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Reducing the prevalence of child domestic servitude in Addis Ababa: Stakeholder and expert scoping study

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REDUCING THE PREVALENCE OF CHILD DOMESTIC SERVITUDE IN ADDIS ABABA

STAKEHOLDER AND EXPERT SCOPING STUDY

March 2021







Gift of the United States Government

Executive Summary

Reducing the Prevalence of Child Domestic Servitude in Ethiopia is an initiative of the Freedom Fund, funded by the United States Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. Under this initiative, the Population Council and Freedom Fund undertook a scoping study to inform the design of a forthcoming prevalence study of child domestic servitude in Addis Ababa, as well as the engagement of local organizations to help tackle the issue of domestic servitude and improve outcomes for child domestic workers (CDWs).

Thirty-five interviews were conducted with informants who have direct knowledge of the issue of child domestic work and child trafficking in urban Ethiopia, specifically Addis Ababa, including representatives from government offices, multilateral and United Nations agencies, as well as local and international non-governmental organizations.

From the in-depth interviews, six key themes emerged:

- The experience of being a child domestic worker is very different to being an adult domestic worker. Children's entry into domestic work is often through deception. Many enter the work following false promises of schooling or money by local brokers or employers in the city. But in a minority of cases the deception can also come from parents themselves who put their children to work out of economic necessity as well as a desire for the child to have a better life in the city. Although adult domestic workers also experience deception, they are often in a much stronger position to bargain for their rights or leave for a better employer neither options are readily available to CDWs, especially the young children. The lack of power held by CDWs "they don't have other options than to cry" also impacted the severity of their day-to-day experiences.
- This study revealed a wide spectrum of harm that CDWs are exposed to. Ranging from arduous work, neglect and discrimination, to more severe and deliberate forms of abuse by the employer. CDWs were generally described as being in a regular state of neglect, unkempt and malnourished, with some employers intentionally withholding food as a form of punishment to the child. CDWs are also treated very differently to other children in the house and oftentimes not thought of as children at all. As one respondent noted, employers "don't consider their [CDW's] soul as important."
- More punishing tactics are also used by some employers to frighten and subjugate CDWs, to "make them live in quivering." Physical abuse such as slapping, hitting, spitting on, punching and harming with weapons are all ways of exerting control over CDWs. Three different respondents mentioned one particular practice of "putting hot spoons" or hot metal on the child's body. Emotional abuse can be equally harmful and can take the form of shouting, humiliating and shaming child workers with different "accent, dressing and traits." Finally, sexual abuse was presumed to be widespread but heavily underreported. Many respondents said that because they had not personally dealt with such cases, they were unable to comment on the scale or nature of sexual abuse.

- The type of households that prefer to employ CDWs considered cheaper than adult domestic workers – tend to be low- to middle-income households where there is economic pressure for both parents to work while needing extra support to look after the household. In contrast, high-income homes tend to desire trained and experienced domestic workers who they will compensate with better pay. Besides this point, knowledge about the households who employ CDWs is thin and interviewees welcomed more empirical research on this subject.
- The study also examined the types of support services available to CDWs in Addis Ababa. Respondents reported similar provisions of services in their respective sub-cities. These included: medical services; short-term vocational training; legal services; psychological or counseling services; and other services such as shelters, food provisioning and education. While these services exist, they are often not well designed for, nor accessible by CDWs. That said, interviewees did note an eagerness and ambition among CDWs to improve their lives and gaining access to trainings and services will be highly complementary to their aspirations.
- A wider cultural shift is also needed to challenge the notion that CDWs are lesser and less
 deserving than other members of the household or community. Some respondents from nonprofit organizations suggested direct work with heads of households to help them become more
 supportive employers of CDWs. Gaining buy-in from the wider community to address broader
 discrimination will also be important for improving access to services and longer-term outcomes
 for CDWs.

Finally, this scoping study is formative to a larger piece of research to estimate the prevalence of child domestic servitude in Addis Ababa. Key insights from this study will feed into the design and implementation of the prevalence study, including the selection of study areas, a method for recruiting employers and CDWs into the study, priority topics and data gaps that should be incorporated into the survey questionnaire, as well as potential limitations and strategies for mitigating biases in the larger quantitative study. By conducting this scoping study, we hope to more accurately investigate and measure the scale and experiences of CDWs in Addis Ababa, generating evidence to drive more impactful program interventions and policy responses.

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Background

Domestic work, followed by petty trade and the service industry, is one of the most common forms of paid work among girls in Ethiopia, especially among the sizable number of girls who migrate from rural to urban areas (Erulkar et al., 2010). Child domestic work is not necessarily exploitative or harmful to the child. Some types of domestic work such as helping extended families around the home or earning pocket money outside school hours can contribute to children's development (Cigno et al., 2003).

Child domestic servitude, however, is characterized by exploitative and harmful working conditions, with children experiencing subjugation, intimidation and an obligation to provide services to private households. It's typically (but not always) characterized by excessively low or no salary, few or no days off, limited or restricted freedom of movement, denial of a minimum level of privacy, safe living conditions and health care. The child may be required to be available to work day and night, subjected to discriminatory behaviors and punishments as well as psychological and physical violence. In some cases, the child is forced to perform other tasks in addition to household-related ones, such as selling in the streets, working in a restaurant, providing sexual services or prostitution (International Labour Organization (ILO), 2013, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2014).

Reducing the Prevalence of Child Domestic Servitude in Addis Ababa is an initiative of the Freedom Fund, funded by the United States (US) Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP). Through this initiative, the Population Council and Freedom Fund undertook a scoping study to contribute to the design of a prevalence study of child domestic workers (CDWs) in Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa. The aim of the scoping study is to inform both the design of the forthcoming prevalence study of child domestic servitude in Ethiopia, as well as the targeting of and engagement of sub-grantees to Freedom Fund's program in Ethiopia.

The scoping study engaged experts in the child protection, labor migration and anti-trafficking fields to gain an understanding of questions such as: Who is a CDW in the local context? Where are some of the main destination areas where high concentrations of CDWs are found in Addis Ababa? What forms of mistreatments are CDWs subjected to? What are the profiles of CDWs who are most at risk of domestic servitude and which destination areas are they found in? This report summarizes the qualitative findings from in-depth interviews with stakeholders and experts in the field of child domestic work in Ethiopia.

Methodology

Selection of Respondents

Thirty-five respondents were identified from government offices, multilateral/United Nations (UN) agencies, as well as local and international non-governmental organizations (LNGOs/INGOs). Governmental respondents were selected from a wide array of sub-city agencies to ensure a breadth

of geographical perspectives. The final list of respondents was agreed upon by three organizations: Population Council, Freedom Fund and J/TIP. Participation was based on willingness and availability, and interviews were conducted via teleconference or Zoom. The breakdown of their characteristics appears in Table 1.

