

The prevalence of domestic servitude among child domestic workers in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Research findings

October 2022

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Acknowledgements

This study was made possible by the efforts of a great many people and organisations. We thank the US Department of State Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons and the Freedom Fund for technical and financial support to accomplish this very important study. From the Freedom Fund we are indebted to Elizabeth Anderson, Daniel Melese, Helen Shipman, Louise Hemfrey, Orla Jackson, Reimi Pieters, Sonia Martins and Yuki Lo. We appreciate their technical support and guidance throughout the project and very useful comments on the draft of this report. From the Population Council we are indebted to colleagues from the Ethiopia Country Office who supported us in this endeavour including Henock Marcos. We are grateful for the inputs from our research consultants Woldemariam Girma, Yonas Keleta and Bezawit Shiferaw.

We received numerous inputs on the draft report through various validation exercises. We are indebted to former domestic workers who gave us insights into what it means to be a domestic worker as well as the realities of taking part in the research. The project advisory group and program implementing partners (see Appendix four) provided invaluable perspectives particularly on recommendations emanating from the study and suggestions for the application of findings. The interviewers, supervisors, coordinators and transcribers who worked on this study demonstrated commitment and dedication to the aims of the research, even when working in sometimes very difficult and challenging circumstances.

Finally, we would like to express our heartfelt appreciation to the thousands of domestic workers who gave up their time and their thoughts and experiences in various aspects of this project. We sincerely hope that the outcome of this research will result in nuanced, appropriate, and effective programming and support for girls and young women who may enter domestic work in the future or who are already working in the sphere.

Photo credit

All images in this report are from eight TV spots released between June and July 2022 as a part of Freedom Fund's Norms and Behaviour Change Campaign 'Chora' which means dawning in Amharic. The aim of the campaign is to improve the treatment of child domestic workers by encouraging employers to reduce working hours and enable access to education. The ads were developed by The Freedom Fund and Girl Effect, and photography by Urban Production. All those pictured are actors.

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Executive summary

It is estimated that there are 17.2 million child domestic workers globally, most of whom are girls (International Labor Organization (ILO), 2013; ILO, n.d.). Despite their large numbers, research related to this marginalised group is extremely limited, with most of the existing research remaining at a small scale or subsumed in other topics, such as domestic workers generally. The dearth of evidence related to child domestic work arguably limits awareness about girls in such circumstances and inhibits the design and implementation of context-appropriate policy and program responses. The present study represents one of the few large-scale studies to examine the phenomenon of child domestic work, including its prevalence, the entry and experience of girls in this work, and levels of human trafficking, hazardous work and illegal child labour.

This research was a mixed-method study that included a large-sample, population-based study of girl child domestic workers as well as qualitative, in-depth interviews with a smaller group of girls. The study took place in low-income areas of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, specifically, areas that were identified by child domestic work experts and stakeholders as locations where large numbers of child domestic workers are found. Unlike previous studies that focus exclusively on those who identify themselves as domestic workers, this study explicitly takes into account ambiguities in distinguishing child domestic workers, especially when workers are distant family members or children considered to be fostered. For the purposes of this report, 'child domestic workers' include those who self-identify as domestic workers, as well as girls who report a minimum of 14 hours of domestic work undertaken per week and not living with conjugal family members. This second category is a de facto child domestic worker, even if they may not self-identify as such, often because they are a distant family member or have been placed in the household under the guise of fostering. We have chosen 14 hours of work as a cut-off as this is consistent with ILO's definition of work in excess of 'light work' or chores (ILO, 2013). While children are defined in Ethiopia as those under the age of 18, we have included respondents who report themselves to be 18 in the study. This is because we suspect a considerable amount of age misreporting and age heaping at age 18, the age of legal majority, an assumption which is borne out in the data.

Based on household data from our study areas, the prevalence of child domestic work among all girls aged 12 to 17 is 37 percent, which is consistent with previous studies of Ethiopian youth (Erulkar et al., 2010). Whether one identifies as a domestic worker, or one is deemed as such by virtue of their daily work burdens, these two categories of domestic workers have differing profiles and experiences. Girls who do not identify as domestic workers and who typically live with distant relatives often enter into these arrangements at younger ages and are more likely to be orphans. They also have some advantages over self-identified domestic workers, such as greater access to education and fewer hours devoted to domestic work, though both groups report long hours in domestic service. At the same time, girls who do not consider themselves domestic workers are significantly less likely to receive cash payment for their labour. Those who self-identify as domestic workers report longer hours of work and higher levels of exploitation and abuse, including trafficking and hazardous work.

We found that the majority of girls in child domestic work are migrants to the area and come from extremely poor backgrounds. They often have few years of education; on average they possess only five years of schooling and only 62 percent can read. What is remarkable about child domestic workers in this study is the excessive hours devoted to work. On average, girls reported 55 hours of work per week (61 hours among self-identified domestic workers and 49 hours among those not identifying as domestic workers. Large percentages of girls do not have a rest day (40 percent), were not given time off on public holidays (27 percent) and many worked during early morning (29 percent) and late evening hours (9 percent) which is in contravention to the Ethiopian labour law. The pay that girls receive is usually very minimal, if anything at all. Fifty-two percent of respondents are not paid, which is primarily girls who are in extended family arrangements and do not consider themselves as domestic workers. Among those who are paid, they received the equivalent of US \$24 per month on average. Younger girls aged 12 to 14 were paid considerably less, an average of US \$17.50 per month. Twenty-seven percent of girls who were paid for their work reported that their salaries were 'kept' for them by employers and some girls who participated in the in-depth interviews said that the money 'kept' for them was never paid. Five percent of girls who were paid reported their salaries are given to their families residing elsewhere, which is more common among younger girls; among girls aged 12 to 14, 14 percent have salaries paid to their families.

While few girls receive financial support from their natal families, a considerable proportion send support to their families, usually in rural areas. Among self-identified domestic workers, 67 percent have savings put aside and 51 percent send money home to their families.

There were indications that many girls underreported negative circumstances in their lives such as physical and sexual violence, which is consistent with previous studies of domestic work in Ethiopia (Erulkar, Girmay and Negeri, 2017). This may be because employers frequently provide housing, food, and many times, hold their salary. As a result, girls are extremely reliant on their employers and probably unlikely to say anything that could be perceived as negative. Indications of underreporting of negative experiences were manifested in discrepancies between the reporting of violence by former employers compared to current employers, as well as a greater level of reporting of violence, withholding pay and pay deductions in the context of in-depth interviews as compared to responses on survey questions. In addition, when validating study results, former domestic workers emphasised the likelihood of respondents not disclosing negative experiences because of fear of retaliation or loss of one's job or income.

Based on indicators developed by the US Department of State (2020), over half (52 percent) of girls were victims of human trafficking (68 percent of self-identified domestic workers and 35 percent of those who do not identify as domestic workers). Based on provisions of the Ethiopian Labour law, all girls aged 12 to 14 were considered to be working illegally, while 87 percent of those aged 15 to 17 were in illegal child labour, largely fueled by excessive working hours and being given no rest days.

The study findings provide support for the following recommendations related to prevention, protection and prosecution:

Prevention

- Recognise domestic work under official labour laws, as well as through the ratification and incorporation of ILO Resolution Convention 189.
- Ensure adequate consultation, representation and voice for child domestic workers in future policy and legislative decisions.
- Utilise existing local leaders and community structures, such as *Idirs*, faith leaders and *kebele* and *woreda*-level structures, to instigate change in harmful norms towards child domestic workers, through strategies such as Codes of Conduct for employers and model contracts.

Protection

- Provide adequate and reliable information in source communities for girls and families contemplating migration and entry into domestic work.
- Support collaboration between government bodies, non-governmental organisations, and community structures to ensure seamless and efficient identification, referral, shelter and aftercare services for child domestic workers.
- Break the isolation of child domestic workers with safe spaces aimed at: building their confidence, skills and social capital; raising awareness of current laws and policies; and connecting them with support services and entitlements.
- Provide opportunities for alternative basic education (ABE), life skills and financial literacy training in a flexible format adapted to the needs of domestic workers.

Prosecution

- Ensure all law enforcement bodies (police, prosecutors, judges) have the capacity and resources to enforce Ethiopia's Labour Law, Constitution and Anti-trafficking legislation.
- Implement special provisions for child-friendly reporting, investigation and tribunal procedures in suspected cases of abuse, exploitation and trafficking.

Background and introduction

Globally there are an estimated 17.2 million child domestic workers (CDWs), the majority of whom are girls. Of these, two-thirds are considered in child labour and 3.7 million are engaged in hazardous forms of work (ILO, 2013; ILO, n.d.).¹² Domestic work frequently keeps children out-of-school, confined to the home of their employers, socially isolated and burdened with excessive domestic duties, frequently beyond their capacities and, at times, in slavery-like conditions (Black, 2002; Boeteng and West, 2017; ILO, 2013, US Dept of State, 2021). Employers often strictly control their time, movements and access to food and accommodation. Younger domestic workers are often preferred by employers because they are easier to control and demand little or no pay (Human Rights Watch, 2006). Rural girls are also preferred as they are perceived as capable of handling heavy workloads compared to girls raised in urban areas (Awumbila et al., 2017).



1 The International Labour Organization (ILO) defines child domestic work as 'children's work in the domestic work sector in the home of a third party or employer.' Child labour in domestic work is when 'work is performed by children below the relevant minimum age (for light work, full-time non-hazardous work and hazardous work respectively) or in a slavery-like situation.' (ILO, 2013)

2 A full list of operational definitions used in this report appears in Appendix One.

Profile of child domestic work in Ethiopia

Domestic work—followed by petty trade and work in the service industry such as bars, restaurants, or hotels—is one of the most common forms of paid work among girls and young women in Ethiopia, especially among the sizable number of girls and young women who migrate from rural to urban areas. In one study of nearly 10,000 young people in six regions, 37 percent of girls and young women working in urban areas were engaged in domestic work (Erulkar et al., 2010). Another study in Ethiopia found that, among adolescent girls who were rural-urban migrants, 67 percent entered the work world in domestic work (Erulkar, Girmay and Negeri, 2017).

Domestic work performed by children - or chores - is not always exploitative or harmful to the child and research shows that child domestic workers operate in a wide variety of conditions and situations (Gamlin et al., 2015). Indeed, some domestic work such as helping the family in the home or earning pocket money outside school hours can contribute to a young person's positive and healthy development. However, certain forms of child domestic work are considered to be 'child domestic servitude'—and a form of modern slavery—when it is characterised by exploitative and harmful working conditions, an inability to leave the job or excessive control and confinement, long hours, little or no pay, insufficient hours of rest, or experience of physical, psychological, or sexual abuse within the context of work (US Dept of State, 2021). A 2007 study of self-reported child and adolescent domestic workers aged 10 to 19 in Addis Ababa found that many domestic workers reported conditions of domestic servitude, including long hours of work, no time off, low or no pay and control of movement by employers. Domestic workers in the study reported working an average of 64 hours of work per week for a mean monthly wage of US \$6 per month (Erulkar and Mekbib, 2007). In another study of out-of-school girls aged 10 to 19 in three Ethiopian cities, Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar and Gondar, domestic workers were at significantly higher risk of sexual abuse compared to their counterparts who are not engaged in domestic work (Erulkar and Ferede, 2009).

One of the distinct challenges related to child domestic workers is the ambiguous relationship that commonly exists between the child and host family/employer. Children transition into child domestic work through multiple avenues including formal or informal recruiters, or through kinship or social networks; motivated by their own volition, decisions by families, persuasion, coercion or false promises from others (Awumbila et al., 2017). In many settings, fostering is common and children from poor families are moved to live with better-off families. For example, in the Amhara region of Ethiopia, the practice of 'Qenja' (translated as 'forming coalitions') is a practice where boys are fostered as a strategy to redistribute rural labour (Kassa and Abebe, 2016). Girls are frequently moved to urban families under the guise of fostering, being cared for, or being educated. For example, 'vidomegon' (translated as 'little girl with someone') is a common practice in Benin where young girls from poor rural families are relocated to families as child domestic workers, but under the guise of being cared for (Dottridge, 2021; Hounyoton, 2019). In reality, many are subjected to child domestic work that can be hidden, exploitative and hazardous especially as it is within the confines of a private house and under the pretense of an act of charity for an underprivileged girl. This creates a so-called 'care vacuum' making such girls extremely vulnerable to exploitation, abuse, and violence, including sexual violence (Gamlin et al., 2015; Kyegombe et al., 2021; Osagbemi and Arulogun, 2011; Tetteh, 2011). Such 'familial trafficking' is a recently recognised concept in the trafficking field, introducing a host of complexities due to the involvement and motivation of families, cultural practices and norms that are socially sanctioned, and children that are frequently very young and unaware of their victimisation (US Dept of State, 2021).

Prevention of exploitative child domestic work in Ethiopia

Efforts to address child domestic work are hampered by an extremely limited evidence base and the very small number of prevention and support programs implemented specifically for child domestic workers. Moreover, the few programs for child domestic workers remain largely unevaluated (Keyegombe et al., 2021). Most existing research on child domestic work draws from small-scale qualitative studies documenting the experience of child domestic workers and the pattern of abuse and exploitation. However, the field lacks large-scale, rigorous and balanced studies to document the scale of child domestic work and patterns of experience, both positive and negative. As a very hidden population, the number of child domestic workers is difficult to estimate (Tetteh, 2011). Currently, estimates of child domestic workers are subsumed in domestic workers estimates generally, or within child labour statistics (Boateng and West, 2017). In addition, child domestic work frequently occurs within the context of family arrangements and fostering, creating ambiguity in defining and enumerating child domestic workers. Most attempts to measure the prevalence of child domestic work omit child domestic workers in extended family or fostering arrangements, relying exclusively on occupational reporting. This undoubtedly underestimates the extent of the child domestic work (Pocock, Chan and Zimmerman, 2021). Indeed, definitions of child domestic work used in research and programs are not uniform and can be quite variable (UNICEF, 2002).

Under the Labour Proclamation (No. 1156/2019) in Ethiopia, children under the age of 15 are prohibited from working and those aged 15 to 17 are considered 'young workers.' 'Young workers' may work a maximum of seven hours per day and are prohibited from working before 6:00 AM or after 10:00 PM. They should have at least one rest day per week, not work on public holidays and are prohibited from specified dangerous forms of work such as in mines and quarries, electric power plants, or sewers and tunnels (Federal Negarit Gazette of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE), 2019). Domestic work, however, is not governed by the Labour Law but by the 1960 Ethiopia Civil Code. The Civil Code gives domestic workers relatively few protections and allows the work conditions to be regulated 'by the conscience of the employers' (Gebremedhin, 2016, p. 41). In addition, Ethiopia has not ratified ILO 2011 Domestic Workers Convention No. 189, which includes minimum labour standards for domestic workers despite having ratified other key ILO labour standards including the Minimum Age Convention (No. 138), Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

With funding from the US Department of State Program to End Modern Slavery (PEMS), the Freedom Fund is implementing the 'Ethiopia Child Domestic Workers Program,' which aims to improve working conditions of child domestic workers and reduce domestic servitude among girls in Ethiopia (Freedom Fund, 2020). The present study attempts to address the dearth of rigorous evidence on child domestic work and domestic servitude and also represents baseline research for the Freedom Fund's program. Moreover, this research is one of the first studies of domestic work to take into account the persistent ambiguities in defining who constitutes a child domestic worker, especially in the context of blurred lines inherent when family members are involved. We go beyond simply focusing on those who self-identify as domestic workers to include girls whose circumstances may be clouded by virtue of family arrangements or extended family connections to host households. This study focuses on domestic work in Ethiopia's capital city, Addis Ababa.



