



Sweeping the Bedroom

Children in Domestic Work in Zambia

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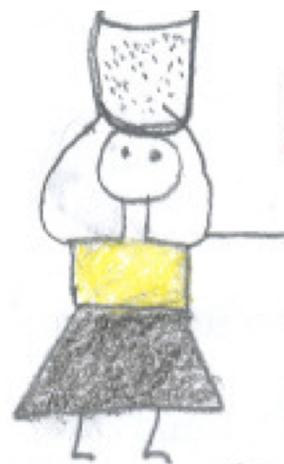
with Jean Hunleth, Ligia Kiss and Cathy Zimmerman

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The title of this report relates to a quote from a young girl in Dumiso village who had worked as a domestic worker

'He used to tell me to sweep the bedroom, then the man would enter and lock the door. He only opened the door when his wife returned'

We feel it captures one of the main findings of the research which is that many girls working as maids are defiled , raped , sexually abused by male members of the household. It also shows links to the crossing of boundaries- in most households, the 'master' bedroom is private space only entered into by the husband and wife, so it illustrates the inappropriateness of requesting someone else to 'sweep the bedroom' and the 'intimacy' of doing so.



Acknowledgements

First and foremost we would like to acknowledge and pay tribute to all the children who participated in this research in the two sites in Lusaka and Chipata , without them this research would have not been possible.

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INTRODUCTION

Question: What types of things do parents do to show the love children?

Answer: They teach them how to do things - like sweeping, washing, and gardening

Dice Game, Children's Workshop, Kagunda, September 2011

Tasks children should not do	
Age 10 and below	Age 12+
Crushing stones (Chelstone)	Crushing stones
Looking after animals (Chelstone)	Bearing children
Gardening / watering	Being a maid
Cooking	Building a house (Chipata)
Fetching water (especially using big vessels e.g. 20 litres ; and especially not from far away)	Cooking for the whole family (' <i>she can cook a small pot</i> ')
Looking after children	Digging the garden
Washing and Ironing clothes	Feeding a baby (' <i>they may not pay enough attention</i> ')
Slashing	Carry charcoal
Smearing the house (Dumiso)	
Feeding baby	
Fetching fire wood	

Table 1: Tasks that children should not do, Adult Men and Women (x8), Four Communities (Mtendere, Chelstone, Magazine, Dumiso), September-October 2011

Background to the Study

In February 2011, the UN Joint Programme on Human Trafficking (~~ILO, IOM and UNICEF~~) requested for proposals on research into Child Domestic Labour and Trafficking in Zambia. The research was to focus on ‘children who have moved from their home area and are largely engaged in residential domestic labour in the house of a relative or non-relative’ (UNICEF RFP/ZAMA/2011/011). The call for proposals was preceded by an Inception Report (Carey, September 2010), also commissioned by ~~UNICEF~~, which explored the existing literature and legalities on child labour, child domestic labour and child trafficking in Zambia and proposed research hypotheses and design options.

In mid May 2011, ZAMBART Project was awarded the research contract. After some discussions with UNICEF, IOM and ILO, the primary aim and objectives were revised to make them more specific to the potential effects on children’s health and wellbeing and to a conceptual framework that spans different stages in a child’s journey from their own home to work in another household (adapted from Zimmerman, Kiss and Hossain, 2011). Critically, the revised aim and objectives were more inclusive of children’s perceptions and experiences, placing their voices at the heart of research and building on the research team’s skills of conducting research on and with children. We also decided that the research would only be qualitative and confirmed the narrower focus on children who are moved for the purpose of domestic labour and who live in households (both kin and non-kin) as domestic workers – as opposed to children engaged in domestic work in their own homes or who work for others but return home on a daily basis. The reason for this is evidence that children who move both larger distances and from poor households into domestic work are intrinsically more vulnerable (Carey 2011 pp.12), but we should note that in the context of HIV, there is also a large number of children whose households have disintegrated and who are reabsorbed as ‘orphans’ into households of kin.

Whilst preparing for submission to the HSS/Ed/Law/INESOR Research Ethics Committee at UNZA, we further revised the title of the research to ‘Children’s Health, Well-being and

Mobility'. The reasons for this revision was to avoid the implicit judgement and external standards of the terms 'child domestic labour' and 'trafficking' lest they undermined participation at all levels. We also wanted respondents to be able to discuss a range of outcomes to children's domestic work, including any outcomes perceived as more positive. The HSS Research Ethics Committee reviewed our proposal in late July and asked us to make some changes and clarifications (see Ethics section in this report). We obtained final ethics clearance on 25th of August (see Appendix 1). However, due to the Zambian elections on 20th September, we decided with UNICEF to postpone our fieldwork until 26th September. Once in the field, discussions with the district helped select four communities; two in Lusaka City (Mtendere and Chelstone) and two in Chipata Province, Eastern Province (Magazine Compound and Dumiso, Kagunda village). We completed our fieldwork by 12th November 2011.

Children's involvement in domestic work outside their household of origin is an entrenched and widespread practice in Zambia (Carey 2011; Hansen 1990; Colson 1958) – as well as in many other developing countries (Fekau, Hägglof and Alem, 2010). This practice becomes exploitative child labour when this work infringes on children's basic rights – health, safety, access to education and appropriate remuneration (ILO, 1996). Since the 1933 Ordinance on Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children, Zambia's legislation has addressed the practice of child labour. However to date the legislation does not meet all international goals with differences in childhood age definitions and shortfalls in definitions of 'light work' for children between the ages of 13 and 15 (Carey 2011; Hansen 1990).

Legislative disparities partly reflect the fact that in Zambia the practice of children performing domestic tasks is sometimes necessary and children have been and can be a key resource to households maintaining independence (Colson 1958). In an editorial that examines an ILO Global Report on Child Labour (ILO, 2006), Liebel (2007) identifies a misfit between international concepts and local realities of childhood. Bray's (2003) analysis of the classification of child work in South Africa highlights this tension. He argues that children's domestic work in South Africa is one essential dimension of children's social

networks and can help ensure that a household functions and survives in the context of HIV. The key role of Zambian children in actively managing life-threatening adult illness, partly through performing additional and adult domestic tasks and motivated by their emotional and practical need for adult survival, is captured by a recent ethnography of children's role in managing tuberculosis in a high density area of Lusaka (Hunleth 2011).

Thus, given the history of urbanisation and migration, the HIV epidemic and an economic context characterised by a significant proportion of Zambians living in absolute poverty and a widening gap between socio-economic classes, both children's domestic work and the mobility of children between households, often driven by aspirations of education, poverty and stress and classically from rural to urban areas, have a strong degree of normality. As Colson (ibid) pragmatically describes for the Gwembe Tonga in the 1950's, 'The majority of children by the time they have reached puberty have had the experience of adjusting themselves to life in a strange household, and a portion of their training has been received from outside the immediate family' (ibid, pp258). However, as Hansen (1990) points out in her analysis of the history of urban child labour from colonial times to Independence in Zambia, when children are involved in domestic work outside their nuclear family as 'units of labour' and 'in these households but not of them' (her emphasis, ibid pp.231), there is an implicit opportunity for exploitation. Hansen coins the trend as 'the extraction of labour in a relationship merely cast in the family idiom' (ibid, pp230), driven by the provision of 'labour power at little cost' (ibid), which has ramifications for the wider economy. For example, in the colonial times, the availability of children for unpaid or cheap domestic work was one factor that maintained lower wages. This holds some parallels to the current economy where high inflation and cost of living, the ambitions of a growing middle class and the disparity of rural poverty combine to make the domestic and cheap labour of children a viable, persistent and often veiled option. Indeed, a recent study, commissioned by the ILO/IPEC and carried out by RuralNet Associates in Zambia in 2007 looking at child trafficking in five provinces in Zambia, identified what they labelled as 'internal trafficking' of children as 'dominant' and based on 'a cultural practice of looking after children from the extended family' which makes 'it easier for those wishing to exploit children for their gain'

(ibid, 2007, pp.viii). They found that the majority of victims were ‘female, orphans and teenagers’ (ibid).

