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**Child domestic work in Ethiopia: The experiences of rural girls who migrate to take up jobs as domestic servants in Addis Ababa**

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## **Abstract**

“Domestic work” means work performed in or for a household or households, it covers a wide range of tasks and services that vary from country to country (ILO, 2013). Domestic work differs depending on the age, gender, ethnic background and migration status of the workers, the cultural and economic context in which they work (ILO).

Regardless of different efforts by governmental bodies to prohibit children from work, children continued to work. Children lived experiences been represented from different adult and Eurocentric perspectives.

This paper studied the experiences of rural girls who migrate from rural to urban areas to be a domestic worker. To this end, the research question is as follows: what are the reasons behind child domestic workers migrating to an urban area? How is the work and relationship with brokers, kin, and employers? What are they getting out of the work?

This study focuses on children point of view, by applying child-centered methods and ethical principles that encourage children to participate to the highest. They are migrating to fulfill personal desires, economic empowerment, and family expectations. They have a very dynamic relationship and they have very impressive negotiating abilities to minimize the power imbalance between them and the adult kin, brokers and employers. The lived experiences of the child domestic workers showed that they developed resilience, sense of self-worth out of the work experience.

Further Ethnographic studies could be undertaken to find out the untold capacities and needs of child domestic workers. On this basis, it is recommended that participation of domestic workers in empowering trainings and decision-making processes could help to enhance their capacity and safety in the work.

## **Lists of Acronym**

FGD	Focus group discussion
ANPPCAN	African network for the prevention and protection against child abuse and neglect
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labour Organization
LABORSTA	Labour Statistics
MOLSA	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
MWCA	Ministry of Women and Children Affairs
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NOSEB	Norwegian Center for child Research
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of Child
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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# 1 Introduction

UNICEF's (1999) defined, a child domestic workers as those children under the age of 18 who work in other people's households, doing domestic chores, caring for children and running to deliver tasks. ILO estimated that in 2012, there were 17.2 million child domestic workers between the age of 5 to 17 (Boateng, & West 2017). The oldest occupations for millions around the world is domestic work (ILO, 2010 in Gebre, 2012)

Africa is the third largest after Asia and Latin America regarding domestic work employers (ILO, 2013). Domestic workers are working inside a household to perform and assist different household activities, including cleaning, cooking, housekeeping, and taking care of children and elderly (Anderson, 2000 in Gebre, 2012). The payment method could be cash or kind, and the employment of children is mostly in the house of adults who are not their relatives or parents (Klocker 2007).

In Africa, 5.2 million domestic workers are employed of which 3.8 million are women and 1.4 million men (ILO, 2013). Females are usually preferred for domestic works activities due to the societal norms as they are traditionally expected to perform those home chores. Often, those jobs are filled with girls who migrate from poor to urbanized areas (Lin Chew, 2003). The perception about these girls is as promptly accessible, destitute, affordable, flexible, and instilled with sustaining and home-care capacities, from more impoverished living conditions (UN WOMEN, 2013). The reason why employers prefer child domestic workers is that, children perceived as easy to manipulate (ILO, 2004 in Erulkar & Mekbib, 2007). They might be nationals moving from rural to urban regions within middle-income or developing nations, or ladies who have stepped crosswise over national or local boundaries (UN WOMEN, 2013).

Domestic worker sector has no specific labor laws or standard; therefore, it increases the risk of exploitation for domestic workers (Caritas, 2012). The unique relationship of attachment that may be developing between employers, domestic workers, and other members of the family, confuses the view of the domestic worker as a kind of work that needs rules and regulations (UN WOMEN, 2013). They usually have no official contract, and hence have no defined working

hours, inspection of the work environment, and health care or social security. Thus, the young girls are highly exposed to exploitation by their employers (Caritas, 2012). The exploitation incorporates low salaries, long hours of work, limited freedom of association and movement, insecure accommodation and lack of privacy (UN WOMEN, 2013). Their mobility communication and movement are usually restricted and hence leads to social isolation (Caritas, 2012). Additionally, the workers are not allowed to have formal education and do not get specific skills diminishing their future carrier prospects.

Throughout the history of children who are orphaned or from low-income families, it has been usual to be sent to another household who might be blood-related or not, through informal adoption or under the name of guardianship. For instance, according to the ILO, 2013 report, Benin, Tanzania, Zimbabwe are mentioned as examples with cultures of fostering and transference of a child to extended families for support. For that reason, the distinction between being accepted as a family member and a domestic worker is sometimes difficult to point out (UNICEF 1999).

In the academic environment as well as policy-making bodies, there are different perspectives to explain children's work. For instance, the UNCRC on article 32 states that "The government should protect children from work that is dangerous or might harm their health or their education" (UNCRC 1989, p.10). Regardless of the efforts by governmental bodies to eradicate children from work, it is, common to see children who involve in domestic work or other types of labor. However, in many societies in rural zones especially, work is and has always been a common activity of youth and it might be fundamental for the transmission of information and skills to the new generation (Boyden, 1990). *"While many children are set to work by family members, the literature surveying working children's views suggests that many children themselves make the decision to work, and regard their work as a product of their own free will"* (Boyden,2000,p.45)

Social studies of children and childhoods present different discourses to explain the perspective of child labor. One of the major is It emphasis on the *socio-cultural construction* of childhood. Children work is linked to the cultural and social context of the place they live. Bourdillion and

Nieuwenhuys, (in Abebe and Bessell, 2011) argue that children's work needs to be understood in the light of different material and cultural conditions. The different socio-cultural notations of child domestic work and employment have also posed a challenge for development of accurate statistics, to data collection and analysis even for established agencies (Dayıođlu, 2013 in Boateng, & West 2017).

Children are into domestic work not only out of economic uncertainty but also out of a belief in better living conditions including education opportunity (Blagbrough, 2013). There are different international conventions and local laws made to protect children. On the other hand, numerous children welcome the chance to work seeing it as preparing experience to adulthood (Boyden, 1990).

## **1.1 Statement of the problem**

1.5 percent of the women in Ethiopia are working as domestic workers (MOLSA & LABORSTA of ILO in Gebre, 2012). The majority of domestic workers working in the city migrated from rural areas (Erulkar & Mekbib, 2007). There is an estimation of 248,600 domestic workers in the Ethiopian cities (Gebre, 2012). In Addis Ababa child domestic workers range from 6500-7500 (Kifle, 2002).

In the history of Ethiopia, after the 1990 the expansion of schooling and economic growth has lead children to more responsibilities besides work in their households (Tafere and Pankhurst 2015). The first survival strategy for Ethiopian girls who migrate from rural to urban areas is domestic work (The population council, 2018). One of the most critical pushing factors is the poverty of the family (Kifle, 2002). There are studies (e.g., Tafere and Pankhurst 2015; Gebre 2012; Kifle 2002) undertaken in Ethiopia about child domestic work, and of those, few studies are conducted about girls migrating from rural to urban areas resulting in little attention .

In contrast to the widely available research in Ethiopia about domestic work issues, mainly focusing on housemaids who are working in Arab countries (ACCORD, 2016), the working conditions of young local domestic workers did not get the attention it deserves. The few

available focus on the effects of child domestic work, on the wellbeing and self-esteem (Erulkar & Mekbib, 2007), on the psychological and psychiatry problems of child domestic workers (Fekadu, 2008). The mentioned studies used approaches from adult employers and policymaker's perspective. The studies are very informative, however not child-centered researches.

Therefore, being mainly concerning with children's view, applying participatory methods, this study explores the experiences of rural girls who migrate to take up jobs as domestic workers. Center of attention of this study are children under the ages of 17, who live and work as domestic workers in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The study participants are locally referred to as "Ybet serategna," which is translated as domestic workers.

## **1.2 Reason for choosing the topic**

I was going through topic suggestions for Thesis given by NOSEB; this particular theme about child domestic workers caught my attention. I thought about it, and I find it interesting because it is a reality and a situation that is familiar to what I have been asking in mind and but not thought of it as something I could research someday.

This theme is familiar to me in many ways. There are Research's done on domestic workers, but the lived experiences of child domestic workers are under-covered and neglected. From my observation in Ethiopia during my fieldwork as a social worker or while I am passing by shops or my village or other places, it is widespread for my eyes to see young girls taking care of other younger kids or running to the shop to find something. It is common to see this especially in "kebele" houses with no big fence that covers the activity of the people living inside it. Some moments capture my eyes, like child domestic workers assisting other children not very much older than their age, to play with them, and I wonder what could go on in the child domestic workers mind. Are they allowed to play like a kid or hold on a little bit and act like an adult?

To mention some other relevant moments, years back during summer time, I taught children from the disadvantaged family. One of my students was eight years old, and she never did her

homework and always felt very dizzy at school. I asked her daily activities to find out what the girl does every day, and she mentioned that the woman picking her up after school is not her real grandmother and the child works in the house a lot. I called her grandmother to school and talked about it. She was not her grandmother; however, she was trying her best to raise the child. This helped me to reflect on ways of cultural fostering.

I went to a home visit, as a social work practice to a family house, who were economically living an impoverished life. The house is tiny for four persons, and they have to deal with so many social and financial issues however they have a child domestic worker. This helped me to notice that people who hire domestic workers are not only people who have money to afford a domestic worker properly or who have all the necessary facility but any individual. I have observed that there is no minimum standard/requirement set by regulation for employers to hire a domestic worker.

All the mentioned is my observation and now I got the chance to ask children personal views and opinions about some aspects of child domestic work.

### **1.3 The objective of the study**

This study mainly aimed at exploring the experiences of rural girls migrate to take up jobs as domestic workers. In an attempt to achieve the primary aim of this study, the following objectives were defined.

- Exploring primary motivation behind the migration of girls from rural to urbanized areas, to take up domestic work jobs
- exploring the recruiting and employment process
- Exploring the child domestic workers expectation and perception of the work environment and life in the urban city (community, respectively) internal work environment and conditions
- Exploring the dreams, hopes, and aspirations of these young women on the perceivable future

## 1.4 Research questions

The study will answer the following research questions

- Why do young girls leave their home to migrate to urban regions?
- How are the actual work environment and conditions? This includes a relationship (good/bad) with employers, brokers, and kin.
- How is workload and work-leisure balance if there is any?
- What are the children getting out of the work?

## 1.5 Thesis outline

**Chapter one** includes an explanation of my topic choice, introducing my topic, statement of the problem, research objective and questions and thesis outline

**Chapter 2** will describe the background of the study area Ethiopia, Addis Ababa and particularly ‘Autobis Tera’ (central bus station), it will include the demographic nature, and the economic and social life of my study location particularly to show the reason behind accessing the child domestic workers. Policy document regarding child labor and domestic work.

**Chapter 3** will include conceptual and theoretical frameworks, literature review and theories that are relevant to the topic child domestic workers will be discussed.

**Chapter 4** methodology of the study, this part will describe the method of my research from data collection to analysis, all the methods I have used, the challenges I have faced and the ethical principles used in my study.

**Chapter five six and seven** will present results or findings of the data. The research questions will be addressed through the findings. The final section will forward discussion, conclusions which are the summary of the whole thesis and recommendations for further studies.

## **2 Background**

In this chapter, the background information about the place of the research (Ethiopia) and topic presented. It starts with the general profile of the country highlighting the main aspects such as social economic, political and historical facts. Next, the cultural view of the society on children is presented. This is followed by a description of the state of domestic work in Ethiopia. Then, international and national conventions and laws regarding domestic work are presented. At last, the state of child labor in Ethiopia is discussed.

### **2.1 Ethiopia: Country profile**

Ethiopia is located in the East (horn) of Africa. It shares borders with Eritrea, Djibouti, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan. The country occupies a total area of more than 1 million square kilometers, of which around 10% is covered with water (CIA Factbook, 2017). It has a landscape which varies from rugged highlands and dense forests to hot lowland plains. The average temperature of Ethiopia ranges from 13 °C (55 °F) to 23°C (73°F) (McCann, 1995).

Ethiopia is the most populous landlocked country in the world with a population of over 105 Million and is the second populous nation in Africa, next to Nigeria. Ethiopia a multi-ethnic country with Oromo (34%) and Amhara (27%) being the largest ethnic groups in the country (UN DESA/Population division). There are also around 80 languages spoken in Ethiopia, in which Amharic is the official national language. Ethiopia is a Christian dominated country, constituting approximately 66% of the population, with rest following Muslim religion (CIA Factbook, 2017).

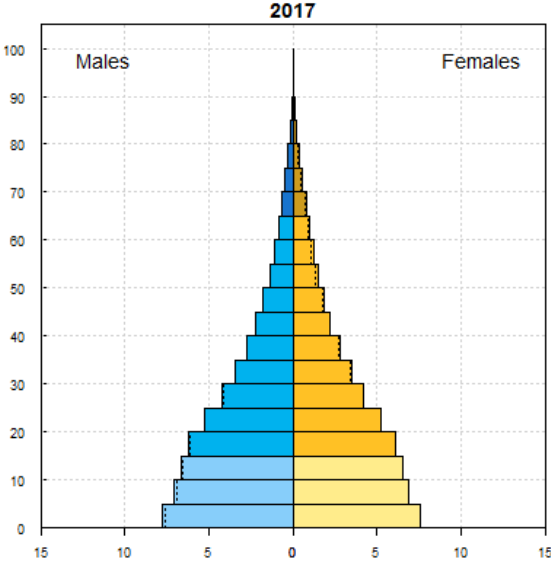
In the international arena, Ethiopia is known for the origin of the first modern humans before 3.2 Million years ago. Additionally, Ethiopia was never colonized by foreign forces except for the short-lived Italian occupation from 1936 – 41 (ibid).

In 1974, the last monarchy was over thrown by a military junta, a.k.a Derg, and installed a socialist state for 17 years. During which the country was torn by war, violence and wide-scale

drought with massive refugee problems. In 1991, the government was toppled by ethnic-based rebel forces, which formed the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (Zewde, 2001).

More than 80% of the population of Ethiopia lives in rural areas making it a predominantly agricultural society (McCann, 1995). Additionally, there is a massive government spending, mainly fueled by loans, in infrastructure projects such as power plants (production and distribution), roads, rails and airports (CIA Factbook, 2017). This accounts for much of the country's economic growth.

The country also exports agricultural products such as coffee and Khat, and horticultural products like flowers. Additionally, it exports gold, sesame, and livestock, etc.... (ibid). Nowadays remittance from the diaspora community is adding to the countries' foreign exchange earnings. Despite these changes, the country is one of the developing in the world



Ethiopia's population pyramid (UN DESA/Population division)



The population of the country is growing despite the fact the total fertility rate has declined due to education, rising age of marriage and the use of modern contraceptive methods (UN DESA/Population division). The reason is the sharp falling off the child and maternal mortality in the past decade. The countries' rapid population growth is putting a strain on land resources, weakening environmental protection and increasing vulnerability to food shortages. Ethiopia has a young population with 40% being in the younger than age 15 (CIA Factbook, 2017).

Since the 1960's, external and internal migration has taken place, due to poverty, drought and political problems, combined with forced government resettlement (Zewde, 2001). Since 1991 the migration has continued due to rapid population growth, government's prosecution of certain ethnic groups and, economic reasons (CIA Factbook, 2017). This has increased internal and international trafficking of mainly children and women for domestic work and prostitution (CIA Factbook, 2017).

## **2.2 Cultural view towards children**

In many Ethiopian societies, a child younger than five years old is viewed as a person who cannot determine good from bad (Häggström, 2003). After the age of five, a child is expected to have some awareness of its surrounding which is good enough to help with his/her family (Häggström, 2003). Girls and boys are expected to help in different ways. The former is expected to help their mother in domestic work, such as doing chores or take caring of younger siblings. Boys are expected to look after cattle or plow with their father.

Additionally, majority children have no right to decide on major issues regarding their own, such as education, medication, marriage, or even on food or clothing. Usually, parents decide for them (ANCPPAN in Häggström, 2003). There are some sayings in the dominantly spoken Amharic language that show the Parent / Child perception of society (Tamene, 2007). These sayings picture children as a person who cannot plan, handle and subsequently decide on issues concerning their own welfare or other's (Tamene, 2007). Hence, the parent-child relationship is based on the parent giving an order and a child obeying it without questioning it or any further discussion (Häggström, 2003).