Study objectives and research questions

The overall goal of the research is to contribute to the limited knowledge base on child domestic work in Ethiopia in order to develop and improve context-appropriate support and prevention programs as well as advocacy efforts. Specific objectives of the research are:

- To establish a baseline estimate of the prevalence of child domestic work in identified 'hotspot' areas of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- To characterise the situation of child domestic workers, including the nature and extent of abuse and exploitation, opportunities for protection, and benefits of engaging in this form of work.
- To measure child domestic workers' awareness of, access to and utilisation of services as well as barriers to services.
- To shape decisions on interventions undertaken by local service providers and policymakers, including the approach, content and location of prevention and support services.

The study seeks to answer the following specific research questions:

- How many children are working as child domestic workers in the study locations, in terms of absolute numbers as well as the proportion of all children?
- What are the typical profiles of child domestic workers, including:
 - Their background, age, level of education and home areas
 - Motivations for and patterns of recruitment and entry into domestic work
 - Patterns of work, range of duties, working hours, compensation and access to education
 - Characteristics of employers, including household composition and socioeconomic status
- What forms of harm and exploitation do child domestic workers experience, such as domestic violence, work-related injuries, loss of physical and communicative freedom?
- Among child domestic workers, what is the prevalence of human trafficking, worst forms of child labour and illegal child labour?



Research methodology

This is a large-scale, mixed-method study of child domestic workers in ‘hotspot’ areas of Addis Ababa, including a large quantitative survey of child domestic workers and a sub-sample of child domestic workers who were interviewed through in-depth interviews. The study forms the baseline of the Freedom Fund’s ‘Ethiopia Child Domestic Worker Program,’ with surveys taking place in both intervention and non-intervention areas. The study consisted of 1) an initial scoping/formative study, 2) a household listing to establish a sampling frame, 3) a large-scale quantitative survey of sampled respondents and 4) a smaller group of respondents interviewed through qualitative in-depth interview.

Scoping study

In the first phase of the project, a scoping study (Population Council and Freedom Fund, 2021) was undertaken to inform the design of the prevalence study of child domestic workers in Addis Ababa. The study engaged with local organisations and experts to contribute to the characterisation of child domestic workers and households that employ them, document support services available to them and suggest specific locations or neighbourhoods in Addis Ababa where large numbers of child domestic workers may be located. Thirty-five interviews were conducted with key informants who had specialty knowledge of child domestic work and child trafficking in Ethiopia, and in Addis Ababa, specifically. Respondents included representatives from government offices, multilateral and United Nations (UN) agencies, as well as local and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The discussion guide elicited information on a range of topics including the characteristics of young people entering domestic work; how they enter such work; how domestic workers are treated in employers’ homes; their pattern of work; common locations in Addis Ababa where they are found; their service needs, available services and barriers to services. The study helped to identify data gaps and areas for further exploration in the prevalence study as well as specific locations or ‘hotspot’ areas in Addis Ababa where there was relatively higher prevalence of child domestic workers. The scoping study is available at <https://freedomfund.org/our-reports/reducing-the-prevalence-of-child-domestic-servitude-in-addis-ababa-ethiopia/>.

Household listing

The household listing establishes the sampling frame from which respondents are selected and to determine the total population of girls and young women in the study area, to aid in estimating prevalence. The initial scoping study helped to identify specific locations in Addis Ababa where large numbers of child domestic workers are residents. In anticipation of measuring the impact of child domestic worker interventions, locations were categorised as intervention or comparison sites, depending on the location of planned intervention by implementing partners. Sub-cities and *kebeles*—smaller administrative wards—were selected based on findings from the scoping study. Once selected, *kebeles* were subdivided into ‘city blocks’ composed of several contiguous *ketenas*, the administrative units below *kebeles*. Thus, each ‘city block’ was a contiguous geographical area delineated by major city streets. Ultimately, the study team mapped the selected ‘city blocks’ using official maps to aid in mapping.

All households in selected ‘city blocks’ were visited by trained enumerators. Enumerators collected information from all resident household members aged 5 to 20 from a household authority, usually the household head. Information was collected on the resident’s age, sex, relationship to household head, school status (in- or out-of-school), marital status, occupation, estimated hours of domestic work per week and whether the child/young person can communicate in Amharic or communicated with another language.³ The household listing included detailed information about location of the household, which was used to locate the household, in cases where a member was sampled.

A resident of the household was considered eligible for the survey if they satisfied at least one of the three following criteria: 1) A girl aged 12 to 18 whose main occupation is ‘Cleaner, maid, domestic worker, nanny, babysitter, cook in household,’ 2) A girl aged 12 to 18 whose relationship to household head is ‘Employee/ domestic worker,’ or 3) A girl aged 12 to 18 who is not daughter of the household head and whose estimated

³ Language ability was collected for the purposes of arranging an interviewer with the appropriate language skills, should the young person be selected for the study and not speak the national language, Amharic.

weekly domestic work was eight hours or more. We considered eligibility for the survey from a minimum of eight hours of work, while domestic workers in the sample includes only girls, themselves, who reported working 14 or more hours per week. The household listing data solicits information on members of the household from the household head, who we suspect might have less familiarity with working hours or might misreport or underreport the number of hours other household members are devoting to domestic work. Indeed, a study of child labour in the agricultural sector in Ethiopia reflects that proxy reports of hours worked by children are underestimated by adults in the household, especially reports of the hours worked by girls (Galdo, Dammert and Abebaw, 2020). Ultimately, those included in the study analysis are respondents, themselves, who report 14 or more weekly hours of domestic work, which is consistent with ILO definition of child labour in excess of what could be considered light work.⁴

To note, respondents whose reported age was 18 were considered eligible for the survey, despite the fact that this survey was focused on child domestic workers below the age of 18. This is because experience in surveys in Ethiopia and elsewhere—including the country’s national census—suggest that there is quite a significant amount of age heaping, or the tendency for people to estimate or round their age to multiples of five or to age of cultural or legal significance, such as age 18, the age of legal majority. The following is a response from one interviewee:



Interviewer: Okay, how old are you?
Respondent: I said 18, but I don’t know for sure. I just said so.
Interviewer: Okay, you guess that you are around 18?
Respondent: Yes, I just guessed, but I don’t know. – Migrated from Oromia

Indeed, there were indications of bias in reporting oneself as age 18 in the current study as a large proportion of respondents reported themselves as age 18 (see Appendix two, Appendix Figure 1).

Quantitative survey

This is the baseline study of the Freedom Fund’s ‘Ethiopia Child Domestic Worker Program,’ which includes interventions to influence key stakeholders, including employers; to improve responsiveness and legislative protection; and to improve and expand services provided to at-risk child domestic workers and survivors, especially education and vocational training. If feasible, the Freedom Fund intends to commission an endline study to help assess the effect of the program intervention on reducing the rate of domestic servitude among CDWs. A sampling expert calculated the sample size and designed the sampling strategy to enable us to potentially detect changes associated with the interventions. The sample size for the quantitative survey is calculated to detect a 15 percent relative reduction in a selected respondent characteristic, in this case, illiteracy, from an initial estimate of 40 percent to 34 percent. Our calculation is based on a confidence level of 95 percent, power of 90 percent, and uses a design effect of 1.5 and non-response of 20 percent. Using a four to one ratio between intervention and non-intervention areas, the number of respondents sampled was calculated as 3,062.

The sample was selected using two-stage cluster sampling. In the first stage, city blocks were selected using probability proportional to size (PPS), with size being the number of households in the city blocks.⁵ In the second stage, eligible girls were selected using random sampling in the city blocks, with 27 to 30 eligible girls selected in each city block. This number of girls per city block (30) is preferred in urban studies in Ethiopia, especially in cases where the homogeneity of the target sample is not well established. Sample weights were calculated to adjust for unequal probabilities of selection at both stages of sampling: 1) sampling of city blocks and 2) sampling of eligible girls.

The survey instrument was structured and collected data on: 1) background characteristics, 2) education, 3) migration, 4) social networks and time use, 5) work and 6) access to and use of services. Many of the background questions used in the survey are drawn from standard questionnaires. For example, questions to measure socio-economic status are derived from both Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) as well as the Ethiopia National Child Labour Survey (2015) and questions on self-esteem are based on existing measures used in United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) surveys. Finally, questions were tailored to measure indicators outlined in the recent publication Human Trafficking Statistical Definitions (US Dept of State, 2020). Our respondents include both older (age 15 to 18) and younger (age 12 to 14) adolescents. Adolescents in the younger age groups were not asked more sensitive questions including those related to violence and sexual abuse. The instrument was translated and back-translated into local languages, Amharic and Oromiffa, and pretested through multiple rounds.

4 See, for example, <https://ilostat.ilo.org/resources/concepts-and-definitions/indicator-description-child-labour/>

5 In a few cases where city blocks had less than 27 eligible girls, adjacent city blocks were merged into one sampling unit.

Forty-two female interviewers and seven supervisors were recruited for data collection. Interviewers had significant experience in other surveys, such as the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), Ethiopia Welfare Monitoring Surveys and National Child Labour Surveys as well as other surveys conducted by the Population Council and other NGOs. Interviewers received four days training that included item-by-item review of the questionnaire in both English and local languages; review of skip patterns; intensive training on ethical procedures including informed consent/assent, ensuring private spaces for interview; identifying signs of trauma or upset in respondents and referral for other services including counselling; and COVID mitigation measures among others. Each supervisor led a team of six interviewers. Supervisors ensured adherence to protocols and ethical guidelines, as well as quality and completeness of data. Local guides were recruited who were resident and well-known in the study areas. Local guides assisted in locating and securing access to survey households and in addressing reluctance or suspicions by community members. Local guides and supervisors were not present while interviews were taking place.

Qualitative study

In-depth interviews were conducted among 24 respondents eligible for the study and purposively selected to include girls with diverse backgrounds, working conditions, and experiences. We selected eight respondents per sub-city (Addis Ketema, Gullele and Kolfe Keranyo) in order to capture the range of experiences across geographical areas. The in-depth interviews covered areas such as family background, migration, process of finding and entering work life, experience of work—both positive and negative—use of services and barriers to services. A discussion guide was developed as an illustrative tool to ensure that the interviewer remained focused on the questions that addressed the study objectives.

Ethical considerations

A research protocol along with associated research instruments and informed consent documents were developed and submitted to an institutional ethical review board at the Population Council and an Ethiopian ethical review board—The Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists (ESSWA). For the local review board, instruments and informed consent language were translated into local languages to be used during the survey. Human Subjects approval for the study was obtained from the Population Council's review board in January 2021 and ESSWA's review board in March 2021.

The procedures for informed consent or assent depended on the situation of the sampled respondent and were designed to maximise protection of respondents. Self-identified domestic workers under age 18 who are living with employers are considered emancipated minors under Ethiopian law, and able to give their own consent to participate in the study. However, previous experience interviewing domestic workers has shown that, at times, domestic workers who consented to be interviewed have faced the anger of their employers upon discovery that the interview took place, even if they were in a position to provide their own consent. As such, we sought the permission—not informed consent—of the employer to conduct the interview and documented refusal rates. This step was necessary to prevent negative consequences for participating domestic workers. As part of securing permission, the employer was informed that he/she cannot be present during the interview and will not have access to any information given by the domestic worker during the interview. Where sampled respondents were underage and living with guardians such as extended family members, we obtained informed consent of the guardian and assent of the underage respondent.

It was possible that some of the questions asked in the research could elicit negative reactions, trauma or distress. The questionnaire was designed to move from less sensitive to more sensitive topics and to introduce potentially sensitive topics with reminders about the respondent's right to not answer questions if they so choose. Interviewers were also trained to identify signs of sadness or distress. Counselling services were provided by the study in cases where respondents showed signs of distress and wanted to be counselled. Counselling was ultimately arranged for four respondents at times and locations of their choosing.

Data management and analysis

Survey and household listing data were entered in Population Council offices by trained data entry staff, using a data entry screen that had embedded range checks and skip patterns to minimise data entry error. Data was merged and cleaned by undertaking internal consistency checks and cross-checking computerised data with questionnaires. In-depth interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim into English in a Word file. Two female interviewers who conducted the interviews also undertook transcription. Based on the Population Council's data security policy, all data are stored on password protected computers and in hard copy behind lock-and-key at the Population Council's Addis Ababa office for a minimum of five years.

This report presents descriptive analysis on the data collected from respondents. For the purposes of analysis, respondents were divided into two categories: 1) those who self-identify as domestic workers and 2) girls who do not identify as domestic workers but who are resident in the household of an extended family member or non-relative and who perform a minimum of 14 hours of domestic work per week. This second category of respondent may or may not consider themselves domestic workers, largely due to the closer relationship—such as distant kinship or fosterage—with their host families but are effectively in domestic service given their daily household activities and the number of hours in those activities.

As mentioned, we have included girls who are age 18 in this study, even though the study focused on domestic work among minors below the age of 18. This is because we have identified significant age heaping at the age of 18. We strongly suspect that many of the reported 18-year-olds may be underage, preferring to report themselves as the legal age of majority, or that they simply do not know their ages, definitively. This is likely compounded by the fact that the vast majority (87 percent) of respondents do not have birth certificates, and all are living away from parents and, therefore, may not have access to more detailed information about the timing of their births. Girls who are reportedly age 18 are included in the descriptive analysis of child domestic workers, on the assumption that a considerable proportion are actually underage. However, for the estimate of the worst forms of child labour and illegal child labour, we have removed the 18-year-olds from analysis.

We present the estimated hours devoted to domestic work, by type of work, as reported by respondents. Interviewers were trained to assist respondents to recall time spent in various tasks in the home. In some cases, the number of hours spent in domestic work exceeded the maximum number of hours per week (e.g. 168 hours). In these cases, we suspect either error in reporting of hours or tasks that are undertaken in tandem. For example, many respondents who reported domestic work in excess of 168 hours were engaged in full time security of the home. As ensuring security in the home—or being present in the home to deter trespassing or theft—is often achieved in parallel with other domestic tasks, we adjusted the hours spent on full time security (56 hours or more), on the assumption that other tasks are accomplished while ensuring security in the home.

Results presented are based on weighted data except for estimates related to child domestic worker prevalence and sample characteristics. Differences between the two groups of domestic workers—those who self-identified as such and those who did not—were statistically significant for most of the characteristics analysed. As such, significance levels are reported only for sample characteristics (Table 3).

In-depth interviews were analysed to identify emergent themes and patterns in the data and to add nuance and detail to quantitative findings. Throughout the report, illustrative quotes from in-depth interviews are provided to contextualise and clarify research results.