Respondents	Count
Sex	
Males	24
Females	11
Type of institution	
Government	14
LNGO	10
INGO	6
UN Agency	3
Academia	1
Community Coordinator	1

Process

Interviews were conducted during May to August 2020 via telephone or Zoom, both of which have recording abilities, so as to enable accurate documentation of responses. A letter of introduction (Annex A) was sent to all potential respondents with Freedom Fund and Population Council logos and the signature of respective team directors. Where needed, we addressed initial letters to office supervisors requesting them to assign a specified thematic expert to the interview.

The final list of respondents was divided among three interviewers, based on considerations of personal contact and experience, language to be spoken in the interview, and the seniority of the respondent. The interviews were conducted by Population Council Ethiopia staff member Eyasu Hailu, Data Coordinator, as well as two consultants that were hired, based on their background on the topics and research and data collection experience.

Documentation and Transcription

Once interviews were scheduled, interviewers obtained informed consent (Annex B) before starting the interview and tape recording. In some instances, informed consent was administered previous to the interview, but nevertheless re-reviewed during the scheduled interview. Interviews were administered in a quiet place. Interviewers were required to verify their recording capabilities before calls so as to ensure no data was lost due to technical difficulties.

During the calls, interviewers made handwritten or typed notes, after the call the recordings were also used to capture verbatim quotes and develop the transcriptions. Interviewers were expected to make notes as detailed as possible, not summarized, bulleted, or simply relayed verbally. Early in

the process of collecting key informant interviews, the research team peer-reviewed interview notes to ensure that the notes did not lack detail or were unclear. As a complement to the transcription, a summary sheet was provided to capture main points. As per the Council's policy on retention and storage of data, all notes, recordings and summary sheets are kept in locked data storage for five years.

Discussion Guide

The discussion guide (Annex C) was drafted by the Freedom Fund, the Population Council and J/TIP. The guide, itself, provides direction and prompts for the interviewer. Unlike survey questionnaires, the interviewer need not stick verbatim to the questions and sequence of the guide and rather, the interviewer was required to understand the aims of the study well so as to be able to explore or probe as the conversation was taking place. The interview guide was translated into Amharic and reviewed by Amharic speakers working on the study to ensure a shared understanding of terms used during the interview.

Relevant Laws and Policies

Child domestic work is one of the most common forms of child labor globally. There are an estimated 17.2 million CDWs in the world and the vast majority are girls (ILO, 2012).

To note, child domestic work is not necessarily exploitative or harmful to the child, and therefore not inherently illegal. However, a large proportion of child domestic work involves:

- Working long hours or in conditions that are detrimental to their physical and mental wellbeing, meeting conditions of *child labor*;
- Exposure to dangerous conditions, hazardous tools, or substances (such as bleach) that can be classified as *worst forms of child labor*, or
- Working under exploitative employment relationships that amount to *forced labor and human trafficking*.

In brief, if a child is engaged in domestic work that meets any of the above conditions, then it is in violation of international conventions. Relevant articles include the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child; UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons; and the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Minimum Age Convention (138), Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (182) and Forced Labour Convention (29). All of which Ethiopia has ratified.

Under the labor law in Ethiopia, children under the age of 15 are prohibited from working and those aged between 15 to 17 are considered 'young workers.' Young workers may work a maximum of seven hours per day and are prohibited from working before 6:00 a.m. and after 10:00 p.m. They may have one rest day per week, not work on public holidays and are prohibited from specified dangerous forms of work such as in mines and quarries, electric power plants, or sewers and tunnels (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution, 2019). Domestic work, however, is not

governed by the labor law but by the 1960 Ethiopia Civil Code. The Civil Code gives domestic workers relatively few protections and allows the work conditions to be regulated "by the conscience of the employers" (Gebremedhin, 2016: p. 41).

On April 1st, 2020, the Ethiopian government issued a new law, the proclamation for the *Prevention and Suppression of Trafficking in Persons and the Smuggling of Persons No. 1178/2020*, which replaces the previous proclamation the *Prevention and Suppression of Trafficking in Persons and Smuggling of Migrants No. 909/2015*. The updated proclamation provides an expanded definition of trafficking. The proclamation defines 'servitude' as the condition or the obligation to work or to render services from which a person cannot escape, prevent, or alter; and 'labor exploitation of children' as causing a child to work or provide a service in a manner other than those permitted by law, or contrary to the age or physical strength of the child.

The Profile of Child Domestic Workers (CDWs) in Ethiopia

Profile of CDWs

Throughout the in-depth interviews, there were four central ideas about what distinguishes a CDW from other domestic workers: the age of the worker; the level of agency/negotiating power the workers have; the way by which the worker is recruited into a home; and the severity of the worker's work and mistreatment.

For respondents, a CDW was distinguished by her age; they are under 18-years-old and frequently under the age of 15. For many respondents – particularly the government employees – they referred to Ethiopian labor law and international conventions when distinguishing a CDW by age. These included Article 36 of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution, Ethiopian Criminal Code, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ILO conventions and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A number of respondents also differentiated CDWs from adult domestic workers by their level of poverty, although they did not provide specifics.

A CDW is also distinct from adult domestic workers, according to many respondents, because of the means by which they are recruited into a home. Frequently, CDWs were described as undergoing a coerced or forced migration from their own home to a big city – "Child domestic workers are their own parents' recruits," – meaning they are put to work by their parents, and "parents send the girl out with the expectation of helping to earn an income, or just to take the burden off the family for needing to raise her." Many respondents brought up an element of deception, whereby the CDWs are misled into working either for relatives or a non-family employer, often with the promise of schooling or money. In contrast, adult domestic workers did not seem to experience this level of deception and when it does occur they had far more agency to fight back. Some respondents purported this "overpromising" happens when children go to stay with relatives and are then made to do housework. Some described children "fleeing" home for a better life, or to "escape child marriage and other abuses," but again a push to migrate seemed to be central to a child's journey to becoming a child domestic worker whereas the same did not seem to be always true for adults.

A CDW is distinguished from a regular domestic worker, too, in terms of their negotiating power, as many respondents commented. As one respondent noted, "adult domestic workers, on the other hand, have somewhat better strength to bargain and ask for their rights, they can defend any form of abuse" and get better accommodation, payment and overall treatment than child domestic workers. Therefore, a "child domestic worker's fate will be determined in the hands of employers, like the fate of a child is highly dependent on her parents." The lack of power or agency held by CDWs – "they don't have other options than to cry" – has impacted the severity of their living and working conditions, the final distinction the respondents make between a CDW and an adult domestic worker.

Though this report will explore the types of mistreatment CDWs endure, respondents did tend to differentiate a CDW from an adult domestic worker by the level of mistreatment they received; in addition to them not receiving adequate or any payment, either in kind or in cash, they are tasked with similar work to an adult, which is often much more arduous and dangerous for a CDW. Many respondents described them as being physically unprepared to handle the sort of work they are tasked. In many cases, respondents noted that them being given this type of work is due to the view of CDWs as "expendable" or stronger than they actually are. Further, CDWs are more isolated from society and family than an adult domestic worker. This, again, ties into the perception of them not being like other children – "They are not treated in the same way as the other children of a similar age group in the household and their interest is compromised" – as well as the level of agency they have to be in touch with their families – "Domestic workers (mostly adults) can contact their families by phone or meet them in person. In the case of child domestic workers, the chance of meeting their families depends on the willingness of the employers since they [CDWs] don't have mobile phones" and do not have the power to negotiate for access to or use, of one. Lack of negotiating power is explored further in how CDWs are perceived.