From the outset of the research, aware of definitional conundrums of ‘exploitation’ and ‘trafficking’ and challenged both by the HSS ethics committee to explain the overlap between the two as well as by the perceived normality of the practice of children domestic workers, we strove to let professionals, communities and children tell us their own definitions and experiences and to then see how the terms used by global actors have been localised and how they reflect local realities. For example, underlying the research and our discussions has been a debate about whether children who live in as domestic workers in Zambian context fall into an ‘internally trafficking’ category. What we aim to do in this report is to move away from a discussion of what constitutes trafficking –and rather describe the stories, experiences and opinions of children who are (or have been affected by) working as young domestic workers set within a landscape of professional, community and household perceptions, experiences and options. At the end of the report, we revisit the concept of exploitation and the trafficking debate.

RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

Primary Aim

To explore children’s entry into domestic work, risk exposures associated with domestic work situations and to consider the overlap between child domestic work and trafficking.

Children, for the purpose of this research, were aged 12 to 17 years old.



Research Objectives

1. To understand the reasons that households send children into domestic work elsewhere and children's role in this decision and mobility
 - What are the reasons that rural and urban households send children into domestic work elsewhere?
 - What roles do children play in this mobility?
 - What kinds of interactions take place between sending and receiving households, and what obligations does the receiving household enter into?
2. To understand some modes of recruitment that facilitate children's entry into domestic work
 - How are children recruited into domestic work?
 - What are the informal recruitment channels?
 - What role do kin and marriage play in recruitment?
 - Do adult domestic workers play a significant role in recruitment?
3. To understand a range of child domestic labour circumstances and the effects they have on health, education and social development
 - What are children's experiences of working as domestic workers?
 - How does domestic work impact on children's health, education and social development?
 - How are children remunerated for their work?
 - How do children cope with any challenges they may face?
 - How long do children remain in domestic service?
4. To understand when child domestic work is both considered and experienced as exploitative

- When do the children, household, community and district level professionals consider child domestic work as exploitative?
 - What are the risks to children?
 - What if anything is done to minimise the risks?
5. To explore perceptions of the overlap between children in domestic work and child trafficking
- What is the overlap between child domestic work and trafficking?
 - If children are moved from other areas within Zambia into employment, does this constitute trafficking?

The last objective evolved during the fieldwork and from discussions with [UNICEF](#) and comments from the HSS Ethics Committee. It reflects that although our main focus is on children who are living in as domestic workers, the links between this practice and internal trafficking of children are of utmost importance within a wider frame of exploitation.

We identified and adapted a conceptual framework which helps both capture and unravel our primary aim. The conceptual framework was developed by Zimmerman, Kiss and Hossain (2011) and Zimmerman, Hossain and Watts (2011) to look at the implications of migration and human trafficking for health. The framework captures the 'multi-staged process of cumulative harm' (ibid, pp.327) of a multi-staged trafficking process. In this research we looked more closely at the pre-departure, recruitment and destination stages and although the rural research site provided some insight into the return stage, we gathered limited evidence on the interception stage.

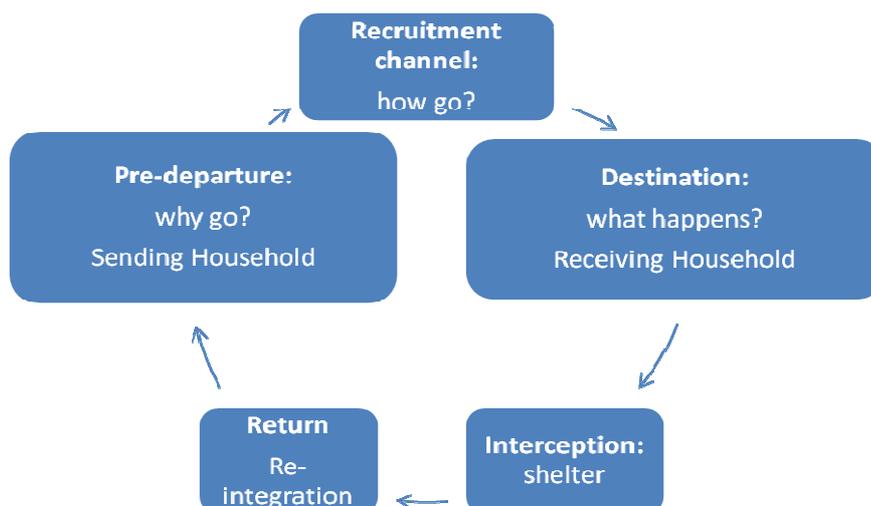


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework adapted from Zimmerman, Kiss and Hossain (2011)

Ethical clearance and reflections

Challenge to get children

I had a long chat with one of the ladies who came to sign for one of the girls. The girl is a neighbour's maid. She had wanted to bring two others but the employers/guardians refused to allow them to come. The neighbour at first was a bit resistant to the girl participating – 'Why do they want to know the conditions? What are they going to do?'. She eventually agreed but told the girl to say that she was a relative and NOT a maid. The girl told the woman who was bringing her, who advised her to 'just tell the truth'. But the kindly neighbour wondered what other employers/guardians had said to the girls who participated. She said that people in Chelstone were 'enlightened and more educated than those in Mtendere' so they would be more cautious with sharing experiences around domestic work.

Researcher, Chelstone Children's Workshop

As already mentioned, ethical clearance for this study was obtained from the HSS UNZA Research Ethics Committee (see Appendix 1).

All children and adults participating in the research gave written informed consent. Although no-one refused to participate, some adults initially resisted, challenging whether the research would have any meaningful outcome. The informed consent process (see Appendix 2) was carried out at the outset of all the research activities – first of all we gave all participants (including children) a copy of the appropriate information sheet. We then explained the purpose of the research and what was asked of them – and stressed risks, benefits and the voluntary nature of the research. After allowing time for questions and clarifications, we asked participants to consider signing or marking (with a thumb print) the consent forms – one for us and one for them to keep. All those participants who were unable to sign their name had a witness external to the research team as an additional signature on the consent forms. There was sometimes a stigma attached to illiteracy; to minimise this in group research activities, researchers would try to identify individuals who were struggling with reading and writing and given them additional support and time. Having at least three researchers facilitating group activities made this additional support easier. Illiteracy rates were higher amongst girls, women and in the rural area. The information sheets and consent forms were available in two vernacular languages (Bemba and Nyanja) but were only used on two occasions in Lusaka and not at all in Chipata since participants preferred the English version. We were careful to always spend time on the informed consent process – it usually took us around half an hour to facilitate informed consent with groups and at least 10 minutes with individual interviews. If the groups arrived in ones and twos, we sometimes would sit with individuals as they arrived and go through the informed consent process with them this way. The consent forms retained by researchers were placed in an envelope and are being kept safely in a filing cabinet at ZAMBART's offices. Overall, participants seemed reassured by the process – it legitimised what we were doing, particularly as we had a focus on children. Research on children is usually scrutinised closely by Zambian communities, and mistrust about the intentions of research can lead to Satanism accusations and prevent the research from being carried out (Bond, 2005).