Validation of results

The draft report was subject to multiple reviews as well as a dedicated ‘validation’ undertaking among experts in Ethiopia and former domestic workers. In addition to colleagues at the Freedom Fund, the draft report was reviewed and discussed by a small number of experts and practitioners in Ethiopia who gave feedback and suggestions on the report. In addition, findings were reviewed by former domestic workers who were beneficiaries of an NGO program directed to current and former domestic workers. Individual discussions were held with five former domestic workers with a focus on reporting of age, working hours and treatment by employers.

Results

Overall, 3,171 girls aged 12 to 18 were sampled for the survey and 2,845 completed the survey (Table 1). Three hundred twenty-six (326) respondents—or about 10 percent of the sample—did not take part in the survey. The most common reasons for not taking part were that the selected respondent was away for an extended period (82 percent), not at home at the times the interviewer visited⁶ (7 percent), because the respondent, herself, refused (4 percent) or because the employer refused (3 percent). At the same time, considering the relationship of the sampled respondents to the household head, non-respondents were considerably more likely to be employees of the household head (65 percent), compared to respondents who completed the survey (38 percent). This could reflect the tendency for domestic workers in employment relationships to travel to visit relatives outside of the city, or, alternatively, deception on the part of employers attempting to make excuses to avoid domestic workers being interviewed, without expressing outright refusal. Seventy-four survey responses were removed from analysis as they were found to be ineligible because they reported less than 14 hours of domestic work per week.

Table 1: Outcome of sampled respondents

	Number	Percent
Total sampled	3,171	100.0%
Completed and eligible	2,771	87.4%
Refusal or not located for interview	326	10.3%
Completed but ineligible (works less than 14 hours domestic work per week)	74	2.3%

Twenty-four respondents were qualitatively interviewed, eight in each sub-city visited in the study. Respondents ranged in age from 15 to 18 years and included 11 self-described domestic workers and 13 young women living with extended family or in fostering relationships. Only two respondents were native to Addis Ababa, seven were from Oromia, seven from Amhara and eight from Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (SNNPR).

Number and proportion of child domestic workers

Household listing data indicate the occurrence of age heaping. Reporting of individual ages from 12 to 17 ranged from 10.9 to 15.0 percent; however, the percent of those reporting to be age 18 was 20.5 percent (see Annex two, Figure 1). This would suggest that some of the purported 18-year-olds are, in fact, below age 18. Former domestic workers who were consulted in the validation exercise confirmed the tendency for underage girls to increase their age to 18. Some reported that brokers and employers encouraged them to misreport ages because of the stigma associated with having underage workers:



The people who employ the children know the regulations. They instruct the children not to report their real age. - Former domestic worker



Brokers who place them in the work encourage it too, some brokers tell them to increase their age, so she does that. They would choose age 18 because they hear they might not get hired [if they are younger]. - Former domestic worker

⁶ Interviewers were required to make at least three visits to the household of the sampled respondent in order to locate them and request interview. If interviewers were not successful in locating the sampled respondent on the first visit, normally they made appointments for the most likely time a respondent would be available in the household.

Likewise, many of the former domestic workers said that many girls would simply not know their age because of lack of education or due to being from a rural area:



They come, they get hired, they care for a baby or clean the house or be a daily labourer... They do not know it [their age] like an ordinary child. They didn't get the chance to go to school. Since they didn't go to school, they don't have knowledge, and because they don't have knowledge, they don't know their age. – Former domestic worker



Since we are originally from rural areas, we don't know the year we were born. – Former domestic worker

In all, 11,424 girls aged 12 to 18 were enumerated in the study areas. Among these, 2,248 were identified as domestic workers (20 percent) and a further 2,294 (20 percent) were domestic workers living with extended family members or non-relatives and working 14 or more hours in domestic work, though not identifying as domestic workers. Table 2 shows the percentage of girls at each age who are domestic workers, both self-identified and by virtue of their living and working circumstances. We also calculated the same percentage among respondents who reported themselves as being below age 18, in order to restrict analysis to respondents who were reportedly children.

Table 2: Percentage of girls aged 12 to 18 who are domestic workers, by single years of age and category of respondent (n=11,424)

	Identified as domestic workers	Living with non-nuclear family or nonrelatives and performing 14+ hours of domestic work per week	All (Identified as domestic workers and others working 14+ hours per week)
Age 12	5.8	15.4	21.2
Age 13	8.0	17.0	25.0
Age 14	14.5	18.9	33.4
Age 15	22.1	21.7	43.8
Age 16	22.0	20.9	42.8
Age 17	27.1	21.6	48.6
Age 18	29.5	22.8	52.2
Ages 12 to 17	17.2	19.4	36.6
Ages 12 to 18	19.7	20.1	39.8

Source: Household listing data

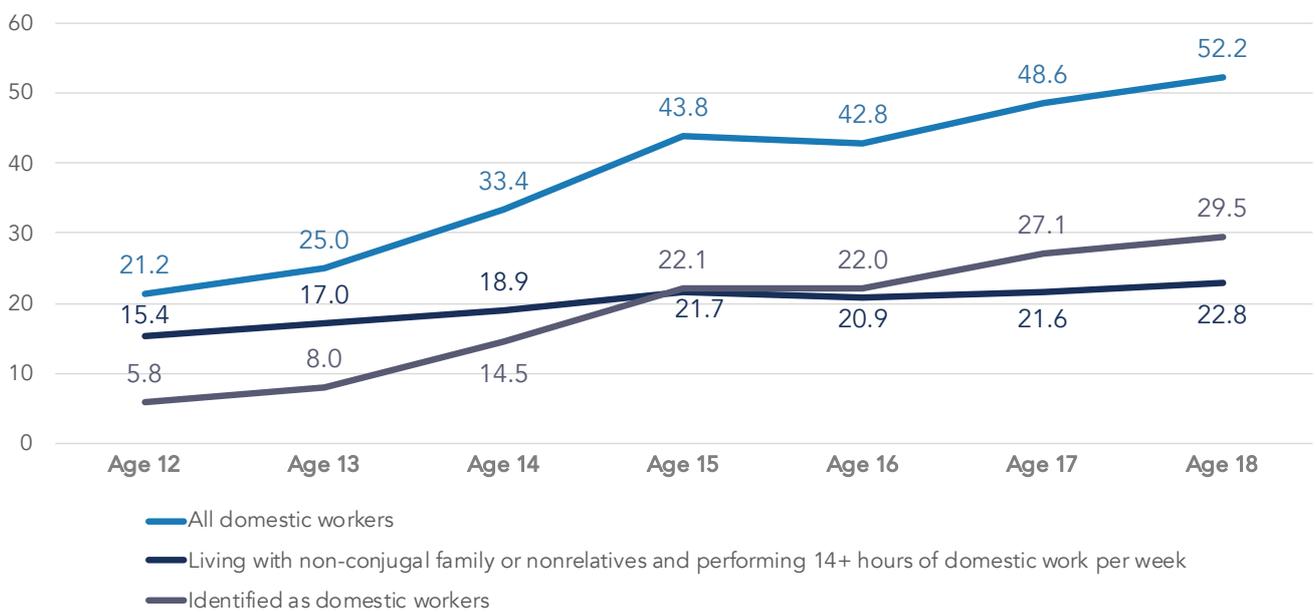
The proportion of girls who are identified as domestic workers steadily increases with age, from an estimated 6 percent at age 12 to 30 percent by age 18. However, those who are in fostering or other living arrangements and engaged in domestic labour do not show the same trend, with a more gradual increase from age 12 to 18 (from 15 percent to 23 percent). It is noteworthy that, at younger ages, there are a larger proportion of girls who are engaged in domestic labour, though not identified as domestic workers; among girls aged 12 to 14, 15 to 19 percent are in extended families or living with nonrelatives and engaged in domestic labour beyond what is considered light work (Figure 1).

Characteristics of domestic workers

Table 3 shows the characteristics of the sample of domestic workers interviewed through the survey, by category of domestic worker. There were several significant differences between those who self-identify as domestic workers and those deemed domestic workers by virtue of their living arrangements and workload. The majority of self-identified domestic workers live with their employer (88 percent), with only 12 percent living outside of their employer's home. All respondents who do not identify as domestic workers are living with extended family members or in fostering arrangements. Self-identified domestic workers appear to be older than those who do not identify as domestic workers, by an average of one year. Those who do not identify as domestic workers are significantly more likely to have a birth certificate (21 versus 4 percent) and less likely to be migrants to the city (79 versus 100 percent). They are also more likely to be single or double orphans (19 and 5 percent, respectively) compared to those who identify as domestic workers (16 percent single orphan and 1 percent double orphan). This may result in the increased likelihood of girls not identifying as domestic workers to be in fostering relations with extended family or others.

It is noteworthy that a considerable proportion of girls are attending school: 22 percent of self-identified domestic workers and 67 percent of those who do not identify as domestic workers. That considerable levels of school attendance co-exist with child labour is consistent with recent findings from secondary analysis of Ethiopia's Child Labour Survey showing 61 percent of those in child work are also attending school (CSA, UNICEF, C4ED 2020). The Child Labour Survey analysis does not break down results by type of work. It is noteworthy that, among girls in the 12 to 14 age group, only 15 percent of those who identify as domestic workers were attending school, compared to 69 percent of girls aged 12 to 14 who do not identify as such, suggesting a considerable educational disadvantage among the youngest self-identified domestic workers. Girls who do not identify as domestic workers also have higher levels of education (mean 5.9 years education versus 4.5 years among self-identified domestic workers); and have higher levels of literacy (75 percent can read easily versus 46 percent of self-identified domestic workers). Such levels of education are consistent with education among rural Ethiopian girls, generally. Analysis of the Demographic and Health Survey (2019) shows that rural Ethiopian girls aged 15 to 18 have an average of 4.8 years of education, with 18 percent having never been to school (tabulations of CSA 2019).

Figure 1: Percentage of girls who are domestic workers, by single years of age



Entry into domestic work

Migration

Most domestic workers are migrants to the area (88 percent), with mean age at migration being young, an average of 13 years (Table 4). Girls' migration most often coincided with their entry into domestic work. Indeed, among self-identified domestic workers, 81 percent first started domestic work in the same year that they migrated to Addis Ababa. The overwhelming majority of girls reported the reason for migration as work (66 percent) or schooling (38 percent). However, reasons for migration differed significantly according to the age at which a respondent migrated. For example, respondents migrating before the age of 10 primarily migrated for schooling (72 percent) compared to girls who migrated at age 15 to 18 (22 percent). Work was a significant motivator for migration, even at young ages. One quarter (24 percent) of girls who migrated before age 10 reported that work was a reason for migration; 64 percent of girls who migrated at age 10 to 14 and 79 percent of girls who migrated at 15 to 18 gave work as a motivating factor. Girls who did not identify as domestic workers were more likely to move for schooling compared to self-identified domestic workers (65 versus 16 percent), while self-identified domestic workers were more likely to report migrating for work (86 percent) compared to girls who do not identify as domestic workers (39 percent).

Patterns of migration differed between girls who identified as domestic workers and those who did not. Girls who did not identify as domestic workers were more likely to migrate with a distant relative (75 percent) compared to self-identified domestic workers (51 percent), while self-identified domestic workers were more likely to move on their own (18 percent) or with a neighbour or acquaintance (17 percent) compared to girls who do not identify as domestic workers (10 percent and 5 percent, respectively).



Table 3: Sample characteristics, by category of domestic worker

	Self-identified domestic workers (n=1,231)	Does not identify as domestic worker (n=1,536)	All (n=2,767)
Age			
12 to 14	15.3	36.4	27.0
15 to 18	84.7	63.6	73.0
Mean age	16.4	15.4	15.8
Religion			
Orthodox	64.9	73.1	69.5
Protestant	17.6	15.2	16.3
Muslim	17.0	11.1	13.7
Other	0.5	0.6	0.5
Migrant to the city (yes)	99.7	79.0	88.2
Region of origin (among migrants)			
Oromia	42.5	38.1	40.6
Amhara	30.9	30.5	30.6
Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Region (SNNPR)	25.1	27.0	26.1
Other	1.5	4.4	2.7
Type of place of origin			
Rural area	83.3	63.0	72.0
Small town	14.1	12.7	13.3
Big town	2.6	24.3	14.7
Number of living parents			
None	1.0	4.6	3.0
One	15.8	18.7	17.4
Two	83.2	76.7	79.6
Living arrangements			
Live with extended family members/foster	11.8	100.0	60.8
Live with employers	88.2	0.0	39.2
Has birth certificate (yes)	3.9	21.0	13.1
Ever attended school (yes)	93.0	96.6	95.0
Number of years of school completed			
None	8.7	4.6	6.4
1 to 4 years	42.3	29.4	35.1
5 to 8 years	40.8	42.6	41.8
9 to 12 years	8.2	23.5	16.7
Mean years of education	4.5	5.9	5.3
Currently attending school (yes)	21.7	67.4	46.0
Ever attended nonformal alternative education	5.0	13.5	9.9
Literacy: Can read and understand easily	46.4	75.1	62.3

Between-group differences were found for every category at $p < 0.001$. Note: Unweighted data; Minor difference in cell sizes are due to missing cases for some variables.

Reasons for migration were largely described as motivated by work or schooling opportunities in Addis Ababa. Indeed, a number of girls described feeling responsible for the support of their families despite familial support to go to school.



We lived in a very poor living condition. At that time, my mother was paid 50 Birr so it was very hard to support our basic needs. Our mother left the house early [in the morning] and returned back late from work, so she didn't have time to spend with us. She didn't even have money to buy us shoes. Since my brother was ill, there was no one to help her, so I started helping and doing work at home from age seven. So, the reason that I came here was to help her. - Age 16, migrated from Amhara



Respondent: He [father] wanted me to go to school, and my mother as well. But I said I didn't want to go to school.
 Interviewer: Why not?
 Respondent: Just because I wanted to work... to support my family and change myself.
 Interviewer: You didn't think you could change yourself through schooling? Or did you find school difficult?
 Respondent: I could change myself through school, but my family was going through challenges. So, if I went to school, who would help them out? - Age 15, migrated from SNNPR

Despite low reporting of child marriage as a motivating factor in the decision to move in the quantitative survey, many respondents in the in-depth interviews described it as a factor in migration:



I was about to be forced to get married. I told them that I don't want to get married and they will regret it if they forced me to marry. When I told them this, my brothers said that I better go and work in Addis Ababa. Then my mother agreed with their suggestion and allowed me to come here. She said that I better go [to Addis Ababa] rather than see me dying there. - Age 17, migrated from Amhara



I was a farmer's wife and he was a farmer. Then, after I got divorced, they [parents] again planned to make me marry another person. I totally refused and told them that I would go to Addis Ababa and work or learn.... I was the one who made the decision, but my parents agreed with my decision. If people in our community hear that you want to learn rather than get married, they make fun of you. Three more marriage proposals came to my family after I got divorced. But my mother said she wants her daughter to go to Addis Ababa and let her get civilised there. - Age 17, migrated from Amhara

Table 4: Patterns of migration and entry into domestic work, by category of domestic worker

	Self-identified domestic workers (n=1,231)	Does not identify as domestic worker (n=1,536)	All (n=2,767)
Mean age at migration (among migrants)	14.5	11.9	13.3
Reasons for migration¹			
For work	88.5	39.1	66.2
For schooling	15.5	64.6	37.6
Other reasons ²	8.8	12.4	10.6
Person/people accompanying during move			
Other relative	50.6	74.7	57.0
Alone	17.7	10.3	14.4
Parent	9.1	18.8	13.5
Acquaintance	16.9	5.2	11.6

Note: Weighted data ¹Reasons sum to over 100 percent as multiple responses possible. ²Other reasons include escaping child marriage, problems at home, moving with family, death/divorce of parents/spouse, health reasons, conflict/disaster, etc.