Perception of CDWs

In many ways, the perception of CDWs and adult domestic workers seem to be similar. Both are seen as lower class, poor, lowly, or, in many instances, "not human beings." Some respondents described them as being looked at as depraved or criminal – "they are taken a [thief], snatcher and a person only living for her stomach." In many instances, both groups are perceived to be "slaves" or the property of the employers. The difference is that adult domestic workers have greater agency to negotiate for their rights or to flee, many respondents said.

One key distinction that contributes to CDWs not being treated any differently, in many ways, than adult domestic workers, is the perception of them not really being like other children – a child "domestic worker [has] no place in the minds of employers in the first place. They are taken as a domestic worker and not encouraged as a child." This perception shows up in the kind of work they are provided – often arduous – and the way in which they are treated, because it is presumed that they can endure as much as an adult. In this way, CDWs are certainly treated worse than adult domestic workers.

Furthermore, they are perceived as "small" – their size was mentioned by numerous respondents, as "taking up little space" and "not needing as much as adults" – this contributes to their neglect. Respondents reflected that this perception of them as different to other children means that they are also seen as able physically to handle the same demands as adult domestic workers. This perception is reflected in the type of work that CDWs are expected to do.

Type of Work for CDWs

Respondents mentioned several types of work that CDWs commonly do. These types included childcare, caring for the elderly/sick, household chores, running errands, security, supporting household businesses (which sometimes includes working with heavy materials), farm work (such as rearing cattle) and shoe-shining.

Household chores included food preparation, washing clothes or dishes, and cleaning the home. In some cases, respondents considered additional tasks such as running errands, acting as security, etc. as part of performing household chores as well.

As reported earlier, the type of work that CDWs perform does not vary much from that of adult domestic workers. However, CDWs tend to be in poorer living conditions and experience harsher punishments than adult domestic workers.

Compensation to CDWs

Nearly every respondent said that CDWs receive a reduced amount of financial compensation or none at all. Perhaps, as some respondents mentioned, there is the promise of remuneration or else some other sort of compensation, such as schooling, but these promises are frequently not met. In addition, as mentioned above, CDWs do not have the power to negotiate or demand their pay. As one respondent mentioned, "the adults are in a relatively good position to bargain and claim their pay. But children fear their employer and cry when they are denied payment. They can't do anything more than that."

Locations of Child Domestic Workers in Addis Ababa

Specific Geographies

Respondents identified six sub-cities of Ethiopia as hotspots for the most vulnerable or at-risk child domestic workers. In general, respondents report potential child domestic workers are found and recruited predominantly at bus stations and marketplace areas.

In *Addis Ketema sub-city*, most child domestic workers are found around the bus station (Awtobis Tera), the Merkato marketplace area and Sebategna. The child domestic workers are frequently located in Woredas 07 and 08.

In *Akaki Kality sub-city*, Woreda 03 and 08 are the most common areas to find potential child domestic workers to recruit. Like Addis Ketema, child domestic workers tend to be found around the bus station and the Akaki Gebeya Market that is in Woreda 03.

In *Gulele sub-city*, the Shiro Meda area has one of the most concentrated numbers of child domestic workers. In the residential areas in Gulele, that are found in Woreda 01. Woreda 06 also has many child domestic workers. There is also a large population of domestic workers in the Addisu Gebeya Market.

Many respondents reported *Arada sub-city* as a common site for child domestic workers, but only one respondent mentioned the specific woredas of 01, 02 and 05 in Arada.

In *Kolfe Keranio sub-city*, the areas in which child domestic workers can be found were reported most to be Kara Kore, Wollete, Kolfe and Ayer Tena. The Kolfe Keranio condominium was specifically mentioned to be a child domestic worker hub where a lot of CDWs were working.

In *Nefas Silk Lafto sub-city*, certain condominiums were also identified as common workplaces for child domestic workers (more details in the next section.)

Types of Homes

Respondents also specified condominiums as a site of very large numbers of domestic workers. Specifically, the condominiums indicated were:

- Yeka Abado Condominium Complex (Yeki sub-city);
- Mebrat Haiyl, Jemo and Lafto Condominiums (Nefas Silk Lafto sub-city); and
- Kolfe Keranio Condominium (Kolfe Keranio sub-city).

When describing the household makeup, sometimes opinions differed. Overall, though, it seemed the need for less professional and cheaper CDWs was greater in low- to middle-income households where there is such a high burden on the parents to keep the family afloat, they need extra support to look after the home itself and the children while they are out earning. In some instances, respondents reported that these families tend to promise payment in the form of food and shelter, which a CDW will more readily accept, whereas, in the high-income homes, those families desire trained and experienced workers (such as those who have "returned from Saudi Arabia," as one respondent describes) who they will compensate with money. A few respondents cited that the types of homes, including the income and type of work of the household heads, was not well-researched and most were just reflecting on their own observations. One respondent, though, did distinguish that it is those who "own" the condominium or premises that hire CDWs versus those living on "rented premises."

Impact of Domestic Work on Girls' Lives

Most Common Types of Mistreatment

When asked broadly about the mistreatment of child domestic workers, respondents cited the following as the most common types of mistreatment: neglect/malnourishment; physical violence; verbal/emotional abuse; and sexual abuse. Before exploring each of these, it is worth noting that several respondents said that the type and frequency of mistreatment often depend on the household and characteristics of the employer including their level of education and degree of wealth. Respondents implied that with wealth, came greater mistreatment.

Neglect and Malnourishment

Neglect and malnourishment were often described in tandem by respondents; CDWs were generally described as being in a regular state of neglect – "their comfort and getting... mistreatment comes as secondary thing" as if it was natural for them to be mistreated. This can be seen in their overall malnourishment, for example. Other respondents described that there was also a different level of neglect, that of being more "deliberately disregarded," as in being punished. In this instance, for example, malnourishment of a CDW was purposeful and penalizing, referred to as a "food sanction" by several respondents rather than malnourishment. Relating to both general malnourishment and food sanctions, a few respondents mentioned that employers lock fridges "to keep them [CDWs] away from food."

Neglect, according to several respondents, included poor sleeping conditions, inadequate health care, exclusion from schooling (despite promises made), sometimes school sanctions were mentioned as punishment for "poor" work, and prohibition from childhood activities or time with friends when not working. Several respondents described CDWs as being unkempt and/or being outrightly denied clean clothes or shoes – "they [employers] don't care if they are clean or not." Interestingly, cleanliness in a few instances was mentioned in relation to menstruation, with more than one respondent noting that employers of CDWs do not bother to teach them about menstruation or "how to use [and properly remove a] sanitary pad."