All children who participated had an appropriate adult sign for them before they went through the informed consent process themselves – in other words each child participant first had an adult sign for them and then signed for themselves. The appropriate adult was a parent, a guardian, an adult known to the child through an active and supportive network (e.g. the neighbourhood, the church, a children’s shelter, school) and, on a few occasions, an employer (see Children Participant Table). We were extremely careful to establish that the adult who signed knew the child through frequent and safe contact.- for example a guardian with whom the child lived or the YWCA chairperson whose job it is to work with vulnerable families. Some adults signed consent for more than one child – for example, in Mtendere, a woman church member brought 10 girls from her church whom she knew well through church and whom she knew were live-in domestic workers. We had to exclude the participation of some children in each research site because of not being able to find an appropriate adult. Sometimes employers blocked the children’s participation in the research. This was particularly the case in the middle density and middle class research site, as illustrated by one of the opening examples. Inevitably because we were trying to reach both children and adult domestic workers whose space and movement is sanctioned, and because we had to be both open about our purpose and obtain written informed consent and conduct the research within a tight timeframe, participation was ultimately restricted to those who we were able to reach in short timeframe. Research conducted over a longer period of time and in one place would be more successful in identifying hard to reach children and adult domestic workers. However, with the exception of Chelstone where we encountered more reticence, local community members also really helped us to identify those they classified as more vulnerable children in domestic work.

Partly under the explicit advice of the HSS Ethics Committee, every child who participated in the workshops received a school bag, an exercise book, a pencil, a 2kg bag of rice, a contact sheet detailing appropriate local services and at least one children’s book. Although we often cautioned the children to keep the informed consent form carefully, we are not sure exactly what the children did with these items they received although they seemed pleased to receive them. We were concerned that the items could be questioned or confiscated if

they returned with them to their workplace; children appeared to be taking them to their own homes or relatives' homes if possible. The workshops were held for no longer than five and half hours and during that time the children had snacks, water, a soft drink and lunch. Many of the individual interviews were held during the workshops – for those children with whom we had individual interviews outside the workshops, they received a drink and a snack and, on one occasion, a school bag left over from a workshop. It should be noted that some of the children who were interviewed individually outside the workshops, also took part in the workshops.

The workshops were either held on a Saturday or in the afternoon. This was both to avoid children (who were in school) missing school and also because children domestic workers were only able to come at the weekend when they were allowed to leave their employer's household to attend church or to visit their home. For the latter reason, adult domestic worker interviews were often held at the weekends or in the early evening – sometimes domestic workers had to invent a crisis at home in order to attend an interview. In the village, meetings were held in the afternoons because it was the planting season- participants returned from the fields at lunchtime.

All adults participants received a travel reimbursement (tailored to the particular research site) of between K20,000 and K50,000 according to actual distance. District participants in Chipata complained that the allowance was too low. During the research activity, adult participants also received a drink and a snack.

Both the workshops and the individual interviews with children were carried out in safe spaces often known to the community as children's spaces; these included the buildings of local children's organisations, the garden of a well-known lodge and a village community meeting place under a mango tree. We gave children the option to 'opt out' of research activities before we began them and were sensitive to children's limited autonomy and alert to when a child's unspoken actions demonstrated that she or he did not want to participate in the research. Individual interviews with children always took place in the presence of

more than one adult – no child was interviewed on their own. A trained child counsellor was always part of the children’s research activities and their knowledge of specific legislation and services proved invaluable. We anticipated that some of the topics discussed in this research might cause distress to research participants who have experienced exploitation or unwanted migrations. And indeed, some children’s distress was explicitly or more subtly apparent particularly through the individual interviews which were facilitated by their own drawings (see methods) and through another research activity which role-played the interactions between employers and children domestic workers. In three individual interviews, children broke down in tears when recalling sexual abuse. In one interview, a 17 year old girl’s extreme focus on the wellbeing of her own young son would appear to be linked in part to herself and her younger sister being abandoned by her mother when very young – *‘I do not even know what her face looks like’*, she explains.

If children were identified by the team either during or after the activity as needing additional support, the child counsellors attempted to provide follow up. For example one girl asked for help in tracing her older sister and has been put in touch with the local Child Protection Officer, another girl who had been assaulted was referred to the YWCA for support. In total only 3 children were identified for, or asked for, further referral for support. The main challenge with the Follow-up work was relying on organisations or professionals to take on the cases. Frequently, during individual interviews, children would ask the researchers for direct support. Often this was financial support for them to go to school – occasionally it was for other types of support – for example clothes for a baby. The research team was careful not to promise any direct support and usually responded by suggesting that the children turn to close relatives or NGOs for the support they were looking for.

In individual interviews, adult domestic workers also recalled distressing experiences or were currently working in an unsafe environment. The research team would encourage women in such situations to discuss their predicament with close family, to explore alternative employment options and to turn to appropriate services (e.g. the Domestic Workers Union, Victim Support Unit) – as well as reminding them that any form of abuse

was not acceptable. No domestic worker however was aware of the Domestic Workers Union although they were aware of the VSU.

One of the strongest ethical obligations that emerged from the research was to give feedback to all the communities. Some of the communities were initially sceptical about the usefulness of the research- challenging us about the purpose and outcome. One participant in a Concept Mapping workshop in Lusaka asked '*What is the benefit of this research to our community?*'

Since many communities often help with research studies but rarely hear about the findings, UNICEF has committed to giving additional funds and support to making sure that we do give feedback to both districts at community level – and we promised all the participants that we would do so early in 2012. A few of the community group discussions confused the research with the beginning of an intervention in this area, asking us what the next step was in the 'programme'. We were careful to reiterate that this was research but that UNICEF was committed to developing policies and materials based on the research – and that we would update them on this in our feedback.

METHODS

'I thought this would just be the usual research questions- I didn't expect something like this. We have really learnt today'.

Participant, District Concept Mapping, Chipata

Profile and experience of research team: The research team was a mix of local and international researchers who collectively had the appropriate and necessary experience in: carrying out qualitative and quantitative research in Zambia; management of research in Zambia; ethical clearance in Zambia; government and NGO interventions with vulnerable Zambian children; ethical, sensitive and participatory research with children; child labour; trafficking and domestic and sexual violence; a range of methodological approaches;

excellent facilitation skills; applied research; linking research with policy and programmes; counselling and referral; feedback to research participants. For more detail of the research team see Appendix 3.

The core Zambian research team who carried out the fieldwork was split into two teams that each covered two research sites (see Selection of sites) in one district.

Virginia Bond, Chipo Chiiya and Cindy Mwila conducted the Lusaka District research.

Sue Clay, Mutale Chonta and Kasongo Chilufya conducted the Chipata District research.

In addition, Fred Ngwenya assisted in training the teams in Concept Mapping.

Both teams came together for two days at the beginning to review and practice research tools , to plan and to discuss ethics and confidentiality. During fieldwork, the two team leaders communicated frequently about fieldwork progress and experiences. For example, after conducting the Lusaka District Concept Mapping and before the Chipata

District session was carried out, the Lusaka team shared their notes and reflections with the Chipata team. Half way through fieldwork, the teams met up to reflect, assimilate and plan for the last phase and at the end of the fieldwork, the two teams reflected and analysed data together. In all sites, the role of local research assistants proved invaluable for organising research activities and for identifying research participants and local organisations.

UNICEF provided introductory letters to the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services (now the Ministry of Community Development and Maternal and Child Health) and the Ministry of Education. ZAMBART also provided introductory letters for district and community representatives.

The Chipata research was more intensive and the team was able to get more immersed due to being accommodated away from home and to smaller, tighter networks, whereas the Lusaka research took longer and the team were less immersed due to being at home,

diverted at times by other work responsibilities and to larger, looser networks. In Chipata, research activities of one type were carried out in one site and then in the other so the team moved back and forth between the two areas– whereas in Lusaka, all research activities were carried out first in one site and then in the other. The latter made more sense in Lusaka for reasons of logistics and momentum.

Methodological Approach: Although the methodological approach in the Inception Report was comprehensive, given the length of time allocated to the research (a five-week fieldwork period), we considered it too ambitious and too broad an approach. Drawing on the proposed methodological approach, we adopted a more focused, child-centred and qualitative approach using a mix of qualitative research methods. We would like to note that the research in question would be more thoroughly addressed through longitudinal, ethnographic and survey approaches and that this more rapid approach has produced limited understanding.