A few respondents mentioned the covid-19 pandemic and civil unrest as disrupting their education, leading to migration from conflict-affected areas:



At first it was because of coronavirus, and then the war. So, when this happened, school closed and then it opened again only after several months. But it didn't last long, it was closed again. By that time, my mother said we would go to our grandmother's town, and I said I would just go to Addis Ababa if there wasn't any work in our hometown. - Age 17, migrated from Amhara

Respondents also described lack of opportunities in rural areas:



I hated the countryside... Here, it's nice to be able to change yourself. But there, when you try to grow or improve yourself, it's always a downhill path—you can't grow or improve because of money or looks. So, when I got here, I was happy. - Age 18, migrated from Amhara

Respondents were asked about living standards after migrating as opposed to when living with parents and/or in natal home. Most (74 percent) believed that their living standard had improved compared to their previous residence (79 percent of self-identified domestic workers and 68 percent of those not identifying as domestic workers). For 22 percent, the post-migration living standards were about the same as their previous residence, whereas 4 percent felt that the standard was worse following migration.

Table 5: Patterns of entry into domestic work

Self-identified domestic workers (n=1,231)	
Mean age at entry into domestic work (min to max)	14.5 years (6 to 18)
Age at entry in domestic work	
Below age 10	2.6
Age 10 to 12	16.7
Age 13 to 14	23.6
Age 15 to 17	49.7
Age 18	7.4
Number of different jobs in domestic work	
One job	54.3
Two to three jobs	39.3
Four or more jobs	6.4
Reasons for entering domestic work (percentage agreeing with the statement)*	
Wanted to get a job and earn own money	80.2
Needed money to help family	56.3
Encouraged by family to earn money	8.0
Sent by family to live with other relatives	4.3
Family unable to feed or support you	4.3
Was being married off by family	2.6
Had a dispute with family	2.2
Needed to help family repay debts	1.6
Convinced by a broker	1.0
Facilitated current employment as domestic worker*	
Broker	31.1
Aunt/uncle	29.4
Sibling	12.0
Other nonrelative	11.6
Parent(s)	10.1
Other relatives ¹	6.7

Note: Weighted data; Age of entry into domestic work, number of jobs, and motivations for entry into domestic work are only available for self-identified domestic workers; * Percentages may sum to over 100 as more than one response was allowed

¹ 'Other nonrelatives' include neighbours or friends of the family.

Age and motivations for entry into domestic work

Domestic workers in the sample started domestic work at very young ages, on average at age 14.5. Forty-three percent started working in domestic work before the age of 15, which is in contravention to the law in Ethiopia. Respondents were read a series of questions related to motivations for their entry into domestic work and asked if they agreed or disagreed with the sentence (Table 5). The most common reasons cited for entry into domestic work were desire to earn one's own money (80 percent), desire to help one's family (56 percent) and encouragement by families (8 percent). Girls in domestic work reported having very few jobs in their lifetime, with the majority reporting having worked with only one employer (54 percent). Considering their current place of employment, self-identified domestic workers had held their current position for an average of 14 months.

Job placement

Family members were instrumental in helping girls find employment in domestic service. Among those who identify as domestic workers, brokers (*delalas* in Amharic) found jobs for them in about one third of cases (31 percent). Among self-identified domestic workers, 24 percent paid for the placement in their current jobs, almost all to a broker. On average, girls paid ETB 271 (US \$2.84) for their placements, ranging from ETB 100 to 5,000 (US \$2.15 - 107.75). A number of girls described having money deducted from the first payment from employers to the broker. However, few respondents reported having their payment deducted in the quantitative survey (see Compensation, Table 8).



Because I didn't have any money at that time, my new employer paid him [broker] 800 Birr. From this, 400 Birr will be the payment that I cover when I get my first salary from my employer. The other 400 Birr is paid by my employer to the broker for the work he did. - Age 18, migrated from Oromia

Aunts and uncles were also significant sources of job placement (29 percent). Our qualitative data suggests that such relatives who facilitated employment were mainly already residing in urban areas.

Working conditions, patterns of work and educational participation

Host families/employers and living conditions

The houses of employers and host families, such as distant relatives hosting girls from rural areas, did not differ substantially in terms of household membership and material assets (Table 6). Employer and host family households had an average of five household members, which is slightly larger than other household studies conducted in urban Ethiopia (see, for example, CSA and ICF, 2016). Respondents were read a list of 14 assets that a household might own including radio, television, refrigerator, computer, table, bed, etc. On average, employer households held 5.3 of the items mentioned compared to host families having 5.0 items.

However, host families appeared to live in a lower housing standard compared to employers. For example, 61 percent of employers lived in freestanding brick or concrete houses compared to 41 percent of host families; 24 percent of employers had mud houses compared to 46 percent of host families; 61 percent of host families had shared toilets compared to 38 percent of employers.

While employers' housing was of a higher standard compared to host families, the conditions of domestic workers in employers' houses are not better than girls living with distant relatives or other fostering situations. Most girls did not have their own room to sleep in (74 percent of self-identified domestic workers and 83 percent of those who do not identify as domestic workers). Sixty-three percent of domestic workers and 67 percent of those not identifying as such report they sleep in the kitchen, living room, a closet or other small space. Twenty-four percent of self-identified domestic workers and 14 percent of those not identifying as domestic workers report that their sleeping space is not clean, nor free of garbage. Few girls have privacy in their living situation (30 percent of self-identified domestic workers and 45 percent of those not identifying as domestic workers) and many are not given medicine or healthcare when they need it (32 percent of self-identified domestic workers and 11 percent of those not identifying as domestic workers).

Domestic workers were asked about items that they may own personally. Most had a change of clothes, underwear or shoes. However, less than half (41 percent; 48 percent of identified domestic workers and 33 percent of those who do not identify as domestic workers) reported having a mobile phone. Ownership of mobile phones did increase with age. Among girls 12 to 14, 12 percent owned a mobile phone, while 43 percent of girls aged 15 to 17 owned a phone, compared to 62 percent of 18-year-olds. Low ownership of

mobile phones has implications for access to information and services as well as social isolation and contact with family and friends.

Table 6: Characteristics of employer or host family households, living conditions of domestic workers and domestic workers' individual assets, by category of domestic worker

	Employer household (n=1,231)	Host family household (n=1,536)
Mean number of people in the household (including respondent)	5.3	5.0
Mean number of material assets in household (0 to 14)	5.3	5.0
Type of housing		
Freestanding brick or concrete house	61.0	40.8
Mud house	24.3	45.6
Iron sheet house	1.6	5.2
Apartment / condominium	12.8	7.8
Other	0.3	0.6
Type of toilet		
Inside house, private	29.2	16.5
Inside compound, private	33.0	22.5
Inside compound, shared	36.4	56.0
Outside compound, shared	1.4	4.5
Other	0.0	0.5
Type of kitchen		
Inside house, private	34.8	24.7
Inside compound, private	43.4	33.9
Inside compound, shared	17.5	27.8
Outside compound, shared	0.3	1.0
No kitchen	4.0	12.6
	Self-identified domestic workers (n=1,231)	Does not identify as domestic worker (n=1,536)
Domestic workers' sleeping conditions		
Has own room to sleep in	26.2	17.3
Sleeps in the kitchen, living room, closet or other small space	63.0	66.7
Sleeps on a bed or mattress	92.9	94.6
Sleeps with a cover or blanket	84.1	91.5
Sleeps in a clean place that is free of garbage	75.8	86.1
Other conditions and support		
Given enough food and does not go hungry	94.5	97.4
Given medicine or taken to the clinic when sick	68.1	89.5
Has privacy when needed	30.2	44.7
Domestic workers' personal assets		
Has 3+ outfits of clothing	90.9	93.5
Has 3+ pairs of underwear	77.9	88.2
Has 2+ pairs of shoes	85.2	78.0
Has luggage to hold clothes	52.5	55.9
Has blanket	38.4	48.2
Has mobile phone	48.0	33.0
Has radio	0.7	1.2

Note: Weighted data

Hours in domestic labour

Whether or not domestic workers identify as such, they report devoting a significant number of hours to domestic labour on a weekly basis (Table 7). Overall, domestic workers report an average of 55 hours of weekly work, with half of those sampled working between 35 to 70 hours per week. On average, self-

identified domestic workers report 61 hours of domestic work per week, while those who do not report themselves as domestic workers report 49 hours of work per week. These estimates are consistent with earlier studies conducted in Addis Ababa among self-identified domestic workers, in which respondents reported an average of 64 hours in domestic work per week (Erulkar and Mekbib, 2007). Self-identified domestic workers are more likely to report working hours over 70 hours per week, which is tantamount to 10 hours per day, seven days per week. Nearly one-third (31 percent) of self-identified domestic workers reported weekly work of over 70 hours, compared to one in five girls (18 percent) who do not consider themselves domestic workers.

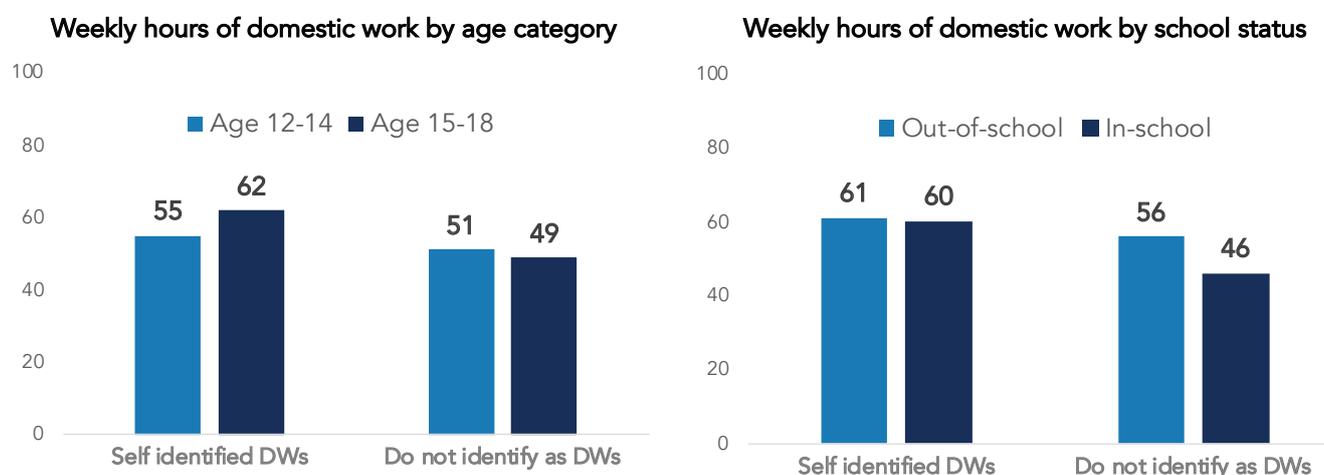
Table 7: Hours devoted to domestic work per week, by category of domestic worker

	Self-identified domestic workers (n=1,231)	Does not identify as domestic worker (n=1,536)	All (n=2,767)
Mean number of hours in domestic work per week (25th - 75th percentile)	61 (41-77)	49 (30-63)	55 (35-70)
Number of hours in domestic work per week			
14 to 30 hours	7.9	25.5	16.6
31 to 50 hours	34.1	35.4	34.8
51 to 70 hours	26.6	21.0	23.8
Over 70 hours	31.4	18.1	24.8

Note: Weighted data

Regardless of age and school status, domestic workers reported a significant number of hours in domestic labour and working hours differed only slightly depending on age of the domestic worker and their school status (Figure 2). Younger girls aged 12 to 14 who self-identified as domestic workers reported an average of 55 hours of work per week, compared to their older counterparts aged 15 to 18 who reported 62 hours of work per week. Among girls not reporting themselves as domestic workers, those who were attending school reported an average of 46 hours per week in domestic work compared to 56 hours reported by girls not attending school.

Figure 2: Mean number of hours in domestic work, by age, school status and category of domestic worker



Given the significant number of hours worked by most respondents, a number of girls in the in-depth interviews described that there was very little time to rest or get away from work:



Rest time? If it's not the time when I sit down to feed the children, I don't really have time to rest. - Age 18, migrated from Amhara



She would always say there was this or that to do—something to make or something to wash, so it was only at night-time that I could rest. - Age 18, migrated from Oromia

In order to validate the long working hours reported by domestic workers, former domestic workers participating in the validation study were asked if they thought the reporting of working hours was accurate, with all our validation study participants responding in the affirmative:



Most definitely it [reporting working hours] is accurate. For instance, there are households that you should wake up at five or four in the morning. It could be 1am when I got to bed and four in the morning that I get up again. - Former domestic worker

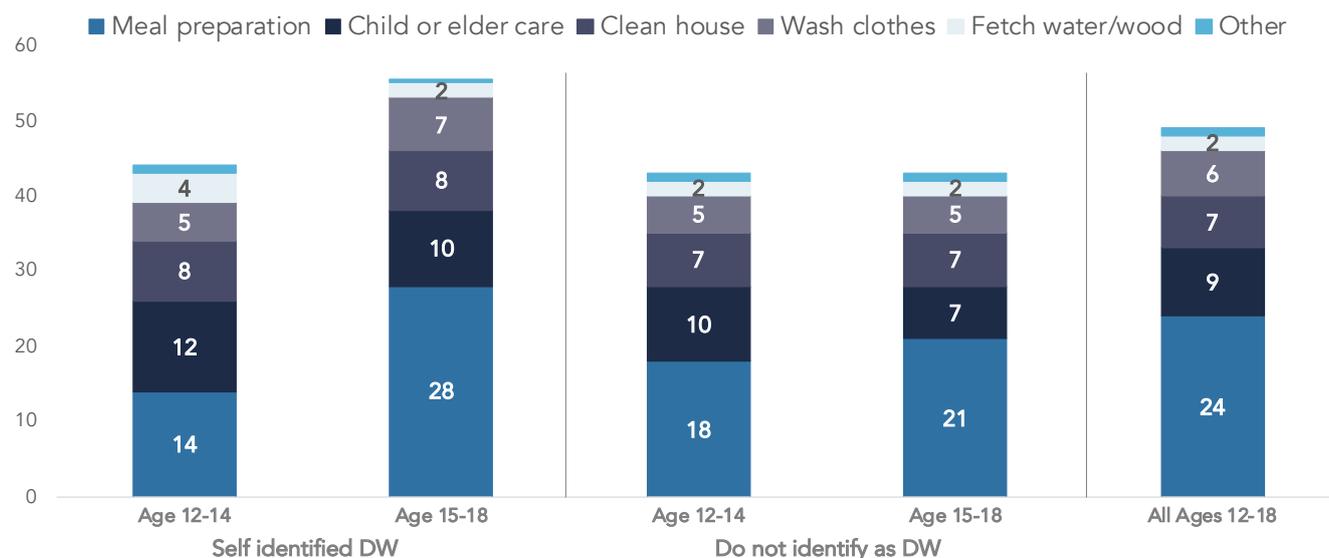


It is true. For instance, I used to wake up at six in the morning and I work until 5 p.m., the time I go to [night] school. I get back to home by 8:30 p.m. and I go to bed by 11 or 11:30 p.m. - Former domestic worker

Range of domestic duties

Domestic workers devoted most of their working hours to meal preparation (on average, 24 hours per week), followed by child or elder care (mean 9 hours per week), house cleaning (7 hours per week) and washing clothes (6 hours per week). In particular, older domestic workers spent a considerable amount of time in food preparation and younger domestic workers tended to spend more time in child and elder care. For example, among domestic workers aged 12 to 14, those not identifying as domestic workers spent an average of 10 hours per week in child or elder care compared to their older counterparts who spent an average of 7 hours per week in the same activities.