Furthermore, children are expected to behave in a certain way during their different stage of development (Abdulwasie, 2007). According to their behavior, the society labels them with certain local names. For example, a child with slight communication problems is labeled as "duda, koltafa (tebtaba), or zegemteгна" which has a literal meaning of deaf, stutterer and retard (Abdulwasie, 2007).

If a child shows any "abnormal behavior," like talking to him/herself, it is regarded as "ibd" (crazy) (Abdulwasie, 2007). These kinds of name-calling affect the child's mental health adversely.

On the other hand, a good child ("chewa lig") is a person who is obedient, respectful, unchallenging towards his parents. Also, he or she is expected to keep quiet if punished, insulted or cursed, and hence avoid any conflict or quarrel within the family (Häggström, 2003).

A good child is also required not to nag parents for better living conditions (Abdulwasie, 2007). A child, who is defiant, assertive, challenging, demanding, and stands for his /her right is dimmed as a bad child ("duriye lig") (Abdulwasie, 2007). A girl who flirts with boys, and/or wears revealing clothes and makeup is classified as ("findata") which can be translated as a person who is bold in sexual activities (Abdulwasie, 2007)

The other issue is early marriage; in Ethiopian case marriage younger than 15 years old (Camfield & Tafere, 2011). This harmful practice is still enshrined in Ethiopian culture (Emirie, 2005). A married child is automatically considered as an adult, even if the child is ten years old (Häggström, 2003).

The other issue which is affecting girls is female genital cutting (FGC) (Tafere, 2009). The spread of FGC is affected by region (cultural) and religious beliefs. The prevalence is higher in Muslim dominated part of the country and rural areas (Dagne 2004 in Tafere, 2009).

Harmful cultural views and traditions towards children have an enormous impact on children's development and psychological well-being. However, slow improvement of harmful cultural attitudes is seen particularly in urban areas (Camfield & Tafere, 2011). Additionally, the

government is working hard to combat the issues (Camfield & Tafere, 2011). Early marriage and FGC are banned by the Ethiopian constitution Proc. No. 1/1995 and are punishable by law (Camfield & Tafere, 2011).

## **2.3 History of domestic work in Ethiopia**

Ethiopia has mostly a patriarchal society; hence, domestic work is predominantly done by Women (Pankhurst 1968 in Gebre, 2012). Furthermore, most domestic workers are young women or children (Andualem, 2014). The occupation has been in the country for a long time, i.e., since slavery times (Andualem, 2014). According to Andualem's description Salves, mostly "shankila" tribe, were used as domestic servants. During those times, women and men slaves worked in home and agricultural fields respectively. Domestic work in the slavery time included preparing food and fetching water (Tesfaye 2007 in Gebre, 2012).

The terms "gered" and "ashker" were used for women and men servants respectively. These words were also used in the "Amharic" version of the bible and in "Fiteha Negest", which is the 15th-century legal code of Ethiopia (Pankhurst 1976 in Andualem, 2014).

After the Ethiopian revolution in 1974, the communist regime recognized the occupation as oppressed and banned the derogatory terms and replaced it with "yebet serategna," which has a literal meaning of domestic worker (Getachew 2006 in Andualem, 2014). The workers were also given a chance to organize and fight for their rights, although this was more mostly not successful (Andualem, 2014).

## **2.4 Statistical information**

Studies reveal (e.g., ILO 2013) that 3.8 percent of all boys between the ages of 5-17 years are working in domestic work. However, the working girls under the same age group are 9.9 percent. As per ILO's, in absolute terms, at least 5.6 million boys are involved in domestic work compared to 11.5 million girls aged 5-17 years (ILO 2013).

According to the International Labor Organization estimates the number of child domestic workers aged 5-17 globally in 2012 was 17.2 million, of representing 6.5 percent of the total number of children engaged in other economic activities (ILO 2013). Domestic work is the most abundant type of employment in the world for girls under the age of 16 (UNICEF 1999).

## **2.5 Perceptions and findings about domestic work in Ethiopia**

In Ethiopia, most domestic workers are from the rural regions such as Amhara, Oromia, SNNPR (Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region) and Tigray. They tend to come mostly from large families and send the entire or part of the wage to their parents (Kifle, 2002). Some of domestic workers could be even younger than 6 years old. (Kifle, 2002)

Young girls often join the occupation because of poverty or loss of one or both parents (Kifle 2002 in Gebre 2012). Additionally, other factors such as violence in the family, unhappy early marriages or seeking a better life in the capital city are motivations for joining the workforce (Gebre 2012)

Most domestic workers are illiterate or have low educational qualification (Kifle, 2002 in Gebre 2012). Hence, they do not have enough knowledge of their rights (Andualem, 2014). The job requires little to no skill and therefore involves only short orientation. However, the job demands high level of energy and dedication (Gebre, 2012). The tasks usually take 11 hours a day and 80 hours week (Kifle, 2002). The employment could be joined by brokers ("delalas"), or through friends and family, Most of the child employees have no right to quit their jobs peacefully with agreement (Kifle, 2002).

In Ethiopia, especially in urban areas, there is an adequate number of night school programs for elementary and high school level (Belete, 2014). However many child domestic workers do not access it, due to work and time pressures, high educational fees, unplanned pregnancy (Belete, 2014).

Due to the nature of domestic work, i.e., working inside the employer's house, it is difficult to supervise the working conditions without invading the employer's privacy (Andualem, 2014).

This leads to many problems such as unclear work-life balance and long hours of unpaid overtime work (Andualem, 2014). Additionally, most Ethiopian households, including kitchen and toilet, are not equipped with adequate systems to ensure healthy working environment (Kifle 2002). This leads to health risks during routine activities, such as cooking and baking with excessive heat and smoke or cleaning a toilet without or with little to no sanitary instruments (Getachew 2006 in Gebre, 2012).

Additionally, the place of work makes domestic workers prone to sexual, physical and psychological abuse (Kifle 2002). A study which was done in the city of Harar showed that especially the very young and uneducated once find it difficult to protect themselves from abuse (Andualem, 2014). Male employers are the primary source of the violence. However, brokers, male family members, and friends are also perpetrators (Andualem, 2014). The violence ranges from inappropriate touching to rape. Alcohol, chat (local drug), social media and pornographic pictures and videos fuel the action. The consequences are a contraction of sexually transmitted diseases including HIV, unwanted pregnancy and abortion. This leads to anxiety, depressions and sometimes suicide (Andualem, 2014). The victims often choose to stay silent due to the fear of losing their jobs (Kifle, 2002). Some of children do not even recognize that as the act of crime (Andualem, 2014).

Additionally, due to their low education level, rural way of life including dress code, walking style or accent, domestic workers are considered as uncivilized and backwards in the eyes of their employees. (Getachew 2006 in Gebre, 2012)

## **2.6 National and international laws of domestic work**

In 2011, the Domestic Workers Convention, No. 189, was adopted by the International labor organization (ILO) through the International Labour Conference. The convention's objective is to provide specific protection to domestic workers by detailing their fundamental rights and responsibilities (ILO, 2011). When a country ratifies the convention, it is required to formulate specific laws and regulations following the ILO guidelines, which ensure domestic workers safety and report the results periodically. If the country is not a signatory, the convention

encourages domestic workers to organize and mobilize in their respective regions to influence the government to ratify Article 189 and furthermore outline and implement specific laws which improve the living and working standards of the employees (ILO, 2011).

Ethiopia did not ratify the convention. There is insufficient regulation of the Domestic work in the country. The 2003 labor law does not include domestic work. The government has promised special rule on the matter, but it is yet to be issued. The only legal law which directly relates to Domestic work is the 1960 civil code. However, the law is insufficient and lacks depth (Gebremedhin, 2016).

ILO convention no. 189, article 1 defines domestic workers as “work performed in or for a household or households”, including tasks such as “cleaning the house, cooking, washing and ironing clothes, taking care of children, or elderly or sick members of a family, gardening, guarding the house, driving for the family, even taking care of household pets”. According to the Convention, a domestic worker is “any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship” (ILO, 2011).

The employment can be full or part-time. The employee can be employed for single or multiple households. Depending on the contract, the person can have his own residence or live with his employers. The employment contract can be between the employee and one member of the household, or through employee and agency (ILO, 2011). Article 18 states that the requirements of the convention should be executed in collaboration between the employees’ representatives and agencies. In order to supplement the implementation, governments are required to consult with the two parties on matters, such as safe and healthy working environment, social security, protection of abuse from agencies, and other possible categories which are not part of the convention but are important to the specific case (Article 2, 13 and 15) (ILO, 2011).

According to the Ethiopian civil code, during the duration of the contract, the employer takes responsibility for the well-being of the employee, such as food, shelter, health, moral wellbeing (Article 2601, page 433). If the employee who is living in the employers household gets sick, the employee should cover and provide any care which the illness requires (Article 2602).

However, the duration of the commitment is limited only by one month if the employee worked more than a year; and by two weeks, if the employee works from 3 – to 9 months. Additionally, the employer is allowed to deduct the expenses from the wage of the employee (Article 2602).

Furthermore, the employers can be relieved from the medical care, if the employee had intentionally contracted the disease or has compulsory health insurance. The employer is not allowed to terminate the contract of the employee to relief him/herself from the commitment mentioned above (Article 2603).

ILO's Article 5 affirms the protection from any discrimination, harassment, and abuse of employees. The employment terms and conditions should be fair to the employee and should ensure decent living standards (Article 6). Employees have the right to know the terms and conditions of their employment in easily understandable language. In addition, the contract is preferred in written form (Article 7) (ILO, 2011).

Article 10 deals with rights associated with regular work hours, standby hours, break, vacation, and overtime compensation. An employee should have a minimum uninterrupted full day, 24 hours, rest per week. The salary of a domestic worker should be according to the minimum wage rule, if the country has one (Article 11).

According to Article 12, the employee must receive a direct periodic salary in cash. The period should be at least one month. However, in Ethiopia, the civil code demands the wage of the employee to be paid every three months, unless stated otherwise in the contract. The payment should be done at the end of the month. If the deal is terminated, the wage of the remaining hours must be paid immediately (Art 2604).

According to Article 12 of the ILO, payments by check or bank transfer are also possible but only after the worker's consent. In-kind payment should be done only if the equipment or service is not part of the work and only benefits the employee. Uniforms or other work-related equipment's are excluded (ILO, 2011).

All necessary steps should be taken to ensure safe and healthy working environment (Article 13). Outside of work, a conducive situation must be created to provide workers privacy (Article 6). Additionally, the worker should freely decide whether to live in the household or not. He/She should not also be obligated to stay in the household after work or during a leave. Identity documents and other personal items of the employee should not be confiscated (Article 9). Article 14 specifies social security and maternity benefits (ILO, 2011).

Countries should set a minimum age limit for domestic workers. Young workers between age 15 and 18 years old must continue their education (Article 4).

Migrant domestic workers should have written a contract or written job offer before traveling to the country. The benefits of finishing the employment should also be stated. Additionally, there should be a coordinated effort that make sure safe transportation of employees to and from the country of work (Article 8) (ILO, 2011).

Article 15 regulates activates of private employment agencies. This includes making sure the complaints of the employees are properly investigated. The agencies also have the responsibility for the protection of employees from any kind of abuse. This should be done in collaboration with the responsible parties and by making a bilateral agreement with regional and international actors (ILO, 2011).

Article 17 deals with conflict resolution between employee and employer. In this case, the former should get enough access to judicial institutions as the latter. If the inspection is necessary, it should be done by balancing the need for protection of the workers and the privacy of the employer (ILO, 2011).

## **2.7 Child labor in Ethiopia and government activities**

In Ethiopia, children from the age 5 to 14 years old account to 22% of the working force. Hence, only 54 % of this age group is attending school. 17% of Children between the ages of 7 to 14 work and go to school at the same time. Overall only 53% percent of children finish primary school successfully (UNESCO and UCW in US dept. of labor, 2016). Children are involved in



various, and often dangerous, tasks in sectors such as agriculture, industry or service. In agriculture, for example, the activities require planting, harvesting, herding livestock, and fishing. Industry accounts for mining, construction, pottery, textiles. Services include domestic work (paid or unpaid), shoe shiner, assistance to taxi drivers (Weyalas), or beggar. Many children, especially girls, are also forced to work as prostitutes (US Dept. of labor, 2016). The above activities are in part the result of internal child trafficking, especially from rural areas to the capital city or other cities.

Ethiopia is trying to fight child labor. The government has accepted all vital conventions regarding child labor including the UNCRC conventions, ILO C. 138, minimum age limit, Palermo protocol on trafficking in persons (US Dept. of labor, 2016). Furthermore, the government has also formulated specific laws and regulations, regarding child labor according to international standards. To mention a few, the prohibition of forced labor, child trafficking, or commercial sexual exploitation of children. Moreover, the government has set a minimum age limit of 18 years old for overseas workers. However, there are still laws, which do not meet international standards such as minimum age limit for local child workers, a compulsory age of education, or free public school for all (US Dept. of labor, 2016).

The main institutions, which are involved in enforcing the rules and regulations of child labor, are the ministry of labor and social affairs (MOLSA), the federal police commission, office of attorney general and ministry women and children affairs (MWCA). The above institutions are responsible for inspection of working sites, implementation of occupational health and safety, and wage standards; investigation of criminal activities involving child labor and trafficking; protection of vulnerable children (US Dept. of labor, 2016).

The government is also committed to combat the issue through a range of policies and social programs, which promote prevention of child trafficking and rehabilitation and reintegration of victims. One of those programs is a UNICEF backed social cash program. This scheme provides cash transfers to regions with vulnerable populations and affected children to provide for their education and healthcare (US Dept. of labor, 2016).

## 2.8 “Autobis Tera” (central bus station)

“Autobis Tera” is located in Africa’s largest open-air marketplace called “MerKato”. The name stands for the Italian word Market. Merkato grew in size without any concrete plan. Hence Merkato is not only a place for Merchandise like Agricultural products, Electronics, etc... is sold, but also a place where unconventional broker activities, like Child domestic servants, are accessed.

A broker is a person who functions as an agent or intermediary between two or more parties in negotiating agreements, in return for a commission (Collins Dictionary, 2011). Broker house “Delala bet” means a house where brokers are located.



Merkato (Backpackingman, 2013)

As shown in the previous picture, Merkato is a very crowded marketplace. It is in one of the sub-cities where the population density is high. The crime and theft rate is high. One of the central bus stations is located there and connects the city with other cities. The broker houses near the bus station are highly accessed by Young girls and women who come to look for jobs. Broker houses near the bus station are more accessible by girls who migrate from rural to urban areas to take up domestic work jobs.

### **3 Theoretical concepts and perspectives**

The research participant's voice is analyzed through several theoretical lenses. The chapter starts by describing social studies of children and childhood agency, as well as the actor perspective. Following this, it explains power relations, the postcolonial perspective, the sociocultural perspective on work, and domestic work and gender.

#### **3.1 Social studies of children and childhood**

The twentieth century was characterized by high interest in children, focusing on different welfare, policy, educational, medical, and other institutions (James & Prout, 2015). The dominant theories or perspectives conceptualizing the child emerged in the psychology and sociology fields. Theories in social studies on children and childhood emerged in 1980s, and these dominant perspectives were criticized.

Jean Piaget and Talcott parsons are the leading scholars in developmental psychology and sociology (Woodhead, 2013). They have had a wide influence on the social sciences in the areas of learning theory and socialization theory (Jenks, 2005). Piaget described chronologically ordered stages of intellectual development, starting “from sensory-motor intelligence immediately succeeding birth, and proceeding through pre-conceptual thought, intuitive thought and concrete operations up to the level of formal operations” (Jenks, 2005, p. 22). This system is characterized by well-defined sequences and pattern of mental and physical actions forming the child's view of the world (Jenks, 2002, p. 80).

Different scholars have criticized Piaget's work. In Piaget's research, the children's responses were affected by the unfamiliar social context of laboratory experiments (Donaldson, in James, 2009). Rose (in Jenks, 2005) argued that the psychological sequences are used as a standard to measure the performances of children in a certain age in a specified activity.