Mix of Methods and Levels: In each district, we aimed to carry out the same set and sequence of research activities (see Appendix 4 for copy of research tools) namely:

- 1 One District level group discussion: *Concept mapping tool*
- 2 Two Community group discussions: *Concept mapping tool*
- 3 Four group discussions with men and women who were head of households or key members of a household (two with men, two with women): *Household labour tool & Stop start drama*
- 4 Five individual interviews with adult domestic workers: *Semi structured interviews*
- 5 Two Children’s participatory workshops
- 6 At least five individual interviews with Children: *Semi structured interviews*

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Figure 2: Activities in each site

Research sites: Because the Inception Report had cited the Child Labour Force Survey (2005) as identifying Luapula, North Western and Eastern Province as the provinces that outsource child labour the most (Carey ibid pp21), and because of the flow of domestic labour from poorer to better off areas and from rural to urban areas, we decided to select one high density, low income site and one middle density, middle income site in Lusaka City and one high density, low income area in Chipata town (a provincial capital in Eastern Province) and one rural 'village' area in Chipata district.

The selection of Eastern Province was determined for a number of reasons. Firstly, at a meeting early in June with UNICEF, ILO and ~~IMO~~ to discuss the research study, they all agreed that Eastern Province would be the most appropriate of the three given its historical legacy of providing labour for domestic work and the added role of labour from Malawi. Secondly, the RuralNet (2007) study had covered Central, Lusaka, Copperbelt, Luapula, Northern and Southern Provinces but not Eastern Province. Within Eastern Province, we selected Chipata district in Eastern Province because of the proximity to Malawi.

We also wanted to select areas that were connected to each other through the flow of labour, trade, geography and ethnicity. Rather than select sites ourselves, we asked district representatives to help us in the selection at the end of our district entry research activity. Districts usually identified a number of sites (in Lusaka, four sites were identified and in Chipata, five) which they either identified as areas that sent children into domestic work or as areas that received children as domestic workers. The research team then made the final selection based on logistics and other information or selected one site first and asked community representatives in that site to help select the other site.

Research Sites

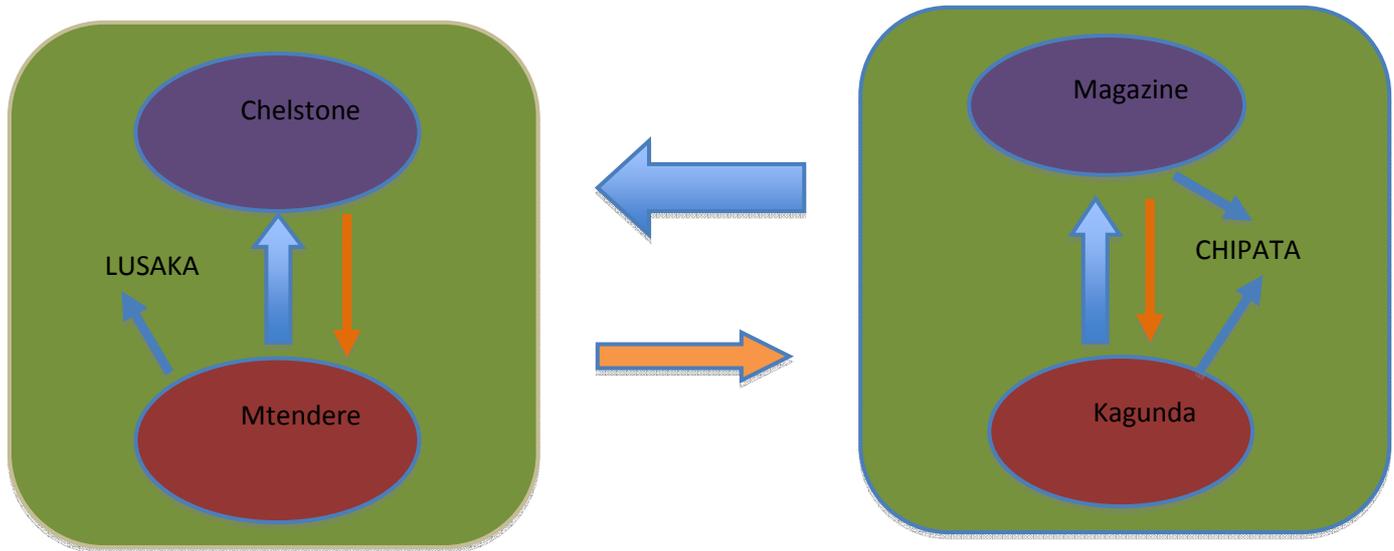


Figure 3 Mobility between research sites

Blue arrows indicate mobility between sites; orange arrows show children's return home. Children moved to other parts of Lusaka and Chipata to work, as well as to the research sites

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Table 1:Lusaka Adults Participants from the research

Activity/ Workshop	Venue	M en	Wome n	Age range	Representation	Process of identification
District Level Concept Mapping Lusaka	Zambart	2	9	28 - 51	NGO's, Victim Support Unit, Domestic Workers Association, Legal aid clinic, Ministry of Labour	Initial list agreed during research planning. Individual participants identified with the help of local partners
Community Concept Mapping Mtendere	Local Organisation	6	7	33 - 63	CBO's, Church members and Islamic groups, Maid centre,	Local organization and the local research assistants
Community Concept Mapping Chelstone – Lusaka	Church hall	3	7	23 - 58	Primary and Secondary school teachers, Women's organisation, Lecturer from local youth centre	Through district Concept Mapping Chelstone – Lusaka
Men heads of Household Mtendere – Lusaka	Local community organization hall	1 0		31 - 63	Men Head of Households	Local research assistance, participants from concept mapping
Key women in Households Mtendere – Lusaka	Local community organization hall		12	19 - 56	Women Householders	Local research assistants, participants from concept mapping
Key women in Households Chelstone – Lusaka	Church organization hall		11	32 - 58	Women Householders	Local research assistants, participants from concept mapping
Men heads of Households Chelstone - Lusaka	Church organization hall	8		35 - 63	Head of Households	Participants from district concept mapping
TOTAL		92	46			

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Table 2 Chipata Adult Participants who participated in the research

Activity/ Workshop	Venue	Men	Wome n	Age range	Representation	Process of Identification
District level Concept Mapping	Hotel in Chipata	8	3	29 - 49	Youth leaders, Human rights activist, Police unit/ Social	Initial list agreed during research planning. Individual

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Activity	Venue	Boys	Girls	Age Range	How children were identified	Who gave the consent
Chipata					worker and NGO's working on children related issues.	participants identified with the help of local partners
Children Participatory workshop	Local guest House		11	13 - 17	Identified by YWCA, Orphanage and SWETA school going girls but	The head teachers gave consent on the coordinator for the YWCA
Community Concept mapping Dumiso	Village meeting place (Under Mango tree)	4	5	34 - 62	Community leader, Care giver, Section chairperson, Religious leader, NGO leader	Local research assistants with help of village headmen
Men Heads of Household Magazine	Community School hall	10		25 - 45	Heads of Households	Section Chairperson
Men head of Households Dumiso Village	Village meeting place (Under Mango tree)	10		31 - 51	The headmen were instrumental as they simply called for a meeting for head of households	Village headmen
Household Participants women Dumiso Village	Village meeting place (Under Mango tree)		10	30 - 68	Key women in Households	Village headmen
Key women in Households Magazine	Community school		10	33 - 50	Key women in Households	Section Chairperson
TOTAL		37	32			