Figure 3: Mean number of hours in various domestic duties by age and category of domestic worker



Compensation⁷

Among self-described domestic workers, only 27 percent have a contract with their employer. Monthly pay ranged from 0 to ETB 3,000 per month (US \$65) (Table 8).^{8,9} Domestic workers earned an average of ETB 1,117 or about US \$24 per month. Very few (2 percent) were paid any overtime payments and less than 2 percent reported having wages deducted or withheld. At the same time, a considerable number of respondents in the qualitative interviews described their wages deducted to pay broker fees, which may suggest under-reporting of employers' deductions.

Girls described limited control of their earnings. Only 68 percent were paid their wages directly. Twenty-seven percent of domestic workers reported that their employers 'held' their pay for them, with some saying that they would be paid when they need the money or when they leave the job. Five percent said the payment was sent to their families.

⁷ Questions on compensation were only asked of those who self-identified as domestic workers.

⁸ August 2021 exchange rate of US \$1 = ETB 46.4

⁹ While many domestic workers receive in-kind payment such as housing, food or clothing, few domestic workers reported this remuneration, including those who were living with their employers. As such, the value of these in-kind payments are omitted from the study.

Whether pay was 'held' by the employer or paid directly to them, a number of respondents in the qualitative interviews described late payments or less money paid than expected, which was seemingly inconsistent with reports on the survey.

Table 8: Compensation, mode of payment, overtime payments and deductions, by category of domestic worker

Self-identified domestic workers (n=1,231)	
Mean cash payment per month (25 th - 75 th percentile)	ETB 1,117 / US \$24 (ETB 800 - 1,500 / US \$17 - 32)
Monthly cash payment per month (category)	
None	1.5%
ETB 1 - 999 (up to US \$21.50)	25.9%
ETB 1,000 - 1,499 (up to US \$32.30)	42.8%
ETB 1,500 - 1,999 (up to US \$43.10)	25.2%
ETB 2,000 + (over US \$43.10)	4.6%
Modality of payment	
Money paid to domestic worker directly	67.1%
Money 'kept' for domestic worker by employer	27.3%
Money sent to family of domestic worker	5.6%
Paid overtime	2.2%
Wages deducted	1.9%
Wages withheld	1.4%
Told by employer they owed money or had to repay a debt	0.8%

Note: Weighted data



Respondent: *[When it's time for salary payment], they just stay quiet. When I need mobile cards, she would send me 100 Birr sometimes, or give me money for a card, but that's it. She would not give me the amount I was due.*

Interviewer: *Okay. Since when did they stop paying you on time?*

Respondent: *It's been three months. - Age 18, migrated from Amhara*



Respondent: *I asked them to allow me to visit my family, but they were not willing. I told them I missed them, so I need to go see them. Then they allowed me but told me they will give me my salary when I get back. Not only this, but these people [employers] didn't pay me regularly. I was just working without being paid on time for a year. But when I went to my hometown, she gave me 8,000 Birr, with 7,000 remaining unpaid.*

Interviewer: *Did you ask her why she didn't give you the full payment?*

Respondent: *I did ask her, but she told me she doesn't have money, and promised me she will pay me when her husband returns from Saudi Arabia. So, I just took my clothes and left her home.*

Interviewer: *What was the reason you didn't receive your money every month?*

Respondent: *At that time, I didn't have a bank account, so she told me that she would keep the money with her and will give me anytime I need it. So, I just trusted her and kept on doing my job. Then after I opened my bank account, she asked for my bank account number and told me that she will keep my money there. But that didn't happen. - Age 18, migrated from Oromia*

In addition, when family members were involved in arranging for the position, frequently girls were not informed of working conditions or salary arrangements. In such situations, girls frequently deferred to family members and reported being too young to make inquiries about payment or working conditions. Many such girls suspected that payments were made, but it seemed to be made to family members, with girls receiving nothing and having no knowledge of payments.



Respondent: My father arranged this [position as domestic worker]. He knew them [employers] beforehand.

Interviewer: Oh, okay. What had you been told about the work?

Respondent: Nothing.

Interviewer: How much pay was promised to you when you started?

Respondent: I wasn't told anything.

Interviewer: And after you started working, how much did they pay you?

Respondent: After I started, I don't know how much they paid me. They never gave me anything.

Interviewer: When you first came to Addis Ababa, did you expect that you would be getting paid?

Respondent: Because I was young, I just came here because of my father's arrangement. That's why. I had no clue whether I would be getting paid or not. - Age 18, migrated from Oromia



Interviewer: What about issues regarding your payment, who negotiated for you?

Respondent: I don't know anything about this.

Interviewer: Do they pay you well?

Respondent: I have no idea.

Interviewer: Didn't your sister tell you anything about this?

Respondent: No, she didn't tell me anything.

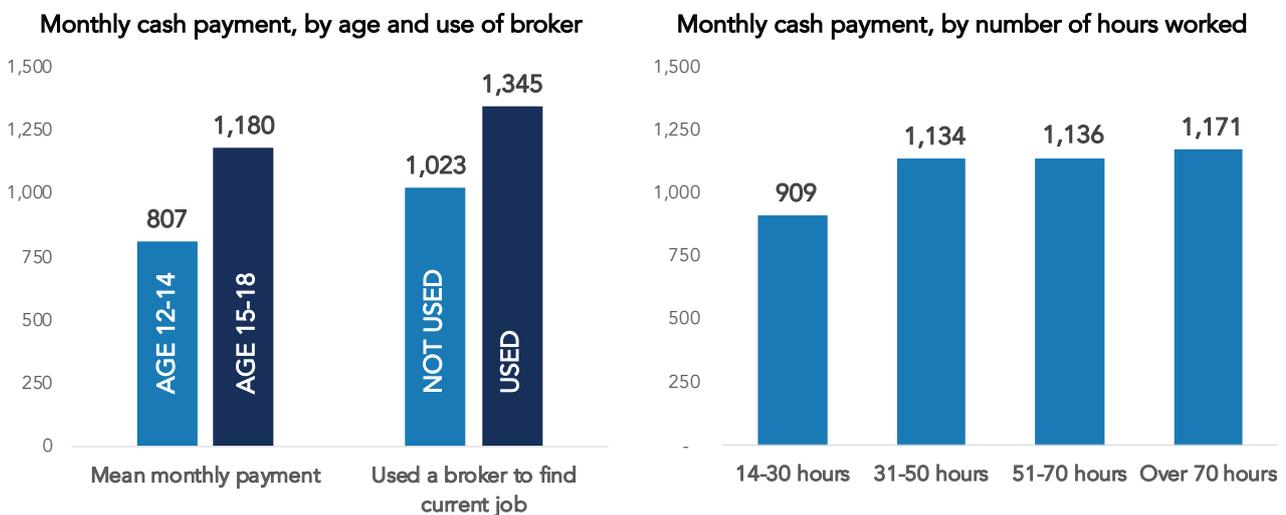
Interviewer: What about your employers, did they say anything?

Respondent: No, they didn't say anything.

Interviewer: Then who covers for your expenses, when you need something?

Respondent: 'Til now I haven't asked them to buy me anything, but my employer buys me clothes sometimes. - Age 15, migrated from Oromia

Figure 4: Mean monthly cash payment by age, use of broker and hours worked



Note: Payment quoted in Ethiopian Birr (ETB); Exchange rate for August 2021 \$1 = 46.4

Another reason given for non-payment was that girls were going to school:



I wasn't paid money... He [employer] said so because I would be going to school and that he wouldn't be paying me after I got here. - Age 15, migrated from SNNPR

The reported earnings varied by age and whether or not a broker was used in finding a job (Figure 4). On average, younger domestic workers below the age of 15 were paid less (mean ETB 807; US \$17.40 per month) compared to domestic workers aged 15 to 18 (mean ETB 1,180; US \$25.40 per month). Likewise, domestic workers who used a broker to help them locate a job seemed to earn more than domestic workers who found employment through other means (mean ETB 1,345/ US \$29.00 versus ETB 1,023/ US \$22.00 per month).

At times, girls also deferred to their brokers in terms of working conditions and their pay:



He [broker] asked me what I wanted to be paid and I told him that I didn't know and that he should decide... He [broker] said that until I get better at work, I should get 1,100 Birr a month, and I said 'Okay.' – Age 18, migrated from Oromia

Savings and remittances

Very few girls receive any financial support from their families (6 percent) (Table 9). However, a significant proportion (29 percent) provide their families with financial support, especially among self-identified domestic workers (51 percent). Among those providing support to families, they reported sending an average of ETB 3,390 (US \$73) in the year prior to the survey, which amounts to about 25 percent of their income, on average.

Nearly half of the respondents (56 percent) have personal cash savings, which is more common among self-identified domestic workers (67 percent) compared to those who do not identify as such (21 percent). The majority of savers are keeping their savings in bank accounts (54 percent) which is a comparatively safer place to keep savings compared to other places such as at home or with friends and family. Nearly one-third (32 percent) of self-identified domestic workers keep their savings with employers, which may increase domestic workers' reliance on them and, in some cases, lead to an inability to leave the job.

Table 9: Financial support, savings and remittances, by category of domestic worker (in percentage)

	Self-identified domestic workers (n=1,231)	Does not identify as domestic worker (n=1,536)	All (n=2,767)
Receives regular financial support from family members	2.1	9.9	5.9
Sends money home to family regularly	51.2	5.8	28.8
Amount in personal cash savings			
None	33.3	79.3	56.0
ETB 1 to 1,999 (up to US \$43)	20.0	14.8	17.4
ETB 2,000 to 4,999 (up to US \$107)	27.0	3.8	15.6
Over ETB 5,000 (US \$108)	19.7	2.1	11.1
Where savings are kept			
In bank	47.0	76.2	53.7
With employer	32.4	1.7	25.4
Home	15.9	15.8	15.9
With family	14.0	6.7	12.4
In ekub [local term for community-based savings group]	0.8	2.8	1.2
With friends	1.0	0.6	0.9

Note: Weighted data

Deception, exploitation, injury and violence

Sixteen percent of self-identified domestic workers and 10 percent of those living and working with non-conjugal families were made false promises prior to migrating to Addis Ababa (Table 10). Most of the promises that were not realised were promises of schooling, among 8 percent of respondents. Others were promised high pay (3 percent), provided with items such as clothing (1 percent), a nice place to live (1 percent) or other type of job (1 percent). Those making false promises to migrant girls were mostly distant family members (68 percent of girls who were made false promises); the most common family members mentioned were aunts and uncles, among 36 percent of girls. Notably, one in five self-identified domestic workers reported that their employers made them promises that were not fulfilled. Compared to those who were not victim of false promises, respondents who were made false promises in the migration process were significantly more likely to have also received false promises regarding the conditions of work (60 percent also subject to false promises regarding work versus 2 percent not subject to false promises; $p < 0.001$).



Respondent: *When I came, I was told [by my father] I would be paid. He [my father] said that he [the employer] would be paying me and I would also be learning, so I should work obediently.*

Interviewer: *So, your father also thought you would be getting paid?*

Respondent: *Yes. So, I asked him [the employer] to let me speak with my father if he wasn't going to pay me, and that I wanted to leave. But he wouldn't let me call and I didn't have a phone. - Age 15, migrated from SNNPR*

A significant proportion of girls described long working hours, including during early morning and on public holidays. Forty percent of respondents reported that they have no rest day during the week, and 27 percent said that they work on public holidays. Twenty-nine percent reported work times before 6 AM and 9 percent worked past 10 PM. Nearly one in ten reported being injured or made ill by the work during the last year.

There were suggestions that domestic workers might under-report negative experiences from their current employer. This is likely because of their dependence on employers (including for a place to live), and the possibility of reprisal. The fact that a large proportion of domestic workers have their salaries 'kept' by their employers probably results in domestic workers' hesitancy to disclose negative circumstances, for fear of never receiving their accumulated earnings or savings from their employers. We asked self-identified domestic workers about negative experiences with current and former employers. Respondents were more likely to report insults and violence from former employers as opposed to current employers. For example, former employers were reported to have been insulting to 30 percent of respondents, whereas 14 percent of respondents reported that their current employer had insulted them; similarly, 22 percent of respondents reported physical violence from a former employer compared to 5 percent of current employers. While such discrepancies could be true differences between former and current employers, respondents interviewed in in-depth interviews were also more likely to report violence from their employer, suggesting that there was some underreporting in the context of the quantitative survey.

Table 10: Deception, exploitation and injury, by category of domestic worker (in percentage)

	Self-identified domestic workers (n=1,231)	Does not identify as domestic worker (n=1,536)	All (n=2,767)
False promises/deception by third party during migration/move	15.6	10.0	13.1
People making false promises about migration/move (among those made false promises/deceived)			
Other relative	56.3	84.1	67.6
Employer	19.0	2.7	12.3
Friend, acquaintance, neighbour	15.9	4.0	11.1
Parents	4.9	12.9	8.2
Broker	0.8	0.0	0.5
False promises/deception by third party during job recruitment	10.5	8.0	9.2
Exploitive/excessive working hours			
Work every day with no rest	45.5	35.0	40.3
Work before 6 AM	40.2	17.3	28.9
Work on public holidays	28.4	25.5	27.0
Work after 10 PM	12.8	5.9	9.4
Get woken up at night to work	5.3	3.1	4.2
In the past year, has been injured or sick because of the work	12.1	6.2	9.2
In the past year, has been seriously injured/sick and could not work	2.6	1.0	1.8

Note: Weighted data



Respondent: For example, I may break something, and this would be the cause for them to scold me...They used their hand or a stick to beat me.

Interviewer: How often did you get punished?

Respondent: There wasn't any definite thing—I can't count. I may get punished every couple of days or I might get punished three times a week. It depends on how often I made mistakes.

Interviewer: Did you make mistakes or break things a lot?

