as terms of employment was concerned the study attested that there was no written contract, only verbal agreements were conducted between employers and child domestic workers. Hiring and firing provisions are not agreed upon in the verbal contract during negotiation. It was also disclosed that about 59% child domestics were paid very low salary and the remaining 41% work for kind benefits like food, clothing and schooling. Among those who get fixed salary some get it regularly, while others did not get it because their employers transfer it directly to their parents or other representatives (Kifle 2002).

Regarding the living and working condition the study revealed that child domestics perform various indoor and outdoor tasks. They began those works as early as 6.00 A.M and as late as 12 P.M with limited time for rest. They work about 11 hours/day, seven days a week about 80 hours/week without any recreational opportunity both inside and outside the house. It was also indicated that child domestics eat meals three times per a day despite they were not equally treated with their employer's children. Furthermore, the study indicated that large number of child domestics sleep on the floor without any mattress and in a small room with others, separate from the children of their employers. Among the participants only small number of child domestics sleep on a bed with a mattress (Kifle 2002).

The assessment finally revealed that child domestic workers face physical, verbal and sexual abuse in their employers' home. The study also revealed that there are variations in the level of contact between child domestic workers with their parents and friends. Some child domestics were never keep in touch with their family and relatives for several

years. While others have the opportunity to contact with family and relatives (Kifle 2002).

Another study in Ethiopia was conducted in Addis Ababa by Erulkar(2012). The study revealed that child domestic workers were paid very low salary up to 20 Ethiopian birr. Besides, it also indicated that child domestic workers face food deprivation, as well as physical abuses in the home of their employers.

Furthermore,Aberraetal.(2003) conductedstudy on child laborersin ShebetowninJimmaZone.Thestudy showed that child domestic workers engage in domestic work due to death of their family and to support themselves. It also indicated that child domestic’s spent on average more than 8 hours per day. Further, the study revealed that child domestics encounter physical, verbal and sexual abuses in their employer’s home in the study area.

2.4 Conceptual Framework on Agonies of Child Domestic Workers

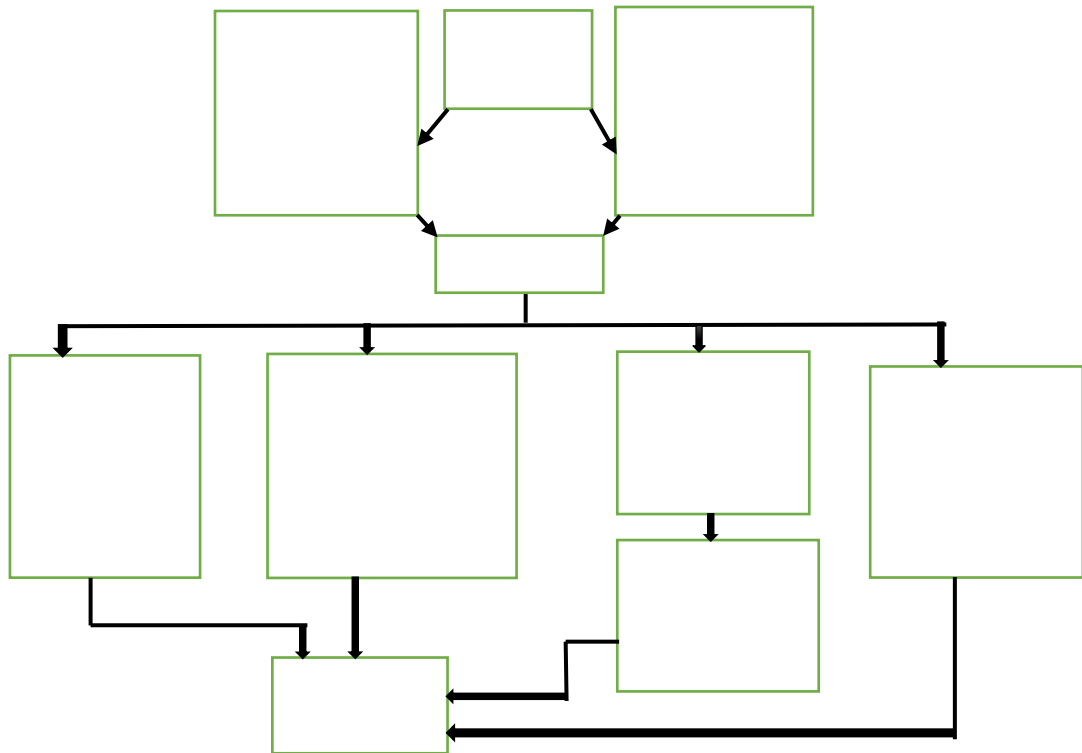


Figure 1: Conceptual framework adapted from(Shimelis 2015).

The above diagram illustrates that different push and pull factors force children to engage in domestic work. After they entered employer home their terms of employment, living and working condition, various kinds of abuses and their side effect contribute to their agonies. Finally, their interaction with their employers, the interaction between their respective employers and their parents as well as their interaction with their parents also make them to suffer agonies.

2.5 Policy Review

2.5.1. Review of International Instruments Pertaining to Child Domestic Workers

Child domestic labour has been critical issue across the world despite the magnitude is high in developing nations. As a result, since from second half of 20thc several international conventions were enacted concerning the child rights and welfare. In the following section various international instruments related to child domestic workers are described.

Among the international instruments United Nation Convention on the Right of Child states for the protection of children from exploitation. Accordingly, article 32 of the convention recognizes the right of child to be protected from economic exploitation and performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or interfere with their education or harmful to their health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development (UNCRC 1989).

Another important international conventions on child domestic labour is the 1973 ILO Convention No. 138, concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment. Article 2 of the Convention states that the minimum age for admission to employment shall not be less than age of completion of compulsory schooling and, in any case, shall not be less than 15 years (ILO Convention 1973). Nevertheless, the convention states 14 years as a minimum age for employment in developing nations (ILO Convention 1973). Also, article 6 of convention 182 (1999) Worst form of Child Labor Convention recommends ILO member states to design and implement programmes of action to eliminate the Worst forms of Child Labour (ILO 1999).

Finally, ILO Convention No. 189 and Recommendation No. 201 on decent work for domestic workers promote the right to decent working and living conditions of workers.

The Convention lays down basic rights and principles, and measures regarding the promotion of decent work reality for domestic workers, including child domestics (ILO 2011). The convention recommends the member states to take measures concerning domestic workers contract, remuneration, working hours and times off. On the other hand, recommendation No. 201, complements Convention No. 189, and provides practical guidance concerning possible laws and other measures to implement the rights and principles stated in the Convention (ILO 2011).

Ethiopia has ratified all of the above ILO conventions as well as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (ILO 2013 and People In Need 2009). According to United States Department of Labor (2009 cited by Metiku 2015) Ethiopia ratified Minimum Age Convention 138 in 1999, ILO Convention on the Worst Form of Child Labor 182 in 2003, and UN Convention on the Rights of Child in 1991. The above conventions are being under implementation by ministry of labour and social affair so as to halt the problem of child labour in the country. The ministry make linkage with various concerning government offices so as to implement the ratified convention by the government (Ministry of Labour and Social Affair 2013).

2.5.2 African Charter on the Right and Welfare of Child

At the regional level African charter on the right and welfare of child contains provisions for the protection of the right of every children irrespective of color, gender, race and ethnicity. In relation to child labour article 15 of the charter states that *every child shall be protected from all forms of economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development* (OAU 1990). However, children particularly those in the global south of which Ethiopia is not an exception, are found to be engaged in domestic works. According to international institutions such as ILO such kinds of works are considered exploitative and hazardous, have some considerable effects on children's mental, health, physical and social development.

2.5.3. Ethiopian Legal Frameworks Pertaining to Child Domestic Workers

In the national context, 1995 FDRE Constitution has provisions on the protection of children. On part two of the chapter three article 36 is entitled the rights of Child. It

contains five sub-articles, but sub article 36(1) (d) *states that every child has the right not to be subjected to exploitative practices, neither to be required nor perform work which may be hazardous or harmful to his education, health or wellbeing* (FDRE 1995). This sub-article is directly related with the UNCRC art 2.

Besides the constitutional provision, laws of the country also contain provisions to protect children. Accordingly, 2004 Criminal code of Ethiopia contains provision that indirectly protects children from economic exploitation and detrimental working conditions. Among these provisions, article 576 (1-2) prohibits maltreatment of minors (children). It indicates that activities like ill-treatment, neglects, over tasks or beats of minors are punishable with simple imprisonment. This article shows the denunciation of child labour abuse including child domestic abuses.

Like to the above national instruments 2009 National Employment Policy and Strategy also points the protection against child labour. The policy states strategies for the protection of child labour. Since poverty is the major factor for the participation of millions of children in child labour in many African countries including Ethiopia the policy prioritizes household poverty reduction as one of the main strategy for protection against child labour. So as to achieve poverty reduction it states special support in terms of income generating opportunities to women headed households and poor families with large number of children. The policy also states the role of awareness creation, provision of legal instruments, and sanctioning against the production and consumption of products known to be produced by children in reducing the pull factors of the child labour.

Generally, critical empirical reviews demonstrated that the Ethiopian government has made some efforts to incorporate child protection issues in different legal frameworks of the country. The major ones among these documents are: the Constitution, National Employment Policy and Strategy and the Criminal code of the country. However, none of these documents does have articles that directly related with protection of children from domestic abuses. Even though these contain provisions to protect children from child labour, thousands of children's are working in various exploitative and abusive child labour activities including child domestic labour.

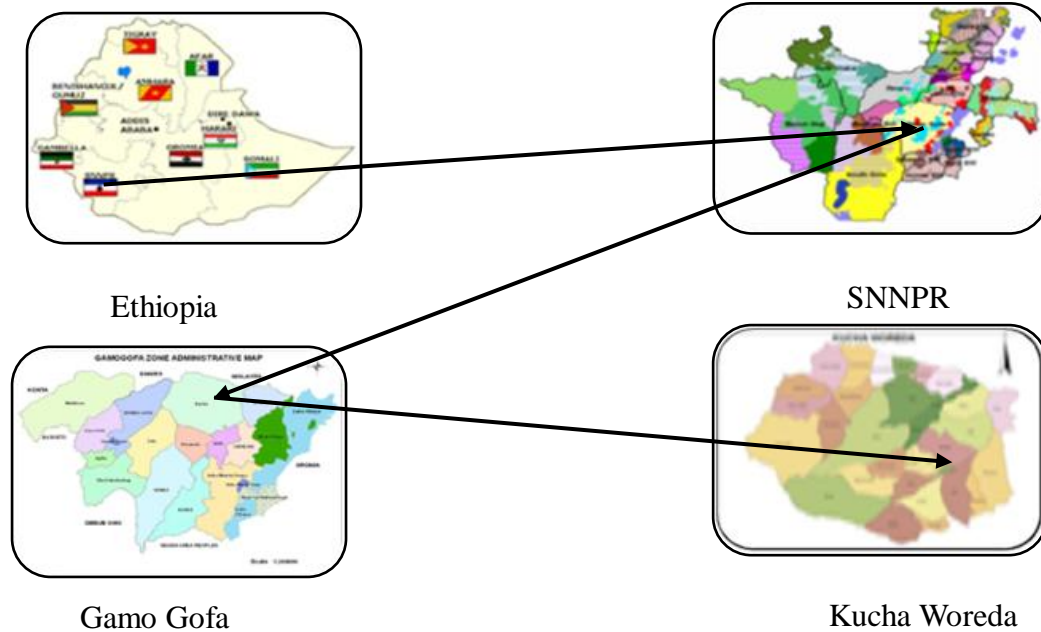
Chapter Three

Description of the Study Area and Research Methods

3.1 Study Area

Kucha Woreda is one of the fifteen *Woredas*¹ and two Sub cities of GamoGofa Zone in Southern Nations and Nationalities and People Region (SNNPR). It is located at a distance of 449 km from Addis Ababa, the capital of the country. Relatively, it is located North-East of Arbaminch and roughly it lies 6⁰30'—6⁰45' North latitude and 37⁰15' --- 37⁰30' East longitude. It is bordered on the south by Deramalo, on the west by DembaGofa, on the north by the Wolaita Zone, on the east by Boreda. The major town of Woreda is SelamBer. There are also other towns like Morka and Bola (KWFEDO 2015).