Grand total for Adult participants is as follows: **Male 61** and **Females 78**

Table 3 Children who participated in the Research

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Chipata					doing a lot of housework, some are even treated like house workers. The majority were orphans either single or double.	in Chipata gave consent. The community section Chairperson brought in one girl and gave consent. Smiling kids orphanage coordinator gave consent
Children Participatory workshop Magazine - Chipata	Community school	7		12 - 14	The YWCA section chairperson went to get the children from the community school. He has experience of working with them and he	Community section chair and YWCA community chairperson
Children interviews Chipata	Under the Mango tree in centre of the village (Usually used as a meeting place)	4	8	14 - 18	In the village it was through the village headmen, in the community it was through the section chairpersons.	Village headmen and Community section chairperson
Children Workshop Chelstone – Lusaka	Community church hall	2	8	13 - 17	Identified by Living in maids and former maids. A community officer in the	Church leaders and community school teachers and guardians gave consent.
Children interviews Chelstone – Lusaka	Community nursery school	1	5		Identified by women who participated in the concept mapping	Neighbour/ church member
Children Participatory Workshop Mtendere – Lusaka	Community based Organization (Hall)		12	13 - 17	Identified through church leader who had interacted with them before. Another group was identified by a lady who had been working with them from her community based Organisation	Church leaders and a community based organisation.
TOTAL		14	44			

Reflections on Methods and Research Tools

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Figure 2: Concept Cards from Magazine Compound Community Meeting



Figure 3: Concept Mapping in Dumiso village

Concept Mapping: This is a method, used for a variety of purposes that focuses on a topic and uses a process of brainstorming to generate statements which are then sorted into

broader categories and ranked and related to each other by participants. There is a specialised software (Concept Systems) that can then use this qualitative data to do multi-scale dimensioning and cluster analysis which are represented visually to convey the resulting conceptual framework around the topic (see O'Campo et al, 2005). More recently, it has been used in studies of intimate partner violence and financial exploitation of the elderly in the United States (see *ibid*, Burke, Conrad et al 2009), but to our knowledge has not been used with vulnerable children and in Africa.

We adapted the method to the topic of the exploitation of children both as a field and analytic approach. Two of the technical advisors (Zimmerman and Kiss) are currently hoping to also use this approach to do research on trafficking of persons in South-East Asia. Our concept mapping tools are attached in Appendix 4.

A total of 6 concept mapping sessions were carried out during the fieldwork: two at district level (Lusaka and Chipata) and one in each site with community representatives. The sessions consisted of the following main steps:

1. Establishing vernacular terminology and perceptions of child trafficking with the group.

The question asked in all discussions was – *What words do you use to talk about child trafficking?*

All sessions apart from the village session (which was conducted in the vernacular) began with a discussion about the vernacular terminology for *child trafficking*. These discussions were important for introducing the topic and creating clarity around the issues.

2. Exploring key concepts for child trafficking and child domestic labour with the group.

The Concept question for the district discussions was: *In ____ (name of site) what are some of the characteristics of child trafficking?*

The Concept question for the community discussions was: *In ____ (name of site) what are some of the characteristics of children who end up as live- in domestic workers?*

The concept question was changed for the community discussions to elicit more responses and exploration of child domestic labour as opposed to child trafficking.

Each group generated between 40 and 80 concept statements (often referred to as 'items' in the methodology) and they were recorded in the order that they emerged by sticking them onto a wall or mat. Groups then clustered similar concepts together and discussed what was meant by each concept. The clusters, or piles, were then labelled by group members and the relationship between the different piles was discussed using a critical pathway diagram.

Generating the concepts was relatively easy except that sometimes statements had to be broken down because they contained too much. The discussion around each concept ended up being one of the most insightful components of the activity. The following discussion around one concept generated in the discussion in Magazine compound illustrates this:

Ukakamizilwa (Forcing) – 'parents force the child to look for something [work] he doesn't want to but has no say'.

'A small girl came in June and moved to Kagunda. The man brought her cosmetics, soap and then even though her parents were still there, she was taken to Lusaka where he promised to take her to school. They didn't even ask her, just forced her to go.'

Towards the end of the activity, participation was often beginning to wane and usually this was at the stage of looking at the critical pathways between different clusters so this discussion was less insightful. It was usually after this that we took a break for a snack and a drink.

3. Rating the concepts as individuals.

The rating question for the district discussions was: *Please rate on a scale of 1-3 how each item perpetrates the movement of children to households where they end up as domestic workers*

The rating question for the community discussions was: *Please rate on a scale of 1-3 how each item/statement about children who live in as domestic workers perpetrates child trafficking*

The concept statements were transferred to rating sheets by the researchers and in both District meetings and all the Lusaka Meetings, ratings sheets were handed to individual participants to complete. This was either done at the end of the activity, if a printer was available, or the following day. Additional explanation was often given to individual participants to explain the rating question and how to fill in the sheet.

In the Magazine and Dumiso Meetings, the rating process was adapted to take into account participants' literacy levels. The adaptation took the style of a 'secret ballot'- each participant was given a pile of blank slips of paper. Then each question was read out and participants ranked their answers (1-3) by writing the number on a slip of paper. After each question, the answer slips were collected and sealed in an envelope labelled with the corresponding concept. These were later opened and collated onto the group rating sheet.

Most participants really enjoyed the concept mapping discussions. It was not what they expected to happen and they preferred the participatory approach to a more question and answer approach. It took skilled facilitation – at least two facilitators needed to support the process whilst one member of the research team focussed on note taking. It was not possible to take notes of paired discussions that preceded the group discussion of key characteristics (see Appendix 4, Concept Mapping tool).

The concept mapping discussion has been analysed in different ways:



Figure 4: Analysing the themes

- Initially, all the concepts generated across the group were split into themes keeping a tab on which community generated the concept by colour coding each community. The main themes emerged across all communities and the absence or presence of certain themes – or sub-themes – in communities was also apparent. For example ‘poverty’ was identified by all groups, but ‘traditional practices’ was only discussed in one session. In addition, the vernacular terminology was merged from all the communities.

- The individual rating statements will be entered into a software programme to generate the cluster analysis. One member of the research team (Kiss) is taking a lead in this process. We will use this different analysis and its visual representation in our feedback to communities.

Head of Household/Adult Men and Women Group Discussions: Eight household discussions took place - two in each community with men and women identified as heads or key members of households. The participants were identified by the community leaders who took part in the Concept Mapping discussions.

The following two participatory tools were used in the discussions (see Appendix 4 for tool):

(a) Household Labour Tool

Participants were asked to think about all the work that is carried out in a household, and then in pairs, to illustrate the tasks by using words or drawing pictures or symbols to show them (this helped to overcome illiteracy problems and added some creative energies!) The picture cards were stuck up and categorised by the group according to who did which task (Man, Woman, Girl and boy child over 12, girl and boy child under 12). In all discussions, with the exception of the village where it was not appropriate, a category for 'Maid' was added, and in one discussion 'Orphan' was also added.



Figure 5: Sorting the household tasks

The exercise worked well and showed the amount of work that is done in a household and how it is divided between the men and women. Interestingly the women drew mostly women's tasks and the men drew the tasks they were most involved with - often there was not much knowledge of each other's tasks, apart from obvious cooking and washing.

(b) Stop Start Drama

The stop-start drama tool allowed participants to improvise short dramas showing why and how a family would wish to recruit a young child for domestic work, and why a family might send a child to work.

Stop Start Drama

Volunteers from the participants were requested to play out the two dramas, (where it was possible, all members of the group were involved.) Having obtained volunteers from within the group, the briefing was simple for three stepped scenarios:

First, **the Receiving family** was told to act out: *'you are looking for a young person to help with work in the house - show why'*

Secondly, **the Sending family** was told to act out: *'you are thinking of sending one of your children to work - show why'*

Thirdly, **the Receiving and Sending Families** came together, often through a recruiter, and their interactions were acted out.