Respondent: No, I didn't, but there can be other reasons [for punishment] like leaving things in the wrong place. - Age 15, migrated from Oromia



When I first got here, from the countryside, when I worked in her house, I had a lot of work. I didn't have anyone here at that time. I didn't have a relative here. So, I had a lot of work and she also used to hit me. - Age 15, migrated from SNNPR

Table 11: Insults and physical and sexual violence experienced by domestic workers in current and former positions (in percentage)

	Experienced in current position (n=2,024)	Experienced in previous position (n=555)
Emotional violence		
Insulted or called you names	13.6	30.4
Told you that you were not loved or did not deserve love	3.3	10.9
Threatened to hurt someone you cared about	0.6	8.6
Any emotional violence	14.4	34.2
Physical violence		
Slapped, pushed, shaken or had things thrown at you	3.4	13.8
Punched, kicked or beaten	2.6	9.3
Locked inside a room or outside of the house	0.5	6.6
Withheld food as punishment	0.5	6.0
Not allowed to leave the house/job by violence or threats	0.4	3.5
Burned or choked	0.6	3.3
Any physical violence	5.2	21.5
Sexual violence		
Made embarrassing comments about your body or looks	0.6	3.7
Touched your private parts without permission	0.1	1.6
Watched you undress with permission	0.1	1.2
Any sexual violence	0.8	4.9

Note: Weighted data; Fewer respondents reporting about previous positions as many had only worked in one position; Includes only those aged 15-18.

Former domestic workers that took part in the validation study substantiated the considerable amount of under-reporting that was suspected. All former domestic workers described not disclosing negative experiences for fear of retaliation, additional beatings and job loss leading to loss of one's place to live.

Human trafficking, worst forms of child labour and illegal child labour

For the present research, we draw upon the toolkit developed by the African Programming Research Initiative to End Slavery (APRIES) in collaboration with the US Department of State Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Office to operationalise and measure human trafficking, the worst forms of child labour and illegal child labour, as per the Ethiopian Labour Law (US Dept of State, Okech, Aletraris and Schroeder, 2020; FDRE, 2019). The toolkit lists indicators that can be used in measuring these circumstances and algorithms for determining whether a respondent is in such a situation. Using the toolkit as a guide, we have drawn on the indicators to estimate the percent of respondents who are victims of human trafficking, in the worst forms of child labour or in illegal child labour. See Appendix three for algorithms, indicators and how they were operationalised in the context of this research.

Table 12: Percentage of respondents reporting individual indicators of human trafficking under present employer, by category of domestic worker

	Self-identified domestic worker (n=1,231)	Does not identify as domestic worker (n=1,536)	All (n=2,767)
SEVERE INDICATOR			
No freedom of movement or communication	1.8	1.3	1.5
STRONG INDICATORS			
Deceptive recruitment (nature of services or responsibilities)	8.4	2.7	5.8
Pay withheld or deducted	30.2	0.0	3.4
Made to be available day and night	46.5	22.6	34.7
Employer's control over personal life	25.8	18.4	22.1
Confiscation of identity papers	2.1	0.2	1.1
Debt imposed without consent	0.8	0.0	0.8
Physical violence	5.1	7.1	6.0
Sexual violence	0.2	0.3	0.3
Two or more strong indicators	31.4	11.0	21.4
MEDIUM INDICATORS			
Deceptive recruitment (living conditions, compensation, schooling)	17.4	9.0	13.3
Paid recruitment fees	24.0	0.0/na	12.2
Made to work overtime beyond legal limits	96.0	82.7	89.4
No formal contract	73.2	0.0/na	37.2
Confiscation of mobile phone	1.3	0.8	1.0
Made to complete hazardous or arduous services	28.7	21.3	25.1
Made to live in poor conditions (e.g. unclean, no privacy, harms your health)	88.0	81.5	84.8
Constant surveillance of place of work	72.2	64.3	69.3
Pre-existence of dependent relationship such as familial relation	0.0	96.7	47.7
Emotional / psychological abuse	17.7	12.1	14.9
At least three medium and one strong indicator	67.1	34.5	51.1
At least three medium and one strong indicator (not including poor housing conditions)	54.8	29.7	42.5
HUMAN TRAFFICKING (all; 95% CI)	67.8 (66.9-68.7)	35.2 (34.4-36.2)	51.7 (51.0-52.3)
HUMAN TRAFFICKING (not including poor housing; 95% CI)	58.7 (57.8-59.6)	31.4 (30.5-32.3)	45.2 (44.5-45.8)

Note: Weighted data

Human trafficking

Human trafficking is defined and described as '...when a trafficker compels someone to provide labour or services or to engage in commercial sex, or prostitution, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion, or abduction, deception, or the abuse of power or a position of vulnerability, or when a trafficker causes a child to engage in commercial sex (whether or not force, fraud, or coercion are used)'. The coercion can be subtle or overt, physical or psychological. Human trafficking can include, but does not require, movement. People may be considered trafficking victims regardless of whether they were born into a state of servitude, experienced exploitation in their home town, traveled to the exploitative situation, previously consented to work for a trafficker, or participated in a crime as a direct result of being trafficked (US Dept of State, Okech, Aletraris and Schroeder, 2020, p. 4).

Determination of human trafficking is made by a series of indicators that are classified as 'severe,' 'strong,' or 'medium.' The algorithm defines human trafficking as the occurrence of any of the following: 1) at least one severe indicator, 2) two strong indicators, or 3) a combination of three medium and one strong indicator. Based on this, an estimated 52 percent of respondents are in situations of human trafficking, with 68 percent of self-identified domestic workers reflecting this condition, compared to 35 percent of those who do not identify as domestic workers (Table 12).

However, given that many of the conditions related to human trafficking may be sensitive, we suspect that there was some under-reporting of many of these conditions. For example, physical violence was reported more readily in the context of in-depth interviews compared to reporting in the quantitative survey, and as previously described, respondents are more likely to divulge physical violence from former employers as opposed to current employers. Also, there were higher rates of physical violence reported by girls who lived with extended family members compared to self-identified domestic workers, which may underscore the reluctance of self-identified domestic workers to disclose violence by their employers, especially given their considerable reliance on them for food, accommodation and sustenance, in general.

Worst forms of child labour

Table 13 shows the percentage of respondents who can be considered in the worst forms of child labour (see Appendix three, B. 'Hazardous work and worst forms of child labour algorithm'). Because all girls in the younger age group are working beyond the legal limit for their age, they are all considered to be in the worst forms of child labour. Among respondents 15 to 17, 80 percent are considered to be in the worst forms of child labour, largely because of the significant amount of time they spend in work, their work during hours of darkness and their exposure to hazardous situations.

Table 13: Percentage of respondents aged 12 to 17 reporting indicators of hazardous work and worst forms of child labour, by age and category of domestic worker (DW)

	Age 12-14			Age 15-17			Age 12-17		
	Identified DW	Not identified as DW	All	Identified DW	Not identified as DW	All	Identified DW	Not identified as DW	All
	(n=188)	(n=559)	(n=747)	(n=588)	(n=639)	(n=1227)	(n=776)	(n=1198)	(n=1974)
Work more hours than permitted by ILO convention/legal limit ¹	100.0	100.0	100.0	74.1	48.4	62.2	80.0	71.6	75.4
Works before 6 AM or after 10 PM	40.7	18.3	25.0	46.3	21.2	34.8	45.1	19.9	31.3
In one or more forms of hazardous environment	27.1	19.5	21.8	30.8	20.0	25.8	30.0	19.8	24.4
Has experienced violence or sexual abuse at current place of work ²	0.1	3.9	2.8	7.2	8.8	7.9	-	-	-
Total in hazardous work and worst forms of child labour (95% CI)	100.0	100.0	100.0	88.8 (88.1-89.4)	67.1 (65.9-68.2)	79.6 (79.0-80.2)	90.3 (89.6-91.1)	80.8 (79.9-81.6)	85.1 (84.6-85.7)

¹Age 12-14: no work allowable at 14 or more hours; Age 15-17: Maximum of 42 hours per week; ; ² Questions not asked of those below age 15.

Illegal child labour

Our determination of illegal child labour is based on the Ethiopian Labour Proclamation (No. 1156/2019) (FDRE, 2019). However, as a category of worker, domestic workers are not subject to the provisions of the Ethiopia Labour Proclamation. In Ethiopia, children below age 15 are prohibited from working, while those aged 15 to 17 are considered 'young workers'. Young workers can only work for a maximum of 42 hours per week and are not permitted to perform night work before 6 AM or after 10 PM. All classes of workers in Ethiopia are required to have at least one rest day per week and should not be required to work on public holidays.

As a result, all respondents aged 12 to 14 in our sample were in illegal child labour, as were 87 percent of respondents aged 15 to 17 (Table 14). Long hours of work and work during public holidays contributed significantly to this assessment. While we suspect some misreporting of age among 18-year-olds in the sample, they are nonetheless not subject to statutes related to child labour. Also, even though domestic work is not governed by the Labour Proclamation (No. 1156/2019) in Ethiopia, if the labour guidelines did apply, roughly 85 percent of 18-year-old domestic workers in the sample would be working in illegal conditions, largely due to long hours of work and many given no rest days or off-days on public holidays.

Table 14: Percentage of respondents reporting indicators of illegal child labour (and adult labour), by age and category of domestic worker (DW)

	Age 12-14			Age 15-17			Age 12-17			Age 18		
	Identified DW	Not identified as DW	All	Identified DW	Not identified as DW	All	Identified DW	Not identified as DW	All	Identified DW	Not identified as DW	All
	(n=188)	(n=559)	(n=747)	(n=588)	(n=639)	(n=1227)	(n=776)	(n=1198)	(n=1974)	(n=452)	(n=338)	(n=790)
Work more hours than legal limit ¹	100.0	100.0	100.0	74.1	48.4	62.2	80.0	71.6	75.4	71.4	48.6	63.0
Works before 6 AM or after 10 PM	na	na	na	46.3	21.2	34.8	45.1	19.9	31.3	na	na	na
No rest day or public holidays	na	na	na	60.6	50.8	56.1	58.0	48.5	52.8	62.3	45.6	56.1
Total in illegal child or adult labour	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.3 (95.7-96.8)	75.6 (74.3-76.9)	97.1 (96.7-97.5)	86.7 (85.8-87.3)	91.4 (90.9-91.8)	94.0 (93.3-94.8)	68.4 (66.5-70.3)	68.4 (66.5-70.3)	84.6 (83.6-85.4)

¹Age 12-14: no work is allowable; Age 15-17: Maximum of 42 hours per week; Age 18: Maximum of 48 hours per week
na = not applicable

Use of services and service needs

Table 15 shows the percent of respondents exposed to media and technology in the last two weeks. Respondents reported high levels of exposure to television (90 percent), while exposure to other media was limited. About 4 to 5 percent of respondents had exposure to Facebook and YouTube in the last two weeks, which was mainly among older respondents who did not identify as domestic workers.

Table 15: Percentage of respondents reporting exposure to media and technology in the last two weeks, by age and category of domestic worker

	Age 12-14		Age 15-18		Age 12-18
	Identified DW	Not identified as DW	Identified DW	Not identified as DW	All
	(n=188)	(n=559)	(n=1,040)	(n=977)	(n=2,764)
Television	91.0	93.2	89.0	89.6	90.1
Radio	16.8	25.4	14.7	24.9	20.0
Facebook	0.4	1.3	2.9	10.8	5.0
YouTube	0.0	1.7	1.6	10.1	4.2
Computer	0.0	0.9	0.2	4.2	1.6

Respondents were asked about whether they had visited various community meetings or events in the last two weeks (Table 16). The main locations that respondents frequented were religious institutions (52 percent) and markets (51 percent), with only about one out of seven having visited friends in the last two weeks. Few girls attended community centres or clubs. Those who identify as domestic workers had less exposure to community groups than those not identifying as domestic workers. For example, among girls aged 15 to 18, 23 percent who did not identify as domestic workers had visited friends in the last two weeks compared to only 6 percent of girls identifying as domestic workers. Likewise, while churches or mosques were the most frequented locations for respondents, only 35 percent of self-identified domestic workers aged 15 to 18 visited one in the last two weeks compared to 74 percent of those aged 15 to 18 not identifying as domestic workers.

Table 16: Percentage of respondents reporting exposure to community locations in the last two weeks, by age and category of domestic worker

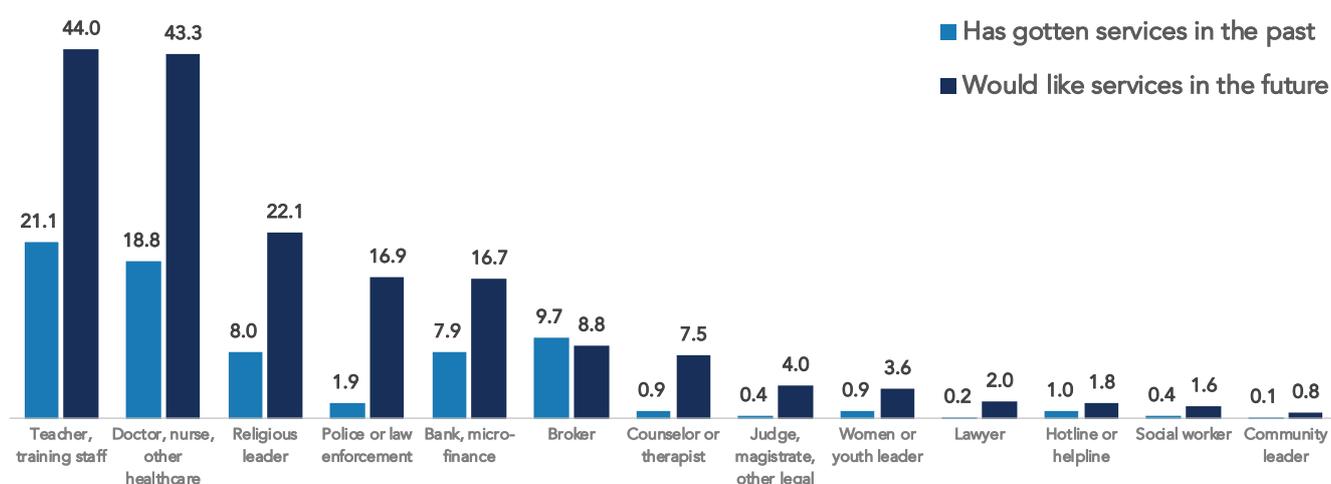
	Age 12-14		Age 15-18		Age 12-18
	Identified DW	Not identified as DW	Identified DW	Not identified as DW	All
	(n=188)	(n=559)	(n=1,040)	(n=977)	(n=2,764)
Church or Mosque	45.5	58.6	35.0	73.9	52.3
Market	50.8	45.2	52.0	53.8	51.3
Friend's house	7.0	18.7	5.5	23.0	13.5
Kebele hall	3.1	5.7	5.8	6.6	5.8
Youth centre or recreational centre	1.7	1.8	0.8	5.8	2.6
Idir or Ekub ¹	0.0	0.1	0.5	1.5	0.7
Youth or women's group	0.2	1.4	0.0	0.7	0.5
'Community conversation'	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.2
Community meeting	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1

¹ Community groups for social/economic support

Figure 5 shows past use of service professionals as well as anticipated future use of service professionals. Teachers and healthcare professionals were the most mentioned sources of support or help in the past. These were also sources of support that a considerable number of respondents felt would be needed in the future. Other common sources of support that girls anticipated need for in the future were religious leaders (22 percent), law enforcement (17 percent), banks (17 percent), brokers (9 percent) and counsellors (8 percent). Given that these are not common sources of support presently, this may suggest girls needing additional information and guidance about how to access such support and services.