Several respondents noted the root of this neglect or malnourishment was CDWs being not thought of as children, or unlike the children of the house. Respondents drew comparisons between the treatment of CDWs and the other children in the household. As one respondent said, employers "don't consider their [CDW's] soul as important."

One respondent, a government employee, described the signs of neglect she had seen from visitors to her office, including anger, depression, aggression, social withdrawal, low self-esteem and sleeping difficulties.

Employers of both genders were perpetrators of this type of mistreatment of CDWs, although it was often initiated by the female employers who frequently managed CDWs and the household.

Physical Violence

The next most common form of mistreatment raised by respondents was physical violence. Many respondents described physical punishment as a way of manipulating and exerting control over CDWs – "fear is a means of suppression," one respondent said. Respondents, overall, reported varying degrees of physical abuse, ranging from "mild" or "minor" such as slapping/hitting, pushing, spitting on; to more severe, such as biting, kicking, punching, choking/suffocating and physically harming with weapons or hard objects. Several respondents noted burning as common and one particular practice – "putting hot spoons" or hot metal "all over her body" – emerged in three interviews. As one respondent described, "there are a few extreme cases of physical violence such as putting burning knife on their body, the knife is kept on fire for longer period of time and when it is ready, they will put on their body." Another respondent described a specific, "old practice" in Sebeta, a town on the outskirts of Addis Ababa, where the employers "cut [the housemaids'] ankle to restrain them from fleeing." It was unclear, however, in this example, whether this was done to both adult and child domestic workers. Other respondents described "torture" but were not always specific about what type of torture they had observed or were aware of. Perpetrators of this type of mistreatment were both typically female and male employers of CDWs.

Verbal and Emotional Abuse

Another typical form of mistreatment of CDWs, respondents reported, is verbal or emotional abuse. Respondents frequently noted this as a tactic to frighten and subjugate CDWs – "they make them live in quivering" – and one that is culturally acceptable and perhaps expected – "insulting is considered a blessing in our culture." Verbal or emotional abuse is so common, according to several respondents, that many mentioned that it is a behavior that is not only enacted by several household members – employers and their children – but is also endured by several household members, not only CDWs. "In Ethiopian culture it is common to insult, curse and call in degrading names whether they are domestic workers or their own children. We are shaped and created in the same image of our parents; if we are growing in insulting and cursing community, we will be the same as that of our parents and preceding community. These types of abuses are considered as normal."

Verbal or emotional abuse can take the form of shouting, humiliating, shaming, or rebuking CDWs. One respondent noted that it is CDWs' different "accent, dressing and traits" that can be used against them and ultimately affects their moral wellbeing. This comes from a poor perception of people who come from rural areas (as mentioned earlier in this report).

Sexual Abuse or Harassment

Although sexual abuse or harassment was the next most commonly reported form of mistreatment, many respondents made the caveat that, in their experience, sexual abuse is very hard to detect or is underreported by CDWs due to cultural taboos or fear of retribution by the abusers. Sometimes it was referred to as a "silent abuse." Several respondents implied that it was sexual abuse that spurred the most fear among CDWs about being punished for speaking up. Still, many respondents said that

"different media" – news, television, etc. – or "rumors" alert them to its existence, as well as in some cases, their own assessments.

A government respondent, who is a child support and care team leader, specifically said that in Addis Ababa, "more than 95% of child domestic workers have a history of sexual harassment or intimidation by a household member," while another reported that in Addis "the risk of sexual violence is greatest among child domestic workers who live-in with their employers." This same respondent also cited a recent assessment of sexual abuse in Gulele sub-city that determined that "one in every ten child domestic workers (mainly girls) have experienced some form of sexual abuse before age 18." However, in a few instances, other respondents denied CDWs are sexually abused or harassed at all or said that because they had not seen it, they could not speak to it.

The most common perpetrators of sexual abuse or harassment, respondents frequently reported, are male employers and other male household members, noting sometimes that younger male children or adolescents will mimic the behavior of male adults in the home. A few times, strikingly, respondents said that because it is known "fathers rape their own daughters," it is expected/assumed they must do the same to CDWs. In one respondent's case, notably, s/he did not think it was a matter of the abused being a domestic worker at all and more so a condition of being female – "It is a matter of opposite-sex attraction. The [perpetrator] can harass the domestic workers not from the aspect of being a domestic worker, but from opposite-sex attraction."

When it came to incidents of sexual abuse or harassment, some respondents had very specific and, as they described, "extreme" stories to share, unlike with other types of mistreatment. Most commonly were incidents of CDWs being impregnated by male household members and being punished or removed from the home as a result, often by the mother or wife of the perpetrator – "the husband enticed a domestic worker to have an affair with him in exchange for money. It was found out later and the wife sent her home." In another example, a respondent learned that "the husband was continuously raping her starting from her tenth year. She didn't even know she was being raped."

Furthermore, sexual abuse might extend to commercial exploitation, with CDWs being turned into street girls for sexual exchange and monetary gain. In some instances, respondents noted, this is an outright measure taken by employers of CDWs for financial gain. Although respondents could only provide details about isolated incidents, they implied it was probably more frequent than they knew. Others reported commercial sexual exploitation is subsequently where CDWs end up after leaving or being kicked out of the home. The latter was, from many respondents, a consequence of becoming pregnant by a male in the home in which they were employed. "It's common to see that many girls in commercial sexual exploitation were former child domestic workers."

A few respondents spoke to the emotional and physical consequences of sexual abuse or harassment, especially given CDWs' young age. In addition to challenges to CDWs feelings of self-worth and esteem and capacity for trust, one respondent notably mentioned CDWs who are abused develop a "distorted view of sexuality," and it can also be so severe "that the child may even commit suicide."

Other Types of Mistreatment

Other types of abuse were mentioned, though not mentioned with the near frequency of those above. These were hazardous work, harmful hours and financial exploitation. However, when prompted, none of the respondents were able to elaborate or provide more concrete details on these three types of mistreatment.

Profile of CDWs Most at Risk of Mistreatment

Respondents were asked, "what are the profiles of child domestic workers who are most at risk of human trafficking and other forms of abuse?" However, respondents often did not clarify if there were differences between the CDWs' at risk of mistreatment versus at risk of trafficking. Based on respondents' comments, it would seem there is a lot of overlap. For more on the profile of CDWs most at risk of trafficking, please see below.

Trafficking

In the queries to respondents, trafficking was held in its own category of mistreatment. Most respondents expressed deep familiarity with the practice of trafficking both broadly and in Ethiopia. They were also able to lay out some of the distinctions between the profiles of CDWs most vulnerable to trafficking; this was mostly believed to relate to their origins. This is explored further here.