¹Woreda means district



*Figure 1. Map of the Ethiopia, SNNPR, GamoGofa and Kucha Woreda*Source: Kucha Woreda finance and economic development office 2015

Geographically, the Woredais constituted from four high land, sixteen moderate and 13 low land kebeles in the total areas of 138,422 hectare (KWCTO 2015). The Woreda have moderate climate condition because the majority of kebeles are woinadega (49.6%) and its temperature is also somehow medium (average temp. =20.1-25⁰c). The population of Kucha Woreda is 256,890. Among the total population males constitute about 115,967 and about 140,923 are females (KWARDO 2015).

The economic activity of the people live on which they live is mainly based on the agriculture but some individuals who live around SelamBer and Morka town depend on government employment and trade as their source of household income. The major food crops produced in the Woreda include maize, enset, sweet potatoes, teff, wheat, barley, sorghum and cassava (KWARDO 2015).

In terms of social institutions the Woreda contains a total of 58 public primary schools. In addition, there are five secondary and one preparatory school. In these primary and secondary schools, a total number of students, is about 40,726. Out of the total number, males are about 21,160 and females are about 19,566. Further, in addition to primary and

secondary schools there are three Kindergarten schools (KWEO2015). On the other hand, in terms of health institution there are about 39 health posts, 8 health centers and 1 primary level hospital (KWHO2015).

SelamBer town is the administrative center of Kucha Woreda. It is located at a distance of 447 km from Addis Ababa, 229 km from Hawassa, 62 km from Wolaita Sodo and 177 km from Arbaminch. The population of town is about 25,689 (KWCTO 2015).

3.2 Research Methods

3.2.1 Study Design

As Creswell (2003) states that there are five types of qualitative research designs namely narrative, ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory and case study. Among the five qualitative research approaches in this study, case study design was employed. According to Creswell (2003), case study design enables a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context, and gives in-depth information on the subject under investigation. Hence, in this study the researcher selected case study to explore and examine in-depth the factors for the engagement of children in domestic work, their terms of employment, living and working condition, various forms of abuses, side effects of the abuses and interaction between child domestic workers, employers and parents in in-depth.

3.2.2 Method of Data Collection

To undertake this study different qualitative data collection methods were used. The following are the specific qualitative data collection methods used in this study.

3.2.2.1 In-depth Interview

In this study the researcher used in-depth interview as a method of data collection so as to gather first-hand information. Accordingly, in-depth interviews were held with 21 child domestic workers, 8 parents, and 5 employers. I choose in-depth interview because it gives me a chance to probe the matter in detail so as to get adequate data.

3.2.2.2 Key Informant Interview

Key informant interview was also conducted with 6 experts from Women and Children Affairs, Administration, Labor and Social Affairs and Police Offices.

3.2.2.3 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussions were conducted with individuals from various offices. Some of the individuals who took part in the Focus group discussions have been previously interviewed in detail about their own expertise or working experience with regard to the agonies of child domestic workers in the study area. Two Focus group discussions were conducted, one was conducted with the individuals from Labour and Social Affairs, Justice, Children's Affairs and Admiralty Offices. Another was conducted with the individuals from Court and Police. Each group was composed of 7 participants. A focus group discussion guide containing a list of questions that are thought to explore the topic under study was prepared and used for this purpose. During discussions the researcher played the role of moderator.

3.2.2.4 Case Study

To get adequate information and to make the study more understandable, I selected five child domestics and made them to narrate their experience. The children selected for the case study are those who have unique experience. All the relevant information gathered from each case has been analyzed in various sections of this study. This enabled me to gather reliable first-hand information like on forms of child domestic abuses, side effects of abuses and other relevant points.

3.2.3 Data Sources

Data for this study was obtained from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected directly from child domestic workers, parents, employers and key informants. While the secondary data such as reports from official documents were consulted to supplement the primary data.

3.2.4 Sampling Techniques

As Mark (2010) states that samples for qualitative studies are generally much smaller than those employed in quantitative studies. Ritchie et al (2003 as cited in Mark 2010) provide two justifications for this. Firstly, they state that qualitative research is concerned with meaning and not making generalized hypothesis statements. Secondly, they also point that qualitative research is very labour intensive, analyzing a large sample can be time consuming and often simply impractical.

In this study, I used purposive sampling technique to select the study area as well as study participants. In this study, I purposively selected Selam Ber town from the Woreda because child domestic workers mostly exist in town area. Besides, the other reasons are; I know the people of the area very well; and I have been living in the area. Further, though there are three towns in the Woreda, it is difficult to conduct the study concurrently in the three towns namely in Morka, Bola and Selam Ber due to shortage of time. As a result of the aforementioned reasons, I purposively selected Selam Ber for the study.

In the same manner, 6 key informants were purposively selected. Purposive sampling was employed because the researcher intended to get insightful information on the agonies of child domestic workers. Thus, only participants who are perceived knowledgeable about child domestic workers situation were included in the study from concerning government office only. For this study key informants were selected from Women and Children Affairs Office, Administration, Police, and Labour and Social Affairs Offices.

The researcher also used purposive sampling technique to select child domestic workers. The researcher initially purposively selected some child domestics for in-depth interview but the data obtained from them is not adequate. So as to fill the gap the researcher attempt to contact other children's independently. But, getting other child domestics become hard. As a result the researcher also used snowball sampling technique as a back up to purposive sampling to locate child domestics in the private homes in which they work. Accordingly, the researcher used some child domestics to identify other children who are willing to discuss their experiences with the researcher in their neighborhood. Thus, this sampling technique helped the researcher to get 21 child domestic workers during the study. The sample size of child domestics was determined by principle of data saturation theory. Further, the study also selected 5 employers and 8 parents.

3.2.5 Tools of Data Collection

3.2.5.1 Interview Guide

An in-depth interview guide was prepared in English and translated in to Amharic and Gamotho language so as to ease the interview process with child domestic workers and other individuals. A detailed interview guide that consists of six parts based on the research objective was designed to elicit child domestic workers' oral historical narrative.

Similarly, interview guides were also prepared for employers, parents and key informants in separate section so as to gather first-hand information from them. The researcher prepared semi-structured questions to all participants because it help the researcher to cross-check the responses of participants.

3.2.5.2 FGD Guide

The researcher prepared set of questions so as to guide FGD participants. The question were prepared in line with the study objectives. The questions mainly focus on the causes for their engagement in the study area, their overall situations and other pertinent points.

3.2.6 Techniques of Data Analysis

Once the researcher has collected the data with the appropriate method and has recorded it the task of analyzing and interpreting it is said to be the most complex part of the research process. Especially for qualitative research it is very tiresome and complex one because of the type and amount of data that is acquired. In this study due to the nature of the study the data was analyzed qualitatively. The researcher thematically analyzed the data based on the research objectives and emerging issues in the process. Initially the researcher repeatedly listened audio-records and transcribed them. Thereafter, data was coded into categories of similar meanings. The major themes used for these purpose were causes for their engagement in domestic work, their terms of employment, living and working condition, the major forms of abuses they encounter and its side effects up on them. Furthermore, their interaction with their employers, the interaction between their employers and parents as well as their interaction with their parents.

3.2.7 Data Validity and Reliability

According to Zohrabi (2013) validity in the research implies trustworthiness. While Nunan (1999 cited by Zohrabi 2013) states reliability as consistency, dependability and replicability of the results obtained from a piece of research. In this study in order to assure validity of the data the researcher carefully designed data collection tools, collect and analyzed the data according to the research objectives. Also, the researcher gathered relevant data from different sources such as children, employers, parents and key informants. The researcher linked the data with the theoretical framework in the study to ensure the consistency of questions with the objectives.

3.2.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues in the research are the crucial issues since data collection till the report stage (Creswell 2003). Accordingly, initially explanations were given to key informants, employers, parents and FGD participants that the study is only for academic purpose and letter of cooperation from Jimma University Sociology and Social Work department as well as from Kucha Woreda Children's Affairs Office was presented for them to read and confirm the above idea. Similarly, children were also informed on overall aim of the study before they were asked for interview. The researcher also explained to them their right to take part in the research and also to withdraw from it anytime any of them feel appropriate to do so. Further, the researcher also ensured the participants to express themselves freely during the interview. Moreover, key informants, parents, employers and children were assured that the information they give was kept confidential and that their identity will not be disclosed. In the study the researcher used Pseudonyms for child domestic workers instead of their real names in order to ensure confidentiality and anonymity.

Chapter Four

Findings of the Study

4.1 Background of the Study Population

This chapter presents and analyzes the findings of the study corresponding to the research objectives. Before the analysis of the research finding in this part of the research the general background of the research participants were presented as follows based on the results obtained from the in-depth interviews. The general characteristics of the child domestic workers is examined in terms of their place of origin, their age of entry into domestic work sector, educational attainment, religious backgrounds, their stay in other place before they hired as a domestic worker, their year of experience as a domestic worker, their future vision and family condition.

4.1.1. Place of Origin

The study first attempted to illuminate the places of origin of the child domestic workers. Accordingly, it was found out that almost all child domestic workers came to SelamBer town from the various rural kebeles of the district such as Caba, Woyza, Halaha, ZuloGamo, Shamara, Bola and Genzeas the town is closer to their place of origin. In addition, two child domestic workers also migrated from surrounding kebeles of other districts such as Offa and Deremaloto the study area. It can be said that children domestics migrated to the town from both rural Kebele of the district and other surrounding areas to search better living condition. The following table indicates the ideas described in the preceding lines.

Table 4. 1 Place of origin

Place of origin	No of Participants	Sex	
		Male	Female
From Kucha Woreda kebeles	19	7	12
Outside Kucha	2	2	0
Total	21	9	12

Source: Interview with child domestic workers, 2016, N= 21

4.1.2 Age of Entry into Domestic Dork

As it has been illustrated in the table below, all child domestics who participated in this study were below 18 year. This implies that domestic work can be done by all groups of people irrespective of their age. This is because it does not require any type of specialized skills and vocational training to be hired as a worker in the home of another person. As already mentioned in the literature part article 2 of 1973 ILO Convention No. 138, states 14 years as the minimum age for admission to employment in developing nations. However, this study indicated that some children started to work below the ages stated on the above convention.

Table 4. 2 Age of entry into domestic work

Age of entry into domestic work	No of Participants
13	5

14	7
15	6
16	2
Total	21

Source: Interview with child domestic workers 2016, N= 21

4.1.3 Educational Attainment of Child Domestic Workers

Education is one of the basic necessities for children's normal development at their later life. However, in many developing countries including Ethiopia so as to satisfy their survival needs children drop their education at elementary level and join various informal sector works like domestic work. As the following table shows, child domestic workers possess low level of education. Accordingly, fifteen child domestics attended first cycle elementary school. Among the remaining six two of them attended second cycle elementary school, while the remaining four were never attended school due to various reasons. From those who attended school, 10 children responded that they attended those classes when they were with their own parents. On contrary 7 children said that they attended those classes after they departed from their parents. In addition, those who had not yet started their education said that the only reason which hindered them from attending school was their family economic problem and other household factors. All children recounted their ambition to attend school so as to escape from this exploitative work. So the Woreda Education Office as the main stakeholder for this issue should have to design appropriate strategies so as to enable child domestics to get educational opportunity like other children.

Table 4. 3 Level of education

Educational Level in Grades Completed	No of
Did not attended school	4
2	5
3	6
4	4
5	2

Source: Interview with child domestic workers 2016, N= 21

4.1.4 Religious Denomination of the Child Domestic Workers

As the table below shows, most of the participants were protestant religion followers. Subsequently followed by the orthodox religion. Lastly, only one of the participant was catholic religion follower.

Table 4.4 Religious Background of Child Domestic Workers

Religion of CDWs	No of Participants
Protestant	12
Orthodox	7
Catholic	2

Source: Interview with Child domestic Workers 2016, N= 21

4.1.5 Place of Stay and Experience as Domestic Worker

As it has been illustrated in the subsequent table, fifteen child domestic workers were never stayed in any place before they hired as a domestic worker in the town. However, six child domestic workers stayed with their closest relatives or friends after they departed from their biological parents in the rural area. With regard to their experience as a domestic worker eight of them said that it is their first home, where as for the other eight children it is their second home. Among the remaining child domestics for three their current home is their third home. Finally for two children their current home is their fourth home.

Table 4. 5 Place of Stay and Experience as a Domestic Workers

Place of Stay	No of Participants	Experience as a Domestic Worker	No of Participants
Friends	2	1 st home as a DW	8
Relatives	4	2 nd home as a DW	8
Directly hired as a DW	15	3 rd home as a DW	3
Total	21	4 th home as a DW	2
		Total	21

Source: Interview with Child domestic Workers 2016, N= 21

As the above table shows that the number of domestic children declines as the number of homes in which they served from 1 to 4. It shows that child domestic workers did not frequently change their place of work despite they face various maltreatments and abuses from employers and their family members.