Services such as hotlines or social workers were not mentioned by many respondents, perhaps indicating that greater outreach is needed to make girls and young women aware of these services. Similarly, respondents interviewed in-depth reflected very limited understanding of available services which suggests additional awareness raising may be warranted.

Figure 5: Percentage of respondents reporting past utilisation and anticipated future use of service professionals



Note: Weighted data; spontaneous/unprompted responses

Discussion and recommendations

This study was undertaken in low-income areas of Addis Ababa, thought to be home of a large number of child domestic workers, based on interviews with experts and local stakeholders. The study demonstrated that a considerable proportion of girls aged 12 to 18 are indeed engaged in domestic work. Based on our estimates using household listing data, nearly 40 percent of girls aged 12 to 18 are effectively working as domestic workers. Many girls self-identify as domestic workers, while more girls do not, especially those who are living and working in the homes of distant relatives or under conditions of fosterage. Our study demonstrates that whether a girl considers herself a domestic worker or not, one must take account of the domestic work burdens of adolescent girls and young women and examine the impact that these burdens have on the health, wellbeing and development of adolescent girls.

One outstanding finding from the study was the extremely long working hours girls devoted to domestic labour, as reported by many respondents. Many girls work seven days per week, were not given off days and worked public holidays, all in contradiction to Ethiopia's Labour Law. Many of these girls were paid very little in the way of salary or nothing at all. Moreover, a significant proportion had no control of their earnings with payments being 'kept' or retained by employers or handed over to families of girls. This study detected significant levels of trafficking (52 percent), worst forms of child labour (85 percent of those aged 12 to 17) and illegal child labour as per Proclamation No. 1156/2019 (91 percent of those age 12 to 17).

This study had limitations. One limitation is the likely misreporting of age and the apparent bias in reporting oneself as age 18, even when one might be younger than 18. Therefore, there is some degree of ambiguity related to age, as well as to measuring age-dependent characteristics such as child labour, when we strongly suspect that some of the purported 18-year-olds are, in fact, minors. Another limitation is the apparent underreporting of sensitive issues including physical violence and sexual violence. There were inconsistencies in the degree to which respondents described physical violence in in-depth interviews versus reporting physical violence in the survey, suggesting that respondents may have been hesitant to report negative circumstances in the relatively more formal survey context. We also suspect significant underreporting of sexual abuse and exploitation in the context of domestic work, probably due to the great stigma attached to such abuse and exploitation as well as the fact that domestic workers have high levels of reliance on their employers for more than salary, extending to food, accommodation and safety. The fact that many girls had their salaries retained by employers was another disincentive to report negative circumstances or experiences. The tendency to underreport emotional, physical and sexual violence was validated through interviews conducted with former domestic workers, who described the fear of retaliation and losing one's position—and therefore accommodation—if such occurrences were reported. We highlight below recommendations that result from this study.



Prevention

Recognise domestic work under official labour laws, as well as through the ratification and incorporation of ILO Resolution Convention 189. Clear legal parameters for domestic workers and their employers are needed to provide a framework against which to structure this category of work, particularly regarding maximum hours of work and holiday entitlements. Recognising domestic work as a protected form of labour will not only ensure it is subject to a minimum legal age and minimum wage requirements, but it will increase dignity for domestic workers and underscore their economic value beyond being simply a social role for women and girls. While domestic work is not included in the Ethiopian Labour Proclamation (No. 1156/2019), the law prohibits those below age 15 from engaging in other forms of labour; yet 27 percent of the sample in this study satisfied our criteria as being in domestic work. The law also includes stipulations for young workers (15-17 years), limiting their working hours and the types of work they can do. Provisos governing young workers must enforce prohibitions of child work and emphasise and enforce adequate time for rest and learning for young workers, regardless of the type of work undertaken.

Ensure adequate consultation, representation and voice for child domestic workers in future policy and legislative decisions. Civil society, law enforcement, local administrative officials and non-governmental organisations should create opportunities to amplify the voices of children and young adults and facilitate communication between children, parents, employers and caregivers regarding child rights and capacity development. Community conversation is a popular and common approach in Ethiopia that has been used for social and public health issues such as HIV/AIDS, female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C) and child marriage. The approach capitalises on the power of community engagement, social cohesion and grassroots problem-solving (for example, see UNDP 2004). Venues such as these can be used to engage domestic workers, hear their experiences, ambitions and concerns and harness the community to address harmful social norms and attitudes that undermine the rights of children and young adults. Such settings can also be used to highlight the responsibilities of caregivers in fostering relationships regarding the personal development and rights of the child under their care.

Utilise existing local leaders and community structures, such as Idirs, faith leaders and kebele and woreda-level structures, to instigate change in harmful norms towards child domestic workers, through strategies such as Codes of Conduct for employers and model contracts. In addition to community conversations, local leadership such as faith leaders and local administrators, and community-level structures, such as kebele administrations, Idirs and faith-based groups have the potential to address harmful social norms and attitudes that perpetuate child domestic work, child labour, hazardous or exploitive working conditions and undermine the rights of children. These bodies can engage in role modelling, public statements, community enforcement and other mechanisms of influence and social pressure to reach employers and those in the care of/fostering relationships with children and young people. Such influencers have reach and influence at the community level and can be effective in ensuring employer and community-level accountability for the welfare of children.

Protection

Provide adequate and reliable information in source communities for girls and families contemplating migration and entry into domestic work. This study highlighted that many girls and young women are unaware of their rights and entitlements and unprepared for the world of paid work as well as life in the city. A significant number were not being paid, suspected that pay was transferred to family members or 'kept' for them, a risk that perpetuated being beholden, extreme dependency and possible non-payment. Girls and their families in rural communities who may be contemplating migration and entry into domestic work need additional information and preparation before making such transitions. This could include education and information on parameters of the labour law (even if not currently applicable to domestic workers), child labour, sources and types of possible exploitation, different services and how to access them and strategies to seek out help and assistance when needed. Families also need to be aware of the living and working conditions that some domestic workers face, as well as risk of abuse, before encouraging or facilitating girls' placements into such situations.

Support collaboration between government bodies, non-governmental organisations and community structures to ensure seamless and efficient identification, referral, shelter and aftercare services for CDWs.

Local government administrations (including Offices of Women and Social Affairs, Labor and Skills and local law enforcement), as well as non-governmental organisations and private sector service providers are key to an integrated and comprehensive response for children in need of support, protection and rehabilitation services. System strengthening including increased coordination, harmonisation and mutual capacity-building across sectors is needed to strengthen support and response to CDW in need of services. Such institutions need to be adequately resourced to have the capacity to recognise, prioritise and respond to the needs of CDWs and form efficient linkages with bodies providing complementary services. Provision of appropriate forms of civic identification that create or increase access to services is one strategy for cross-sectoral harmonization that will improve access to services. The inclusion of child protection cases and service providers in the National Referral Mechanism in Ethiopia would further support this collaborative approach.

Break the isolation of child domestic workers with safe spaces aimed at: building their confidence, skills and social capital; raising awareness of current laws and policies; and connecting them with support services and entitlements. Create spaces for child domestic workers to come together and build relationships of trust, friendship, mentorship and solidarity. Community-based safe spaces groups for girls have been implemented widely in Ethiopia, including for domestic workers. These approaches have been shown to be effective in providing space for skills building—including non-formal education and life skills—building girls' voice and confidence, giving them access to female mentors and role models and increasing access to services, including mental health services (for example, see Temin and Heck, 2020; Erulkar, 2014). Moreover, such programs should design service linkages that are age appropriate, and not simply fashioned on referral models for adults. For example, girls' groups in Ethiopia have made 'field visits' to institutions such as clinics, women's affairs offices and police stations. Such visits give girls exposure to these institutions, access to people who they will encounter and break down psychological barriers to accessing services. In one program for out-of-school, migrant girls and domestic workers, virtually all beneficiaries who needed health services took the offer of accompaniment by a mentor, with the program ultimately being associated with a significant increase in health service utilisation (Erulkar and Medhin, 2017).

Provide opportunities for alternative basic education (ABE), life skills and financial literacy training in a flexible format adapted to the needs of domestic workers. Flexible, accelerated learning programs that include ABE, life skills and financial literacy should be made available to child domestic workers, with timing and content adapted to their availability, context and circumstances, including language abilities. Older adolescents may also be offered training in entrepreneurship, business skills development or vocational training. Such opportunities should be accessible, based in communities in proximity to where CDWs live, and cost-free to beneficiaries. For girls who want to re-enter school, support should be given to acquire the required certification for school re-entry and flexible entry requirements that recognise skills gained outside of formal schooling to make it easier for girls to return to school without penalisation. Programs should also include mechanisms to engage and promote employers' support for girls to attend.

Prosecution

Ensure all law enforcement bodies (police, prosecutors, judges) have the capacity and resources to enforce Ethiopia's anti-trafficking legislation, the Labour Law and the Constitution. The finding of this study reveals that a significant number of children are engaged in harmful work within private households in contravention to Ethiopia's Prevention and Suppression of Trafficking in Persons Proclamation (No. 1178/2020), Labour Proclamation (No. 1156/2019), as well as the Constitution (particularly Article 36). Inclusion of child-sensitive procedures in the National Referral Mechanism, as well as training and support to the police, other frontline law enforcement officials and public service personnel (such as teachers and healthcare workers) would further help protect children engaged in harmful forms of domestic work, especially in severe cases where the child needs to be immediately removed from an abusive situation.

Implement special provisions for child-friendly reporting, investigation and tribunal procedures in suspected cases of abuse, exploitation and trafficking. The legal system law enforcement should be equipped to manage and prosecute cases of child domestic workers under Proclamation 1178/2020: Prevention and suppression of trafficking in persons and smuggling of persons. Special attention should be given to ensure the system is a safe place for children to report, and for their cases to be identified, investigated and prosecuted efficiently, without risk of re-traumatisation. Implementing child-friendly and victim-centred investigation techniques, creating separate courts and procedures for children, and the sensitisation of the law enforcement are some of the improvements needed.

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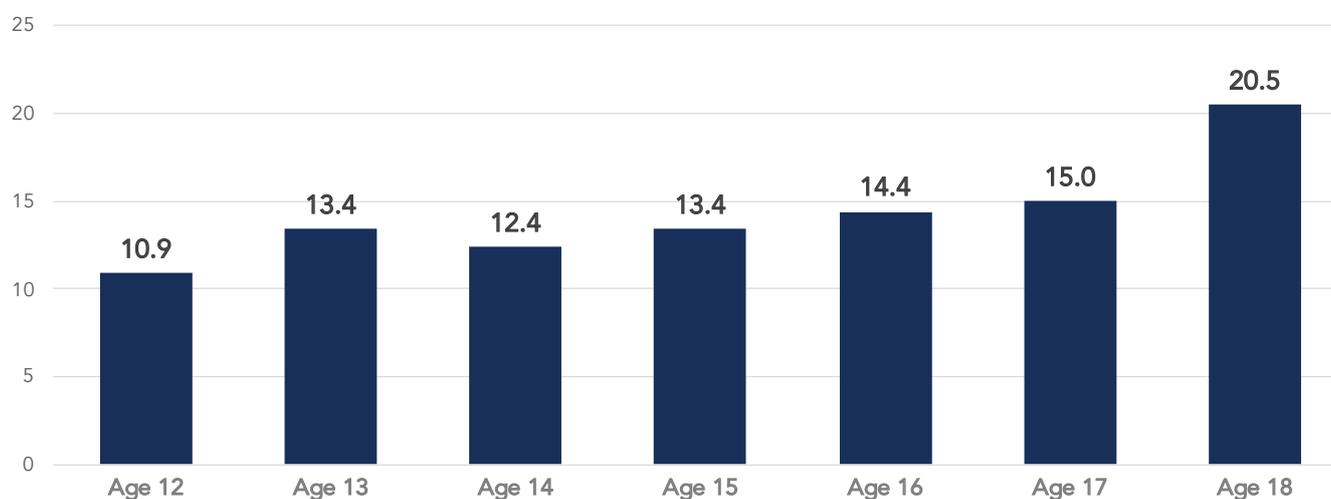
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Appendix one: Operational definitions

SEVERITY	INDICATORS
Child domestic work	<p>Work performed by children in the home of a third party or employer (ILO, 2013). This includes activities such as preparing, cooking, buying or serving food; washing or ironing clothes; cleaning the house or compound; caring for a child, sick or elderly person; picking up or accompanying children from school, as well as ensuring security of a home. Domestic work is also sometimes referred to as domestic service.</p> <p>Child domestic work is not always exploitative or harmful to the child. Indeed, some domestic work such as helping the family in the home or earning pocket money outside school hours can contribute to a young person's positive and healthy development.</p>
Child labour in domestic work	<p>Work that is either performed by:</p> <p>(a) Children below the relevant minimum age (for light work, full-time non-hazardous work and hazardous work respectively); OR</p> <p>(b) Children at or above the relevant minimum age, and is deemed harmful to their physical and mental development. This includes activities that are 'mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and/or interferes with their schooling by: depriving them of the opportunity to attend school; obliging them to leave school prematurely; or requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.' (ILO, n.d.)</p>
Domestic servitude	<p>Domestic work done under exploitative and harmful working conditions, inability to leave the job or excessive control and confinement, long hours, little or no pay, insufficient hours of rest, or experience of physical, psychological, or sexual abuse within the context of work (US Dept of State, 2021). Domestic servitude is considered a form of modern slavery.</p>
Human trafficking	<p>The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery; or A commercial sex act that is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age. (US Dept of Justice, 2000)</p>

Appendix two: Supplemental data

Figure 1: Age distribution of girls aged 12-18 in study areas (n=11, 424)

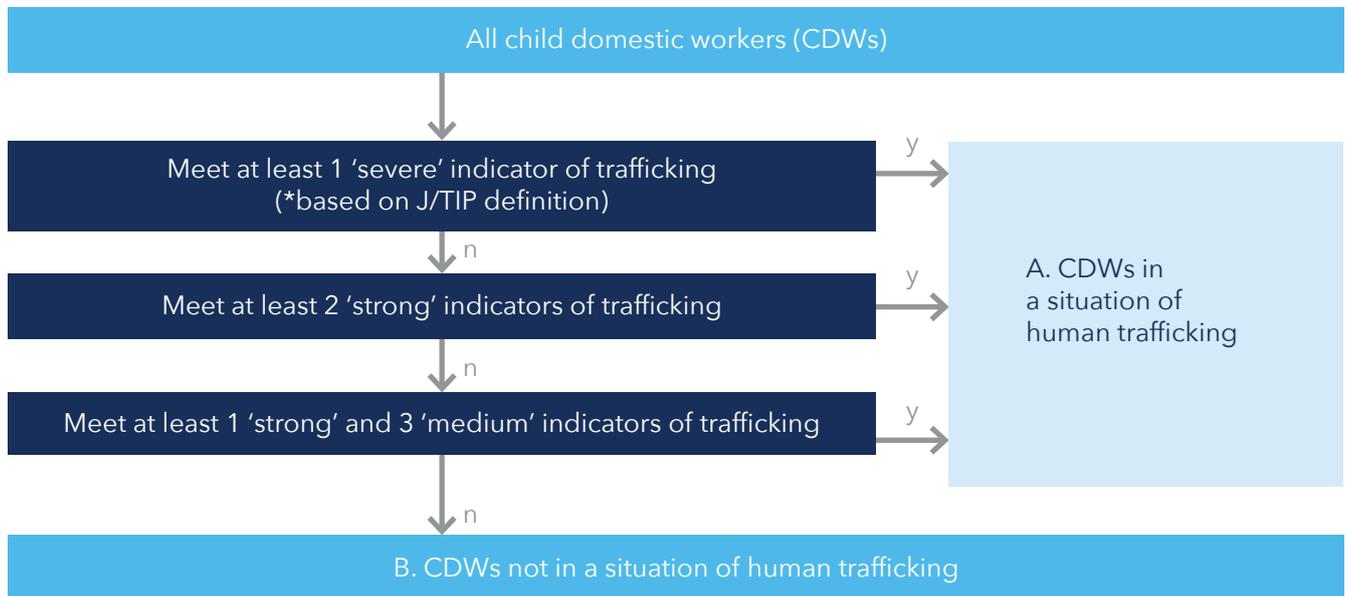


Source: Household listing data

Appendix three: Algorithms and operationalising 'human trafficking,' 'worst forms of child labour' and 'illegal child labour'

A. Human trafficking

Human trafficking is based on the algorithm below, derived from "Human trafficking statistical definitions" (2020). Indicators are drawn from the same publication, using available data to operationalise indicators.