Profile of CDWs Most Vulnerable to Trafficking in Ethiopia

Age and Ethnicity/Religion

There was a significant difference of opinion among respondents regarding the age at which CDWs are most vulnerable to trafficking. Some respondents reported that those aged between 9 to 11 years and 13 to 15 years were the most vulnerable but most gave a wider age range, extending up to 18 or 19 years old.

In terms of ethnicity and religion, some expressed certainty that Christians were more vulnerable to trafficking, while others said Muslims and Christians were equally vulnerable. There is an agreement among many respondents that there is not enough data/tracking of trafficking to understand the full ethnic/religious makeup of trafficked children.

Origins

There was a lot of agreement among respondents when asked to name the origins of trafficked children. The most commonly named places were in **South Ethiopia**, namely **Oromia**, **Wolayta and Kembata**. The **Amhara region** was also identified a lot, including **Sekota**, **Gonder**, **Debark and Metema**. Other sites included **Chencha**, **Hadya and Gurage**. A few respondents also named areas around Addis Ababa such as **Suluta and Sendafa**. A few respondents identified that places that were conflict-prone were where human trafficking and other forms of abuse might be common. Very

rural and impoverished areas were also prone to trafficking, nearly every respondent reported. One respondent noted that sites with a "high rate of contraband trades," such as **Metema**, were also vulnerable to trafficking.

What Does Trafficking Look Like?

Many respondents noted that trafficking, as with child domestic work, typically involves migration. In some instances, respondents could not distinguish migration for child domestic work from migration to be trafficked, as both involve deception or manipulation, both on the part of employers and brokers. In some instances, respondents stated that the act of being put into domestic work, with the promise of something else, was in itself trafficking. As one respondent articulated, "trafficking is a hidden network of soliciting, transporting, transferring and harboring/receiving of men, women and children, through the use of force, fraud, coercion and other means to get benefits from [exploiting] them... children are affected mostly."

There was overall agreement that the commercial and sexual exploitation of children, especially former CDWs, also constituted trafficking and that this was a common form of trafficking. Respondents reported that it is actually the abuse CDWs experience in the homes of employers that leaves them exposed to being trafficked. There was no notable difference between how trafficking was defined depending on the respondent's profession, except perhaps in how readily an NGO respondent relayed a definition from an internationally accepted convention.

Support Services to Child Domestic Workers

Types of Services

Respondents reported similar provisions of services in their respective sub-cities. These included medical coverage; short-term vocational training; legal services; psychological or counseling services (sometimes referred to as rehabilitation); reintegration services; and other services such as shelters, food provision and education. These services are elaborated here; we have highlighted specific names of facilities, resources and entitlements (and their respective geographies) where noteworthy.

Medical Coverage

Free medical services and coverage was mentioned by a small cohort of respondents, mostly government employees or NGO representatives whose own organizations provided medical care for CDWs who had suffered severe physical or sexual abuse/exploitation. Often, medical services were described as being provided directly by an NGO or through a referral system to a local hospital or health center, although it was unclear how the referral system was accessed. Depending on whether the CDW was staying in or outside a shelter, the medical care would vary, some respondents noted. One respondent said that for those living outside of the shelter s/he worked for, the most they could provide was "different cleaning and hygiene articles such as menstrual pad[s] and cosmetics."

Notably, a number of experts from NGOs cited a lack of medical services, with one going so far as to say it is up to the CDW herself to look after her own medical needs – "when they encounter damages while they are working in the household and need medical treatment, the cost of the treatment will be deducted from their salary."

Specific sites mentioned where services could be found were:

- **Gandhi Hospital** (Addis Ketema sub-city), where the local government has organized a center for victims of physical/emotional abuse and sexual exploitation. Described by another respondent as a "one-stop-shop service" that rarely gets referrals because CDWs do not want to report abuse;
- **Tirunesh Beijing Hospital (**Akaki Keleti sub-city), where the local government has arranged services to be provided;
- An unnamed **woman's league** (Arada sub-city) that had established several boarding centers where medical support can be found;
- The police force, Women and Children Affairs Office and Community Health and Support Coalition (Addis Ababa) that intervenes regarding medical issues among CDWs, and a local NGO (CHADET) covers the medical expenses;
- **Mission for Community Development Program (MCDP)** center (Addis Ababa) provides medical care to CDWs;
- **Menelik Hospital** (Addis Ababa) treats only severe cases of injury or physical/sexual abuse, and this is in agreement with an NGO in the area;
- **Timret Lehiwot Ethiopia**, **Asossa** (Benishangul Gumuz region) and **Genda Wuha** (Amhara region) provide medical services to severe cases.

Short-Term Vocational Training

Short-term vocational training was mentioned, as well as other services provided to former CDWs. Once again, it was government employees and a handful of NGO representatives who provided these trainings directly. Other respondents were either vaguely aware of a broad range of services or knew of none. Vocational training, in some instances, included the provisioning of materials/space to start their own businesses and build a variety of skills. These included materials to teach them sewing/tailoring, cooking, hairdressing and beauty. As one respondent noted, these skills can make the girls "self-reliant in a short time." Often, a distinction was made between older adolescents and children in terms of what was permissible to teach them; this was due to child labor laws. For some respondents, economic empowerment or financial literacy education was collapsed into the category of vocational training.

Specific sites mentioned where vocational training could be found were:

 Gender Issues Department of local government (Arada sub-city) provides training in new technologies and financial literacy. Local NGOs provide the department materials to support new businesses and skills development for the women, including stoves and other cooking tools and sewing machines. In addition, twenty shop spaces have been provided by the government for them to build their own businesses;

- Co-project between **Save the Children** and local government to provide short-term financial literacy training (Addis Ketema sub-city);
- **Timret Lehiwot** has a vocational training center (Addis Ababa) to help them build secure incomes;
- Organization for the Prevention and Rehabilitation of Female Street Children (OPRIFS) provides skills/vocational training through their shelters (Amhara and Gofa Gamp – Addis Ababa), training includes tailoring, hairdressing and beauty. Access depends on the CDW's length of stay in the shelter and whether or not they are reintegrated with their families after six months;
- **Hope for Children** (Gulele sub-city) provides skills training in hairdressing/beauty, sewing and cooking;
- Agar Ethiopia (geography not specified) provides vocational training.

Legal Services

Only a few respondents were able to elaborate on the details of legal services provided in their respective geographies. This may be due to the level of coordination that is required between local government, lawyers, etc., as some respondent suggested. As one respondent said, "these victims can't hire lawyers if they get raped" because they are only children. Another cause is that legal cases are hard to detect and underreporting of mistreatment results in limited cases that warrant legal intervention. In other instances, respondents noted that legal services are a "police force matter" and CDWs are referred to the police or prosecutors. Several respondents also mentioned the involvement of kebele-level offices to validate and see these cases through.