4.1.6 Future Vision of Child Domestic Workers

As it has been reported in the following table, child domestic workers have various future visions. Among participants 10 children said that they were not satisfied with the salary they get. Due to this they said that they want to travel to other towns so as to work on better payment. On the other hand, four child domestics are planning to return back to their families. As they reported that they want to return so as to escape from abuses and maltreatment as well as to render their services to their parents. Also, two children are planning to stay with their current employers. Moreover, three girl domestics are planning to change the means of livelihoods. They want to stop domestic work and engage in petty trade in the town.

Table 4. 6. Future Vision of Child Domestic Workers

Future Plan of CDWs	No of Participants
To go back to their Parents	4
To travel to other towns	10
Stay with their employers	4
Change the means of livelihoods/tasks	3

Source: Interview with child domestic workers 2016, N= 21

4.1.7 Family Condition of Child Domestic Workers

As it has been indicated on the following table, almost all child domestic workers came from families with more than five children. With respect to their parents source of income almost all child domestics’ parents depend on agriculture as a source of income. Besides, three child domestic’s parents income was based on the combination of petty trade and agriculture.

Table 4. 7. Family Condition of Child Domestic Workers

	Family Conditions

1. No of Children	0	7	8	9	10	
No of Participants	1	4	6	5	5	Total
						21
2. Source of Income	Farming	Petty Trade			Combination of both	Total
No of Participants	18	0			3	21

Source: Interview with Child domestic Workers 2016, N= 21

4.2 Factors for their Engagement in Domestic Work

One of the objective of this study is to identify the various factors for their joining others' home to serve as domestic workers at childhood stage. The core issues identified under this topic are push and pull factors exposed the girls and boys to engage in domestic work. The following major contributing factors were uncovered from the transcribed data.

4.2.1 Push Factors

4.2.1.1 Poverty

As I learned from in-depth interview, poverty was one of the major cause for the engagement of children in domestic work in the study area. The participants said that they were forced to engage in domestic work because their family income was inadequate to support members. In addition, to my in-depth interview with the child domestic workers during the fieldwork, I interviewed the child domestic workers' parents. Among the parents, two of them said that they even beg food from the local community so as to feed many mouths. Under such circumstance, the children have no option except being hired to others' home in order to earn income or different things in kind and support themselves and their families. In line of this argument, a 17 year boy domestic worker said that:

My father passed away 9 year ago. My mother daily collects and takes fuel wood to town for sale. Due to low income obtained from selling fuel woods, my mother could not fulfill necessary things for all of 8 family members. Hence, scarcity of the basic necessary things for daily survival has become a usual issue in our home. Last year after school I was

preparing charcoal for sale with my older brother in order to take it to town for sale and support the income that our mother brings from selling fuel wood. But, this year I decided to quit my schooling and came to SelamBer town to work as domestic worker. Since September 2016, I am serving as a domestic worker here due to the existing economic problem of my family. That is why I took part in the domestic labour.

Under such extreme poverty, parents use child migration to town as coping mechanism to the household economic problem. In this regard, 15 year girl child domestic worker said that:

My father died when I was 10 years old. After my father's death things have become very difficult for us. My mother sells Injera² on the local market. The income she gets is hardly enough to feed 8 mouths. She [mother] is often asked if she has a girl child who can work in an old woman's home who lives in SelamBer town. One day my mother agreed with the frequent question she is often asked and agreed to send me to work. Now, I am working in the old woman's home and I earn 100 ETB birr per month, but my mother receives it all.

The above idea was also affirmed by FGD participants. They said that when parents were unable to feed their large family members due to poverty they deploy their children to surrounding towns so that their children work in a relatively well to do families and earn income with which they support their parents and themselves. Also, the participants added that there are many children who cannot be cared for by their parents. When the parents were unable to fulfill necessary things for their children due to poverty, they place their child with someone who can, in return, the child serve as a domestic worker for those individuals. The reasons reported and described by children and FGD participants were also confirmed by parents of child domestic workers. In strengthening the above argument 60 year parent claimed that:

I have 10 children; my wife passed away 7 years ago. I am poor, I have no oxen and adequate land to cultivate and feed my children. Hence, I sent

²Local food prepared out of flour of a tine cereal called Teff

my child to work as a domestic worker in order to support themselves and meet their own financial needs.

4.2.1.2 Divorce

The problem associated with divorce is another factor which can be categorized under the push factor. As indicated by two child domestic workers, family divorce forced them to stay with one of their parents. When the parent with whom they live remarries, they were forced to unite with step parents and step siblings. However, they reported that step parents and step siblings abuse them physically and verbally in their day to day life. Due to such abuses, they run away from their step parents' home and entered domestic work so as to escape from step family abuses and maltreatment. In supporting the above idea a 15 year boy domestic worker said that:

I started to work in the home of another person because my step father does not treat me like his own biological children. He often beats me seriously and he refused to send me to school. He also beats my mum if she speaks a word or tries to safeguard me when he beats me.

The following case study of 14 year boy domestic worker also shows how step parents abuse push children to domestic labor.

Case.1 Bakalo

I came from Dele Kayse, one of the rural kebeles of the district. I never attend school. I have five sisters and four brothers. But, my parents became divorced when I was 8 years old. We began to live with our father except our little brother who was taken by our mother to her family house. My mother remarried to another man after her 1 year stay in her family house following her divorce with our father. My father also remarried another wife after 2 years who became our stepmother. She is so cruel. She beats us for little mistake with whip, insult with fowl words, curse and deny us food whenever we failed to do things properly or forget to do something she orders us to do. She also exaggerates little mistake and accuse us to our father so that he punishes us. My father also listens more to what she says than what we say and punishes us severely. Due to their punishment, I left the home and came to SelamBer town two years ago. As

soon as I arrived the town, I was hired by a business man as domestic worker in his home for 100 birr per month. I have been working here in his home since then.

As we can understand from the aforementioned case, how divorce and subsequent parenting condition push children to engage in domestic work in the home of another person. As the case clearly indicates that children leave step parents' home so as to escape from their maltreatment and abuses.

As the FGD participants said that children join others home for domestic work despite the step parents have no economic problem. They underlined that disagreement with the step family was the major driver for the engagement of children in domestic work in this case. They further added that children were sometimes pushed by one of the step parent. As it was said that particularly mothers play key role in pushing their children to others home for domestic work so as to keep peace in her new martial home.

4. 2.1.3 Death of Parents

It is fact that the role of family is primarily socializing and rearing children since birth to till they become adult hood. Parents are also source of affection and income with which children's basic needs are fulfilled. However, due to the death of their biological parents children remain out of family protection and support. In this case children who have relatives get care and support after the death of their parents, whereas children who lack this opportunity were forced to go to towns to seek informal sector jobs like domestic work so as to meet their basic survival needs mainly food and cloth. The children are forced to engage in domestic work as an income generating activities mainly because loss of their parents force them to shoulder their parents responsibility in their care seeking age.

In supporting the above ideas a 16 year boy domestic worker said that:

...I am the only child for my parents. If my father and mother had lived I would not have worked. I was about 12 years old since they passed away. After their death life became difficult for me because I have no oxen and potential to plough land. Then I came to this town with my peer for domestic work to support myself.

The key informants also confirm the above idea. They also said that children in some cases join domestic work by leaving their relatives home due to their abuses and maltreatment. Further, they stated that in some cases children after the death of their both parents enter the home of another individuals in their neighborhood by giving their land. Yet, due to disagreement with those individuals they migrate to town area for domestic work so as to support themselves. Moreover, as they reported that among the indicated push factors poverty holds the lion share for the engagement of children in domestic work in the study area.

4.2.2 Pull Factors

4.2.2.1 Peer Influence

In addition to the above push factors the study found that children also join domestic sector due to various pull factors. Unlike push factors in this case children without any push migrate to town area to engage in domestic work at their early age. Among children whom I interviewed two child domestic workers pointed peer pressure as a factor which hasten their move and contribute to their engagement in domestic labour. It was said that they were lured to domestic work by their peer's when they return during holiday. In underpinning the above idea a 15 year boy domestic worker said that:

I came to SelamBer town one year ago to work. Before I came here there have been peers who worked here. They change their clothes and shoes when they return to home during holidays. Their change inspired me to come to SelamBer. Since I had no enough information about the domestic work in the town, I consulted one of my peers. He told me everything and finally I decided to follow him.

The FGD discussants also confirm the children's idea. The participants said that children who work in the domestic sector in the town return to their parents in different conditions. When they return they buy goats or sheep to be heard. As the result, some children in their neighborhood were inspired by their peer's idea to get money in order to buy these and other things like clothes and shoes. Also, as one of the participants said that having some property (Teo³) at child hood is considered as a strength of the child in rural

³Teo is a Gamotho language which denotes the property of child

area. Hence, due to this attitude children were pulled to domestic work by their friends so as to get money in order to meet their desires.

4.2.2.2 Inducement from Siblings

In this case children were pulled to domestic work by their family members. Among the child domestics who participated in this study two child domestics stated that they engaged in domestic work by the inducement of their siblings. As they said that their oldest sister and brothers who work in the same line brought them for the individual they know in their neighborhood. In confirming this argument a 16 year girl domestic said that:

My eldest sister was the first one to come to this town for domestic work. When she came to the home in the holidays she told me to come with her, she said that she could find a job to me. Finally I came with her and hired as a domestic worker in her neighborhood.

The key informant said that it is one of the trusted and required recruitment methods by employers of child domestic workers in the study area. This kind of recruitment method was said more preferable because the oldest brothers and sisters act as responsible (guarantor) for whatever damages the child domestics may cause to her/his employer's property.

4.2.2.3 Expectation for Better Life

The study also revealed that children migrate from rural area to the study area to work as domestics due to their expectation for better life. Among participants two boy domestic workers said that they engaged in domestic work in search of better life including access to education and desire to escape from labour intensive tasks. In affirming this idea, one of the parents whom I interviewed said that he sent his child to the town for domestic work because he considers that life in the town area is easier than his environment and filled with several opportunities. He also adds that his child will be better cared for and educated for her later life. To strengthen this idea, a 17 year boy domestic worker said that:

I came from Chaba to work as domestics. I am the last child for my family. Hence, my father forced me to quit my education to look after the cattle and plough a land, but I did not want to quit my education. When I was at home, I heard that there is a town called SelamBer where there is

educational opportunity, people do not plough land, fetch wood, and life is easy. Finally I came to this town on a market day with one of my friend. As soon as I arrived the town I was hired in the home of man from our neighborhood.....

As the above discussions indicate that children were lured to domestic work by various factors. According to response of the FGD discussants peer influence is the major one among pull factors in the study area. As they stated that children sometimes came in group to the town for domestic work following their fellow friends. Though reason for disparity is not clearly described by key informants and FGD discussants, they mentioned some areas like Woyza, Gerera, Chaba, and Chosho as the major areas for the influx of children to town for domestic work. Also, on the second level they indicated other areas such as Shocora, Delekayse, and Coyta as other source areas for the influx of children. Generally, the rural push and urban pull factors were the major factors for children's who join others home for domestic work. The rural push factors force children to leave their families home, while the urban pull factors attract them to town area for domestic work. In some cases children may join domestic work simultaneously due to push and pull factors.

4.3 Terms of Employment

4.3.1 Employment Agreement

Contract as a written document lays basis for one to ask his/her right in case of dispute. Regarding contract article 7 of the ILO Convention No. 189 commends all the member states to take measures to enable domestic workers to be aware of their terms and conditions of employment in clearly written contracts in accordance with national laws and regulations. The convention also clearly indicates that, the written contract should have to enable domestic workers to know detail information of their employer like his/her name, address, type of work to be performed, food and accommodation, types of works, working hours, remuneration, daily and weekly rest periods, working place address and condition of termination of the contract (ILO 2011).

As the above paragraph indicates, the convention calls attention to the need for the establishment of formal contract between employers and domestic workers. This is

because contract will function as a written document regarding the terms agreed between the two parties in the event of dispute. However, according to the data I obtained from participants none of them conduct any written contract before joining the work. Instead, there were oral agreements concerning salary. In affirming the above idea a 17 year girl domestic worker said that:

.....I did not enter any contract with my employer. When my employer asked me to employ me in her home I asked her my salary. She told me what I asked her. Hence, I agreed with her and go to her home by trusting her words.