Developmental stages describe children in terms of what they need and do (Woodhead, 2009). The theory of developmental stages led to the development of generalized views of children who

enjoy non-serious plays and activities, avoiding work and serious activities at all costs (Denzin, in Jenks, 2005). However, it is vital to acknowledge the complexities of childhood in modern societies (Woodhead, 2009). Vygotsky also criticized Piaget's work by explaining that the child is positioned as a "social actor," as he or she is involved in social relations and activities of different kinds (James, 2009).

The primary concept in understanding childhoods is that they are socially constructed. Therefore, the social constructionist approach is "*committed to the view that childhood is not a natural phenomenon and could not properly be understood as such then, sociology of childhoods always relates to a particular cultural setting*" (Jenks, 1996, p. 7). Comparative historical and cross-cultural analyses have shown different types of childhoods rather than a single "worldview of childhood" (James & Prout, 2015). Childhood approaches generate an understanding of different childhoods in different historical periods. Philippe Ariès's work on the history of childhood has influenced the understanding of childhood in different historical periods (Hedegaard, 2009). He stated that childhood didn't exist in the medieval society. This challenged the traditional assumptions of universal childhoods (James & Prout, 2015).

The Piaget's developmental framework has inspired studies to show the completeness of adults as beings and the immaturity of children in the process of becoming (Lee, 1998). For instance, for a long time, social anthropologists are focusing on the effects of culture on child future (James, 2009). Children have been viewed as "human becoming's," which involves "interpreting everything children do or have done to them in terms of how this will affect their journey toward adulthood" (James, 2009, p. 34).

Socialization is the core issue in sociology. Sociologists describe the significance of social structure specifically when it comes to children the focus has been children heading towards adulthood (Qvortrup et al, 2009). Talcott Parsons commented on tensions and resistance arising while integrating into society (Qvortrup et al, 2009). However, in his and most sociologist view, "children did not have agency, and the notion of childhood as a segment in the social structure was not in their minds" (Qvortrup et al, 2009, p.22).

Traditionally adulthood represented a kind of end to the child's journey of a child (James, 2009). "Individual's most important functions for society are performed when he is fully adult, not when he is immature" (Davis, 1940 in Qvortrup et al, 2009, p.22). Knowledge of children and childhood remained unreflexively centered on the experiences of adults who shaped the frameworks and methods of research (Boh & Sadav, in Qvortrup, 2015). Moreover, children were generally invisible in statistics, and other social accounting and social sciences, such as economics, political science, and sociology, have traditionally neglected children (Qvortrup, 2015, p. 76).

This leads to the other argument in the social studies of children and childhood, which is that "childhood and children's social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right, and not just in respect to their social construction by adults" (James & Prout, 2015, p.7). In this view, children must be seen as active in the construction of their own lives and the lives of those around them (James, 2009).

### **3.2 Agency**

"Agency is individual own capacities, competencies, and activities through which they navigate the contexts and positions of their lifeworld's, fulfilling many economic social and cultural expectations at the same time mapping individual collective choices and possibilities for their daily and future lives" (Robson et al., 2007,p.135). Young people have the capacity to participate and make meanings about lives and future (Robson et al., 2007).

Most people in the majority world live in the rural areas. Urban young people are more visible to research than rural; however, some rural studies of children have shown that rural children are economically valuable for their parents by working in the farm (Tienda, 1979 in Robson et al., 2007). Rural young people negotiate their everyday life with different people of different setting these interconnections can be pointed out (Robson et al., 2007). The concept agency is wide and uses different approaches to describe it depending on the context of diverse life experiences (Robson et al., 2007).

One of the themes in young people's agency is about "everyday spheres of labor and work in the majority world" (Robson et al., 2007, p.139). Research conducted by Klocker revealed Tanzanians girls experience of asserting agency of being child domestic worker (Klocker, 2007). Klocker further described that Strength, character, ability, desire to take responsibility and plan proved the child domestic workers agency in Tanzania.

The term 'thick' and 'thin' agency is adopted by Klocker to show two different sides of agency in the child domestic workers life. Thin agency means decisions and everyday actions in between limited alternatives in contrast thick agency is having the freedom to decide from a range of options (Klocker, 2007).

Klocker described that Poverty, age, and gender is among the thinners of child domestic workers agency. In cultures where elders are respected and intergenerational responsibility has a high value, age plays a vital role in a thin agency. The unequal adult child relationship makes children preferred for child domestic work because they are easier to impose power (Klocker, 2007).

Normalization of domestic work comes out of the point that females are naturally socialized into a domestic role (Klocker, 2007). This Gender aspect is thinning factor for an agency because it leads the domestic workers not to be taken seriously as 'real work' (Klocker, 2007). Poverty is also mentioned as a thinning factor because it causes child domestic workers not to leave unfavorable employment situations (e.g., abuse, exploitation).

"To see children as agents is to regard them as also having a part to play in the lives of those around them in the societies they live by forming independent social relationships and cultures" (Mayall, 2002 in James, 2009, p.41). Relational agency is also one recently appearing approach to bring an adequate understanding of agency. Relational agency is the further understanding of agency in interrelationships (Raithelhuber, 2016). Agency should not strictly stick to one human being but distributed among various participants in action. Agency in relations is seen as socially produced and culturally constructed activities (Raithelhuber, 2016).

### 3.3 Power relations

Power is manifested in spatially and culturally divergent ways (Taylor, in Punch et al., 2007). It has multiple definitions; moreover, it is invisible and has no constant nature (Punch et al., 2007). Power and agency are linked in that the exercise of power depends on agency (Robson et al., 2007). The child–adult relationship is important aspect to explore as a generational and hierarchical relationship that offers both opportunities and limitations for children’s agency (Mayall, in James, 2009).

In most of the world, there are visible inequalities between rural and urban areas in terms of the available goods, work, and education (Robson et al., 2007). Migration is one of the livelihood strategies for young people in rural areas. It is not always easy to identify the agency of young people’s lives (child labor), which may include circumstances of exploitation and oppression (Robson et al., 2007). Migration may make young people feel empowered and powerless at the same time, which shows that power is complex and dynamic (Punch, 2007). Children everywhere “resist power and authority in creative, challenging, and subtle ways” (Robson et al., 2007, p. 223).

Power is conceptualized in many ways, including power as an object, relational power, or suggestive of empowerment. Power as an object views adults’ acts as a form of control to meditate the lived experiences of young people (Punch et al., 2007). Actor–network theory has been adopted to understand the different aspects of “authority, influence and the workings of power” (Punch et al., 2007, p.206). In this theory, power is seen as moving among different actors. As a result, conceptualizing power as an object gives it the form of materiality, putting aside the negotiations between actors (Punch et al., 2007).

Power conceptualized as a relational phenomenon reveals that power is not a property belonging to someone (Foucault, 1990; Halperin, in Punch et al., 2007). Foucault describes power as exercised rather than owned, which shows the relationship between agency and power (Bell, 2007). This means individuals exercise and experience power with different levels of influence (Bell, 2007).



Employing a relational perspective, childhood can be understood as “embedded in the mechanisms of power and privilege, where children and youth are formed via powerful relations and discourses” (Punch et al., 2007, p. 207). Empowerment is part of power, which emphasizes the development of power within and enhance one’s power with others in similar conditions (Rowlands, in Punch et al., 2007).

Young people are not passive in adult-dominated power relations, as they negotiate with adults (parents, landowners, police officers); competition and negotiation with other groups of young people with a similar status may also arise (Dunkley et al., 2007). Some children gain greater power of control due to their circumstances, such as like poverty and migration (Jones, 2007). This clarifies that children exercise power when they are given more space to be themselves (Jones, 2007).

### **3.4 Postcolonial perspective and childhood studies**

Post-colonial theories came from thoughts that examine the consequence of post-colonial time in history. This thought is not only related to formerly colonized countries, however, has relevance for states that are influenced by post-colonial thoughts (Liebel, 2017). This perspective opens opportunities to look further than discourses of economic exploitation to explain child labor that is generated from western thoughts (Klocker, 2014).

Children and childhoods are related to this in a way that post-colonial theories criticize the superiority character of western strategies for development. "*Children without childhoods*" is one of the common terms used by different organizations to support the agenda of saving and protecting children of the global south (Liebel, 2017). However, this term "overlooks the fact that childhood is a socially constructed phenomenon that change over time depending on historical, societal and cultural contexts" (Liebel, 2017, p.79)

Post-colonial child policies aim at improving developing countries children under the concept of developmental policies. One particular issue of developmental policies are developed regarding ‘indigenous and working children’. As argued by Liebel, 2017 International policies, for

instance, ILO program for the complete elimination of child labor by the year 2020, is criticized for ignoring different conditions in which children work. These Policies seem to undervalue "local experiences and perspectives of working and indigenous children as being culturally underdeveloped and immature" (Liebel, 2017, p.93). The experience of working children reveals "the education system is not in harmony with their living circumstances" (Liebel, 2017). Overall, postcolonial perspective and childhood studies emphasized questioning the normal and valuing the lived experiences of children. This is helpful for the research that emphasizes and gives a chance to the child domestic workers who want to say about their work life from their perspective.

### **3.5 Theories of child labor**

Most of the world's children live in the economically poor world regions of Latin America, Asia, and Africa; they are referred to as the majority world children (Punch, 2003). Minority world children are those in the first world (Punch, 2003). About three-quarters of the world's child laborers live in Asia, while about one-fifth live in Africa (Jafarey et al., 2001). Working children are seen either as competent actors or dependent and vulnerable victims (Abebe & Bessel, 2011).

There are different approaches to explaining child labor. In early discussions of child labor, all work done by children was viewed as harmful or exploitative (Rogers et al., 2008). Some studies described child labor as a "poverty trap": "Parents send children to work, that generation misses out on an education and in its own turn sends its own children to work" (Jafarey et al., 2001, p. 13). By the mid-1990s, it was agreed that some work could be beneficial for children to acquire skills or for consumption of material needs (Rogers et al., 2008, p. 4).

In the Western model, leisure activities and school are the desirable activities in which children can engage. Third World childhoods are to be considered deviant when examined in the globalized model of childhood, which is based on Western ideals (Boyden, in Punch, 2003).

Minority group children is one of the perspectives in social studies of children and childhoods. It is an "Adult child' approach which views children 'as indistinguishable from adults here children

are seen as active subjects” (James et al., in Punch, 2003); however, it is an adult-centered approach. In contrast, the tribal child approach focuses on “the ‘otherness’ of childhood, the child’s cultural world as separate from that of adults, where children act autonomously with their own rituals and rules” (Punch, 2003, p. 5); this is similar to the socially constructed child (Punch, 2003). According to the sociocultural perspective, children’s work is presented as an integral part of everyday life, and it is indispensable to family livelihoods (Abebe & Bessel, 2011). As a result, the sociocultural perspective on work is an appropriate approach for understanding the lived experiences of child domestic workers.

### **3.6 Socio-cultural perspectives of work**

Socio-cultural perspectives of child work. This approach is very relevant to understand the experience of girls who migrate from rural to urban areas to take domestic work jobs. This perspective reveals the appropriate method to understand, the nature and causes of children work, and the advantages and challenges associated with it through the lenses of local context (Abebe and Bessell, 2011).

This is a favorite perspective in social studies of children and childhood because it underlines the transformation of the "*natural' category of the child into a 'socio-cultural' construction*" (Jenks 1996 in Abebe and Bessell, 2011). Young people lives are shaped by local contexts; therefore, it varies between societies even among children within societies (Ansell, 2005).

Anthropologists and sociologist (Qvortrup, Jenks, Prout, James, Corsaro,) who criticized the developmental theory has followed the deconstruction approach and described development in everyday practice in time and space (Hedegaard, 2009). They further suggested childhood to focus on children within different societal settings (Hedegaard, 2009). Bourdillion and Nieuwenhuys ( in Abebe and Bessell, 2011,p. 770) argue that "*children's work needs to be understood in the light of different material and cultural conditions and seen as varying according to a range of individual factors, including the age, gender, capability, birth order and sibling composition of the child involved.*" The ‘global model’ of childhood is seen as ideal however, childhood remains historically and culturally specific (Ansell, 2005). The lives, values,

and knowledge of childhood are flowing and changing by local, regional and global changes (Abebe, & Kjørholt, 2013).

Cross-cultural research has proved children sense of 'self-reliance, worth, respect and pride that comes out of the ability to add on the family income' (Abebe and Bessell, 2011, p. 772). Families normally have a major role in raising children to conform to the norms of their particular culture, in contrast, many children also play important roles in their families (Ansell, 2005).

It is also pointed out that long time spent at school has distanced children and young people from adult social life and limited the opportunities to learn important life skills (Abebe and Bessell, 2011). Studies reveal that there is a gap between a local knowledge and formal classroom lessons in rural Africa, which decreases the participation and creativity of children (Jirata & Benti, 2013).

### **3.7 Domestic work and gender**

Community understandings of gendered childhood affect how children work and what type of work they do (Camfield & Tafere, in Abate & Abebe, 2013). In the majority world household chores are shared responsibilities of girls and women of the household (Abate & Abebe, 2013). The life experiences of child domestic workers can be understood in their "gender, familial and generational contexts" (Abate & Abebe, 2013, p.148). Domestic work is often viewed as natural or intrinsic to being a woman (Wong, 2012, p. 41). The traditional gender-based division of labor associates women with housework (Labadie-Jackson, 2008). Socially constructed gender roles and obligations from an early age influence how both boys and girls live and work (Abebe & Bessel, 2011).

Women are the dominant workers in care services, and they often engage in international migration to carry out this work (Caritas, 2012). This is because domestic work is conceived as an extension of the work of women in the house (Labadie-Jackson, 2008, p. 10). It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the feminization of domestic work and migration in detail.

However, it is vital to highlight the gender aspect of domestic work in general to understand the lived experiences of child domestic workers.

## **4 Research methodology**

### **4.1 Introduction**

Methodology is a set of procedures used to gather data for the research (Thomas & Hodges, 2010). In this chapter, all the methods from gaining access, data collection to analysis and transcript are described in detail.

It starts with accessing children, selecting research site and participants. Then it follows with explaining approaches for the study, data collection methods. It continues with all the ethical principles applied. The last part describes the data transcription and analysis process.

### **4.2 Gaining Access and reflexive approach**

Gatekeeping describes, “The person involved in the process to allow or deny another access to someone or something” (Gray 2013 in McFadyen et al., 2017, p.83). Furthermore, the argument made by Cree, Kay, and Tisdall (2000) also affirms that researchers under a sensitive topic frequently face challenges of accessing children only with a co-operation of many different gatekeepers, and access is the key to research. Access needs not only approval papers from research or academic institutions but also the cooperation of Gatekeepers (McFadyen & Rankin 2017).

In the first attempt of gaining access, my expectation about accessing child domestic workers and what I experienced was different. In Addis, which is my study area, I did not find an institution with organized structure office that recruits or works with child domestic workers that could help, in accessing child domestic workers. Prior, going to the fieldwork, I anticipated that locating child domestic workers would not be a difficult task and it was mainly because, I always encounter child domestic workers often running to shops or walking with their employers. However, upon my arrival to the area as a student researcher, I experienced a different situation.

Reflexivity should be the major point of research from choosing a method to role and assumptions of a researcher (Hart&Tyrer, 2006). Depending on my previous knowledge as a resident and social worker in Addis, I already knew that there is brokers and brokers' house that work to help domestic work seekers to get an employer, around every village of the city. Thus, I planned to use these broker houses as a place of meeting for the study participant and me. However, as mentioned earlier I did not find well-structured broker houses with their website or email; and the maximum contact information they have is a tag in front of their business center and a phone number.

Even though broker houses are found almost in every corner of the city, through random continuous observation and effort, I have decided to choose areas around the bus station. It is bustling full business center with different kinds of people. It is not shocking to find and have some young girls seating inside the broker house. Before deciding to conduct my research in the bus station, I first tried from the one that is near my living area, but there were no available child domestic workers. Thus, I started asking people randomly like shopkeepers or shoe shiners about where to find child domestic workers and it didn't work. At this point, I reflected on myself because self-evaluation of knowledge and skills is essential for successful research (McFadyen & Rankin 2017).

Moreover, I find out that people were withholding information because they are aware that the government has banned child labor and there was advertisement made on radio or national TV with different court stories, and the awareness of people was beyond my expectation. Reflexivity is a critical concept in the whole research process, and specifically, it has been crucial in gaining access (McFadyen & Rankin, 2017).