Here are the few specific services that were mentioned:

- Debre Berhane University Legal Aid Center (Amhara region) offers free legal aid to CDWs and adults in collaboration with the local NGO Emmanuel Development Association (EDA);
- Local government (Arada sub-city) notes that they grant CDWs access to law departments in each kebele in cases of abuse;
- NGO African Network for the Prevention and Protection Against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN) (Sebategna; Shero Meda) provides legal services in coordination with government and operates child protection steering committee structures which interact with kebeles to identify and validate cases. It also collaborates with the Justice, Labor and Social Affairs, Child and Women and health offices of local government to provide these services for free.

Psychological or Counseling Services

Much like with medical coverage, respondents from government agencies frequently mentioned the provision of psychological or counseling services (sometimes referred to as rehabilitation) to CDWs who came through their offices, as did NGO representatives whose respective NGOs provided counseling.

In some instances, respondents referred to these services more broadly as "rehabilitation." In these cases, the rehabilitation centers provided a broad range of services all meant to emotionally support

and counsel the CDWs. These centers had limits on the length of stay permitted for CDWs; for some, this was as brief as ten days, but for some, stays of two years were permitted.

Compared to the other services, a few respondents expressed that psychological care/counseling often comes too late in the lives of the CDWs, once the emotional damage is already too extensive.

Some examples of services noted are:

- Local government (Arada sub-city) works with **Track Ethiopia** to counsel not only children but employers too;
- **EDA** (Amhara region) noted a **Community Coalition** group that provides psychological services;
- Women, Children and Youth Affairs office (Gulele sub-city) offers counseling services to domestic workers who have suffered physical, sexual and financial exploitation;
- **Temret Lehiwot** (not only self-identified but mentioned by another respondent) provides services through a two-week rehabilitation center to CDWs who have experienced sexual violence. This is in Asossa (Benishangul Gumuz region) and Genda Wuha (Amhara region);
- **Mission for Community Development Program (MCDP)** offers psychological treatment which is coordinated with their medical, legal and reintegration efforts as well;
- **OPRIFS'** shelters (Amhara region and Gofa Camp) provides psychosocial support and counseling to intercepted children; has a six-month rehabilitation program and provide psychosocial support and counseling to intercepted children.

Reintegration Services

In the context of Ethiopia, reintegration signifies returning CDWs and trafficked children to their immediate families and home communities. Most government representatives in the respondent pool made note of some sort of reintegration services their offices were providing, as did NGOs. Several respondents noted that reintegration is often done in tandem with the police, though they did not elaborate on what the police's role was nor how the reintegration works.

Other respondents mentioned that reintegration is often an intercepting or preventative service, reaching children before they are deeply integrated into child trafficking or domestic labor. In these cases, one respondent noted, "the service seekers come through referrals or sometimes by coincidence." Further, location seems to be pertinent to intercepting NGOs, such as setting up shelters around bus stations, sites of their first arrival. One respondent, from an INGO, purported that reintegration is not easy to accomplish – "it is not actually easy to vindicate and integrate them with their families... because most of the families are not content to see their children returning home since they had sent them to town to change their life. Therefore, there is little intervention work done on reintegration."

Only a few specific resources were named, they are:

- **Forum on Child Empowerment** (Sebategna/Shero Meda area) working on interception and reunification;

- **MCDP** (Oromia, Amhara and Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Region (SNNPR)) offers reintegration services, complemented by financial support either in kind or in cash to families to follow their children and prevent them from running away again. MCDP also notes a flow of child migrants from Oromia, Amhara and SNNPR;
- **OPRIFS** (Amhara region and Gofa Camp) provides reintegration services post-rehabilitation (six months). In some cases, CDWs can stay with them up for two years.

Other Services

Other services were identified by respondents, though these were mentioned only briefly in comparison to those above. These included shelters, food provisioning and education services.

Accessibility of Services

Respondents all noted limited accessibility of services among CDWs. Causes included: lack of awareness of services; poor coordination between different stakeholders/partners to increase coverage or reach CDWs specifically; lack of sustainability of programs; and a lack of monitoring mechanisms to understand the true scope of need. That said, respondents did note an eagerness and ambition among CDWs who were aware of services to improve their lives and gain access to trainings and services that could help them do that. Although sometimes, a lack of education might make them hold back. As one respondent said, "I really believe they want to get some support. The thing is to get the services, they do not know where to go, who to talk [to]."

CDWs' lack of awareness of services, respondents noted, is frequently due to the employers' own neglect of CDWs' needs, barring them from accessing different resources, or from their isolation from the community outside the home in which they are employed (also, often, the employers' doing). Furthermore, the main modes of communicating about services, through media, radio, flyers, pamphlets, billboards etc., are not reaching these girls for similar reasons. As one respondent said, "they [CDWs] need someone to help them learn and know... about services around... [the] community member[s] should help build a smooth relationship" between service providers and CDWs.

Respondents also cited a lack of, or poor coordination between the different agencies working on human trafficking, child migration and labor. A few respondents referred to existing services as "one-stop" shops or facilities where many services could be found, but none were adequate to meet the needs of the population. Instead, these respondents called for a "child protection system" or better coordination/referrals so that the most relevant or best-available services could be identified and accessed. Some respondents mentioned the existence of referrals but "very limited and fragmented manner" of service provision, where CDWs are discovered by different actors on the ground but only a very small pool of children receive support services.

Interestingly, a few respondents also noted the lack of specificity for this particular target group of CDWs, noting that "there is no separate support services particularly available for vulnerable child domestic workers." One respondent said that in his experience, organizations that reached out to his NGO also preferred "to help street children rather than domestic workers," perhaps because of

the challenge in reaching them. This might suggest that although there might be similar services for different cohorts of vulnerable children, CDWs require not only specific recruitment methods but have distinct needs.

The unsustainability of the program was also a main concern, particularly among NGO experts. They expressed concern over the lack of funding, human resources and space to accommodate the sheer numbers of trafficked children or CDWs estimated to exist in their respective geographies.

Finally, there was a concern about not understanding the coverage and accessibility of a program because there was no mechanism to measure and monitor the true need. One academic expert had a lot to say on this matter, s/he noted that before delivering services, there must be a "coordinated data management system and database" regarding trafficking and child domestic work to understand the full scope of victims' needs.

Opposition to and Support for Services

Overall, respondents did not mention any striking opposition to services for CDWs. The party most likely to express opposition are brokers, who interviewees mentioned more than once for their unwillingness to cooperate or participate overtly in programming. This was both due to the effect it would have on their livelihood as well as concerns over the criminality of their activities. Most respondents said, however, that the lack of cooperation from brokers does not impede the work. In a few instances, respondents mentioned employers might bar CDWs from accessing services as well.