Another 15 year boy domestic worker explains his employment agreement in the following as *“I have no written agreement with my employer; everything is done on the basis of trust because he is from our area, so I trust him”*.

As the FGD participants indicated that always there is oral agreement between employers and child domestics. As they said that some employers break the oral agreement and dismiss children without giving any salary after working several months for them based on pretexts like behaving disrespectfully towards them and lying.

The key informants during in-depth interview mentioned two main reasons for the absence of written contract in the study area. Firstly, it was said that since child domestic workers are children, they have no awareness about it and its importance for them. And they never ask it when they were hired by their employers. Secondly, they said that child domestic workers sometimes get their jobs through their relative's network and family members like older sisters and brothers. Hence do not ask for written contract. As the key informants further said that it is one of the major problems that they face in their attempt to solve disputes created between employers and child domestics. It was also said that it paves the way for some employers to betray what they promised to child domestics in the employment agreement.

In line with the above idea, all parents who participated in this study reported that their children have no contract with their employers. They said that even when they negotiate on behalf of their children they did not think to do written contract because they consider that asking for written contract is interpreted by employers as lacking trust or suspecting

them. In its place as they disclosed that they usually made oral agreement and give Adera (mandate) to employers regarding the overall wellbeing, safety and security of their children. All five employers whom I interviewed told me that they always made oral agreement with child domestic workers and their parents. In confirming the above idea a 45 year male employer said that *“I always did not make contract with the children. When I ask them if they agree to come, I will take them to my house by verbally agreeing on salary and tasks”*.

The employers give an account that they use various criteria to select children for domestic work. Among the participants two employers forwarded that sex is the first criteria that they use to hire child domestic workers. As they stated that they prefer to employ boy or girls domestic worker depending on types of tasks inside the house. It was mentioned that though they hire for certain types of tasks they order them to perform all tasks inside the house. On the other hand, three employers stated that place of origin is the criteria that they use to select child domestic workers. They prefer to hire children who came from rural kebeles of the district than those who came from surrounding districts. As they pointed that the idea of not knowing their origin is threatening if child domestics run away by stealing their property. Among the employers one employer told me that his girl domestic worker in collaboration with other domestic worker in his neighborhood has stolen his wives' jewelry and run away. Also, by affirming the employer's idea one of the Police Officers talked to me that such experiences had happened to some employers and came to them to report the incident.

When coming to the way how the employers manage various experiences in their home like theft, damage of property and others they mentioned some of the ways they use so as to manage those experiences. As they stated that giving advises was the first way that they use to manage the experiences. Subsequently, they shout and in series cases use physical punishment if they commit the act again. The third was expelling the child domestics from their home.

The employers said that they prefer to employ child domestic workers due to various reasons. The first point is the issue of salary. They said that adult domestic workers are more likely to demand salary. It was said that adult domestic workers usually work in

salary which ranges from 250 up to 300 Ethiopian birr in the study area. Yet, in contrary child domestic workers work for lower salary. In addition, they described that obedience is another significant quality which make them to prefer child domestic workers. As they told me that child domestics unlike adult domestics who have already developed different values and morals, they can be easily shaped if they treat them well. On this issue a 40 year female employer remarked that:

I prefer to employ child domestic workers because they are more obedient and honest. But, adult domestic workers argue with you on orders a lot, whereas on child domestic workers you never see this kind of behavior. They will just do what you tell them to do in the house from dawn to dusk.

With regard to methods of recruiting children's for domestic work key informants and FGD discussants forward various ideas. The key informants said that children are recruited for domestic work through their family members, relatives and neighbors. They also added that children are recruited through some informal brokers in Amharic (*Higewot Yehitsanat Delaloch*⁴). It was said that though this groups work in hidden manner they place children in domestic service for a fee, and families those who seek to hire children get from these individuals. Further, the FGD participants said that prospective employers may approach a child domestic worker who is already working in another person's home to encourage him or her to move to their house by promising things like better salary, education and clothes for children. Furthermore, they stated that children are recruited by women or man who visit their villages. As it was described that in some cases, these group of recruiters hire girls or boys in their home. In other case, they act as a middle men for their relatives or friends.

4.3.2 Wages of Child Domestic Workers

As far as the wages of child domestic workers is concerned, the study revealed that child domestics were paid either on cash or kind depending on the agreement. Among those who get payment on cash three child domestic workers said that their salary is given to their parents because their placement had been set by them. In consolidating the children's idea, one parent whom I interviewed told me that she monthly receives salary of

⁴Higewot Yehitsanat Delaloch⁴ denotes those who make their breads by trafficking children from rural area and connect to the prospective employers by accepting money.

her child from her employers and spend the money on younger siblings' education or on other household expenses. However, ten children said that they receive their salary by themselves. The remaining three children said that they work on kind agreement. These group of children work for food, clothes and education.

In terms of cash payment, the monthly salary of child domestic workers at the time of data collection was in the range between 80 up to 150 Ethiopian birr. The data indicates that child domestic workers remuneration is very low when we compare it with their actual hours of work. If we divide the largest amount of payment reported in in-depth interview i.e. 150 birr in to payment per hour for 15 hours i.e. from 7am up to 10 pm, which was most common hours of work reported by most child domestic workers during the in-depth interview, then the maximum per hour payment will be about 0.33 birr per hour. When we compare their actual hours of work on a given day and the reported payment it is fair to say that their employers are exploiting them for their own advantage.

The children vis-à-vis their form of payment said that they agreed for cash payment on monthly basis. Though they agreed on monthly basis, most child domestics stated that their employers were several months behind in paying their wages, and then use those wages as power to discourage them from quitting jobs in their home. Child domestics who had worked in different houses reported that in such condition they would wait until they would be paid before their plan to quit job. They also disclosed that employers withhold some portion of their wages as a control so as to return them to their home. In respect to this point the key informants said that some employers sometimes never pay the promised salary for child domestic workers for alleged reasons. In this case, it was said that employers force the child domestic workers to leave their compound without giving their salary.

In consolidating the above point a 40 year key informant from Labour and Social Affairs Office said that:

...In some cases child domestics are not paid for three or four months even sometimes throughout the year. When they ask their salary to leave

their house, employers accuse them of theft to avoid paying them what they are promised to be paid.

The child domestics during in-depth interview replied that some employers deduct from their wages. As said that the deduction from their wage was made for broken and lost household items. Inaverring the previous idea a 16 year girl domestic worker portrayed her experience as *“My former employers if I break something like cup of coffee they deduct from my low wage. Likewise, if some household items are lost they also do similar thing without mercy”*.

In contrary to the above children, three child domestic workers forwarded opposite idea. These children said that their employers never deduct from their salary for any reason.

4.4 The Living and Working Condition of Child Domestic Workers

4.4.1 Types of Works Performed

According to the information that I obtained from children, they perform various tasks inside and outside the house. The girl domestics attested that they perform wide range of tasks inside and outside the house, such as cooking, boiling coffee, mopping floor, washing clothes, cleaning the compound, doing the dishes, making beds, taking care of children, fetching water, washing legs and feet of their employers children, shopping from nearer shop, carrying vegetables and other food items from the market and sell goods in the market. Besides, two of the participants described that they sell foods like *Boye, Koka, Koseta and Boyna* on Chereka Hotel⁵ at night and hand over the money earned. Two girl domestics indicated that if there are women domestic workers inside the house cooking is seen as their routine task because employers believe that cleaning and looking after the children constitute lighter and more suitable work for them. All employers stated that they employ child domestics for general housework without any job description. In sum the above discussions clearly point out that child domestic workers carry out every tasks assigned by their employers since they are under their complete control. In confirming the above discussion 15 year girl domestic worker recounted that:

.....I open the gate, tie dogs in their house, clean the house, fetch water, prepare breakfast, serve food for the family, prepare the children and take

⁵Chereka Hotel means a place where women's sell some prepared foods like Injera along the side of streets at night.

them to school, then I go to the market, do the dishes, cook lunch, return children from the school....

Another a 16 girl domestic worker explain the types of tasks she perform in the following way:

I am busy throughout the day. I wake up at 6 am, boil the coffee, mop the floor, clean the compound, clean the toilet, wash every ones clothes, cook lunch, do the dishes, return children from the school, feed them, and vend goods on the street.....

The boy domestic workers described that they perform tasks like fetching water, cleaning the compound, running the errands, washing clothes, keep the house, carrying goods to and from the market. In describing the types of tasks he performs in his employer's home a 14 year boy domestic worker states that:

....I wake up at 7 am in the morning, I fetch water, take the children to school, take goods to the market, clean the compound and return children from the school.

The key informants' in regard to this idea said that there is no job description for child domestic workers because everything that needs to be done in the house, for the day is their concern. Among the key informants whom I talked 33 year expert from the Children Affair Office remarked that: *“child domestic workers are required to work every tasks around the clock and are sometimes beaten by their employers when they try to take rest”*.

As the above discussions vividly indicated that child domestic workers are required to carry out every tasks inside the home or general housework at their immature age depending on their employers' economy and other workers inside the house. In short, the following table provide the summary of what was said so far in the preceding section.

Table 4.8: Tasks performed at work by Child Domestic Workers

	Girl Domestic Workers	Boy Domestic Workers
No	Tasks	Tasks
1	cooking	fetching water
2	boiling coffee	cleaning the compound
3	mopping floors	washing clothes

4	washing clothes,	shopping items from shop
5	cleaning the compound	Keeping the house
6	doing the dishes	
7	making beds	
8	taking care of children	
9	fetching water	
10	shopping items from shop	
11	Keeping the house	

As the above table shows, both boy and girl domestic workers commonly perform some similar types of tasks. It also portrays that girl domestic workers perform a broad range of different tasks from their boy counter parts. Hence, due to this overloads, girl domestics suffer most.

4.4.2 Working Hours and Rest

Regarding to the length of hours that a child domestic workers required to work and take rest, no allocated hours were reported for both cases in the study. During the interview I asked the children to estimate number of hours they spent on work in a day, most of them shared that they most often work for 15 hours per day (7am-10pm). On the other hand, some children testified that they work for 18 hour per day (6am-12pm). These duration for work are not the allocated times for them to carry out their tasks rather they are times they go to bed and get up from sleep. As said that sometimes they awake from sleep by their employers for work.

From the above ideas, it is possible to understand that child domestics usually have no delimited time to start and finish their work. Rather, their working hours depend on the needs and interest of their employers. The key informants from Labour and Social Affairs as well as Women and Children's Affairs showed that Labour Proclamation sets seven hours as a working time for the child workers but child domestics' situation suggests that they work for 24 hours. As they stated that the hidden and inaccessible nature of the work is one of the major challenge for them to implement the proclamation on the ground. So as to raise awareness as they whispered that they gave different trainings as well as planted placards in different public places inside the town.

The study uncovered that child domestic workers have no allocated time for rest during the day. It was reported that their possibility to take little rest largely depend on their capacity to finish their assigned tasks till they were given other tasks. Shockingly as the children described that they are requested for work while they take little rest. On related idea, concerning their weekly rest three child domestic workers testified that they are free on Sunday afternoon. However, remaining children said that they have no day off during the week. For instance a 16 year girl domestic worker described her weekly rest as follows:

.....I am always at work throughout the week. Even I did not go to church on Sunday because my female employer [the lady of the home] usually orders me to keep the house and prepare food for them when they return to home. As a result, usually I am busy in doing household chores.

Child domestic workers forward various ideas concerning their recreational opportunity. This was construed from different responses they reflected in relation to this issue. Most of them corroborated that they have recreational opportunity inside the house but have no opportunity outside the house. These children's stated that their employers never allow them to play with their peers in the neighborhood. They give two main reasons for this idea.

(I) As it was already mentioned in the preceding section, they are required to perform tasks for long hours inside their employers' home. As a result, they said that their employers never allow them to leave their compound.

(II) They also stated that their employers consider that their outside contact with other friends make them to learn "bad habits". As the employers during interview disclosed that children learn bad habits like theft, insult and lying from their fellow friends during their contact. But, the children reported that inside the house TV was the only recreational opportunity for them when they accomplish tasks, unless it is unimaginable.

In supporting the above idea a 17 year girl domestic worker narrated her experience as follows:

My female employer [wife] did not allow me to play with my peers in the neighborhood. This is because she thinks that if I go I would pick up bad behavior from them.....

On the other hand, three children recounted that they have opportunities for recreation both inside and outside the house. They stated that they are allowed to contact with their peers in the neighborhood. Like the previous children's inside the house they are free to watch TV and listen radio after they accomplished their assigned tasks.