It is also essential to gain a clear insight in understanding the actions of the gatekeepers (McFadyen & Rankin, 2017). The people I approached for information looked at me as someone working for the government in the abolishment of child labor or child domestic work. A process of reflection involves asking why and how things can be done (McFadyen & Rankin, 2017). Later, I realized that their lack of interest to welcome me was mainly because, of my approach and my lack of adjustment to the environment; as first commented by a brother of mine.

Researcher's self-presentation, gender, the language of the researcher, and the way participants perceive the researcher are mentioned as factors that can affect the relationship between the researcher and research participating children (Abebe, 2009; Ennew et al., 2009). Therefore, based on my observation, readings and brother's advice, I adjusted myself to the environment. That means I have changed the way I dress, and the way I used to talk. The first few days I did not think much about the way I dress, i.e., I was dressing much formal looking like going to the office, and I was also murmuring, but should raise my voice and talk like a person looking for something passionately.

“Researchers face a great challenge in finding ways to break down the power imbalance between adults and children especially if working in a historical and cultural context in which children voices have been marginalized” (O’Kane, 2008, p.126). Researchers attitude should be challenged in a way that researcher should not act like instructors or teachers but respect and adhere to local codes (Ennew et al. 2009).

So next time I was wearing a casual t-shirt, and a scarf and I used typical words that are used when a person wants to hire a child domestic worker. After changing my style I was more accepted. I understood that my previous approach made me look like a spy wearing formal.

One morning I went out from home I sat and made my shoe cleaned intentionally by a shoe shiner who looks not older than 11 years old. I asked the boy if he knows brokers who have small girls mentioning that I was searching to hire for my home. He gave me critical information and said: *“these days the brokers are afraid of going to jail if you go and ask them they will link you with someone, but you cannot find those girls sitting in the broker house, the one sitting are older ones.”* In the way of finding out, I met Dagmawit who by that time is newly hired, luckily, she was employed in somebody's house I know, and Dagmawit has given me the broker's number she knows.

However, when I called the broker, the broker denied that she knows anything about such things. The broker was afraid of saying things on the phone in case the conversation is recorded. “Gatekeepers may experience fear or anxiety of backlash from the media from sensitive issues”



(McFadyen & Rankin, 2017, p.86). As a result, I am told that if I want I should talk to her in person, not by phone.

As I started to notice that my plan to meet children in the broker house was not working, I was a little overwhelmed and started thinking and looking for another strategy. Fortunately, I got an opportunity to share my thoughts and plan to people around me. Luckily, one morning on the weekend I received a call from a friend and got informed that as she was coming from another city she saw young girls going to a broker house around the bus station. She took the broker's number and called me immediately. The next day we went together, and I sat and discussed with the broker about my real identity, plan, and everything related to the research.

Fortunately, he was the most optimist and open-minded person. Having such discouraging situations, I did not expect to meet someone who would open his doors and receive me with not so many challenges. One of the factors that influence the action of a gatekeeper is intrinsic motivation, which is "a powerful tool in stimulating individuals to engage especially if there is a sense of achievement, personal satisfaction and ownership in the process" (Amabile & Kramer in McFadyen & Rankin, 2017, 2017, p.87). He is aware of what a research is; he even said, "*We brokers also need trainings*" and allowed me to start whenever I want. Therefore, having him (the broker) around, my assistant, I was enabled to form and conduct my study.

### 4.3 Study Site

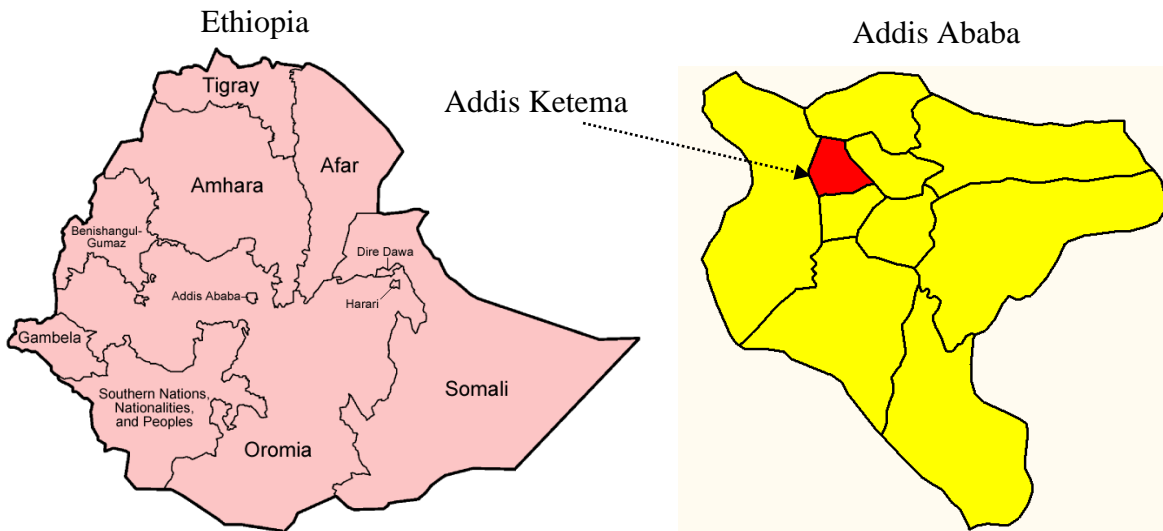


Figure 4.1: Map of the region where the study is conducted. Source: Wikipedia an <http://hornobserver.com>

Finally, for the reasons mentioned in the previous part I end up choosing the bus station, which is part of Addis Ketema sub-city administration of Addis. According to the CSA (2007) report, 255,372 people are living in Addis Ketema sub-city. The exact location of the broker house is very busy with different kinds of people, and there are so many broker houses around to help children/women who are seeking to be hired for domestic chores. The area is a business center for so many socio-economic activities and criminal activities, for instance, robbery. Thus, it was not a surprise to find and have some young girls sitting inside the broker house.

## **4.4 Study Participants and Criteria's of Selecting research**

### **Participants**

Method of selecting research participants highly relates to the relevance and representativeness of the research findings (Hart&Tyrrer, 2006). The study focuses on the experiences of child domestic workers who migrate from rural to urban areas to take domestic works, the participants are primarily the children domestic workers themselves who migrate from rural to urban areas to seek domestic works. “yebet serategna,” is the term used in the local language to refer to those children who are hired to perform household chores in the house of their employers.

A researcher who intends to work with female participants in a society where accessing girls is difficult should consider recruiting female research assistant (Hart & Tyrrer, 2006). The fact that I am a female is an advantage with working with the female child domestic workers and also the person assisting me in the research for translation and FGD was a female. It is also important to take note of the behavior of visitor and inform the children and the visitor about the topic (Ennew et al. 2009). I informed my assistant about the topic and I also informed the children about her. I informed and took verbal consent.

Eight child domestic workers meeting the eligibility criteria to be included in the study were selected and participated in the study. To be chosen to participate in the study, first, they have to be willing to take part in the research. Second, they must be migrants from rural to Addis; and third, they should have been working so in the past. I didn't first set the time unit for work experience. However, all of them have more than enough experience with a minimum of 2 years. The study was mainly on the experiences child domestic workers, and finally, they should be less than 17 years of age. One broker with whom I used to connect to the domestic workers was also included in the interview

Based on the above three criteria's, I selected and participated the following eight girls and seven of them were selected from the study areas around the bus station, which is part of Addis Ketema sub-city administration of Addis. The other one is accessed from the employer house I know.

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**Table 1****Study participants profile**

<b>Pseudonyms of study participants</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Age to take Domestic Work</b>	<b>Year of experiences</b>
<b>Aster</b>	17	Started at age 14	3
<b>Birhan</b>	16	Started at age 14	2
<b>Simret</b>	17	Started at age 14	3
<b>Dagmawi</b>	16	Started at age 14	2
<b>Eden</b>	17	Started at age 13	4
<b>Fasika</b>	17	Started at age 14	3
<b>Genet</b>	16	Started at age 14	2
<b>Heremela</b>	17	Started at age 14	3

During the fieldwork, I had face to face conversation with the girls. Each meeting was held for one and a half hours minimum. I limited the time added refreshment to keep the environment motivated (Hart & Tyrer, 2006).

I communicated with the girls during weekdays at the broker's workplace. At different stages of the research, it is important to notice the different cultural practices because the nature of communication is profoundly shaped by cultures (Hart & Tyrer, 2006). For instance, traditional coffee making ceremony is famous socialization and talking tradition in Ethiopia. Coffee is not

only stimulating but also to initiate conversation. "While the coffee ceremony is liked and cherished by all people regardless of differences in culture, social class, age, and sex, in many cases it is women who spend much of their time on it" (Tesfaye, 2011, p,124). Every time I am, there one of the girls make traditional coffee as seen in the picture attached.

Participants are specialists of their world (Payne and Payne, 2009); as a result, I adjusted the way of communication in a way that fits their interest.



**Picture 1: roasting coffee in the broker house**



**Picture 2: Small coffee cups**

## **4.5 Approach to the study with a focus on children voice**

This is a qualitative research and applied qualitative data collection methods. This study approaches the life experiences of child domestic workers based on the social studies of children and childhood. How human beings are viewed determines the overall research, methodology, or theory (Beazley, 2006). Methodologically it is important to have clear standpoint regarding approach and ethics related to researching children (Hill, 1997).

The approach gives paramount interest to the perspective, knowledge, and skills of children presenting their voice on the topic under study; treats children as social actors and participants in their social world. The study was also based both human rights approach in general, which emphasizes that the rights of domestic workers be as universal, stringent entitlement; and the

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989). It emphasizes the rights of the child be protected, provisioned, and have participated in all concerning areas. In 2006 global efforts by the association of domestic workers and human rights, advocates were made for protecting and recognizing them as workers with human and labor rights (Gebre, 2012).

This study specifically preferred participatory research method that is based on the human right principle. Respect for diversity and enhancement of local capabilities is the common principles of participatory research method (O’Kane, 2008). The emphasis of participatory research is generating knowledge from the perspectives of the participants. Klorker, (2007), argues that an adult researcher who engages young people as a researcher contributes to enhancement of their agency by their active participation (Robson et al., 2007). This philosophy is practiced through research when research participants are seen as active agents, their words are respected, and when the methods are flexible, explanatory and inventive (Beazley, 2006, P.192). I tried applying it.

#### **4.5.1 Data Source**

People, events, and items are the three potential data source classifications for researchers (Blaikie, 2000 in Thomas et al, 2010). Based on the following factors with the aim of writing thesis, access and time of data collection I have chosen among the following methods (O’Kane, 2008). One to one in-depth interview, semi-structured interview, and focus group discussion are the methods used in social and health research to gather information from people (Thomas et al, 2010).

In this study, both primary and secondary data were collected to answer the research questions. Primary data were obtained directly from the study participants (explained above). Secondary data were collected from other sources other than the person directly collecting. The primary data were mainly intended to answer the research questions, while at the secondary data were designed to support the process of answering the question. These include articles, books, policy documents social media report, and research findings.

I used methods and data sources to avoid biases that come out of using a single method (Hart & Tyrer, 2006). The sections below describe the research methods, from whom, and how primary data were collected.

#### **4.5.2 In-depth Interview**

Qualitative interview as a method gives the best access to people's basic experience of the lived world (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). Qualitative interview seeks knowledge from the expressions of everyday language. However, it requires precise description and specificity of experiences and feelings (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). In my fieldwork; in-depth interviews were used and held with eight child domestic workers.

The interviews were conducted mainly to explore the life experiences of child domestic workers. Initially, I used the interview guiding questions that were prepared for the fieldwork, which includes open-ended and close-ended questions. I was encouraging the research participants to describe their opinion with a focus because; qualitative research is not strictly structured or nondirective at all (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015).

Since I wanted the girls to participate in the process; I refined my questions after few exposures with the child domestic workers. The interviews were conducted in a local language called Amharigna, which is one of the eighty lingual groups in Ethiopia and working language at a federal level. One of the girls understands only the language "oromifa". As a result, my assistant helped me in the translation.

The interview guides were structured in the following topics to gather data about demographic information; the pattern of migration to urban areas and the time interval they work; their personal opinion and feelings about the work and work conditions, current earnings, and plan for future. Questions about own opinions and experiences were open-ended, and that enabled me to raise further questions from their answers. This method has helped me to go further beyond the already defined problems by providing a flexible environment (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015).



### 4.5.3 Interview with Participants

Research participants have different levels of expression. Good participants in the interview process are “truthful, precise, coherent, do not contradict themselves and stick to the interview topic” (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p, 193). Interestingly most of the participants of the study were good at narrating and explaining their feelings, regarding the work. Only two of the participants especially Aster were a little shy and could not be able to tell further more than few words, and that hindered me from further exploring different perspectives from their answer.

The interview has been the essential method of the fieldwork for me for so many reasons. The interview, oral histories or testimonies are key collections from people who cannot or do not want to write (Beazley, 2006). The other reason is that storytelling is part of African oral tradition (Jirata & Benti, 2013).

Using task-based methods makes children feel more comfortable around adults. Drawing and dairy were the task-based methods available in my initial plan. However, Drawing and diaries need the ability and literacy of the research participants (Punch, 2002).

During our interaction in the time of fieldwork, I found out that most girls were not good at writing their story or drawing. This concurs with Gebre’s (2012) finding that most domestic workers have lower education level. They were better at explaining things verbally than expressing their view by writing. For instance, I used to give my participants a pencil, paper, and rubber to draw and write whatever that came to their mind. However, they were most stressed and told me that as they will give the task in the next day considering it as homework and duty. In the next day, they came up with another reason like as they were, busy and could not come up with something in short time.

Even though my attempt to give them more time, they have shown their lack of interest to do the task. While exploring further, I found out that it has been a long time since the children are away from school and also they were not thought to draw or write stories. Studies in Addis Ababa (e.g., Gebre, 2012) proves the education level of domestic workers in one of the sub-city in

Addis Ababa, which reported that 40% of the domestic workers had attended primary school while the 60% were found illiterate.

Good interview also depends on the ability of the interviewer. According to standards set by Brinkmann & Kvale, (2015p.194), a researcher with excellent interview skills “is proficient in the language, with an ear for her subject’s linguistic style, and be able to assist the subjects in the unfolding of their narratives”. I tried being clear on my questions and gentle in a way that I let them finish their speaking at their own speed. This requires much patience because of the other challenges.

The other challenge during the fieldwork was the traffic Jam, and it made difficult to meet up on time. In the first few days, the traffic Jam frustrated me until I discover and decide the exact research location. Nevertheless, once I made a decision about the research location and got the access, I was going out early and get prepared for the day. Again, the other challenge was related to the rainy weather condition of the fieldwork session. However, in the rainy season in Addis Ababa, it does not rain all day long. That means if it rains in the morning, it has a high probability of being dry and sunny in the afternoon and vice versa.

As a student who experienced the Norwegian weather rain was not a challenge for me, however, my participants thought that it is cold and a little bit muddy that the broker house became noisy and crowded as no one sits outside on the open air. As a researcher, it is important to develop a relationship with the children that would make them feel comfortable to continue throughout the research process (Christensen, 2004). Thus, I tried to adjust my self-according to weather, availability, and flexible time for the girls.

Before I accessed my research location, I got the chance to interview Dagmawit who was hired at a house of a person I know. Dagmawit was new to the house worked only for a month by the time I met her. This helped her to be free because she was only talking about her previous experiences in other houses. She was very flexible and free to talk about her experience as a domestic worker. This had given a better opportunity for me and paved the way to start my journey of gathering my fieldwork data. Furthermore, she even recommended me to meet her

younger sister aged nine, who came eight months ago to Addis Ababa. I was very excited when Dagmawit told me that it was not difficult to access her sister and the girl was the youngest of all I met. Nevertheless, the employer was not willing and refused to make her go out to meet Dagmawit and me. The girl herself also was even a little disappointed by her big sister for raising such sensitive issue.

Even though Dagmawit came up with further tricks to help, one of the ethical principles of participatory research method is not to mislead and use participants intentionally (Beazley, 2006). I found it an unethical severe matter to access a child without the consent of the gatekeeper, which in this case is the employer. Despite the challenges, the location was perfect for me since it is in the house and quite. Dagmawit was enjoying the interview and further recommended me options 'insider view' on how to meet other domestic workers, to the point that I felt like she was my co-researcher. She told me that she could take me to her previous employer's residence area and make me meet with other girls she knows. "Children observe with different eyes, ask different questions, they sometimes ask questions adults do not think of have different concerns and immediate access to a peer culture where adults are outsiders" (Spyrou, 2011, p.155).