Several respondents mentioned the need, and measures being taken, for community buy-in. There was agreement that community participation is essential to the success of these services. According to some respondents, sometimes communities are no more aware of these services than the target population is. Gaining community support could require shifting cultural notions of CDWs or trafficked children as being less, or less deserving, than others. A few respondents mentioned the community's active participation in supporting CDWs and/or trafficked children, such as providing financial support or guidance directly to the children or taking children into their homes. Furthermore, some NGO respondents mentioned direct work with heads of household in terms of how to be more supportive employers of CDWs.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This scoping study is formative to the larger piece of research under this grant, which aims to determine the prevalence of child domestic servitude in Addis Ababa. There are a number of key considerations which follow from this study that should be incorporated into the development of the prevalence study:

- A number of important themes have been raised through the stakeholder interviews and different stakeholders were knowledgeable about different aspects of CDWs' experience. Major themes reported should be explored further and verified through the prevalence study, these include limited bargaining power of CDWs over working conditions; harm due to unsafe work, emotional neglect and other forms of abuse; differences in treatment by male and female household heads; and differences in experience for live-in vs live-out CDWs. These themes should be further examined through the quantitative data gathered in the prevalence study.
- In particular, the scoping study uncovered a wide spectrum of harm that CDWs are exposed to ranging from unsafe and hazardous work, discrimination due to their unequal status in the household and community, through to more severe and deliberate forms of emotional, physical and sometimes sexual abuse. In particular, many of the informants note the negative effects of neglect and discrimination faced by CDWs, which may not fall under the definition of 'trafficking' but is nonetheless harmful to children at a critical stage of development.
- This research has also generated insights which should feed into the development of the study protocols for the prevalence study. For instance, it is believed there is a large underreporting of sexual abuse due to the social stigma faced by victims. Additional care should be taken when developing survey questions relating to sexual abuse to ensure these are asked in a sensitive and non-judgmental way, and interviewers trained as such. Ideally, questions could be adapted from well-established sexual violence of children surveys. Furthermore, this research has highlighted the importance of designing questions to capture less obvious forms of emotional and verbal abuse, as well as 'non-traditional' forms of physical abuse such as burning with hot spoons.
- Stakeholders were able to name a range of support services for CDWs in Addis Ababa, but there was limited empirical information on the level of demand and access by the target groups. The prevalence study should capture which services CDWs value most, are actually able to access and what the barriers to them receiving support are. The prevalence study presents a valuable opportunity to hear from CDWs themselves about their support needs and preferences, and such information would be useful not only to guide the Freedom Fund's own program but also for other service providers, government commissioners and funders.
- Areas of high concentrations of child domestic workers should be further defined. Specific locations within six sub-cities have been suggested; however, these differ in terms of the type of geography and the size of the area. Additional research should be done to determine the boundaries of these areas and to validate them as high concentration before including them as sampling areas for the prevalence study.

Appendix A: Sample Letter of Introduction



Subject: Invitation to participate in a stakeholder interview

Dear Sir/Madam:

Population Council is an international, non-profit, non-governmental organization (NGO) that provides technical assistance to government and NGOs working with marginalized populations, including adolescent girls, rural women and migrant populations. The Freedom Fund is also an international, non-profit, NGO, with a focus on leading the global movement to end modern day slavery. The Ethiopia Anti-Trafficking Project complements existing efforts to reduce the vulnerability of potential migrants, returnee women and girls trafficked into domestic work, by improving livelihoods and enabling a better understanding and practice of safe migration.

The Population Council-Ethiopia is conducting stakeholder interviews as part of an initial scoping study on the prevalence of child domestic workers in Addis Ababa. Population Council is collaborating with The Freedom Fund-Ethiopia Anti-Trafficking Project on this study, which is funded by the U.S. Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP). As an expert with knowledge of migration/recruitment pathways for child domestic workers in Ethiopia, you are in an ideal position to provide us with valuable firsthand information, from your professional perspective.

The interview will be conducted over the phone and should take approximately 1 hour. Your responses to the questions will be kept confidential. There is no compensation for participating in this study. However, your participation will be a valuable addition to our research and findings.

[Interviewer name removed], a representative from Population Council, will be contacting you shortly to schedule your interview. We would appreciate your cooperation as soon as is convenient. Please do not hesitate to contact [interviewer details removed] if you need additional information on this request.

Thank you in advance for your consideration of this invitation.

Yours truly,

Annabel Erulkar (PhD) Senior Associate and Country Director Population Council, Ethiopia Daniel Melese Country Representative The Freedom Fund, Ethiopia

The Population Council conducts research and delivers solutions that improve lives around the world. Big ideas supported by evidence: It's our model for global change.

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

SCOPING STUDY

You are invited to take part in research. Before you decide whether to participate, you need to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear, or if you would like more information. When you feel that you understand this study, you will be asked if you wish to participate, and if so, to give verbal consent to participate.

What is the study about? The purpose of the study is to learn about patterns of girls' migration in Ethiopia and pathways and entry into domestic work in various locations and cities. Girls in domestic work refers to female children who are routinely doing domestic chores in a home and not for her own parents. The research will inform the design of a program to reduce the prevalence of domestic servitude amongst girls in Ethiopia. The research and subsequent program are funded by the US State Department.

Why have you been invited to take part? You have been invited to take part in this study because you are an expert in the area and have specialized knowledge of migration in Ethiopia, domestic work, trafficking and children on the move in Ethiopia.

What will happen if you take part? If you agree to take part in the study, you will take part in a telephone interview during which we will ask you about your knowledge and perceptions about different aspects of internal migration in Ethiopia, specifically the movement of children for domestic work in Addis Ababa and its sub-cities. The telephone interview will be like a conversation and will take place at a time that is convenient for you. I would like to record our call using my telephone/computer. I would like to record in order to expand upon the notes I take during our call. No one but me and senior members of the research team will be able to listen to the recording. The recording will be erased following expansion of my notes and approval of my notes by the research team. With your permission, the telephone interview will be taped to allow me to consolidate notes after the call.

How long will interview last? This will take about 45 minutes. Some interviews may be longer or some may be shorter. You can end the interview at any time or reschedule to continue at another time.

What are the risks of the study? An inconvenience may be the time and effort you take to be a participant. You do not have to respond to any question that makes you feel uncomfortable or that is sensitive. You may end the interview at any time. There is also a very small risk of breach of confidentiality (something you say is accidentally provided to others) but we will take precautions to see that this does not happen.

What are the benefits of participating? There are no direct benefits to you for participating in the study. You may find an indirect benefit in knowing you have participated in an important study that could help migrant populations, domestic workers and adolescent girls in the future.

Will participation in the study be kept confidential? The information that is collected during the interview will be kept private. The study team will protect your privacy and maintain the confidentiality of all the information that you provide. Your name, your position or your employer will not be included in reports from this study. In citing data or quotations, we will refer only to your sector of employment such as government, UN agency or NGO.

What are your rights as a research participant? Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you decide to take part, you can choose not to answer specific questions. You are free to withdraw at any time.

Will you receive anything for participating? No compensation will be given for participation in this study but you will contribute to increasing our understanding of girls' migration, trafficking and the experience of domestic workers.

How will the results of the research be used? A report on the scoping study will result from these interviews. The results of the study will be used to design a survey in Addis Ababa and other areas to gain more information about domestic workers, their pathways into the work and their experiences.