4.4.3 Feeding Condition of Child Domestic Workers

In any condition, if the child has access to adequate food and good sleeping arrangement it can be an indicator for fair treatment by his/her employer. It is obvious that children either by themselves or by their parent's decision enter the home of another person by expecting they will suffer no hard living conditions. Actually, three children said that their employers treat like other children in the family; they share the same dish with their employer's children. However, for many others, this is not the case. In spite of differences all child domestics said that they eat meals a three times per a day.

However, the major concerns regarding food is the question of what they ate. Most child domestics' reported that they are regarded as inferior by their respective employers, in such ground they frequently face various discriminatory practices at the hands of their employers regarding food. Among the discriminatory practices reported by children the first one is the provision of separate type of food. As they reckoned they never eat the same food stuff with employers and family members. In strengthening this idea a 16 year girl domestic worker said that:

My female employer [the lady of the house] treats me badly, she never gives the same food stuff to me and my friend. She orders me to prepare other foods types for us. We ate injera only when she orders us to finish their leftover. Unless she never allows us to touch it.

Also, as they said that they were given leftover food of other household members to eat. In this case, they eat only after their employers and family members had finished their meal. One of the respondents said that he was ordered to eat when his employer's children throw away some food they dislike. Moreover, some children told me that in some cases,

food seems to have become the tool with which mothers exercise power inside the house. As a result, they lock any food in the living room and they suffer hunger. Finally, I posed further inquiry to them about the quality and quantity of food. Accordingly, most of the respondents labeled the quantity and quality of food as bad. Whilesome childrenlabeled both quality and quantity of the food they get as good.

4.4.4Sleeping Arrangement of Child Domestic Workers

The study found that child domestic workers have different sleeping arrangement. In relation to sleeping arrangement almost all child domestic workerswho shared their views in this study reported that they sleep on *Jiba*⁶, while others in the family sleep on a bed with a mattress and mosquito net. Most of the participants had either old bed sheets or old blanket that is wrapped around their body. With regard to their place of sleeping all child domestics said that they sleep either on the floors of store cupboards orsalon. For all of participants having a separate room for sleeping is unthinkable. Some of the participants reacted that sometimes employers andfamily membersthrows things, pinch, kick by foots and pour cold water at them just to wake them up.

Case 2.Gamashe

I came from Shocora, which is 18 km from center of the district. I attended third grade when I was with my parents. I have four brothers andthree sisters. My father was a farmer andmy mother was a house wife. They have financial problems to buy cloths and other essentials to me. I left the home and came to SelamBer town so as to support myselfand my family. After I arrived here my employer's daughter get me on the road and asked me to go with her for domestic work in their home. I warmly acceptedher ideaand entered their home for 80 birr per month. The mother is not good to me. She usually orders me to sleep on floor of thekitchen. I really hate sleeping in the kitchen because there is bad smell. I have no option unless she would beat me if I did not follow her instruction. One day I quarreled with her, shethenpushed meto out from the house at night. I never know anyoneelse them to go with. I slept that night on the veranda without any cloth to wrap around my body in serious cold.

⁶Jiba denotes a well decorated material used for sleeping

As this case study clearly shows that child domestic workers have uncomfortable sleeping arrangement in their employers' home. It also shows their agonies that they experience in their working life due to their employers maltreatment. However, in contrary to the above child domestics two child domestic workers said that they sleep on floor of the salon with their employer's children on mattress and share the same clothes to keep their body warmth at the night.

4.5 The Forms of Child Domestic Abuses in the Study Area

4.5.1 Physical Abuse

The in-depth interview undertaken with the child domestic workers revealed that this form of abuse is committed upon almost all of the participants. Among the participants only three child domestic workers reported to have experienced no form of physical abuses by their employers and family members. The various types of abuse that was inflicted on child domestic workers was often as a result of committing mistakes while on work, behaving disrespectfully towards their employers, responding back to their employers, breaking objects, disagreements with family members, diverting from the instructions, starting friendship with fellow domestic workers, cleaning poorly, responding slowly to an order and for real or imagined behavior. Finding of the study revealed that the common forms of physical abuses that the child domestic workers frequently encounter are being slapped, being hit with sticks or by hand, pulled by their ears, choking, kicked by foot, punching, beating with shoes, splashing with water, knocking them against a wall and pinching. As the children pointed that some materials like electric cords, belts, sticks and other are frequently used by the employers and family members so as to abuse them physically.

In this study attempt was made to pinpoint the main perpetrators of the physical abuses against child domestic workers. The girl domestics ranked wives at the first level as their abusers. As they reported that, this mainly happens because mothers are the one who regularly give instruction to perform tasks than other household members. Such kind of recurrent contact was indicated as the major cause for the abuses from mothers. Mothers were not the sole perpetrators of abuses against girl domestic workers. Rather they also point fathers and children in second and third levels. Contravening to the girl's idea a boy

domestic workers pointed fathers in the first level as their abusers. Then point children and mothers at the second and third levels. Thus, the child domestic workers condition indicates that they have the lowest status within the family below everyone in the home including their employers' children. Due to their inferior position they encounter abuses from all family members. In supporting the above idea a 15 year girl child domestic worker describes her experience of physical abuse in the following manner:

This is the first home that I had worked as domestic worker after I departed from my parents'. Since two months later after I entered the home usually I have been in quarrel with the mother of the house. She never pleased with the things I perform inside the house. As a result, she always gives me strict orders. But, sometimes due to workload around the house I will be so tired and forget to do some tasks she ordered me. When this occurs she will pull my hair and pinch me.....

Also, a 17 year boy domestic worker recites his experience of physical abuse in the home of his previous employer by father as follows:

My male employer [husband] always drinks Areke (local alcoholic drink). Hence, he often comes to home late in the mid night after other family members go to their bed. Mother usually order me to wait and open the door for him. Sometimes he stays till the first prayer call. I was always so tired when he woke me up. Shockingly after he entered the house, his first job is provoking some pretexts like failure to listen his repeated calls, then he slaps me or kicks me by his foot on my buttocks.

Further, a 14 year girl domestic worker describes her experience of physical abuse by her employer's children on the following way:

....My employer's daughter usually orders me to wash her clothes, shoes, socks and made her bed. But, she most often beats me just because she says that I do not do her things properly, but I do everything for her as much as I can.

In addition to the above tells, the case of 15 year boy domestic worker also indicates that child domestic workers are physically abused by their employers for alleged reasons.

Case 3. Tekle

I do not know him [the employer] very well; he is a rich merchant. I often see him when he came to buy some grains from our neighborhood. For the first time he met me when I was looking after the cattle. In the following day, he met in our area and promised me to take to the SelamBer town for domestic work in his home. Then, I came with him and began to live with his family. On one occasion 500 birr was lost from his pocket. He suspected that I had stolen the money and asked me. I told him that I have not seen the money. He never believed and considered that I was lying. Then he started beating me with electric cord until I fell down on the ground. And ordered me to leave his house without giving me 6 months' salary. Finally, I left this home and entered another home after my five days stay on the street.

As the above cases indicate that child domestics face various physical abuses from their employers for non-obvious reasons. It also indicates that if any items stolen by someone inside the house child domestic workers are considered as thieves and are the first to be suspected and physically abused to disclose the reality.

Generally, from the above stories and case study, it is clear that child domestic workers face physical abuses from all family members. All these members are entitled to give orders to them to do things around the house and get quick responses. As a result, child domestics encounter physical abuse from them for different reasons because of their status as a domestic worker. In disagreeing with the above child domestics three child domestics stated that their employers never punish them, and even when they commit mistakes they are just corrected.

4.5.2 Verbal Abuse

This form of abuse is very common in the domestic sector Mesfin (1985 E.C cited by Tesfaye 2007). In this study also, verbal abuse against child domestic workers is found to be frequent and widespread. The abuses committed verbally on children occur in the form of ridicule, nagging, demeaning, belittling, criticism, sarcasm, blaming and use of

derogatory labels such as *Ashkara*⁷. Some of the most repeatedly experienced verbal abuses mentioned by the child domestic workers are as follows:

You are deaf.....

You are crazy.....You are rotten child.....

You are stupid.....You are dead

Telling you is like pouring water on a stone and other similar phrases too

In addition to the aforementioned abuses, child domestics reported that they face various insults from employers and family members. Most of the terms they use to insult them are shameful and pejorative. Insults like bastard, son of bitch, manay/maniya⁸, degelay/degeliya⁹ and more other offensive words that they even do not want to say them again because they were humiliated of telling them to me. The reputed causes of abuses as viewed by the children include for doing things in wrong way, arguing back to their employers, against the interest of their children, for committing mistakes while on work, for failing to finish task on time, for breaking objects and for losing money or saleable items on markets and streets.

Finding of the study indicate that child domestics face verbal abuses from all family members. In view of that, as like the physical abuse, girl domestics ranked mothers as the main perpetrators of verbal abuses upon them. As described in the previous section this was also associated with their high interaction with mothers in their day to day life than other household members. They also, pointed children and fathers in the second and third levels. Yet, boy domestics rank husbands at first level as their abusers. And put children and wives at second and third levels. A 15 year girl domestic worker in strengthening the view under discussion said as follows:

My male employer [husband] is kind person but his wife is a very aggressive person. When she goes out to market, church and her friend's house she usually tells me to take care for her child. And she warns me that if he goes out, she would kill me. If he goes out when I do tasks she kept shouting and insulting me with bad words like stupid and poor.

⁷Ashkara is a Gamotho language which denote domestic worker in English.

⁸Manay/Maniya, the Gamotho language which denote the pottery maker.

⁹Degelay/Degeliya, the Gamotho language which denotes those who do skin works.

Also, a 16 year boy domestic worker describes his experience in the following manner: *“My male employer when he wants to beat me, he starts by posing hurting words like cattle, donkey, idiot..... to attack me verbally. If I cry he insults me with more offensive words”*.

Further, a 14 year boy domestic worker recites the verbal abuse he faces by his employers children as follows:

My employer’s children’s are impolite and yells at me. When I donot listen to what they say or do their things properly. They insult me with words like deaf, crazy, son of bitch.....If I speak any word they would insult me with other offensivewords.

The foregoing discussions explicitly indicate that child domestic workers become the lowest status holder in the family below everyone including their juniors and thus verbal abuse comes from entire family members. This emanates from the employers and family members conviction that child domestic workers are inferior to them. This biased attitude towards child domestics is clearly illustrated in the assertions of the above three participants. All of key informants during in-depth interview expressed the commonness of the verbal abuse in the line of domestic sector. They added that in all cases this form of abuses are tolerated by child domestic workers in their day to day life.

4.5.3 Sexual Abuse

In Ethiopia, speaking openly about issue related with sex is considered as a taboo (Tesfaye 2007). Notwithstanding the culture of hiding girl domestic workers disclosed their various experiences of sexual abuses. The experiences of sexual abuses reported by girl domestics include verbal insults of sexual nature, unwanted body contact like fondling, touching of their private parts and rape. The main perpetrators for sexual abuse were relatives of the employers, adolescent in their neighborhood and boy domestic workers who lives with them in the same home.

The respondent said that they encountered and mostly encounter sexual abuses on the conditions like when they got to fetch water, shop from nearer shops, inside the home, and vend goods on the streets. Further, two girls told me that they also face similar problems when they return goats to tie at the evening from the town. Moreover, two girl

domestic workers said that they attend night school which starts at 5 pm and ends at 8 pm. When the researcher asked them to share their experience concerning this issue, both of them replied that they encounter various forms of sexual abuses on their way to and from school from their fellow boy classmates. In consolidating the above discussion a 15 year girl domestic worker recites her experience as follows:

When my employers leave the house, boy domestics' takes advantage of the condition and ask me to sleep with him. One day as a usual when the employers leave the house, while I was preparing food he came to the kitchen, then he grabbed me and begun touching my breasts. When I shouted up on him he left me.

Another a 17 year girl domestic worker recite her experience in the following manner:

My employers are civil servants. At the day time I take care for their 2 year kid. When they return from office at 5 pm, I go to school. There are boys who attend night school with me. When we return to home at 8 pm they will approach me and induce me to talk to them by tightly holding my hands. They will not leave unless I talk to them politely.

Furthermore, a 16 year girl domestic worker portrays her experience of sexual abuses in the following phrases:

My female employer's brother who used to live with them wants to have sex with me when I stay alone with him in the house. From my side I usually say no to him. One day when all family members went out to work and school he grabbed my hand and tried to sit me down on the bed. When I shouted at him he left me. When the lady returned I told her about what her brother attempted to commit up on me. Amazingly she would not believe me and told me that I was lying. And cursed me of falsely accusing her brother since he did not do such kind of sinful thing in her house. Finally, I left her home.