In that area, domestic workers go out to fetch water and stand in a line waiting for their turn. This is not happening every day. Often the water transmission system is off in that area. For that reason, there is one place where every domestic worker gathers to fetch water but, "Central requirements of research is that research participants should not unnecessarily be exposed to a risk of harm" (Thomas et al, p.31, 2010). Dagmawit was not concerned about the harm that; if employers find out that, her friends are hiding and spending time with a researcher. However, I found this very unethical.

All the rest of the study participants accessed and interviewed in the broker house; is after the fulfillment of all the ethical requirements mentioned in this paper.

#### **4.5.4 Focus Group Discussion**

In this study, I also employed focus group discussion to have a conversation with study participants on the topic under investigation. This method enabled me to gather information. Focus group discussion is also one of the participatory methods researchers use by facilitating participants to identify community priorities and further develop questioner (Beazley, 2006).

In this study two focus group discussion was conducted with a group of five girls. I selected the same girls who participated in the interview, and it has helped me as a method of triangulation to check the consistency of their data (Hart & Tyrer, 2006). The discussion mainly aimed at exploring their expectation before becoming a domestic worker and their experience. The aim of Focus group discussion is not to come to an agreement, solution to the issue discussed but to bring different viewpoints. In this type of discussion, the researcher task is to bring a free or open atmosphere, for the expressions of spontaneous conflicting views (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p.177).

The major questions include, what is the difference and similarity between their expectation and reality? Do they have a plan and if so what are their plans? In the process of explaining the two main questions, the following areas were mentioned spontaneously by the girls. Life experiences of child domestic workers, precisely the pattern of migration from rural to Addis Ababa, their opinion, and feelings about the domestic work and work conditions.

The decision where and when to conduct the group discussion was not a significant and challenging question to me. While thinking about the place, I first planned to hold the group discussion in nearby cafés and restaurants. Furthermore, the participating child domestic workers had shown me their reluctant to go away from the broker's house; mainly because they were staying there looking for someone who could hire them. Therefore, I conducted the discussion inside the broker house. The setting had given the participating children maximum opportunity and freedom to forward their views and experiences of being a domestic worker.

In this study, the participants' sameness in their life experiences, socio-economic background, gender, and age, did not create such challenging situations to organize and manage the group. In

a group discussion, the presence of peers increases the confidence to communicate and mention forgotten issues (Hill, 1997). All the participating children (girls) were in between 16 and 17-age range. As a result, once a girl starts the conversation the others continue.

In the course of the discussion, one domestic worker who only works for winter also helped me. At the time of the fieldwork, she was 28 and serving traditional coffee, so in the course of the discussion, she helped me in making the participant feel comfortable like telling them to talk freely. She also served us the coffee during the process.

The power imbalance between adult and child is obvious however, the power imbalance among children themselves is also inevitable (Hart & Tyrer, 2006). The only challenge was the experienced domestic workers seem to over control and silence the less experienced ones. I tried solving the problem by encouraging everyone to put her opinion on the topic. In the course of the discussion, we had some short break, and I used to serve soft drinks like cola, tea, and coffee, as part of reciprocating and appreciating their participation.

#### **4.5.5 Informal dialogue**

I used this method starting from the day I went to the field to conduct my study, and the discussion happened with different individuals including the broker, shoe shiners, and girls waiting to be hired as domestic worker throughout the fieldwork. I did not use a tape recorder because the dialogues often happened spontaneously. In most cases, I and the different events that happened in the course of data collections initiated informal dialogues; and the discussions and questions just happened along the way. I used to write my self-reflection and interpretations of the dialogues in my field-notes.

Informal dialogues may be perceived as friendly chats and might lead to forgetting the need to continuously request consent (Hart & Tyrer, 2006). To reaffirm their consent now and then has been difficult but I tried using ‘can you?’ At the beginning of my question and ‘if you want’ at the end of my statements.

For instance, when we were doing the focus group discussion, an employer called for the broker and asked if anyone was interested in the offer and all the girls were complaining. Then the broker insisted for the new ones who do not have much experience to take the job. Then I had a dialogue with the awaiting girls and asked why they were avoiding such offers and places. They replied that if they were far from the city center, it is boring and costs to go to the center and visit friend or family.

In some occasions, some family living a little far have cows and sell milk, and the domestic workers have to take care of cows without extra payment. From our informal dialogue, I was able to get useful findings. For instance, the new ones who migrated from rural to urban areas, with less experience are more vulnerable to unfavorable situations. I raised a question about the adverse conditions. According to the girls, the unfavorable conditions refer to distance of the house from the city, number of children in the household where they will be hired, the age of children in the house where they will be employed, and the last condition was number of rooms in the house. Based on informal dialogue raised in between the focus group discussion, I was able to observe the freedom and superiority feelings of the experienced domestic workers.

The first time I met the broker, through informal dialogue, he told me that his business place is unique because he gives the girls freedom to choose to go wherever they want. He mentioned the fact that he feels responsible for some of the girls because they are kids. He also said that not all of the other broker houses are the same as his.

#### **4.5.6 Field note**

“Field notes are written explanations or data taken, often by multiple observers at a single event, capturing interactions of interest to the larger topic under study” (James et al., 2008:74). When I reread it, I was able to see my progress. Moreover, also it felt like a personal diary, and in the moment of writing, I felt like I was sharing it with someone.

Every spontaneous event including reciprocity methods was recorded as my field note (Ennew et al. 2009). Many more spontaneous events were also included in my field notes about my

participants, broker, and on my Emotions, experiences, and challenges in the attempt to get access.

I enjoy reading my field note because it explains not only what I saw but also what I was feeling. Especially my feeling in the first challenge of trying to access the child domestic workers has been written very well.

#### **4.5.7 Secondary source of data**

The secondary sources of data are obtained and used from another source, other than the participants. A literature review is an example of a secondary source of data and a research approach used to collect information from the analysis of existing data (Thomas et al., 2010). I used books and articles or papers related to my writing. I also used social media reports, policy documents. This has been useful to the research in a way that it gave me an insight of how other researchers, the society or the media view the topic.

### **4.6 Ethical Consideration**

#### **4.6.1 Informed Consent**

Informed consent means giving children and young people the knowledge and understanding of the purpose of the research (Cree et al., 2002). The informed consent should be given clearly in detail including research use, aim, methods, and topics (Ennew et al. 2009). During the fieldwork time, I informed everyone in the broker house about my real identity as a student and the reason why I was in the setting, i.e., to research the life experiences of child domestic workers and mainly aimed at gathering data about, the topic under study to write my masters' project.

At the beginning of building rapport, to get the consent of the participating children, many of the participating personal thought that as I may give them training, mainly considering me as NGO worker. Nevertheless, I informed that I am a student and that I am conducting the research to write my masters project and that I am not working for any NGOs. Following my clarification of my identity, purpose of my presence in the setting, the aim of the study, and other aspects of the

study, they were easy to go with me, and they even did not require presenting the official letter of support from my university. In the processes of getting consent, two girls refused to be included. One girl said, "*I am not interested at all in being part of the study.*" From my spotlight observation, she did not even want to talk much with anyone around, and she seemed in a bad mood. The other girl, however, refused to participate because of her previous experience of being included in a study concerning her life as child domestic worker and got nothing out of it. Hence, she challenged me by asking what she gets out of the study like as if I am paying her or as if I am from NGO to give aid. However, even though I made my identity clear as a student who is conducting the study to write my masters paper, she did not have the interest to be included in the study. In that case, I was surprised by her attitude and boldness. It was mainly because as far as I know, from my previous experience as a social worker; usually, child domestic workers are shy and cooperative.

The other people in the broker house that saw the situation explained to me the reason that these two girls become uncooperative. What comes to my mind at first was that the refusal of these two girls comes only out of the interest to get something beneficial in material or monetary from being included in the study. Though the other girl in the broker house felt sorry for me and explained the reason why the above two girls refused to be cooperative saying "*these girls also work on the streets like a prostitute, and they came here to find a place to work only for the rainy season*". It is always good to remind them not to feel pressurized, to answer (Hill, 1997). Therefore, following their refusal to consent, I respected and confirmed to other girls that it is okay and it is a human right to refuse.

#### **4.6.2 Respecting Privacy**

I asked for permission to record their voice or few pictures and avoided probing to respect their privacy (Ennew et al. 2009). The pictures used here does not identify identity or put any harm to the participant. Before my departure to the study areas and during the fieldwork, I realized that it could be very challenging to get access to the children who are working and living with their employers and employers' family; and conduct my study with less interference from the adult members of the family, especially from the employers.



This could be mainly due the employers' lack of will to give their housemaid permission to have a part in the study. Therefore, in order to tackle those challenges, I only conducted one interview in the family of the employer, which is owned by a person I know; and the rest were conducted in the brokers' house. The setting had given combined advantages. For instance, one of the advantages was that the setting had given the participating children maximum opportunity and freedom to forward their views and experiences of being a domestic worker with less interference of adults.

The other advantage of conducting outside the family context was that being participant in the research could not put the children at risk of being maltreated by the employer because of the information they had given to the study, abuses, and challenges inside the house by the employers and other members of the house. The broker's house had given the research participants a private environment and time to discuss their life experiences as child domestic workers with the absence of adult employer's interferences. Therefore, during fieldwork, finding appropriate place (private place) to conduct the study had been solved by situating the study setting at the broker's house and this in return had given the participating children to get respect of their rights of privacy.

### **4.6.3 Confidentiality**

As mentioned in Clark, A. (2006, p.4), there is a difference between anonymizing and confidentiality that the latter refers to "the process of not disclosing to other parties opinions or information gathered in the research process". Strait (1999) in Clark A. (2006) argued that these two concepts are not entirely different, but there is a link between it. The main aim of these two is to hide the identity of the research participants especially in researching sensitive issues and illegal activities (Clark, A. 2006).

For example, child domestic work is illegal in Ethiopia; however, child domestic workers are available. This was indicated during the interview with one of the participating girls. As she stated that she has security issues because she is hiding from her families while working as child domestic worker. She further stressed the intensity of the security by saying that her sister is

police outside the capital city, and wants her to stop this job. As a result, the only communication she wants and has with her family is to inform them that she is safe, alive and happy and nothing more.

Besides collecting data, I do not like hearing people hidden secrets. They were mentioning private stuff that I could not interfere to help. This also creates an ethical dilemma in a way that I cannot share their data with anyone (Ennew et al. 2009). There was a time that I was emotionally disturbed, during fieldwork. However, I pledged an assurance to participating girls that the information they have given will be kept confidential from anyone's access unless it was related to my research work. In any unstable social environment, sensitive information that places the children and their peers in danger should be securely stored (Hart & Tyrer, 2006).

Therefore, in my attempt to protecting the identities and rights of girls who participated in this study; and to maintain the ethical standards of the research, I have replaced the names of each participant by pseudo naming (Aster, Birhan, Semeret, Dagmawit, Eden, Fasika, Genet, Hermela). However, to maintain research-relevant details, I kept the real age of the participating girls. The security will be further strengthened by erasing the recordings when they are no longer of use (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015).

#### **4.6.4 Reciprocity**

Most of my study participants were feeling insecure staying a little far from the broker's house, and they were not willing to go to café or other quiet places mainly because they were there looking for a job. Therefore, I used to conduct most interviews and focus group discussion inside the broker's house, which is the place where the owner used to organize own business, i.e., helping new domestic workers to find a place to work.

There should not be any expectation of reward. However, there should be some compensation for any lost time and income that comes out of participation (Hart & Tyrer, 2006). This should be done carefully not to fuel tension among the participants or society (Hart & Tyrer, 2006).

I was always inside the broker's house with those children conducting one-to-one interviews and group discussion; thus, for the time I am using in the broker house and for allowing me to stay there and hold my research with the child domestic workers, I made some payments for the brokers. Apart from compensating the broker, the place also helped me to conduct more private interviews with the absence of others interference. Additionally, my friend who was helping me as an assistant, out of personal interest, picked a few clothes for Genet on her way to the broker house. It was because Genet mentioned that she was robbed all her stuff in the bus station.

Every time, I ordered refreshments, (soft drinks like cola, coffee), while we were doing interviews. I used this reciprocating with research participants during a one-to-one interview and group discussion session as a compensation for the time participants spend, and it was as a way of appreciation and encouragement.

#### **4.6.5 Leaving fieldwork**

The situation of the girls is unstable because we do not know how long they are staying. An employer comes and picks them anytime. The time I start the questioner I also recorded their phone number in case they left before we meet again. Since this is the situation, I made most of my interview with one child on one day after building rapport so at first my assistant was asking me why I am taking a long time. I took time to greet them and asking how they are doing and if they are ready to be asked if they need time or tea. I made sure that they are comfortable with me because I have to manage to ask them a lot at once. However, luckily, only Genet left after I interviewed her twice the others stayed longer, and I was able to say Thank you and goodbye.

Clarity about the nature and extent of the research is important not to create false hope and sorrow while leaving fieldwork (Hart & Tyrer, 2006). How I said, goodbye was that they made traditional coffee and I brought traditional bread from my home and some refreshments from the shop and I shared some motivational, positive words. I tried encouraging them to be strong in their beliefs and protect themselves as much as they can from employers that put the children life at risk.

## **4.7 Data Transcriptions and Organization**

Since the choice of the data and the interpretation of the data is in the power of the adult researcher, it is important to take care in the process of data interpretation to include real children view (Punch, 2002).

The question I raised about plan of child domestic worker was very lively, and hard to remember the detail after some time. I did not want to decrease the validity of the interpretation from “interview transcripts that are somewhat chaotic” (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). As a result, I transcribed the FGD in the right order and flow right away.

I transcribed interviews and group discussion of my study participants while listening to the recorded voices. “Different Transcripts are constructions of different worlds, each designed to fit our particular theoretical assumptions and to allow us to explore their implications” (Mishler, 1991 in Kvale and Brinkman, 2015, p.213). Later I translate into English to analyze the data for the production of scientific knowledge.

## **4.8 Data Analysis**

The analysis is done from the transcription of the individual interviews, Focus group discussions, and field notes. The data is categorized in topics and subtopic in a way that presents answer and reflection to the research question raised. Analytical process should be reflexive because it is not possible to come up with a neutral text (Nilsen, 2005). To come up with analytical concepts I read and re-read the transcripts.

Following the ethical requirements, the names that are used are pseudonyms to protect their privacy. The participants have spontaneously shown what they feel and how they think in the process of describing their experience through the interview. It has been beneficial in the interpretation and analysis process.

I had some theoretical frameworks before leaving to the field to gather the needed data on the topic under study. After the fieldwork, I found out that, in the analysis process, it is vital to find

sufficient material about the subject matter relating to the theoretical approach (Brinkman & Kvale, 2015). I organized the data according to research questions. After doing the organizations, the needed data's were reorganized into themes, to help me in the later process of writing. In social science methods, theory and problems are intertwined in all the stages of the research (O'Kane, 2008). I coded the data by conceptualizing, categorizing and comparing with the literature and theories (kvale, 2007).

## **5. Analysis**

Briefly, the topics and subtopics in this analysis include the following: child domestic work as a source of livelihood; the role of gender and family background play in becoming a domestic worker, the agency and autonomy shown from the migration process to the relationship built and negotiated with employers, kin, and brokers. The last section discusses their previous expectations and current reality and how they developed resilience and continued working.

### **5.1 Child domestic work as a source of livelihood**

Poverty is among the reasons for rural to urban migration in majority world children's lives. (Klocker, 2007). According to the livelihood strategy approach, people in poverty are agents of change (May, 2009). The main reason for choosing to be a domestic worker is poverty. Poverty has a wide definition, but in this context, it implies a financial lack of independence for meeting basic needs. The reason for this financial lack can be understood from the children's political and economic environment, as well as family planning.

People with economic disadvantages have different assets and levels of decision-making power, leading to specific coping strategies in life (May, 2009). Exploring people's perceptions of their lived daily experiences helps to elucidate why people make specific choices. The research participants' family background, gender, their previous experience is a driving factor in them being a child domestic worker.