What if you need more information? If you have a concern about any aspect of the study, you should ask to speak to the researchers who will do their best to answer your questions. You may call [*name removed*] from Population Council, at the number: [*phone number removed*].

What if there is a problem? Any complaint about the way you have been treated during the study or other serious matter, please contact [*name removed*] from the Freedom Fund, at the number: [*phone number removed*].

Subject Statement: You have received an explanation of the planned research, procedures, risks and benefits and privacy of personal information.

Do you agree to take part in this study?

1 = YES 2 = NO

Do you agree to allow me to record the call?1 = YES2 = NOName of person obtaining
consentSignature of person obtaining
consentDateName of key informantPosition and affiliationDate

Appendix C: Discussion Guide for Key Informant Interviews

This discussion guide is meant only as a guide to the interviewer. Unlike survey questionnaires, it is not necessary to stick scrupulously to the questions and sequence presented in this guide. Rather, the interviewer should understand the aims of the study and able to explore or probe areas as the conversation is taking place. The questions below are meant as a guide for the interviewer only.

Research area	Question category	Questions and possible follow-up probes
I. Informed consent	Administer informed consent	Attached. One signed form per key informant
II. Definition of 'child domestic worker' in the context of Addis Ababa, taking into account international conventions and local context	Defining domestic workers	 1a) How would you define or describe a <u>domestic worker</u>? 1b) What type of work do domestic workers do in Ethiopia? 1c) Are domestic workers always paid? Probe: are there cases where they are not? What can you tell me about arrangements of accommodation and food? 1d) Can a domestic worker be a relative of the employer? Probe: for example, a niece or a cousin of the employer. 1e) How are domestic workers perceived? Probes: Do the children live in fear of other members of the household? do they attend school? - are they treated differently to other children in the household? - do they have any contact with their families? - do they want to be returned to their families?
	Child domestic workers in the Ethiopian context	 2a) What is the difference between a child domestic worker and a domestic worker? Probe: how would you define a child domestic worker in your context 2b) Does the working situation of child domestic workers differ from domestic workers? How so? Probe: type of work, payment, living conditions, etc. Can you give some examples of domestic workers in your community/neighborhood? 2c) What about children that stay with relatives and do chores? Are these child domestic workers? Probe: At what point can a relative in the household be considered a child domestic worker? Can you give an example of such a case that you are aware of? Do they consider themselves domestic workers? Why or why not? 2d) Do the backgrounds of child domestic workers differ from other domestic workers? How so? 2e) How does child domestic work impact the girls themselves? Can you give examples? 2f) Are you aware of the international convention which defines child domestic workers? If yes, do you know if the international convention differs to how the term is understood in Ethiopia?

Research area	Question category	Questions and possible follow-up probes
III. Locations with high concentrations of child domestic workers	Locations in Addis Ababa with large numbers of child domestic workers	 3a) Which areas of Addis Ababa do you find large numbers of child domestic workers? Probe for: Sub-cities Zones Woredas Kebeles, etc. Probe for areas such as condominium complexes, central city, outskirts, low income/slum areas, etc.
	Kinds of households or families which have child domestic workers	 4a) Which kinds of households or families have child domestic workers? Probe for: Economic level Work roles/livelihoods of employers Household structure (e.g. newlyweds, couples with children, single men or women, large families, roommate situations/shared housing, etc.) Living situation (e.g. government condominiums, etc.)
IV. Profiles of child domestic workers most at risk of human trafficking and other forms of abuse, especially CSEC	Mistreatment of child domestic workers	 5a) Do you think mistreatment of child domestic workers is common? 5b) In what ways are they mistreated? Probe: (Verbal/emotional abuse) Are they often shouted at? Or called degrading names? Does this happen more to the CDW than the other children in the household? Is fear ever used as a tactic to control them? (Neglect & malnourishment) Are they looked after by the household adults? Are they given enough to eat and drink? Do they show signs of neglect? (Hazardous work) Are they put into danger through their work? For instance, do they have to handle dangerous toxins, access unsafe places to do cleaning or are they often around fires? Are there any other ways in which their work could be dangerous? (Harmful hours) Do they have to work late into the night or from very early in the morning? Do their working hours allow them time to rest and play? Do their working hours mean they're constantly tired? Are they able to go to school? (Physical violence) Are they ever slapped, hit, punched or kicked? Are they ever harmed physically by use of objects? Are they threatened with physical harm? (Sexual abuse) Are they ever mades to engage in sexual activities, such as touching of intimate areas, or oral or penetrative sex? (Financial exploitation) Do they have to work for less financial reward than they had been promised? Are their wages or renumeration withheld? Are deductions made to their wages of arbitrary causes? Probe: Could you tell me more about this? What is common, what are extreme cases? What forms of mistreatment are more common among child domestic workers, compared to children who do other types of work? 5c) Are there different people who are mistreating them? Probe: the employer, other members of the community, the middle men, others within the family (who?) 5d) Are you familiar with the concept of trafficking? Under what circumstances

Research area	Question category	Questions and possible follow-up probes
		5e) Are these circumstances common among child domestic workers?
		 Probe: Can you please share some examples of ways that child domestic workers are trafficked in Ethiopia?
	Profiles of child domestic workers	6a) What are the profiles of child domestic workers who are most at risk of human trafficking and other forms of abuse?
	who are most at risk of human trafficking and	 Probe: What are the backgrounds of child domestic workers who are most at risk of trafficking?
	other forms of	Where do they come from?
	abuse	What is their average age?
		What kind of families are they from?
		• Are they from a certain area of the country? Ethnic group? Religion?
		 What happens in these cases? In other words, how does the trafficking happen? Can you give me examples of different types of trafficking that you are aware of?
	Locations where child domestic	7a) Where are the most vulnerable or at-risk child domestic workers found within Addis Ababa and its sub-cities?
	workers are the most at-risk	 Probe for: Sub-cities Zones Woredas Kebeles, etc.
		• Probe for areas such as condominium complexes, central city, outskirts, low income/slum areas, etc.
V. Services available to	Services available to child	8a) Which support services are available to child domestic workers in these locations?
child domestic workers	domestic workers in these locations	 Probe for different types of services including: Medical services (including post-rape/GBV services) Psychological / counselling services Legal services Safe houses/ halfway houses Reintegration services Safe spaces recreational or educational support Vocational training or financial literacy programs Probe: For the programs you mentioned, are they government, NGO or faith-based programs?
		• What is their reach or coverage? Are a lot of girls seeking support from these services
		• What are the strengths of these programs? What are the limitations?
		8b) Could you tell me about child domestic workers willingness and ability to access these services?
		8c) Are there people in the community who might oppose these services for child domestic workers?
		Probe: Who are they, what are their reasons?
		 Conversely, are there people in the community who would welcome these services for child domestic workers?
VI. Other information	Other information	9a) Is there any other information on the topics that we discussed that you would like to share with me? Any updates or recent developments?
		9b) Do you have any questions for me?

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