The above three descriptions clearly indicate how girl domestic workers face sexual abuses from different individuals but mostly individuals who got some level of networks with the family. It also portrays how various conditions make them vulnerable to the

various abuses at their immature age. The following case of 17 year girl domestic worker also strengthen the above idea.

Case 4. Sharafe

I came from Bola. When I first arrived to this town, I was hired by a bachelor as a domestic worker for 100 birr per month. I live with him in the same house. Initially he was good to me. But, later he began asking me to sleep with him. I usually say I cannot do that. So, as to win my heart he says "I would marry you". One day as he saying before he asked me to sleep with him, but I refused. He said that if I did not come to him he would beat me until I bled, so I came towards him crying. Then he raped me. Since then he made sexual intercourse with me till I got pregnant. I knew it when my period stopped coming, but I did not say anything about it to him. During this time, he would still come to me for his sexual gratification. But, one day he noticed that my abdomen was getting bigger and asked me. I told him the reality. Immediately he told me to get out of his house. Consequently, I went to my relatives' house since I had no other option and gave birth after 4 months stay in my relative's home.

From the above extended discussions it is possible to grasp that child domestic workers face various forms of abuses from various individuals on the number of occasions. As the children said that among those abuses verbal abuses are dominant in their day to day life. As they stated that this form of abuses are frequently inflicted not only for making faults but also occur in form of jokes. They are also precursor for every physical abuses that they encounter. Among the participant except one girl domestic worker who reported the incident to her relatives the remaining children said that they never reported the abuses they encounter to anyone. The key informants said that physical abuses are common feature of child domestic workers in their day to day life. As they said that this forms of abuses are not reported to police and other concerning bodies. Likewise, they said that sexual abuses are also never reported. Further, they said that verbal abuses are never considered as abuses and reported in any case to the legal bodies.

The key informants further mention two points as a main factors which hinder children from reporting their abuses to relevant legal bodies in the study area. As they said that abuses like rape are never reported because children feel ashamed to disclose the incident to Police, Women's and Children Affairs and others since it is usually considered as taboo to openly speak about sex. They also said that children have no awareness about the process of opening files, and contacting relevant concerning bodies in case they face any abuse. Due to these two conditions children remain hidden with their agony in their employers' home.

As the key informants stated that so as to curb various types of abuses they are undertaking various activities. As one of the solutions to mitigate the abuses it was said that in collaboration with various concerning offices they are doing awareness creation activities to the public in different ways on the physical, health and psychological effects of child domestic abuses on children. As another measure they said that they reintegrate children with their natural families by giving transportation fees. But, this activity was pointed as ineffective because children return back to the town immediately due to various vulnerability factors.

4.6.3 Side Effects of Child Domestic Abuses on the Children

One of the objectives of this study was to see the side effect of abuses on child domestic workers. This part of the paper introduces various side effects of abuses on the child domestic workers. So pertinent data collected through various techniques of qualitative methods from different sources are presented in the coming three sub-sections so as to answer the objective of the study.

4.6.1 Side Effects of Physical Abuse on Child Domestic Workers

The findings of the study revealed that, physical abuses inflicted on child domestics have various side effects. Some of the most common side effects described by participants include bruises (welts), cuts, bleeding, fear and feeling of anger. More commonly, children mention that the occurrence of bruises (welts) and cuts on their body create immediate pain and suffering to them. On the other hand, children stated that sometimes they feel immediate pains inside their body when they were beaten around their soft organs.

In supporting the above idea a 16 year boy domestic worker explain his experience as follows:

I lived for 2 year with my former employers. The husband is an alcoholic who always comes home plastered. He always used to pull my hair and kick me hard. Sometimes he does so for silly things. I remember one day when he physically abused me even harder than usual. In the morning I fight with my peer who used to live in the neighborhood. His 6 year child told him that I had fought with other child. At the night after he entered the home he began beating me very hard. I was bleeding then via by my nose and his wife saved me from his hand.

Another 17 year boy domestic worker explain his experience as follows:

.....The male employer [husband] is very aggressive person. I have no words to tell you how he beat me with slap for every minor infraction at home. Hence, sometimes I fear him when he calls me to give water for him.

A psychologist whom I interviewed in Children Affair Office informed that the physical abuses inflicted up on the children would make them to develop feeling of fear in the long-term. He also indicated that children due to repeated physical abuses in the long-term develop the behavior of (flinching) suddenly moving their body when they were touched or approached for other things. Furthermore, he reported that children who face physical abuses would be physically abusive in their adult life. Hence, from the foregoing discussion points it is possible to comprehend that, even though physical abuses inflicted up on child domestics have various forms, all of them injure the wellbeing of child domestics in different ways.

4.6.2 Side Effect of Verbal Abuses up on Child Domestic Workers

As described in the above section, unlike physical abuses under this form of abuses, employers and family members uses various offensive words as a way to exercise control and dominance over them. Even though this form of abuses does not leave visible welts up on the child domestic workers due to its invisible nature, it has its own side effects up on the children. And their real agonies are only known to children due to nature of the

abuses. Some of the most common side effects mentioned by child domestics during in-depth interview include temper (feeling very angry for short period of time), sullen (not speaking for certain occasions), fear, isolation and feeling of humiliation. In this respect, a 17 year boy domestic worker strengthened this idea as follows: *“My employers always insult me with offensive words. Their children also do similar. I am scared of their words because sometimes they insult me in front of other people”*.

Another a 17 year girl domestic worker recalls her experience as:

My previous female employer [wives] oftentimes use different words to insult me in case I commit a mistake while on work. These terms are, I will break your teeth, I will kill you, I will hang you..... Before I do anything I fear what she may say in case if I made something wrong.

Alike the physical abuses the psychologist described that verbal abuses have also their own long term side effects up on the child domestic workers. As he said that repeated verbal abuses that children encounter in their day to day life have long term implication on their self-esteem or self-worth. It was stated that the repeated abuses erode their happiness on their ability, character and made them to hate themselves. In addition, he pointed that verbal abuses have effects on their self-confidence and feeling of competence as a person. Furthermore, he said that the abused children become abusive themselves, depressed, self-destructive later in their life and develop anxiety.

4.6.3 Side Effects of Sexual Abuses up on Child Domestic Workers

The finding of the study revealed that sexual abuses have various side effects up on the victims. Among the girl domestics who participated in this study two 17 year girl domestic workers portrayed that they were raped by different individuals. These domestics outline their experiences of various side effects. Accordingly, they indicated feeling of horror and disbelief as the immediate side effects of rape. As they said that they began to feel these feelings when the abusers approach them. They also, reported that due to fear they mentally leave their bodies and feel sense of calm brought by fear during the rape. This condition was considered as sign of expressing their willingness for the abusers to do whatever they want. Further, they disclosed bleeding and pain as another most terrible side effects. With regard to this idea of the psychologist reported that children after rape face headache, serious exhaustion and walking difficulty.

On the other hand, girl domestics who encountered other forms of sexual abuses pointed feeling of humiliation and feeling of furiousness (very angry) as the side effects of abuses. The psychologist said that children after sexual abuses experience flashbacks (memories of past unpleasant experience) in form of night mares. The following case also indicates the serious effects of sexual abuses up on the victims.

Case 5. Bonore

.....My father was killed by the man who used to live in our neighborhood. After three years later my mother lost her both eyes by diseases. As she lost her sights, she could no longer take care of me and my little brother. As a result, she brought us to this town to beg for our bread. Unfortunately, she passed away after one year when we were at 5 and 6 years old. Since then, we work in the home of a priest for 100 birr per month. At the evening I usually return goats and sheep's from town to the house. There was a man who used to live in our neighborhood. He often asks me to make sex with him, but "no" is my usual feedback. One day when I goes out from the home he approached me and held my both hands. I shouted up on him to leave my hands. He started slapping me to keep silent. Then he throw me on the ground and raped me. At the end he told me that if I ever told anybody, that he would kill me. Due to this I never told the incident to my employers. Since then my menstrual cycles stopped coming, after 4 months I told my condition to the man who raped me. He insisted me to take pills to abort the pregnancy. He gave me to swallow it. I did it and became shocked after I aborted. After that my employers took me to the health center and saved my life.

The above case study clearly shows severe side effect of sexual abuses up on the victims. As the psychologist described that sometimes sexual abuses like rape led girls to fistula problem, phobia and damage of uterus in their childhood age. They also described that sexual abuses have long term side effects on the self-esteem and self-confidence of the children.

4.7 The Interaction of Child Domestic Workers, Employers and Parents

In this section of the study attempt has been made to look child domestic workers, their employers and parent's interaction. Accordingly, in the subsequent section relevant data collected via various qualitative techniques of data collection methods are analyzed in line with the objective. So as to make the discussion clear the discussion points are separated in three headings.

4.7.1 The Interaction between Child Domestics and their Employers

The child domestics' interaction with their employers and family members is one of the inevitable thing in their day to day life. They are clearly concerned about the character of the people for whom they work. All of the children told me that the most important thing about their work was to have good people as employers. Both the employers' and their family members' behavior was indicated as a foundation for their intimate interaction with them. The children during in-depth interview forwarded various ideas concerning their interaction with their employers and family members.

Among participants, four child domestics responded the experiences of good treatment from employers and their family members. As they said that due to good treatment they have good interaction. These children said that they take some items like old t-shirts and skirt from husbands and wives. In this respect a 15 year girl domestic worker said that:

The employers [husbands and wives] freely talk to me a lot every day on things. Also, their children's are older than me, but I equally sit with them and speak about things. Everyone who lives in the home talks to me. I do not feel lonely. Further, the mother teaches me to memorize things when she prepares various food. Hence, I do not like to go back because they are good to me.

Another 15 year girl domestic worker explains her interaction with her employers and their children as "My employer are like my real parents. They always used to call me their child ... I freely spoke to them.... I am also close with their children they are my intimate friends because we spent every day together".

From the above idea it can be said that positive behavior of employers and their family members is the foundation for the child domestics' good interaction with their employers and family members in every aspect inside the home.

However, the remaining children recounted that their interaction with their employers and family member is like master and servant kind. As they said that due to their status as a domestic worker they are required to act as inferior below everyone inside the home. As a result of this clearly established hierarchical difference, children said that they did not freely interact with them. In relation to this idea a 16 year boy domestic worker remarked his experience as *"My employers [husbands and wives] never accept everything what I say. If I speak some word on things they obstruct my idea. Their children's also do similar things"*.

Another 17 year boy domestic worker explains his interaction with his employers and their children as follow *"My employers and their children never appreciate everything what I have done, they usually undermine me inside the house"*.

4.7.2 The Interaction between Child Domestics Parents and Employers

With respect to this issue most child domestics said that their parents and employers are not be acquainted with each other. They highly associate this condition with their mode of placement. As they said that they engaged in the work without the consent of their parents. And negotiated their employment agreement with their employers alone. Due to this their parents and employers did not knew each other. From the in-depth interview with the children I learned that the unfamiliarity between their parents and employers have effect on their treatment from employers. This is because children who forward this idea state the experience of maltreatment, wage withholding, physical and verbal abuses than those who said their parents and employers knew each other.

Conversely, four children give an account that their parents and employers knew each other. Three children said that their parents and employers knew each other due to their parent's negotiation on their behalf with their employers. While the remaining one child said that he has been working in the home of the man who lives in the town from his neighborhood and familiar with his natural parents. In this two cases the link between those involved in the arrangement was closer and the parties generally knew each

other. These children said that their employers treat them in a good manner. Among parents who participated in this study, two of them reflected that they prefer to send their children's to either work for people they know, or people they know through neighborhood and family member. For instance a 70 year parent concerning his interaction with his child employer said that "*I knew her employer from when we all lived in Chaba*".

4.7.3 The Interaction between Child Domestics and their Parents

As far as visits to their family is concerned, the finding of the study revealed that child domestic workers are never allowed to visit their parents weekly or monthly. All of the children who responded to the question reported that they are allowed to make a journey only on a major holidays to visit their parents. However, even though they are allowed to visit on those holidays, regarding frequency of their visit children pointed willingness of their respective employers as the most influential factor. It was said that employers through their actions whether intentionally by withholding their wages and deceiving control them from visiting their parents on those days. In affirming the above idea a 17 year boy domestic worker regarding his interaction with his parents said that:

I was only 13 years old when I came to this town for domestic work. I stayed for 3 years with my employers. Since then, I visited my family only once. I asked my employers to give my salary to visit them again. They told me that they would send me one day to visit them again, but they never do it. So homesickness in their home is my usual pain despite I ate food.