At the end of each scenario, participants asked questions of the actors as they stayed in role. Alongside the drama, these questions provided a glimpse into the participants' experiences, knowledge and opinions of child domestic labour.

A useful discussion point in the exercise was about the acceptable tasks for children at different ages and tasks that children should not do - this revealed how some children who work as domestic workers are exploited with heavy workloads.

Adult Domestic Worker interviews: The main aim of interviewing adult domestic workers was to examine whether they play a significant role in recruiting children into domestic work. A total of 9 interviews took place (4 in Chipata, 5 in Lusaka). The domestic workers were identified by members of the District and Community Concept Mapping discussion groups. It was relatively easy to identify domestic workers to interview, but as discussed already, we had to interview them in the evening or at weekends. The interview was too long and a bit repetitive and we quickly cut down on questions and avoided repetition.

Children's participatory workshops: When conducting research with children, activities such as drawing, role plays and discussions are often used within a participatory workshop structure. This approach is one that we have used successfully in the past (see Hunleth 2011, Clay and Bond 2003) and helps children to feel more at ease and able to share personal experiences. For certain children who are uncomfortable sharing their specific personal experiences, the workshop format allows them to express their perspectives on sensitive topics, such as abuse, a dying parent, or their exploitation at home, in a more generalized manner. The children get to decide how they reveal their own personal experiences, leading to much more ethical research practice and less coercion. We also used individual sessions with children at these workshops, facilitated by their drawings, to conduct individual interviews if their drawings and response dictated this was appropriate.

One workshop was held in each community and in Magazine Compound, an additional mini-workshop was held with boys. We faced some challenges with these workshops:

- As expected there were some challenges in finding ways to ensure that child domestic workers could participate in the workshops and we had to work closely with local organisations to identify children, taking our time to establish appropriate connections and to identify children and appropriate informed consent processes. In Chelstone, this was particularly challenging as already mentioned and largely due to a more educated population who were aware that the practice was infringing rights.
- In Chipata Province, there were not many easily identified children living in as domestic workers in either Magazine Compound or the village. It was more common for young people, especially girls, to do domestic work on a casual daily piecework, going from house to house to do washing or cleaning. However as the research took place, several of the children and adult domestic workers testified that they had worked as live-in maids in Chipata.

- Orphans were identified by the YWCA and other NGOs in Chipata to be at particular risk of being exploited as domestic workers, even if they were not formally employed. For this reason most of the participants in the Chipata Children's Workshop fell into this category.
- The inclusion of boys in the workshops caused some discussion. Although children who live in as domestic workers are usually girls, the communities pointed out to us that there were occasionally boy domestic workers or, more commonly, boy gardeners. The communities also identified boys whom they considered vulnerable and who were doing piecework of various forms (e.g. sweeping shops, selling goods, washing clothes) on a daily or regular basis. In 2 of the workshops, only girls participated – this included one workshop where one boy arrived but because he was the only boy, the research team decided instead to hold a mini-workshop with him and a few other boys. However, when this workshop was held it was evident that the boys did not fit into our particular focus. In 2 workshops, there were a few boys participating (see Children's Participant table) although none of them were living in as domestic workers. Some participants, both adults and children, did however tell us stories about boy domestic workers and we managed to interview one from Mtendere.

In Chipata, the YWCA, a local orphanage and FAWEZA¹ helped to identify children for the urban workshop – this resulted in most participants being orphans who were working in households where they stayed or who were treated like maids. In Kagunda (Village) the Head teacher of the Basic School, along with the school counsellor identified participants, many of whom had dropped out of school because of poverty, and several of whom had worked to support families and school fees. In Magazine a representative from the YWCA told us he had identified 6 boys whom we should talk to, so this was done as a mini-workshop.

¹ FAWEZA is a local NGO that aims to reduce gender disparities in education

In Mtendere, children were identified through representatives from the Community Concept Mapping Meeting, including the Catholic Women's League and a local Community organisation.

In Chelstone the Anglican Church School helped to identify some of the children, as well as participants from the Household Meetings.

Workshop Tools: Two core tools were used in the workshops which had been designed specifically for the research. We had too many tools planned for the workshops – particularly since the HSS Ethics Committee had insisted that we reduce the length of the workshop (from 9 to 17 hours to 10 to 16 hours). The latter advice on length of time was wise; we often only started by 11 hours and by 15 hours, the children were tired and had had enough, despite the games, food, drink and other resources that were on hand.

Facilitators who had worked directly with vulnerable children in the past spent time putting children at ease, explaining the research study as well as the consenting process and confidentiality. Games and energisers were interspersed between the exercises and some toys, drawing materials, teenage magazines, children's books and board games were set to one side as a play area so that the children could be free to relax and mix together as they wished. As they arrived at the workshop, they were given a drink and a snack and often sat either on their own or in small groups looking at books and magazines. The research team would also sit and talk to them. In Lusaka, the lead researcher's 15 year old daughter (Cecelia Miller) helped out at the workshops, building on her own work experience with vulnerable children, and the presence of another child helped the other children relax and open up.

(a) Drawing exercise

Children were asked to draw pictures of the different houses that they had lived in and that they could remember, and where possible, to include the people with whom they had lived.

The exercise was popular with the children and all of them took time to draw often very intricate drawings. Once each child finished, one of the research team sat and discussed the picture with them, using the opportunity if appropriate to ask further questions that often turned this interaction into more of an individual interview. This exercise ended up taking up the most time within the workshop.

Examples and quotes from the drawing exercise are used throughout this report and some of the drawings are moving and powerful.

(b) Dice game

The Dice Game consisted of a giant foam dice with a different symbol on each side which corresponded with a set of questions. As each child took turns to throw the dice, the question was read out by the facilitator for anyone in the group to answer.

Topics	Example of question
Child Labour	Do children ever refuse to do chores? If so why?
Family and Friends	How do make friends when you move to a new place?
Gender Differences	Are girls and boys treated differently if they move from one household to another?
Migration	Do children come from different countries to Zambia to do domestic work?
Miscellaneous (x 2)	If a relative wants a young girl or boy to help in the house, how do they find someone?

Table 4: Examples of question discussed by children under each topic during the Dice Game

The questions provoked a lot of discussion amongst the groups of children and created an opportunity to discuss the children's own experiences, from a more objective perspective. Some of the children's answers to the questions are used throughout the report. However, the Dice Game questions were a bit repetitive – again we learnt to exclude the repetition.

(c) (Extra) Role Play - 'Questions to the boss'

This extra exercise was used in three of the workshops and it was one of the research team, with extensive background experience of working with children, who thought it up literally 'on the hoof' during the first children's workshop that was held – and following the Dice-Game (which did not go as well as we had hoped).

The exercise involves two facilitators stepping into the role of male and female employers of children working as domestic workers. The children were told that they could ask the 'bosses' any questions they wanted to.

Quiet at first, most children gained confidence as the questions started flowing and the range of questions reflected many of their experiences. Sometimes children, who had not shared much up to this point, used the role play to speak out about their own experiences – particularly those relating to sexual abuse.

The exercises seemed to be quite therapeutic for the girls- a chance to vent their frustration and anger about the work and the way they are treated. The facilitators found difficulty in getting a balance in the replies – to be realistic or harsh which could reinforce the negative experiences, or to be 'role-model employers' i.e. gentler but less realistic.

Children's interviews - A total of 52 individual interviews with children were carried out (24 in Lusaka and 28 in Chipata).