#### **5.1.1 Family background**

Family background refers to the type of family an individual came from, the type of education or work the individual's family has or does, and the individual's racial and social history (*Collins Dictionary*, 2011). Families vary greatly; they can be extended or nuclear, female-headed or polygynous, and co-resident or scattered. Children's families usually, but not always, include their biological parents (Ansell, 2005, p. 53). In this paper, in referring to *family background*, I mean the job or means of income for child domestic workers' families and the number of

children in the household. I have described the child domestic workers' family profile because young people's lives are influenced by their immediate living situation, families, and peers (Ansell, 2005).

Agriculture is the dominant economic sector in Ethiopia. Most people in the rural part of the country make a living from this sector (Ayele, 2015). The research participants' families followed this trend. For instance, Dagmawit did not know what her father did, but her mother sold injera and vegetables. Moreover, Eden stated, "My father was a farmer; he had land, and he produced teff and wheat." The same was true of Fasika's family, which produced and sold teff.

In Ethiopia, most families prefer to have a large number of children; children are considered "an economic asset rather than liabilities" (Ayele, 2015, p.546), especially in areas where agriculture is the means of making a living. Children are vital for the economy because they assist their families in farming activities (Ayele, 2015). For instance, Eden's father was a farmer, and Fasika stated, "I attended school every day and helped my family with the housework every night. The same with my brothers and sisters." This also applies to Fasika who used to fetch water from the river to the family house and help in the daily house chores. This demonstrates the importance of every member's family activity in the agricultural way of life. In addition, Hermela's reply to my question made it sound like an obvious fact:

Yordanos: *What is your family's source of living or income?*

Hermela: *They raised me by agriculture, of course!*

A similar situation applied to Dagmawit's life. There was a time when Dagmawit and her mother worked on the farm. However, her mother was fed up with Dagmawit asking about buying exercise books for school. Dagmawit's mother did not have money for exercise books, and she yelled at Dagmawit, saying, "Cut the banana leaves and fold them like a book and take it to school!" A banana leaf is large or wide and easily foldable, so Dagmawit's mother was telling her to take the challenges and pretend she had a book. In addition, it shows that the children's basic are not met.

In rural Ethiopian communities, like in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, having many children is seen as a favor and gift from God (Ayele, 2015). However, according to the Central Statistics Agency of Ethiopia, the fertility rate declined from 5.5 children per woman in 2000 to 4.6 children per women in 2016. There is change but still the fertility rate is high.

The research participants' profile shows a similar result. Aster had a mother, father, and two brothers; she was the middle child of the three. Both Birhan and Semret had a mother, father, two brothers, and three sisters, and they were the youngest of their siblings. There were nine people in Dagmawit's family, including her mother, father, two elder brothers, one elder sister, and three more younger sisters. Eden's father passed away, so she had a mother, one younger brother, and two elder and two younger sisters. Fasika's parents had six children in total; she had two elder brothers, two elder sisters and one younger brother. Genet had no siblings because she was an orphan and does not know about her family background. Hermela had one younger and two elder brothers.

**Table 2**

**Information of parents and siblings of the child domestic workers**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Father</b>	<b>Mother</b>	<b>Brothers</b>	<b>Sisters</b>
<b>Aster</b>	Yes	Yes	2	None
<b>Birhan</b>	Yes	Yes	2	3
<b>Semret</b>	Yes	Yes	2	3
<b>Dagmawit</b>	Yes	Yes	2	4
<b>Eden</b>	none	Yes	1	2
<b>Fasika</b>	Yes	Yes	3	2
<b>Genet</b>	None	None	None	None
<b>Hermela</b>	Yes	Yes	3	None

Most of the research participants had large families. The high fertility rate is one of the significant factors increasing the ratios of dependency on the working age population, leading to economic crisis and poverty (Sinding, 2009). Having many children decreases families' present wellbeing, leading to different types of social problems.



### **5.1.2 The relationship between gender and domestic work**

Most child domestic workers in urban areas are girls originally from rural families, and the girls are not well educated or not educated at all (Black, 2002 in Erulkar & Mekbib, 2007). In Addis Ababa, only females are hired as domestic workers. In the process of choosing the proper research location, five broker houses were visited, and all of them have only females looking for employment. The broker house I chose was unique because it also had child female domestic workers. The research is about the domestic workers who migrated from rural to urban areas; however, I did not meet anyone from the urban area. All the girls and women had migrated from rural areas.

Gender plays a significant role in being a domestic worker. The tasks of a domestic work are viewed as simple and routine, as this work has traditionally been done by women in their homes (Oelz & Rani, 2015). The participants perceived domestic work as an escape, as well as an easy way to make a living. For instance, Birhan decided to migrate right after she received her national exam results. She stated, “I was eighth grade and took the national exam before coming here. I failed the exam and I was angry and gave up. It was possible to take it a second time but I decided not to.” Their gender played a prominent role in the girls’ view of domestic work as a primary, easy solution for escaping the challenges in their life. Dagmawit discussed her younger sisters, aged 8 and 14 years, stating,

I don’t advise them to come here, but they want to come here and work, just like us. We send them books and bags and clothes from here. They have everything I didn’t have. But when I was at school I went empty handed for five days without pen and books. They have everything they need because of us. I don’t know why, but they think that they will get something better from the city, by coming here like us.

According to Dagmawit’s explanation, she did not have any material support to attend school. However, by working as domestic workers, she and her other elder siblings have been able to provide the necessary material for their younger sisters. Dagmawit advised her younger sisters

not to come to Addis Ababa to be domestic workers due to the unexpected challenges she faced as a child domestic worker. Her younger sisters saw domestic work as an easy way to earn money, and think this is preferable to stressing over school for years. They wanted to Dagmawi to help them find an escape from their stress.

When a family faces a problem, sending daughters to the city to earn money is preferable to sending sons. This situation was mentioned in the interview with Eden, who said, “My elder sister is preparing for the exam to enter the university soon. My younger brother is a boy and at school. My younger sister is not going to school, but she is really young. She is seven years old.” According to Eden’s explanation, one of the primary reasons that she was picked among her siblings was that she was a girl. If Eden’s brother had not been a boy, he could also have been the one to migrate to Addis Ababa. Her sister is too close to be admitted to the university and refuse to migrate. Eden mentioned that jobs were more easily accessible for her than they would be for her brother in Addis Ababa. Due to the family problem, the immediate and natural solution was sending Eden to Addis Ababa to earn money as a domestic worker.

One participant perceived that domestic work was easier to find and even less demanding than other jobs are. Fasika tried another job before becoming a domestic worker. She said, “I worked with my sister in the fabric factory first. It was sewing fabric, and the job was hard, so I quit and changed to a domestic worker because it fits me.”

### **5.1.3 Specific reasons the participants became child domestic workers**

This section gives a detailed explanation of the participants’ reasons for taking domestic work in urban areas. Child domestic workers have various reasons for seeking employment, including a personal choice, poverty, sickness and death in the family, and broken homes (Bourdillon, 2006). My participants’ life experiences could be attributed to these reasons. Aster’s parents wanted her to stay home with them. However, Aster chose to migrate to Addis Ababa because her family did not provide for her basic needs, like schooling and clothing, adequately. Birhan also decided to migrate despite her parents’ strong disagreement with the idea. Right after she failed the national exam, she just wanted to leave. Her family could have provided for her needs to start training in

the hair salon; however, she was carried away by the idea of making money and migrating. Fasika's case was similar: She decided to go out of a desire to be independent and experience new things.

Semret stayed in school until the 10th grade. She fell ill during the exam season of general school leaving certificate examination. Semret believe that she was attacked by the evil spirit; she started going to a holy place to take holy water baptism and ultimately felt better. However, she could not continue with her education because she believes the evil spirit began manifesting again when she went back to school. This is the time she decided to migrate to Addis Ababa to work. Hermela also decided to work right after quitting school. She stopped because she had to walk too far to the school, and this made her life hard.

Dagmawit began working because of her family's financial problems. Her father had to stop working because he had problems on his legs. He used to travel a lot to Addis Ababa to work, but he could no longer do so. Dagmawit took up her work to help her parents and younger sisters. Eden's father had died 4 years previously. As a result, Eden migrated to Addis Ababa to support herself and her family.

Child domestic work is available in different forms. It may involve help in the home, helping kin, fostering, or formal employment (Bourdillon, 2006). The focus of this research is on children's *recognized work*, representing situations where an employer receives the child as an employee in the house. However, I have discovered that the different forms intertwine with each other, meaning that almost all the research participants had experienced one of the other types of domestic work before becoming a recognized employee.

All the research participants mentioned that they had experience in domestic work like cooking, cleaning, and taking care of younger siblings in their homes. Helping kin was one reason why Dagmawit's family sent her to Addis Ababa. The kin of Dagmawit and Dagmawit's parents are related in village or neighborhood relationships at her home town. Although Dagmawit did not continue or stay long in this situation, it became a stepping stone for employment as a domestic worker. Genet was an orphan, and she was raised in a relative's house until the age of 6 years.

She was then transferred to another foster family that sent her to school and made her work at home when she was not in school. She indirectly clarified that she had long years' experience, stating,

The people who raised me never gave me money. They send me to school, but I also worked a lot in their house. When I asked them to give me money, they told me that they would not because they had sent me to school. Then I left their house and got hired for one year in the same city.

These girls, with different challenges and after experiencing domestic work chores in different ways, were all ultimately hired as domestic workers in Addis Ababa.

## **5.2 Agency and autonomy in the migration process and making a plan**

I came to Addis Ababa, and when I arrived at the bus station, it was late afternoon. I was just trying to figure out where my friend was, and then this woman randomly walked up to me and talked to me. It was getting very dark, and the women advised me not to wait any longer because the area is very scary and I had a high probability of being vulnerable to rape or theft. She guided me to take the direction of this broker house. I was walking this way; there were also other broker houses, but this broker saw me first, and he welcomed me, saying, "You can find a job here." After that, I contacted him as a broker to find a new job or come back here if I were fired or quit any job. (Birhan)

At some point in the migration process, the research participants showed agency and autonomy in taking the next step for working and finding a way to any next step. Migration decisions can be cooperative or autonomous (Iversen, 2002). Cooperative decisions are when migrants obey their parents' wishes in making the decision to migrate (Iversen, 2002). As Iversen (2002) commented,

A migration decision satisfies a criterion of strong autonomy by being an unambiguous reflection of a migrant's independent wish to leave home, without any parental pressure on the migrant to leave, and without any parental involvement in decision-making, in employment or in shelter arrangement. (p. 821)

There are several examples of research participants who demonstrated strong autonomy. Birhan's source of information was a friend who used to call her often and update her about Addis Ababa. She decided to migrate to Addis Ababa without consulting any family members; instead, she talked to her friend, who made her promise not to tell anyone about it. The two girls grew up in the same village, and Birhan's friend did not want to have a bad reputation in her hometown for encouraging village girls to become domestic workers in Addis Ababa. Birhan made plans to meet her friend at the Addis Ababa bus station, but the friend did not come.

Household power relations are not always cooperative; rather, they can also include conflict and tension (Punch, in Punch, 2007). Birhan's negotiation strategy did not work and led to conflict with her family; the following transcript shows Birhan's autonomy and agency in the process of deciding to migrate:

*Yordanos: who is your contact person if you are sick?*

*Birhan: I do not have because, first, my families are far. Second, I hid my exact location from them.*

*Yordanos: how often do you call them?*

*Birhan: I do not call them, and I heard from neighbors that my sister came to Addis Ababa to find me and stayed for a week, but she returned sad and angry because she couldn't find me.*

*Yordanos: is that your elder sister?*

*Birhan: yes she is my elder sister.*

*Yordanos: what is she doing?*

*Birhan: she is federal police in another city if she finds me she will take me home. She doesn't want me to work. So many people tried to advise me or convince me about meeting my sister, but I do not feel the same, she will hit me out of anger for running away from home.*

*Yordanos: is that your only fear? For me it seems like your family thinks to help you, protect you or think what is better for you.*

*Birhan: yes, correct all of them went to school, and they are out of the home. I am the only one who disappeared from family and didn't further study.*

*Yordanos: what are your other siblings doing now?*

*Birhan: my sister is a teacher in high school in another city, my brother is freshman student in a University. He also tried to meet me, but I hid my self*

*Yordanos: how about your parents?*

*Birhan: They have a small shop in our town, last time my father sent me 1000 birr for Easter holiday and he advised me to go back but I was afraid they would hit me once I go there, so I didn't go.*

*Yordanos: is it only that you are afraid to go, even though you know that you will have a better life?*

*Birhan: yes I thought that many times but I am afraid. They want me to retake the national exam, and that time I failed the exam they even said “ you are not ourchild if you don't go to school” but I want to attend in hair fixing training center then open my hair salon.*

Birhan consistently refused family intervention in her choice, to the point that she allowed herself to accept whatever challenge came her way. She told her family that she was in a different city while she is working in Addis Ababa. Birhan's family heard that she was in Addis Ababa from rumors.

Hermela migrated to Addis Ababa with her village boyfriend. He helped her find a job; then, once she was familiar with the city, she found a way to change jobs. She said she was still with her village boyfriend; they were continuously in touch, and she knew where he was and what he was doing all the time.

Children's migration to urban areas unaccompanied by adults has frequently occurred in the history of the world (Iversen, 2002). Simret heard about domestic work from her peers in her hometown. Working children have been attracted by stories of friends and neighbors whose works have helped as a means of assisting different needs (Iversen, 2002).

Eden's mother encouraged Eden to migrate. She agreed and asked her cousin to take her to the city. After working for 1 year, she went to her hometown for her vacation, and on her way back to Addis Ababa, she met other domestic workers in the bus, who gave her information about her current broker house. She cancelled her plans to go back to her previous workplace and followed the new girls she met on the bus.

The research participants are agents; they did not just passively accept their futures. They competently processed the information they have and made steps to migrate to a new place at a young age. To say children are agents is to "regard them as also having a part to play 'in the lives of those around them' in 'the societies in which they live' and as forming independent 'social relationships and cultures'" (James, 2009, p. 41). These girls left their home environment and created new relationships with new people on the bus journey leading to Addis Ababa. All the participants have mentioned their desire to be independent and help their families.

Here, the analysis considers the difference the participants are making in their and their family's lives by working. Dagmawi is the only person whose family contributed some help in the migration process. Dagmawi's family talked with a neighbor family that had a daughter in Addis Ababa. She asked to visit their daughter and help their children so that she could connect Dagmawit with any other person who needed a domestic worker.

The woman who hired Genet was a teacher who had to transfer to another job at a high school in a rural city. At this stage, Genet decided to move to the city rather than following her employer to another rural town:

When I told my second employer that I didn't want to move with her, she sent me by bus to Addis Ababa and asked the driver to look after me. She just told him to connect me with one good broker, then the driver linked me to this broker. And two days ago, I came with the broker. (Genet)

The relationships these girls were building at every stage had a vital role in their next step. This leads me to understand the domestic worker's relational agency with their peers and brokers. The

relational agency was accomplished between the girls in every stage of the relationship. It started with hearing from close friends and neighbors then migrate in collaboration with others.

Birhan, Hermela, Semret, and Genet demonstrated strong autonomy, deciding to migrate without listening to or involving their parents' advice. However, some others collaborated with them on the journey. There was no one permanent person following their progress in the mission, that is, finding an employer and making sure they were doing well in the employer's house by tracking their journey; relationships were built at every stage in the process.

### **5.2.1 Children have future plan**

Children have the ability to make informed decisions about their future activities like desire to work overseas (Beazley, 2007). As per the focus group discussion, the participants mentioned about working in Middle East countries as a domestic worker. They said they usually discuss about moving to Middle East countries while chatting with other domestic workers in the broker house. As a result, I have raised this question (migration to Middle East) with the interview made with each, and each has shown different interest in their plan.

The future plan is formed through various relationships like it has been usual to debate about going or not going to Middle East countries. They say they always debate among themselves in the broker house regarding this for different reasons. Moving to the Middle East countries is the most controversial issue for different reasons. The girls have witnessed at least one individual who migrated to the Middle East and change her and her family's life. That made it a high attention catching opportunity for girls who want to work as domestic workers in Middle East countries. Yemen, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States are the most common destinations for Ethiopian women in search of better future (Kebede 2001 in De Reget 2007).