Hence, as the above discussions clearly portrays that child domestic workers are under the strict and exclusive control of their employers to keep in touch with their parents and family members. So children may be separated from their parents for several months or sometimes for years with longing at their immature age due to their employers' unwillingness.

As most child domestics described that their parents never came to visit them in their work place. Whereas, three children said that their parents came to visit them either on their way to the market or purposely. From the parents' side among eight parents who

participated in this study five parents reported that they never visit their children in their work place. But, the remaining three said that they visit their children in their work place.

Chapter 5

Discussions and Summary of Research Findings

In this section, the major findings presented in the preceding section will be discussed in light of the relevant theoretical explanations. Besides, throughout the discussion, I have analyzed the key factors which force children to engage in domestic work, their terms of employment, living and working conditions, major forms of abuses and their side effects, the interaction between children's, employers and parents and show its relation with previous research studies documented in child domestics area. The purpose of doing this is so as to see the similarity and to highlight the differences between the current study findings and existing explanations.

5.1 Factors for the Engagement of Children in Domestic Work

Study findings discussed under this thematic area related to two major issues. The first was the push factors, and the second was the pull factors. When we look at the push factors the finding of the study uncovered that poverty is one of major push factor which force children to leave their parents' home. As a result of their family poverty, children are forced to engage the home of other person for domestic work either by themselves or through their parent's decision at their early age because their family income was inadequate to support family members. The findings of this study are affirmed by the findings of the earlier studies conducted by (Abiy 2002 and Aberra et al. 2003) on the conditions under which the children were working in Addis Ababa and Shebe. Both studies found that a large number of the child workers enter domestic work due to their family poverty. Also, findings of this studies are affirmed by study conducted in Tanzania by Munubi (2013). Munubi found that poverty was one of the major driving force for the engagement of children in domestic labour. All of the studies revealed that children join domestic work sector by themselves. Yet, this study revealed that children also join domestic work sector by their parent's decision due to household economic problem as a coping mechanism.

The other point which can be raised as the push factor for the engagement of children in domestic labor was divorce. In this case children opted to engage in domestic work in the town area so as to escape from step parents and step sibling's maltreatment and abuses in their day to day life. The findings of this study are affirmed by the findings of the study conducted by Oyaide (2000) on the conditions under which the children were working in Zambia. Oyaide found that divorce was one of the major push factor for children who join others home for domestic work in the study area.

The study also revealed that death of the parents was also another push factor which force children to join others home for domestic work. In this case children enter domestic sector due to lack of family care and support. The findings of this study was corroborated by the study conducted in Bangladesh by (Ara et al. 2011). The study revealed that children join others home for domestic work due to death of their parents so as to meet their basic survival needs.

The second point discussed under this thematic area was pull factors for the engagement of children in domestic labor. The finding of study indicated that peer pressure is one of the pull factor for the engagement of children in domestic sector in the study area. Children were lured by various peer's idea to the domestic sector when their peers return from town during holidays. Also, finding of this study revealed that inducement of sibling was another pull factor for engagement of children in domestic labour. Like the peer influence children pulled to domestic work by the ideas of their siblings. The findings of the current study are consistent with the findings of the study conducted by Blagbrough (2008) on the conditions under which the children were working in Benin, Costa Rica, India, Nepal, Peru, Philippines and Tanzania. The study uncovered that children were pulled to domestic work by their brothers and sisters ideas.

Further, finding of the study revealed that children were pulled for domestic work due to their expectation for better life. Their expectation was mainly intensified due to lack of some opportunities in the rural area and their dissatisfaction on some labour intensive tasks. The finding of this study was affirmed by the study conducted in Guatemala by (Lagergren 2003). According Lagergren children engage in domestic labor in the town

area due to their expectation better life. As the study indicated that their expectation for better life was mainly emanate from lack of some opportunities in the rural area and dissatisfaction on labour intensive works.

In applying push and pull factor theory in this context, one comes to understand that children's engagement in domestic labour are highly due to by his/her push or pull factor. As it was already described in the previous section push factors were factors which force one to leave his/her own area while pull factors were factors which attract one to particular area. In this study the experience of study participants attests to this assumption in line with the push and pull factor theory. Like the assumption of push and pull factor theory the study on push side uncovered poverty, divorce, death of parents as the major factors which force children to join others home for domestic work. While on pull side peer influence, inducement from siblings and expectation for better life attract children to town area for domestic work. Also, in line with the deprivation theory children join others home for domestic work due to their deprivation of basic survival needs at their tender age.

5.2 Terms of employment

It is apparent from this study that child domestics are subjected to poor terms of employment. As the finding of the study shows that all of the participant have no written contract with their employers. Instead they have oral agreement mainly concerning salary. In this context, children work at the mercy of their employers because due to the absence of signed contract employers fire children at any time. The findings of current study are affirmed by the findings of the study conducted in Addis Ababa by (Abiy 2002). Abiy found out that child domestics in all study areas work only on oral agreement with their respective employers.

The second point of discussion under this theme was the issue of salary. Concerning the remuneration, ILO Convention no. 189 calls up the member states to ensure that domestic workers enjoy minimum wage coverage (article 11). Article 12 also states that "domestic workers shall be paid directly in cash at regular intervals at least once a month". Yet, the finding of this study revealed that child domestics work for a very low salary or on kind

benefits. In some cases their salary was transferred to their parents if their placement had been set by them. The current findings are affirmed by earlier study conducted in Addis Ababa by Erulkar(2012).He found that child domesticswere paid very low salary. In addition, findings of current study are also affirmed by the findings of study conducted in Addis Ababa and Bangladeshby (Abiy 2002 and Islam 2013).Both studies revealed that child domestics paid either on cash or kind. It was also revealed that in some cases cash payments either made to them on their hand or sent to their biological parents.

In opposite to the ILO convention no. 189 article 12 statement, the finding of current study indicated that employers sometimes several months behind in paying salary to the childrenso as to discourage them from quitting jobs in their home. It also indicated that employers deduct from their wages for broken and lost household items. The findings of this study are affirmed by study conductedon the conditions under which the children were working in Benin, Costa Rica, India, Nepal, Peru, Philippines and Tanzaniaby Blagbrough (2008). Similar to the findings of current study in his study Blagbrough (2008)revealed that employers deduct from CDWs wage for broken or lost household items. However, differently from the above study thisstudy revealed that employers withhold portion of their wages and several months behind paying child domestics their wage so as to discourage themfrom quitting jobs in their home.

5.3 The Living and Working Condition

Among findings of the study under this themefirstly I attempt todiscusstype of routine task that child domestics perform in their day to day life. The study revealed that girl domestics perform broad range of tasks inside and outside the houses such ascooking, cleaning, washing,doing the dishes, making beds andtaking care for young children. Besides, they also carry out tasks like fetching water,shopping items from nearer shops, carrying vegetables and other food items from the market. Beyond these tasks they sell goods for their employers on the markets and streets. The boy domesticsperform tasklike fetching water, running the errands and carrying goods to and from the market. The findings of the current study are affirmed by the findings of the study conducted by (Anti-Slavery International 2013;Blagbrough 2008; Veitch 2013). All studies found that child domestic workers perform both indoor and outdoor tasks in all study areas.

With regard to working and rest hour's the ILO (2011) new standards of decent work for domestic worker article ten mentioned that "Each member shall take measures towards ensuring equal treatment between domestic workers and workers generally in relation to normal hours of work, periods of daily and weekly rest and paid annual leave in accordance with national laws, regulations or collective agreements, taking into account the special characteristics of domestic work." The new standards also specified that weekly rest shall be at least 24 consecutive hours for domestic workers.

However, in terms of the ILO standards findings of the current study indicated that child domestic workers situation clearly violates the principles stated on the convention. From the finding most child domestic workers work 15 (7am-10pm) hours per day. While some child domestic's work for 18 hours (6am-12pm). But, though the remaining hours were considered as the sleeping hours sometimes they were get up from sleep for work. As the finding of this study clearly indicates that the child domestic workers situation violates the rights of children stated in article 32 of the United Nation Convention on the Right of Child. The convention states the right of child to be protected from economic exploitation.

Like the above convention, 1995 FDRE Constitution has provisions on the protection of children. Article 36(1) (d) of the constitution states that *every child has the right not to be subjected to exploitative practices, neither to be required nor perform work which may be hazardous or harmful to his education, health or wellbeing*. Besides, article 576 (1-2), 2004 Criminal code of Ethiopian contains provision that indirectly protects children from economic exploitation and detrimental working conditions. However, despite these international and national instruments exist, the finding of this study indicated that child domestic workers were working long hours for very low payment. In contrary to the ILO convention 189 finding of the study indicated that child domestics have no allocated time for daily rest. On the other hand, concerning their weekly rest some child domestic workers are free on Sunday afternoon but most child domestics have no full day off during the week. The findings of this study are affirmed by findings of the study conducted in Bangladesh by (Islam 2010 and Save the children 2010). The findings

revealed that child domestic workers work for long hours per a day with limited time for rest.

The finding of this study indicated that child domestic's recreational opportunities were highly determined by the behavior of their respective employers. Some child domestics have recreational opportunity both inside and outside the house. In contrary others have only opportunities inside the home but have no opportunities outside the house due to various reasons. In support of this result there was study done by Islam (2010) on the situation of child domestic workers in Bangladesh. Similar to this study the study revealed that the child domestics' recreational opportunities were highly determined by the behavior of their employers.

The last topic of discussion under this theme was the feeding and sleeping arrangement of child domestic workers. With respect to feeding condition the study indicates that child domestics feeding condition is highly depend on the behavior of their employers. Accordingly, some child domestics eat similar food stuffs with their employer's children on the same dish. However, many others eat separate types of food from their employers and family members as well as leftover foods. In all cases the study revealed that children eat meals three times per a day. The findings of current study are corroborated by findings of the study conducted by Blagbrough (2008) on the conditions under which the children were working in Benin, Costa Rica, India, Nepal, Peru, Philippines and Tanzania. The study indicated that child domestic workers eat their meals three times per a day in all of the study countries. Similarly, a study conducted by (Abiy 2002) in Addis Ababa revealed that child domestics eat meals three times per a day. However, this study differently from the aforementioned studies indicated provision of separate types of food and leftover food to child domestic workers.

As far as the sleeping arrangement of child domestic worker was concerned finding of the study shows that for some children the bedding condition was good in which they sleep with their employers children on mattress and similar clothes to keep their body warmth at night. But, in contrary most child domestics sleep on the floors of store cupboards and salon, which is not comfortable for children. The finding of this study was corroborated

by the finding of (Blaghbrough2008 and Islam 2013). Both, studies in their finding revealed that child domestics had different sleeping arrangements based on the behavior of their employers.

In light of the above discussion the deprivation theory posits that child domestic workers in their employers' home deprived adequate food, rest hours and sleeping arrangement in comparison with their employers' children. Moreover, in applying the deprivation theory one can understand that child domestic workers were deprived the recreational outside the house particularly the opportunity to play with their fellow friends in their neighborhoods unlike their employers children.

5.4 Forms of child domestic abuses in the study area

Concerning abuses article 5 of the ILO convention 189 and Recommendation 201 request "states to take measures to ensure that domestic workers enjoy effective protection against all forms of abuses". Also, article 576 (1-2) 2004 Criminal code of Ethiopia contains provision that indirectly protects children from child labour abuse including child domestic abuses. The finding of this study indicate that abuses are part and parcel of the child domestic workers in their day to day life.

When we look at physical abuses, the study indicated that child domestics encounter various types of physical abuses for making faults, answering back, disagreements, and non-obvious reasons. The wives were identified as the main perpetrators of the abuses on the girl domestics at first level, then father and children were identified as perpetrators on the second and third levels. Yet, for boy domestics husbands were perpetrators of physical abuses at first level, then children's and mothers were abusers at second and third levels. The findings of this study are corroborated by the findings of the earlier study conducted in Addis Ababa (Abiy 2002). Abiy found that child domestics face physical abuse firstly from children, then from mothers, and finally from fathers in the study areas. But, this study differently indicated gender dimension of the abuses against child domestic workers.

With respect to verbal abuses finding of study indicated that child domestics face various abuses from entire family for various reasons. The findings of this study are corroborated by the study conducted in Addis Ababa and Shebebe (Abera et al. 2003 and Abiy 2002).

Both studies in their finding indicated that child domestics face verbal abuses in their employers' home. However, differently from the studies finding of this study indicated the gender dimension of abuse on child domestic workers.