Site	General description	Population mix	Infrastructure	Livelihood options	Visible Children
Mtendere	Densely populated & established compound situated 7 km east of Lusaka city centre. Located in between the low density areas of Kabulonga, Ibex Hill and PHI. Strong history of supplying domestic labour and well established civil societies.	Majority of people from Eastern province - Nyanja is commonly spoken. Both the young and old are seen in the area.	Mixed housing. Mostly block brick buildings with iron roofs on planned plots and roads although there are unplanned structures within some plots. High number of Government schools, churches, markets, a police station and clinic. Not many open areas or trees.	Small population in formal employment, majority work in informal sector: selling by the roadside or at the market/ carrying out piecework. Bars are busy from early morning.	Lots of children visible playing games by the roadside. Some seen in uniforms coming from or going to school while others patronise bar areas which play loud music. Some children seen selling various goods by the roadside. Some young people seen crushing stones for building near the markets, others carrying goods for people as piece work
Chelstone	Off Great East Road 12km out of Lusaka city centre. Built for civil servants in the 1960s, low density and middle class. Easy access from town via public transport.	Mix of people from different tribes and nationalities including people of Asian origin. Harder to 'see' the population since often not all around in the week days.	Mixed middle and high income housing – mainly blocks of flats and large bungalows with gardens/'yards' and walled fences. Open spaces and trees common. Planned, named roads. Schools	More people in the formal sector (government ministries, professionals) and wide spread private ownership of houses. An area that pulls in domestic and other	Most children are seen going or coming from school (in cars / on foot) with rare of cases of children playing by the road side

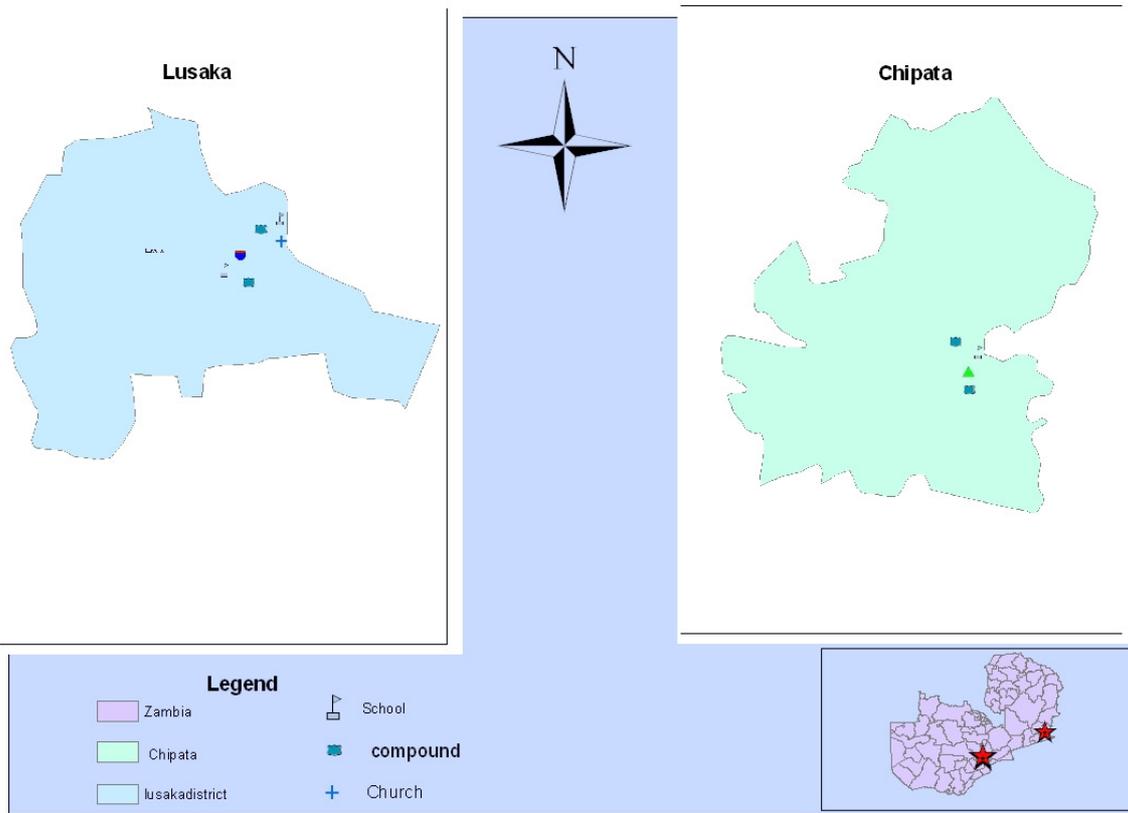
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Site	General description	Population mix	Infrastructure	Livelihood options	Visible Children
			(government and private), churches, one large market, clinic and police station. One emerging area with much building on relatively big plots.	forms of labour or marketeers.	
Magazine	A well arranged compound and not crowded. Set on a hill, with several graded roads and on the outskirts of the provincial capital – Chipata Town. Borders Muchini compound and middle-income Kalongwezi. Trading, ethnic and labour links with surrounding rural areas, including Kagunda.	Mainly from Eastern Province, though some Tonga and Bemba speakers. Reports of many Malawians too. Mix of age ranges; young people and older women are seen around the market area.	Mixed housing: earth block houses and some shops built from cement blocks. Some electricity, although not many households connected. Main market runs through centre. Nearest clinic is 2km from compound. Community schools, churches, bars.	Women involved in merchandizing at the market, other women work in Kalongwezi as maids. Many young people do piece work, washing clothes, cleaning houses, working on building sites. Most visible job by men was ‘the deliveries’ (Men carrying people and goods on bicycles).	Young children seen with mothers in the market area. Some male teenagers were seen playing pool near the drinking places. Some children helping to build houses, fetching fire wood, carrying water.

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Site	General description	Population mix	Infrastructure	Livelihood options	Visible Children
Dumiso, Kagunda	A typical village settlement with earth houses in rural setting. Organised, clean, food available.	Mixed ages, mainly Eastern province tribes. Very old and young children most visible. The village headman and indunas were middle aged (30 – 40).	Homogenous housing. Round earth huts with grass-thatched roofs. Some well decorated. Grain stores and piggeries in some compounds. Houses spatially placed and surrounded by fields. Stream with vegetable gardens on the banks. Nearest clinic is 10km away. Kagunda Basic School is 5km from village	Agriculture is main livelihood of the community- some sell vegetables in Magazine: many bicycles loaded with produce and other goods seen on the road. Also some alcohol brewing. Community members building a new school.	Children were seen playing together. Older teenagers not seen so much

Table 5: Description of Research Communities



Map of sites

FINDINGS

Research communities

The research communities span 'sending households' in a rural area (Dumiso) and in a low income urban area (Mtendere), 'receiving households' in a middle-income urban area (Chelstone), and, a mix of 'sending' and 'receiving' households in a low-income peri-urban area (Magazine). Thus the different perspectives of rural and urban settings and provincial and capital contexts are contained in the findings.

Across these types of communities, the flow of children into domestic work emerged as follows:

- **Rural area or 'the village'**: The main flow of children into domestic work is from rural areas into urban areas – both low income and middle to high income urban areas. However, although in the village, there are no children who fitted into the category of 'live-in domestic worker', there are orphans who take on a considerable work load, particularly if they are also not at school. These orphans are in turn more likely to be identified as the children who should be sent to work in town, particularly if they are girls. The other common option for girls is early marriage- indeed three out of the four girls interviewed in the village, who had worked as domestic workers were married - all were 18 years or under. Boys tend to be more absorbed as casual labour on the farms and are more likely to attend school than girls. Another pattern in the village is that following the death of a parent – or indeed both parents – the children and sometimes one parent shift into town and in order to survive in town, children have to work to support their surviving parent or their relative's household.

Teenage children also move from the village into provincial towns. It was apparent in the rural area that there were fewer teenagers around. Children's tasks in the rural area were slightly different to urban areas due to the farming (arable and livestock), physical

maintenance of dwellings (thatching, building) and having to fetch fuel (firewood) and water. Boys would do farming as piecework. Once children move into domestic work outside the province, their contact with their home village is extremely limited and in some cases there is no contact. One girl who had come from Central Province to work in Chelstone had had no contact with her family for 11 months. If children return to the village, some return for short visits and talk of mixed experiences in their receiving household and some return permanently often because of bad experiences and because they are pregnant.