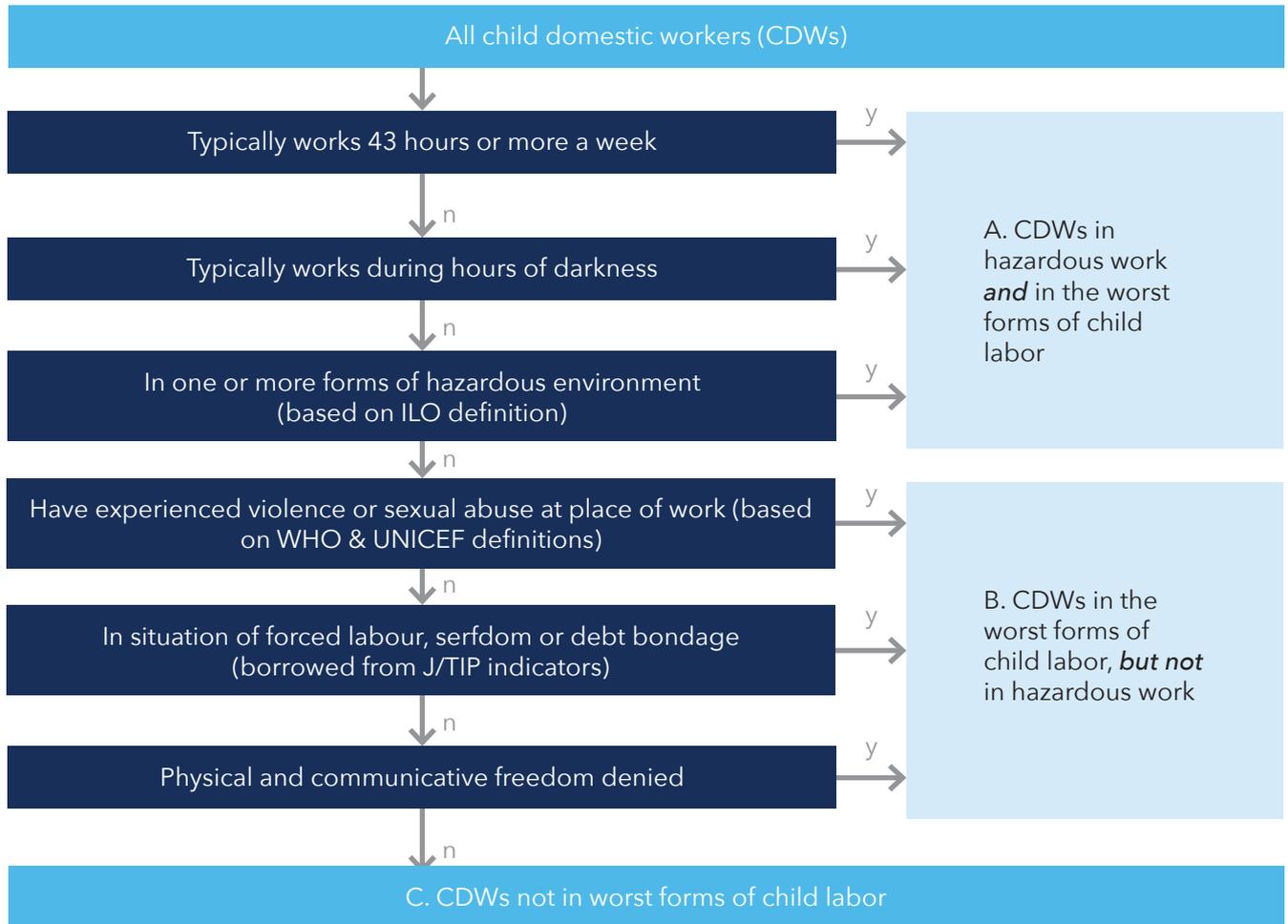
Indicators used in measurement of human trafficking

SEVERITY	INDICATORS	MEASUREMENT
SEVERE INDICATOR	No freedom of movement and communication [FM3]	MOVEMENT (both of the following): Must ask permission before leaving the house (Q541_1) Employer knows your whereabouts at all times (Q541_2) AND COMMUNICATION: Prevented from speaking with family (Q541_6)
STRONG INDICATORS	Deceptive recruitment (nature of services or responsibilities) [R2]	Promised another type of job (Q309_3, Q511_3) Broker told lies about the job/tricked you (Q557_5,6)
	Had pay or other promised compensation withheld [EP1]	Had pay withheld or deducted in the last year (Q531, Q535, 544_4) Pay is kept by employer (Q527_3)
	Made to be available day and night without additional compensation [DC1]	ANY OF THE FOLLOWING WORK CONDITIONS: Work at any time before 6 am (Q524_2) Work at any time after 10 pm (Q534_4) Get woken up in the night to work (Q524_7) Work overnight (Q524_8)
	Another individual has control over personal life [PL1]	AT LEAST ONE OF THE FOLLOWING: Prevented from speaking with neighbours (Q541_3) Preventing from having private conversations/phone conversations (Q541_4, 7) Prevented from socialising with other girls (Q541_8) Has had mobile phone taken away (Q541_9)
	Confiscation or loss of access to identity papers or documents [FM1]	Employer keeps documentation and/or identity card (Q541_10)
	Has debt imposed on you without your consent [DD1]	Told they owe money or have to repay a debt in the last year (Q538)
	Physical violence [V3]	EXPERIENCED ANY OF THE FOLLOWING FROM CURRENT EMPLOYER (QUESTIONS ONLY ASKED OF RESPONDENTS AGED 15 AND ABOVE) Food withheld as punishment (Q554_D, Q523_4) Locked in a room or outside the house (Q554_E, Q523_6, Q544_3) Slapped, pushed, shaken, had things thrown at you (Q554F, Q552) Punched, kicked beaten (Q554_G, Q523_2, Q544_2) Burned or choked (Q554_H, Q523_3)
	Sexual violence [V4]	(QUESTIONS ONLY ASKED OF RESPONDENTS AGED 15 AND ABOVE) Watched undress without your permission (Q554_K) Touched private parts or your body without your permission (Q554_L) Broker touched in a way that made uncomfortable (Q557_8) Broker tried to have sex with you (Q557_9) Broker had sex with you against your will (Q557_10)

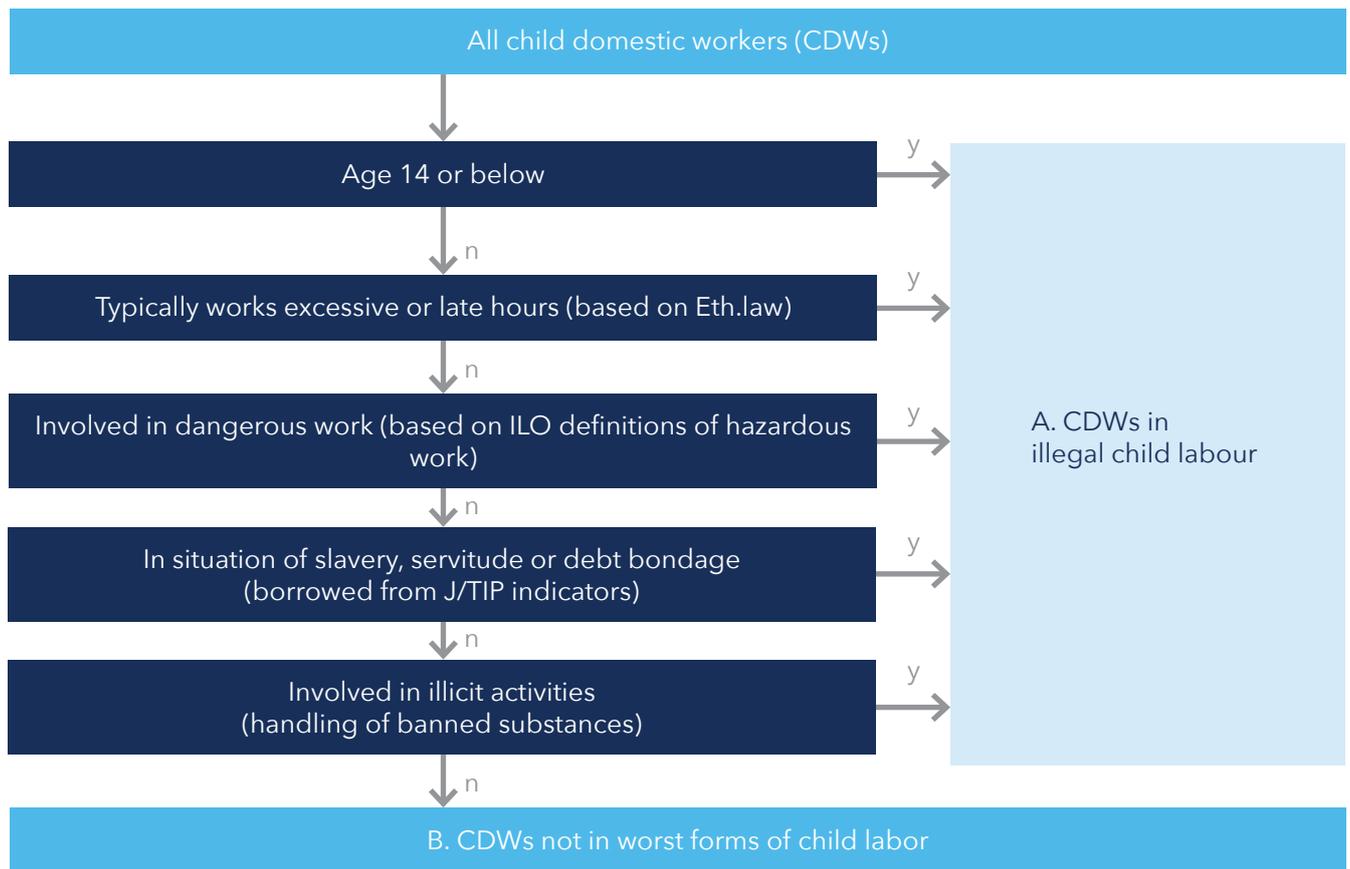
SEVERITY	INDICATORS	MEASUREMENT
MEDIUM INDICATORS	Deceptive recruitment (living conditions, compensation, schooling) [R3]	Promised schooling (Q309_1,2, Q511_1,2) Promised high pay (Q309_4, Q511_4) Promised a nice place to stay (Q309_5, Q511_5) Promised could go back home/speak family when wanted (Q309_7,8, Q511_7,8)
	Paid recruitment fees [R4]	Paid anyone such as a broker to be placed in job (Q513)
	Made to work beyond legal limits [EP4]	Age 12 to 14 - all Age 15 to 17 Work more than 42 hours per week Work before 6am or after 10pm (Q524_2,4) Work with no rest day or on public holiday (Q524_5,6) Get woken up at night to work or work overnight (Q524_7,8) Age 18 Work more than 48 hours per week Work with no rest day or on public holiday (Q524_5,6)
	Absence of formal contract [EP8]	Does not have a written contract with the employer (Q526)
	Confiscation of mobile phone [PL5]	Mobile phone has been taken away (Q541_9)
	Made to complete hazardous or arduous services [DC2]	Carry heavy loads (Q545_3, Q546_10) Operate machinery or heavy equipment (Q545_4) Do work that exposes you to diseases (Q545_5) Work that exposes you to dust, fumes (Q546_1) Work that exposes you to fire, gas, flames (Q546_2) Exposure to loud noises or vibrations (Q546_3) Dangerous tools such a knife, ax (Q546_4) Work at heights or underground (Q546_5) Work in insufficient ventilations (Q546_6) Work with dangerous chemicals (Q546_7) Work in poor lighting making it hard to see (Q546_8) Work in small spaces or rooms making it hard to stretch arms (Q546_9) Other dangerous or uncomfortable situations (Q546_11)
	Made to live in degrading conditions (e.g. unclean, no privacy, harms your health) [DC4]	Sleep in kitchen, living room, closet or small space (Q517_2) Sometimes sleep outside (Q517_3) Unable to wash yourself (even when water is available) (Q517_7) Not given soap to wash with (Q517_8) Not given enough food and/or go to bed hungry (Q517_9) Sleep in a place that is not clean or free from garbage (Q517_11) Don't have privacy when you need it (Q517_12) Sleeping space is sometimes wet or damp (Q517_13) Sleeping space is sometimes cold, dirty or smell (Q517_14)
	Constant surveillance of place of work [FM5]	Employer knows your whereabouts at all times (Q541_2)
	Pre-existing familial relationship [DD3]	Does not identify as domestic worker and lives with relative (Q111) Head of HH is not self, nonrelative, employer (Q111)
	Emotional / psychological abuse [V6]	Was shouted at or insulted (Q523_1, Q544_1, Q554_A, B)

B. Hazardous work and worst forms of child labour

Human trafficking is based on the algorithm below, derived from "Human trafficking statistical definitions" (2020). Indicators are drawn from the same publication, using available data to operationalise indicators.



C. Illegal child labour



Appendix four: Project advisors

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- Ethiopian Catholic Church Societies
- Hope for Justice
- Organisation for Protection and Rehabilitation of Female Street-Children
- Professional Alliance for Development

The Freedom Fund is a leader in the global movement to end modern slavery. We identify and invest in the most effective frontline efforts to eradicate modern slavery in the countries and sectors where it is most prevalent.

Partnering with visionary investors, governments, antislavery organisations and those at risk of exploitation, we tackle the systems that allow slavery to persist and thrive. Working together, we protect vulnerable populations, liberate and reintegrate those enslaved and prosecute those responsible.

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