There are both legal and illegal recruiting agents that are involved in this business. According to MoLSA, there were 400 licensed recruiting agents in 2015. At the same time, there is an estimation of 1000 illegal brokers involved in this business (Zewedu 2018). These rising agents have made the journey cheaper and high reports of crime on the domestic workers. Those women have been vulnerable to abuse and violation because there has not been proper legal protection.



Lack of legal protection will result in social isolation and full dependency on employers (Zewedu 2018). According to Al Jazeera news in 2013 100,000 illegal Ethiopian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia were deported back to Ethiopia. Related to this crisis the government banned migration to the Middle East for few months in 2013 (Zewedu 2018).

The research participants are aware of these situations. The expenses of travelling are not easily covered by domestic worker wages. Even though they have the interest to migrate the consequences of migrating through cheap and illegal agents is unpredictable. Hermela sent her passport to agents' to travel for work in Saudi Arabia, and she was expecting to finish and fly maximum in two months of time. The biggest picture in Hermela's mind regarding future is independence. She wants to think about further things like helping her family or getting married right after independence.

Aster wanted to save as much as she could and move back to her hometown and want to start her own business like selling coffee. She did not have any interest in travelling to the Middle East countries. Birhan's dream was opening a hair salon in her village. After many quarrels with her family, Birhan thought it would be possible to take training as a hairdresser in her home village. As mentioned earlier, their major plan for her is to reseat the primary school certificate exam. However, Birhan sees no future in education. She migrated to Addis Ababa with the hope of finding the opportunity to work and complete the training at the same time. As a result, she plans to save money, buy the necessary materials for opening the hair salon, and bring them to her town.

Semret started a domestic job at 500 birrs per month, and her salary increased with her added experience. She said that she is saving and wants to change herself. She wants to open a small shop like a kiosk that sells basic goods in her village. She said that she knows other girls who do this, both in her town and Addis Ababa.

Dagmawit's desire was to have freedom. She wanted to save and rent a house with other girls and do daytime jobs and sleep in her rented room. What she meant by "day job" included fabric jobs or jobs around construction sites that are done manually and require physical labor. She also

mentioned her interest in attending night class: “It is enough if I only know how to write my name and how to read. I am sure I will not finish until the end.” She felt discouraged when she considered finishing, because it would take many years. She wanted to escape from total illiteracy and be able to write and read the basics.

As mentioned above, Eden studied up to 10<sup>th</sup> grade. She wanted to be an engineer when she was at school. Eden still wanted to return to the academic path. She said that she had seen other people opening small cafés and earning money. Eden wanted to save her money and be able to open café in her town.

Fasika’s plan was to make her family happy. Specifically, she wanted to renovate her family’s home. Her most significant desire was to be independent; she did not know how, but she wanted to be self-employed. Genet had no specific idea about the future she just wanted to find nice employers and work as soon as possible.

### **5.2.2 Independence through empowerment**

“Empowerment is personal, relational, and collective whereby marginalized people come to see themselves as having the capacity and the right to act and have influence” (Rowlands, 1995 in Punch et al., 2007, p.208). The girls have mentioned different plans and choices they have. People they saw are influencing the children idea, and they want to do the same. And all of them has said they want to be independent as told in their words literal translation from Amharic or «not seeing someone's face" which means not depending on others to fulfil even basic needs, or not to beg anyone for survival.

As explained by the children, the mentality about opening small shops raised up from their life experience through exposure with others. All of the participants came out from agricultural income dependent households. They grew up seeing something produced and sold. The current small-scale business encouragement from Ethiopian policy and their observation of other people being more profitable in business than long-term schooling has immersed in their mind.

### 5.3 Power and relationships

Power is the ability to influence others (Scott, 2001 in Punch, 2007). Power is exercised in different levels in any human relationships and positions. Children's structural position in society means that they have less power than adults (Alanen, 2001 in Punch, 2007). However, as adults and children are interdependently connected (punch, 2007), adults use their generational power to regulate children's bodies and minds (Brannen, 2000 in punch, 2007).

Children are actors not only on a relationship among themselves but also with adults by their ability to negotiate, modify and produce the opportunities and challenges that they face outside their home environment (Christensen et al. 2003). The unbalanced power relation between adult and children may require high negotiating energy than adults in order for the children to be in control for aspects of their lives (Punch, 2007).

In the Ethiopian culture, there is an expectation from children to show high respect to adults and including their elder siblings (Pouha, 2008 in Abebe, 2008). The Extended family network in Ethiopia is essential for helping each other in times of difficulty. There are two general patterns to explain extended family structure.

The first is based on blood relationships and includes 'front-line' family members and relatives such as uncles, aunts, grandparents, cousins, etc The second type is 'fictive kinships'—people who have no blood relationship with each other but have deliberately created social ties that would enable them to co-operate with each other (Abebe, & Aase, 2007, p.2)

Children receive psychological and social advantage from these available extended families (Abebe, 2008). This relationship is reciprocal by its nature giving each responsibility (Abebe, 2008). However, these responsibilities are not done by force but by love and trust developed among each other . This does not make the relationship simple with people having the similar goals under one roof. There is power struggle depending on authority, age and gender (Abebe, 2008). A child domestic worker has a relationship with her families, kin's, brokers' employers

and also other domestic workers. The way the power is exercised in each relationship is dynamic. The same child feels more or less powerful depending on who she is relating. The experienced child domestic workers verse the inexperienced for the reason that she is more knowledgeable and informed about employers, brokers and the work itself.

### **5.3.1 Power dynamics between kin and employers**

*“Kin of kin doesn’t have good behavior to each other”* according to Eden’s statement kin’s want to control their kin in return for any favor they provide. It's better to be with an employer because there is no stressful relationship. When kin's take advantage of the child working as a domestic worker, tension arises in the child's heart because they worry about ruining their family reputation.

Children are not automatically protected from exploitation for working with kin; however, exploitation is more concealed and difficult to accept it, in family enterprises (Boyden, 1988 in Robson et al., 2007). "If you are unhappy and say something to your kin, they will say to you ‘asadagi yebedelew' "(Eden). This is an insulting word close to cursing, expressing a person who grows up in bad parenting and doesn’t have any discipline. As per the focus group discussion, the girls explained the easiness of relating with an employer than kin, by stating how it is possible to lie for an employer making up different ways in order to stop working at their house.

It is common to trust kin and not simple to separate from them quickly. For instance, Semret did not contact her relatives often, but she mentioned her uncle and aunt as a point of contact in case she experienced severe sickness or problems in her life. It was also a trend to call some close neighbors relatives. In describing others as relatives or kin, the participants did not only refer to blood relationships, as in the usual definition. If the children or their family knew someone for a long and they did not have blood relatives helping them in the city, they name the person supporting them as kin. The child domestic workers are “neither independent citizens nor autonomous individuals with separate rights but interdependent beings whose daily livelihoods are intricately entwined with and are inseparable from that of the family collective” (Abebe,2013,p.72)

Dagmawit stayed with a relative for 2 weeks. The relative's first promise was to take Dagmawit at her home as a nanny for daytime while the parents are at work and send Dagmawit to night school and fulfil all her basic needs. After she stayed for 2 weeks, the relative told Dagmawit that she has found her a job because she was unable to afford her basic needs any more. As a result, Dagmawit worked for 14 months. Following this, Dagmawit found out that her relative tricked her. Dagmawit stated,

She collected all the money from the person who employed me saying that she will send it to my family in the countryside. However, after one year and two months, I found out that she was using the money from my labor for herself. She comes to where I am hired every two months to collect my salary and use it herself.

This clarifies that Dagmawit did not have contact with her family. She said that she always exchanged messages and greetings with her family by relatives as a medium of contact. Dagmawit tried to have direct contact on the phone; however, the relative always manipulated her, saying that the phone network was bad.

After a year, Dagmawit's father came to Addis Ababa and visited her at her employer's house. The employer advised the father that, due to Dagmawit's youth, she should work for herself and no one else. Dagmawit's father revealed the fact that neither he nor his wife had received any money from their child working in Addis Ababa. At this point, Dagmawit was disappointed in her relative and stopped associating with her. This is why she was worried about her 9-year-old sister, who lived with other relatives in Addis Ababa.

Dagmawit's younger sister lived with relatives and went school in the late afternoon. She was good at school and finished grade 4 while living with her parents. At the time of the study, Dagmawit's sister was living and working with a family that had a 6-month-old baby. Dagmawit mentioned that they were not blood relatives, but just people her family knew. Moreover, Dagmawit mentioned that she was a bit skeptical and worried about her younger sister, due to her own bad experience with relatives. She would contact her by phone at the relatives' house, but they did not talk in detail about family and private issues, as there was always someone else

present. This unbalanced adult–child relationship between the kin and child domestic workers represents a limitation for children agency.

As mentioned above, Genet was an orphan, and she grew up with different relatives. She lived with a close relative until she was 6 years old, when she moved to live with other relatives in a different city. She lived with these relatives, went to school, and worked at home. When Genet started to ask for some money to fulfil her basic needs, the relatives told her that they were doing too much for her already by raising her, and they would not give her any cash. At this point, Genet decided to leave home, and she was hired as a domestic worker. At the time of the study, she had had no contact with her relatives since she left their house a year before. Genet grew up with them, but due to their dispute, she did not feel like maintaining a relationship with them. Although the unbalanced adult–child relationship is resulting in limitations, the children demonstrate agency by searching further possibilities of change.

### **5.3.2 The power relationship between the broker and child domestic workers**

The broker house where I conducted the research has two rooms, one for sleeping and the other for seating. The seating room has a few long benches and chairs that serve as a seating and chatting room. There are more benches outside the room, making it possible for more domestic workers to sit if it is crowded inside.

There are multiple women and girls in the broker house who have come to be hired as domestic workers. The owner of this business, the head broker, has hired two other assistant brokers. The head broker is not always available because he also does broker jobs in renting a house and selling used stuff. The two assistant brokers are always there to welcome new domestic workers and manage those already inside looking for employment. They are all searching for a job, but it is the broker who usually decides who goes to which house. As we were sitting in the broker house, the assistant brokers called the girls by their names and asked if they want to go to this or that house.

The girls replied according to their current situation and interest in the specification of the house where the employment was offered. If there was an unfair situation, where the assistant brokers

avored some domestic workers for nice homes, the girls complained about it to the head broker, who came in and out, depending on his availability and the problem. For this reason, some of the girls tried to be nice to the head broker, in addition to paying the basic employment fee to the broker. In this business, he is more powerful and has more say than the assistant brokers have. During the fieldwork, we also observed the same situation and raised a question that is discussed in the next paragraph.

One extremely young girl was sitting inside, and when a job came and the assistant broker called her, the head broker said, “Not her.” I approached him and asked why, and he replied, “This good-looking girl; if I send her to this job, she will get in trouble.” He was worried about her because she was young and too immature for a waiter job in the “merkato” area in a restaurant with a bar. He also mentioned that she was a child of a relative he knows, and he had a responsibility for taking care of her. There are some types of houses where most of the girls or women in the broker house prefer to work. In such cases, the broker chooses those with the most experience.

The girls had different views about where they wanted to be employed. The girls with experience have specific needs and choices. They mainly mentioned the following reasons as a major point to choose the place of employment: religion, number of family members in the household, basic privacy in the house, location, a good salary, and harmony and peace in the house.

Aster was a Christian; she had been hired in a Christian house before, and she usually preferred Christian homes. Among the girls, Eden was the one who had a lot of specific interests, and she had informed the broker of this, rejecting the broker’s requests for her to take employment in a house that did not fit her interest. She wanted to work where there were not many family members, as this would mean fewer hours of work. She also preferred to work in where she could take a holiday once every 2 or 4 weeks. Eden was the only one who specifically asked about a contract. She signed a contract regarding her salary and vacation. Thus, the child domestic workers demonstrated their agency by clearly specifying their interest and negotiating between the broker’s offer and their personal desires.

According to Fasika's explanation, she never thought about choosing between employers in her first season, "but now I choose. Today, I rejected offers from three employers because I knew they were unfavorable homes for me". Fasika mentioned that they offered her a small salary for a large family. She also mentioned her desire to be hired in a loving family where there would be less quarrel, which she had found stressful in her previous work experience. Now she demanded the broker to tell her everything, and she would choose to sign or not to sign a contract with a specific and constant amount of salary per month. Hermela also said the brokers were important for her, as she would call them and tell them what was happening in the house where she had been hired. Her specific needs were a Muslim house and good salary.

Genet, in contrast to the participants described above, did not have specific requirements, partly due to her lack of experience on the job. She had been employed previously in another city, and she had no idea whether she would get a job soon or not in Addis Ababa. She was a Muslim, but she has no real interest in being hired in a Muslim house. She stated, "Everyone is a human being, whether Muslim or Christian. Any family—I will work in any house." She had never heard about signing a contract with an employer. Her specific need was just finding an employer; as a result, she was the first one to find employment in the following days.

One of the ways in which children respond to unequal power relations depends on actual and learned competencies (Punch et al., 2007). After experiencing exploitative employers and/or coming into contact with other child domestic workers, the study participants demonstrated agency by demanding contracts to settle the unequal power relations.

## **5.4 Expectation and reality**

According to the focus group discussions and interviews with the girls, there was a clash between what the girls expected and their real experiences. Eden stated,

When I came from my town I expected that they would give me everything I need, so I could work and live just like I lived in my mother's home. But now I am living with strangers, and I live like they want me to live.



She did not feel free, and her life activities were under other people's control. She had experienced domestic work in two different houses, and she had explained that she left the two houses for different reasons.

Eden worked in the first house for 3 years, but after a while, she could not handle her employer's controlling behavior: "She sends me to shop, and when I come back, she checks the time; she gives me a hard time, saying I am late and am not finishing the tasks at the appropriate time". In the second house, she did not encounter behavior challenges, but there were two domestic workers in the house and not enough food for the domestic workers. Regardless of this challenge, she tried to keep working in the house until she could find another solution.

The girls were also vulnerable when they believed what their employers told them. Most of them demanded a contract after they had some experience, but usually, this was a verbal rather than written agreement. For instance, Birhan experienced that an employer for whom she worked for a month cut her salary due to the fee they paid the broker. At this point, the broker had no intervention power, so she had to quit and leave or accept their offer and continue the job. In her case, she was hurt and unsure what would happen with her future pay, so she left the position. Birhan stated that this was a hard job, where she did not know what to expect next. Her challenge started from the day she arrived at the bus station: "After she [a friend] gave me all this information and told me to wait for her at the bus station, she didn't show up and never called me to this day." Birhan left the second house because all the children were boys, resulting in a lot of clothes washing. She was exhausted and unable to think about other options; however, the neighbors saw her and gave her an idea about other houses.

All the participants had unanticipatedly experienced what they never expected. In the focus group discussion, semret stated,

*In my case, I was arrested by the police for few days because my employers suspected that I stole gold from their bedroom. But I found out that the one who stole it was my neighbor's housemaid, who would come to visit when my*

*employers went out. I thought she was my friend, but she ended up stealing and getting me in trouble.*

Hermela stated that when she left one house because of a problem, another awaited in the next house. Fasika was satisfied with one of her experiences with employers; they were a family with useful resources in terms of providing enough meals and free time. The employers had two domestic workers in the house, including her. Fasika witnessed that they were the most peaceful employers she ever experienced. She left their house because of the bad relationship she had with the other domestic worker. While Fasika worked as a cleaner, the other worked in the kitchen. It was difficult to tolerate because it was only two of them who stayed in the house all day long. The kitchen worker thought she was a better worker and wants to prove herself to the employers by doing unnecessary things to Fasika. She was bullied by the other domestic worker.

Fasika did not like domestic work and worked because she had no choice. She was not happy and wanted to return to her town; however, she was afraid of what people in her village would say. Fasika said,

They would gossip about the fact that I wasted time in the city and made no change for myself. They would say so many things behind my back. It is not good to go out and return empty handed. I am afraid of a bad reputation.