The last type of abuse discussed under this section was sexual abuse. The finding of the study attests that girl domestics encounter sexual abuses like verbal abuses of sexual nature, touching of private parts, fondling and rape. The main perpetrators of the abuses were employers, employer's relatives, boy domestic workers and neighborhood adolescents. The finding of this study are corroborated by the findings of the study conducted by (Abera et al. 2003; Abiy 2002; Blaghbrough 2008; Islam 2010; Oyaide 2000). The results of all study shows that child domestics face various types of sexual abuse in the employer's home. Also, findings of current study are affirmed by the study conducted in West Bengal by (Save the children 2006). The study revealed that child domestics encounter various types of physical, verbal and sexual abuses in their work place.

In light of the above discussions deprivation theory theorizes that child domestic workers in their employers' home deprived the protection from various forms of abuses unlike their employers' children. Thus, due to their status as a domestic worker they are prone to physical, verbal and sexual abuses of different individuals in their work place at their childhood age.

5.5 III Side of Child Domestic Abuses on Children

In response to the fifth research objective, this study indicated side effects of various abuses up on the child domestic workers. In the case of physical abuses, finding of study indicated that they have side effects on external and internal parts of the victims' body. Externally it is manifested in form of wounds, welts and bleeding. Internally due to its invisible nature it is only felt by the victims in form of pain. It also indicated that this form of abuses in long term would lead children to develop the behavior of flinching when touched or approached for other things.

The result of this study also indicated various side effects of verbal abuses up on the child domestic workers. As the study identified the following key aspects like temper (feeling

very angry for short period of time), sullen (not speaking for certain occasions), feeling of shamefulness, fear, isolation as the immediate side effects. Besides, this form of abuses also affect theirself-esteem and self-confidence. Similarly the study uncovered that various sexual abuses have various immediate and long-term side effects up on the child domestics depending on the nature of abuses. Accordingly, victims of rape and other types of abuses either commonly experience similar type of side effects or differ on their experiences.

5.6 The Interaction between Child Domestic Workers, Employers and Parents

In this section attempt was made to discuss what has been said so far in the finding section with other relevant materials to the context. The finding of the study shows that behavior and outlook of employers and their family members was a foundation for child domestic's good interaction with them. Their good treatment would make child domestics to interact freely and vice versa. The findings of the current study are affirmed by the findings of the study conducted by Blagbrough (2008). Blagbrough (2008) found that behavior and outlook of employers and their family member was the most decisive factor in the nature of interaction between child domestics and their employers' as well as family members.

The finding of the study revealed that the interaction between child domestics' employers and their parents mostly depend on child domestics' mode of placement. Most child domestics' parents and employers did not be acquainted with each other due to the engagement of children in the line of work without the consent of their parents. Whereas, employers of some child domestics and parents be acquainted with each other. Similar to the previous idea finding of the study depicts that this condition was also associated with the child domestics' mode of placement. It was also revealed that the interaction is also depend on their employer's place of origin.

Lastly finding of the study asserts that child domestics have lower level of contact with their biological parents. They have only opportunity to make a journey to visit their parents on a major holidays. Though they were allowed to visit on those days, the regularity of the visit was totally depend on their employer's willingness. My findings

also match with studies conducted in Benin, Costa Rica, India, Nepal, Peru, Philippines and Tanzania by Blagbrough (2008). The study indicated that child domestics' ability to visit their parents was completely based on their employer's willingness.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1 Conclusion

This study was conducted with the objective of investigating the agonies of child domestic workers in Kucha Woreda, SelamBer town by integrating the perspectives of experts, parents, employers and child domestic workers.

It has been found that children of either sex are taking part in the domestic work in the study areas due to various vulnerability factors. In the context of this study, the participation of children in domestic work is due to various push factors such as poverty, divorce and death of parents. While peer influence, inducement of sibling and expectation for better life are identified as the pull factors for their engagement in domestic work.

Irrespective of differences in age, place of origin, educational status the study found that child domestic workers are subject to extreme exploitation in terms of working for long hours for poor payment or kind benefits without written contract with their employers.

The study also found that most of the respondents are living and working in awkward conditions. This was manifested in the forms of treatment they are bestowed by their employers in terms of works, working hours, rest hours, food provision and accommodations.

The child domestics in the study area face various abuses in the form of physical, sexual and verbal. As a result of minor mistakes, answering back to their employers, for breaking items, disagreements with family members and others they are prone to kicking by foot, punching, slapping and pinching. They, also encounter verbal abuses almost every day by their employers and family members. In addition to these abuses, girl domestics are also susceptible to sexually abuses such as verbal insults of sexual nature, touching of private parts and rape. Thus, their normal developments can be endangered by those abuses as they are still in the process of growing up.

The study found that child domestic abuses have various side effects up on the victims. The physical abuses would cause various side effects like welts, bruises, bleeding, pains and feeling of angry. In the long term it also made CDWs to develop behavior of flinching. In addition, the verbal abuses have also various implication on their feeling and sense of self. Further, sexual abuses have also their own side effects on their health and sense of self.

The finding of the study revealed that child domestics have different kinds of dealings with their employers and family members based on their behavior and outlook towards them. For some the relationship is characterized by person to person, but for many others relations are characterized by (master-servant kind) employers' and family members' superiority and control over the child domestics in their day to day life. Moreover, this study found that child domestics are under strict and exclusive control of their employers to visit their parents.

6.2 Recommendation

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are forwarded:

1. It is fact that education of children is foundation for development of a given country since they are valuable future assets. However, as this study found out that large proportion of child domestic workers who participated in the study were either school

dropouts or illiterate. Therefore, actions should be taken by the Woreda Education Office to enable these child domestics to attend school.

2.As the finding of the study revealed that family poverty was the major push factor for the engagement of children in domestic labor in the study area. Hence, the local government and NGOs should have to provide adequate credit facilities and trainings on income diversification activities for the parents so as to enable them to solve their economic problems.

3.The Woreda Labour and Social Affair as well as Women's and Children Affair Office should have to raise mass awareness programs to sensitize children, parents, teachers, and religious leaders on children's rights and, as well as on the adverse effect of child domestic labour.

4.The study has revealed that child domestic workers have no written contract with their employers. The absence of written contract in turn pave the way for employers to betray their agreement and dismiss child domestic workers without paying their salary. So the Woreda Women's and Children and Labour and Social Affair offices jointly should have to draft contract format for employers.

5. The local governments and NGOs should have to work in coordination to implement the international conventions and domestic laws on the ground so as to protect the child domestics.

6. The Woreda Women's and Children Affair Office should have to give trainings so as to enlighten the employers to be refrained from subjecting child domestic workers to a degrading and demeaning form of treatment in their homes.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide for Child Domestic Workers

Interview Questions

I. General Background of Child Domestic Workers

1. Where is your origin area?
2. Age at which you start domestic work?
3. What is your educational attainment?
4. Religious background
5. Did you stay somewhere else [with friends, relatives etc] or did you directly hired as domestic worker after moving out of home? If so, where did you stay?
6. Is this home your first experiences or have you been in different homes?
7. What are your future plans? [to go back parents, to travel to other towns, or stay here, change the means of livelihoods/tasks?
8. Overall conditions of your family: number of children in the family and sources of livelihood.

A. Factors for their engagement in domestic work

1. Would you tell me reasons which pushed you to engage in domestic work?
[Probing questions: personal reasons, household factors, community level issues, structural/institutional issues]?

2. Who were with you or behind you in the decision to become a domestic worker?

3. Are there factors that attracted you to be domestic workers? If so could you list those important ones?

B. Terms of employment

1. Are there terms of employment/ agreement between you and your employment? If so, is it written or just tacitly understood?

2. Is there somebody when you negotiate with your employer? If no, why?

3. How much does your employer pay you? Is the wage paid to you in cash or kind? If you are paid, how often do you get paid?

4. Would you tell me please if you are not given the full wage? Who is then it given to?

5. Does your employer make deductions from your wage? If so, for what reasons? Are the deductions mentioned in the terms of employment?

6. Did you understand the general working conditions mentioned on the terms of the agreement?

7. Are the terms of employment improved after you become domestic worker? If so why?

C. Living and Working conditions

1. Could you please describe the tasks you perform in your employer's home?

2. Would you tell me what time do you wake up and when do you go to bed?

3. Do you have any rest breaks during the day and weeks? How often?

4. Do you have any opportunities for recreation? (inside the house/away from house)
How often?

5. How many meals are you given a day? Do you use the same food stuffs that the employer eats? Is the food good and is it enough for you? Do you have the right to claim for food whenever you need to have something?

6. On what items do you sleep? With whom do you sleep? Is the cleanness and safety of your sleeping place same as that of your employers?

D. The forms of child domestic abuses in the study area

1. Do you face physical abuses at your employer's house? If so, what types of abuses you frequently face?
2. Could you explain who abuses you physically? Why?
3. Do you face emotional abuses at your employer's house? If so, what types of emotional abuses you frequently face in your employers home?
4. Would you tell me from whom you frequently face emotional abuses?
5. Do you have any sexual contact with any one so far? If so is there conditions were you had contact with employers or other people in the home?
6. Could you tell me please who abuses you sexually?

E. Ill Sides of child domestic Abuses on Children's

1. Could you please state/describe the effects of sexual abuses up on you? [Probing: phobia, damage of sexual organs, fistula, exposure to abortion]
2. Do you think the sexual abuses have effects up on you? If so how do you think?
3. How would you describe the side effect of physical abuses up on you?
4. What are the effects of emotional abuses up on you?
5. Have you get any treatments/medications to any of the abuses so far? If no why?

F. The interaction of child domestic workers, employers and Parents

1. Would you tell me your interaction with your employer and family members?
2. Are your employers and parents knew each other? If so how?
3. Does your parents visit you in your work place? If so, how often?
4. Does your employer allow you to visit your parents?
5. Do you talk about your parents or call them in the presence of your employer? If not why?
6. Is there anything which you want to add more?

Thank you for your assistance.

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Appendix 2: Interview Guide for Employers

Interview Questions

1. Why do you prefer to employ children as domestic worker? {Probing: domestic job burden, health problems, occupational complexities]
2. Would you tell me from where you get child domestic workers?
3. What criteria do you use to select child domestic workers? Why?
4. Do you have agreement with your child domestic worker? If so in what form?
5. Are there categories of tasks for which you employ child domestic workers? If so what are they?
6. Do you allow the child to follow the religious rituals and belief systems?
7. Do you have any differing experiences about child domestic workers such as theft, damage of property, conflicts of interest? If so how did you manage it?
8. Is there anything which you want to add more?

Thank you for your assistance.

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Appendix 3: Interview Guide for Parents

Interview Questions

1. Why did you send your child to engage in domestic work?
2. Would you explain your relationship with your child employer?
3. Does your child have an employment contract? If so, is the employment contract oral or written?
4. Do you visit your child in his/her work place?
5. Do you get money from your child? If so, in what way? What do you do with the money?
6. Discuss the feelings of other family members/community/neighbors/relatives about the engagement of your child in domestic worker?
7. Is there anything which you want to add more?

Thank you for your assistance.

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Appendix 4: In-depth Interview Guide for Key Informants

Interview Questions

1. How do you define and characterize child domestic workers in this area?
2. Would you tell me please from where child domestic workers mainly came?
3. How would you describe the general situation of child domestic workers in this area?
4. What are the side effects of abuses on child domestic workers?
5. Are there legal frameworks about child domestic issues? How are their practical implementations on the ground?
6. What are the major problems associated with child domestic issues in this Woreda?
7. What measures has your organization put in place concerning the child domestic workers? What are the roles of other stakeholders in this case? For example, NGOs etc
8. Are there coordinated/institutional ways to tackle the problems of child domestic workers? For example, to curb the various abuses?
9. Are the problems of child domestic workers reported to relevant organs like police court or any other legal institutions? How are they then handled?

10. Is there anything which you want to add more?

**Thank you for your assistance.
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Appendix 5. Focus Group Discussion Check List

1. What are the major factors for the engagement of children in domestic work in this area?
2. How do you describe the general situation of child domestic workers in Kucha Woreda?
3. What are the major abuses faced by child domestic workers in this area?
4. What should be done so as to mitigate the problems of child domestic workers?
5. Is there anything which you want to add?

Thank you for your assistance.
Appendix-6 Letter of Declaration

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University, and that all the sources of materials used for the research have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Alemayehu Anja

Signature: _____

Advisor

Name: TesfayeZelege (PhD)

Signature: _____