This demonstrates the psychological power of Fasika's neighbors or community more than her personal values. Regardless of the challenges, Fasika tried to continue her studies in the first house. The school was a night class that she attended from 5 to 8 pm; when she returned home, she was always afraid of the area. It was dark, as the electricity would go out often, and she felt unsafe because of the boys standing in every street. She explained that almost all her classmates in the night class were girls and women who worked as a domestic worker. The class schedule was known in that area, and some boys and men appeared to be hunting for the women attending school in those hours. She walked back from school alone and was threatened by some boys, and she was afraid that nobody would protect her.

The other unexpected event happened to Genet, she was robbed all of her clothes and cell phone on the first day she arrived at the bus station in Addis Ababa. Hermela had worked in three houses, and she said that she had left all the homes for different reasons. A separate house provides different comforts and brings different challenges. Hermela worked for a year in the first house, and she stated, “The house was good. It had a private bedroom and shower room. They had kids. But the woman was not kind to me.” Hermela defined unkindness as the woman’s lack of empathy when Hermela was sick.

Hermela always woke at 5 o’clock in the morning and went to sleep around 10 o’clock in the evening. She suffered from intestine pains and went to a hospital with the woman who hired her. She took her to a good hospital, although there were other options, like small clinics; after the treatment, Hermela covered the costs from her salary. This was extremely expensive for Hermela, as she did not choose the hospital and her employer did not care to share the cost. Regarding medical treatment, all the girls stated that they were responsible for the costs, and they did not expect anyone to pay for them, but if someone else did pay, it would mean that it happened out of good luck.

The second family was difficult for Hermela because of the man. He repeatedly came back to the house after his wife and kids left for work and school and tried to sexually assault her: “If I was in the kitchen or any room, he would come in and close the door while I was inside. So, I told her [the wife] that I wanted to go to my home town.” Hermela told the wife that she wanted to go for a holiday and left the house peacefully. She stated that she had not been raped: “No, he didn’t, that’s why I left before it happened.” She recognized that no one with power would stand by her if such an incident occurred. Hermela expressed her appreciation for the third house, saying that they were good people and did not verbally insult her at all. She said that she was also better at the work because of her long experience. However, when she comes back from a vacation in her village, she found that they have already hired another person. Hermela said that she does not know why, but she suspected it was because, frequently, when domestic workers say they will go for vacation, it means they never come back; another possibility is that there was some misunderstanding between the employers and Hermela.

Before arriving in the city, all the girls expected to meet good employers. They all had some level of information about the challenges of being a domestic worker; however, their actual experiences were random and unpredictable. The child domestic workers knew what types of chores to perform. However, they did not know what to expect when it came to what kind of people they would meet.

#### **5.4.1 Risk and resilience of the child domestic workers**

Resilience is typically defined as “patterns of positive adaptation in the context of significant risk or adversity” (Anthony, 2018, p.2). Risk factors are usually seen as effects that build the probability of harm or help in maintaining the problem (Anthony, 2018). Protective factors are understood as people or environmental elements that minimize the consequences of the risk factors (Anthony, 2018). Depending on the context, resilience can be used to show a phenomenon from different angles. In the case of child domestic workers, it is applied to explain “successful adaptation in the face of risk” (Luthar et al., 2003, p.6). Child domestic workers are exposed to different types of hardships that are beyond their own set of expectations before moving to urban areas. This challenge is manifested in each stage in the process of deciding to be a domestic worker, migration, and living in the employer’s house. As mentioned in the previous section, child domestic workers face different types of challenges in each house.

The child domestic workers socialize and spend time together for days or weeks in the broker house. Sometimes, long-lasting friendships are built; as Birhan stated, “I met a girl from my town in this place; she works as a traditional coffee maker. Since we are from the same town, we call each other sometimes—we understand each other. She is the only friend I have now.” During these times, knowledge and information are transferred through discussions. This knowledge, information and free chat in the broker’s house represents a protective factor that helps a girl feel that there are other people facing the same challenges under similar conditions. They obtain new information just by hearing or participating in group chats at the broker house. For instance, in the focus group discussion one of the domestic workers, facilitated the discussion by encouraging the girls to speak. Moreover, she stated that she did not consider herself a domestic worker any more, as she was working at some other jobs. She said she worked

before, but now, it is only for the Ethiopian winter season that she works. She said that she wanted to work for only these 4 months to feel warm and eat warm maize with her employers rather than suffering in the rain and cold trying to work outside. She was not willing to explain what she meant by “outside jobs,” which could be prostitution; selling coffee, lunch, or foodstuffs on the streets for day workers around the merkato; or other jobs not mentioned here. She used domestic work as a coping strategy to avoid being exposed to cold in the winter.

When expectation and reality did not meet, the workers demonstrated resilience by developing adaption strategies and continuing to work. The child domestic workers used subtle strategies to avoid unfavorable conditions. Subtle strategies are quiet and invisible; they represent ways in which groups considered powerless resist dominant power relations (Bell, 2017). The subtle strategies used by domestic workers include seasonal working (only for winter), asking for vacation and then never coming back, and changing to other, similar types of jobs.

According to Bessel (2009) in Abebe and Bessell (2011, p.775), “Some girls seek waged employment outside the family home in order to avoid long hours of unpaid, arduous work within their own home.” They were children, but they demanded a wage for their labor. This was the case with Eden avoiding her kin, and Genet, who had been working growing up in her kin’s house all her life, and stated,

“The people who raised me never gave me money. Then, I left their house and got hired for one year in the same city.”

Young migrant workers may face harsh conditions; however, the work increases their economic and social power when they go back to their hometown (Punch, 2007). They show impressive hope and ability to plan—saving money and opening private businesses, whether cafés or hair salons in their villages. Other plans included travel to Middle Eastern countries in search of new opportunities. The child domestic workers were getting on with their lives, with effective strategies to protect themselves from harmful situations.

## 6. Discussion

One of the primary objectives of the thesis was exploring the expectations and perceptions of domestic work on the part of the children who carry out this labor. The other objective was exploring their decisions and the outcomes of the work for their life.

The issues of child labor were approached from multidisciplinary perspectives and policy documents. Some approaches view child labor with a Eurocentric lens and have led to the development of generalized international conventions for the world. The effects of domestic work have mainly been considered using qualitative methods, focusing on extremes rather than understanding specific working conditions and arrangements (Gamlin 2015, in Boateng & West, 2017). For instance, some qualitative studies shown that child domestic workers are treated worse than dogs (Blagbrough, 2008, in Boateng & West, 2017). Another study in Bangladesh suggested that child domestic work is a form of modern slavery, reducing children's natural growth and potential and leading to permanent disorders (Islam, 2014).

Some research has uncovered the positive outcomes of child labor and domestic work. According to the West African children's voice, "Life has made us learn how to work, [but] we now want to get instruction and good training in order to help ourselves and help our countries to develop" (Coly & Terenzio, 2007, p. 183). Child domestic work can positively contribute to a child's development (Aufseeser, 2017 in Boateng & West, 2017). The cultural context of African children obliges them to take part in society as actors with economic, political, and social responsibilities (Coly & Terenzio, 2007). Child domestic work is a safer occupation than other child labors (Klocker, 2011 in Boateng & West, 2017). Young domestic servants attend evening classes after a long working day to develop and improve their families and society (Coly & Terenzio, 2007).

The concept of child participation in the decision-making process is attracting broad coverage in different studies. For example, Abate (2012) studied what children are saying about child protection systems via a meta-analysis representing children's voices from 13 countries. The researcher found that "child participation is more of a rhetorical statement than a reality in child

protection system” (p. 21). Child labor exploitation is a child protection issue considered in international policy documents (Abate, 2012).

The nature of domestic work is “highly heterogeneous,” making it difficult to categorize it as the worst forms of child labor (Gamlin et al., 2015). Domestic workers have been limited from wide labor legislation coverage because the girls are declared as family members rather than having an employment relationship (Boateng & West, 2017). Stopping child domestic workers cannot be the immediate solution, as “CDW [child domestic work] in itself is not harmful and should not be banned” (Gamlin et al., 2015, p. 13).

In a large-scale analysis on children from eight countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, it was found that “both boys and girls are expected to do many chores around the house, but also have time to do their schoolwork” (Abate, 2012, p.16). As Abate (2012) explained, there has been a shift from formal actors to community training and the development of community-based protection systems (extended family, children groups, religious organizations), as children do not feel secure in accessing formal protection system services. For instance, Anti-slavery International is one of the early organizations that has been working to raise the visibility of child domestic workers across the world (Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean) since the 1990s. In recent years, it has come up with practical ways of increasing child domestic workers’ participation by applying participatory approaches and by training child domestic workers about basic child rights to increase their awareness (Blagbrough, 2013).

A study on the child domestic workers perspective in Zimbabwe proved that child domestic work means different things for different children, emphasizing that they do not want the opportunity to work to be taken away from them and providing suggestions to help in protecting them in their work (Bourdillo, 2007). Child labor is common in rural subsistence economics and important for the survival of the family (Admassie, 2013 in Robson et al., 2007). Policies should aim at facilitating education and work by introducing compulsory education (Admassie, 2013 in Robson et al., 2007).

This thesis described child domestic workers' diverse experiences agency and relational agency with brokers, kin, and employers. Their work has helped them to be stronger amid adversities. Moreover, it is helping them attain what they need in their current life.



## 7. Conclusion and Recommendation

Without a belief that children are social actors and without involving them in research process it is impossible to understand their point of view. Why do young girls migrate to urban areas to be a domestic worker? How do they manage their relationship with different adults at different stages? I put aside my first adult perception of what child domestic work is and approached the topic from the children view. What are they getting out of the work?

The major reason why the child domestic workers migrate to urban areas is that it is a livelihood strategy to escape from financial poverty. This economic insufficiency came because of high fertility and non-sustainable agricultural based income of their families. However, the children choose to work just out of a personal desire to be independent.

The children choose 'domestic work' because of their gender. Domestic work has traditionally been done at home by a woman. Addis Ababa employers who contacted the brokers only hire females for domestic work jobs. As a result, this has served young girls as the first escaping mechanism from the economic challenge while living with family, as a strategy to avoid unwanted kin control and gain the sense of independence.

The child domestic workers gathered the information about child domestic work from neighbors, friends and family. Kin network has also served as the first stepping-stone to live in urban area. It is Ethiopian society cultural trend for a child to be transferred to a kin in time of family challenge. The child domestic workers are related with different adults to make the journey possible.

There is autonomy and agency demonstrated in the relationship with neighbors, kin, brokers, and employers. This relationship is full of negotiation to balance effects of the adult power control exerted on them. They are not satisfied with kin however; they do not want to fully avoid kin from their life. Respect and fear exist in the mind of the children while relating with kin. They do not put themselves in dispute that will cut the relationship completely but come up with

strategies to stay far so that they do not develop bad reputation or curse and also to have someone to lean on in case someday some serious sickness happens on them.

The relationship with the broker is the most important and relatively permanent that has to continue if they lose or change a job. Employers can be changed based on the level of pressure or difficulty they present. The children who have more experience demands more quality in the working relationship with the broker and employer than the inexperienced once. They demand a legal contract; they express their interest to the broker.

The children have demonstrated collective empowerment by coming together in the broker house. Negotiation and strategies were learned and developed from their personal experience as a child domestic worker, through knowledge and information that is transferred, by the friendship and chat that is mostly developed in the broker house. The strategies by child domestic workers to manage domestic work effectively includes working only for wintertime, changing job type and employers, demanding legal contract and households with a small number of people.

Expectation and reality did not match for the girls. They faced Challenges like lack of freedom, lack of legal protection in the agreement on salary, long working hours in addition to work overload beyond the child's capacity, lack of enough food, and sexual assault. Through it all, there is resilience developed, future plan and hope mentioned, i.e. saving money, travelling to Middle East countries to be a domestic worker, opening a private small business. They have continued working because they are happy for being able to feel independence and provide their basic need.

There is a limitation in this research to access all types of child domestic workers. However, it is possible for a future researcher, to make ethnographic research focusing on in each aspect of their lived lives, from migration process to employment.

It is recommended to give capacity and responsibility enhancing training for the brokers and develop their non-formal setting to a formal organization with some legal person that intervene on the relationship between the broker, employer and child domestic worker. The Ethiopian regulations about child labor are well documented, but assigning people who work at the grass

root level to minimized risks children take without any protection and to execute the regulations effectively. Keeping up the work by preparing more documentaries and short movies in the media to teach the society and emphasizing that these children need care and guidance in order to help them achieve their plans.

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## Appendix: Interview guide

The following interview guide explores the children's perspective and experience in domestic work and schooling and their plans about the future

### 1. Family background

1.1. How old are you?

1.2. From which part of the country did you come to Addis Ababa?

Region \_\_\_\_\_

Town \_\_\_\_\_

1.3. When is your date of birth?

DD, MM, YY \_\_\_\_\_, I don't know [ ]

1.4. Whom did you live with in your home town? \_\_\_\_\_

1.5. Are your parents alive?

Yes [ ] no [ ]

1.6. If yes, please explain what they work

\_\_\_\_\_

1.7. Do you have siblings

Yes [ ] no [ ]

If yes please specify their age or your order of birth, what they do for living

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## 2. Questions about migration, recruitment methods for job, length of employment as a domestic worker

2.1. What was your role in your last town of residence?

School [ ]

Taking care of parents or younger siblings [ ]

Work [ ]

2.2. Is Addis Ababa your first urban experience?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

2.2.1. What or who encouraged you to start domestic work? \_\_\_\_\_

2.2.2. When did you start domestic work? \_\_\_\_\_

2.3. Who helped you get your first job? \_\_\_\_\_

2.4. Who connected you with the broker? \_\_\_\_\_

2.5. Do you have specific preferences about where to work?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

2.5.1. If yes what kind of house do you prefer and why?

\_\_\_\_\_

2.5.2. If yes what kind of house you dislike?

\_\_\_\_\_

2.6. Do the brokers give you the right and freedom to choose where to work?

Yes [ ] No [ ] I am not sure [ ]

2.6.1. Do you have written contract with employers before starting work?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

2.6.2. If yes, what are the conditions included?



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2.6.3. How often do you contact your families? \_\_\_\_\_

2.6.4. Who do you consult in case of emergency (sickness, loss of job, consultation for any decision)?

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2.6.5. Have you ever been sick and visited a doctor?

Yes [ ]      No [ ]

If yes who covered your expense? \_\_\_\_\_

2.7. What was your expectation before starting domestic work?

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2.8. Who is your first source of information about domestic work?

---

2.9. How old were you when you first start domestic work?

---

2.10. What was your expectation before starting the work?

---

2.11. Is domestic work in urban areas just like you expected?

Yes [ ]                      No [ ]

2.12. What are the things that you found different?

---

2.13. Since you started work in how many homes were you hired?

---

If more than one, please mention the major reasons why you changed the houses?

\_\_\_\_\_

2.14. Do you like the job? \_\_\_\_\_

2.15. Are you happy that you are working right now? \_\_\_\_\_

2.16. What do you think about the government's law of banning children under 18 not to work ? \_\_\_\_\_

### 3. Questions about Schooling

3.1. Have you ever went to school?

Yes [ ]      no [ ]

If yes which grade are you \_\_\_\_\_

3.2. Were you attending school in your home town? \_\_\_\_\_

If yes why did you quit

\_\_\_\_\_

3.3. What was the proportion in the number of boys and girls in your class?

\_\_\_\_\_

3.4. Are you attending school now? \_\_\_\_\_

If yes what kind of school are you attending?

Night class [ ]

Half day [ ]

Full day [ ]

If no, do you have any plan or interest to attend school?

\_\_\_\_\_

3.5. What was your employers comment about you wanting to go to school?

\_\_\_\_\_

#### **4. Questions about earnings and future plan**

4.1. How much do you earn? \_\_\_\_\_

4.2. Are you satisfied with what you earn as a domestic worker?

\_\_\_\_\_

4.3. What are the list of major things you do with your earnings?

\_\_\_\_\_

4.4. Do you save money?

Yes [ ]      No [ ]

4.5. Do you have future plan?

Yes [ ]      No [ ]      I don't know [ ]

If yes what is your future plan? Please specify

\_\_\_\_\_

4.6. Who/what is your motivation for choosing the mentioned future plan?

#### **5. Focus group discussions with the child domestic workers**

Number of participants: five

5.1. Expectations before becoming a domestic worker

5.2. The difference and similarity between their expectation and reality

5.3. Do they have a plan and if so what are their plans?