- ***Peri-urban, provincial, low-income and high density area:*** In the low-income peri-urban area, although a few households had children living in as domestic workers, it was more common for children of kin, often from the village and more often girls, to do domestic work in exchange for shelter, food and – in some cases – educational support. It was also common for these children and the children of the household to look for piecework (particularly washing clothes, sweeping) within the compound and outside in middle-income neighbourhoods. Some children were also sent to live in as domestic workers in such neighbourhoods or went to do domestic work on a daily basis. Girls were more likely to do domestic work and boys to do other forms of piecework, for example, making blocks for building, carrying loads for builders or carrying goods for people in the market.
- ***Urban, low-income urban area in the capital city:*** Within this area there are pockets of middle-income households and some of these do have children living in as domestic workers. On the whole, children – and again especially girls – are moving into domestic work in the surrounding higher income areas and very often this type of employment is not with kin and requires them living in their employer’s household. Most of these child domestic workers are maintaining contact with their households of origin and with their other networks (e.g. church) – or kin households – at weekends.

- **Urban, middle-income urban area in the capital city:** Children are notably less visible in this area and the disparity between children the greatest, as the more privileged upbringing of middle-class children is supported in part by underprivileged children who work in their households. Some of these children – mostly girls - are living in as domestic workers – recruited from surrounding low-income areas or from rural areas – and some come to work on a daily basis. Due to the housing structures- bigger plots with gardens and sometimes servant quarters, it is in this area where boys are employed in and around the household more. There are also children’s shelters and community schools located in the area and partly supported by the local middle class residents. The children who are living in as domestic workers are less in touch with their households of origin, particularly if they have come from the village or if their parents have died.

There was a difference in how local residents engaged with this research across the communities. To our surprise, in both the rural community, the provincial urban community and the low income urban community, most residents were incredibly open, and – once they had established our credibility – keen to share their experiences and opinions about the issue. They were emphatic that this was a practice that was happening and that although it was sometimes necessary, it was harmful for children. We had anticipated that they would be more cautious about discussing the issue with us and that they would also perceive it as normal and thereby acceptable. The middle-income area was very different. On the one hand, they were more suspicious and guarded and it took longer to get them to engage with the research and it was harder to identify and reach children who were live-in domestic workers. But on the other hand, some of the residents, particularly professionals and church members, were more actively working with marginalised groups and more aware of rights and support services and they were adamant that the research should be followed by action. What is promising is that across low and middle income communities there is awareness about the potential harm that children can face when they move into live-in domestic work – and there is both a willingness and some action to challenge and change the practice.

1. Reasons households send children into domestic work elsewhere and children's role in this decision and their own mobility.

Below is a typical scenario which illustrates the points that were common across the different household discussions.

Receiving Family

Father: Yes my wife, How are you? What is happening around here?

Mother: There is too much work to do, I can't manage and the children have to do their school work

Father: I think we need to find someone to help you

1st Child: Yes Daddy – they can be doing our work so we concentrate on school

2nd Child: But you should bring someone younger, someone we can tell what to do. Not an older person with problems of their own

1st Child: They can even wash our uniforms while we are doing our homework

Father : I agree and at least we won't have to pay them much. I think you can look for a child from a poor family. They can't refuse

Mother: I can call someone to go to the village and find a girl

Sending Family

Father: My wife- there is too much hunger in this house- there are too many mouths to feed

Mother: What can we do- we are trying to survive, but there are no jobs, no money for fertilizer

Father: I think we should send one of these children out to look for work- after all they are not even going to school

Mother: I heard there is a family looking for a house servant, I'll try to find out. But who can go?

1st Child: I think she should go (pointing at young girl) , after all she is not really part of our family

Father: And she eats a lot!

Mother: I think we can send her- the orphan

Questions to receiving family

Questions	Answers
Why do you your children to go to school but not another's child?	<i>You have to start at home</i>
How did you identify the poor family?	<i>We saw they have no maize store- they are poor.</i>
Will you pay them?	<i>We'll give them money every month. We'll feed and clothe their child so we'll just give them K50,000 a month to contribute</i>
Why give money to the parents not the child?	<i>All the problems of the child are in the family so we're helping all of them</i>
Why an orphan?	<i>There are no parents- so if you mistreat her, no one will say anything. She'll accept everything</i>
Why do you want him from far away?	<i>People from the village don't know anything- they don't know money</i>
Don't you think you are promoting laziness and weakness in your own children?	<i>No if they work hard they will also employ maids to work for them, so it is not really necessary to teach them house chores</i>

Box 1: Receiving and Sending Households discussing why to recruit and why to send children into and for domestic worker, selected examples from Stop-start Drama from all household role plays across four communities

Questions to sending family

Questions	Answers
Why send the orphan?	<i>He can't say anything</i>
Why can't you go to the social welfare office for help?	<i>Us in the village they don't even come here. Those they just help their own</i>
What if the girl gets impregnated?	<i>If the girl gets pregnant by one of the family members of the household where she works, the matter would be sorted out if it happens</i>
What does the child feel about the whole issue?	<i>She is not happy because she wants to be educated, instead of being a maid</i>

Box 2: Questions asked of Receiving and Sending Households by adult participants, selected examples from all household role plays across four communities

Poverty

'It's because of the problems we face - from our parents - I was just living with my mother and there was nothing. I just wanted to work, to help. There was too much poverty, too much suffering...'

(Woman adult domestic worker, Magazine Compound, started working at age of 12 years)

'There is a problem where the child is coming from - perhaps there is no food, clothing, even nowhere to sleep. The family resorts to looking for work for her. If poverty was not there, they would not have to work'

Mtendere Community Concept Mapping

Perhaps unsurprisingly, poverty emerged as the overwhelming push factor for sending children to work as domestic workers. It was identified in all concept mapping groups as one of the main reasons that families would send a child to work in another household (see Table 6 pp 11).

Unemployment played a big role alongside poverty and was cited as a problem particularly in the compounds: *'Everywhere you look people are just sitting home...there is no food and no capacity to take children to school (Magazine Concept Mapping) and no form of income in the house (Mtendere Concept Mapping)*. Asked how most people made a living, men in both low income urban compounds said their major occupation was *'just walking around looking for food'*. Children's individual interviews reflected that their move into work could be precipitated by unemployment or death of adult heads of households.

Sending children from poor families to work into domestic work was done for three main reasons linked to poverty: it could provide opportunities or a better life for the child; it would lessen the financial burden on the family; and the child could bring in income or goods as a result of working. As they explained in the Dumiso concept mapping, *The family has a heavy burden with orphans- they send one away to lessen the burden, to make a smaller number*. It was evident in some of the individual interviews with children domestic workers that their income was sometimes the only regular income in their household of origin especially when the household was headed by grandparents or widows and if they maintained close and frequent contact with the household. Children domestic workers from such vulnerable households reported giving around three-quarters of their pay to their household of origin if they got paid on a regular basis.

Alcohol use amongst parents

The *'bad behaviour of parents'* or lifestyle of the parents was also cited as having an influence on a child going to work - this often linked to alcohol use and parents failing to *'teach children properly'*. In the village, this emerged as a particular issue and more especially at harvest time, where the risk of the father spending the money from the harvest on beer was great.

'The father can't even appreciate the rest of the family when they have all worked so hard. They (children) see other families with new things and they start thinking of looking for work, to buy their own things.'

Dumiso Village Concept Mapping

In Chelstone, some women in the household discussion blamed those who *prefer drinking the local beers in bars from morning instead of looking for food to feed the children*, saying that they would send their children to work as maids, rather than work themselves.

Orphanhood and HIV

Orphanhood was mentioned in all groups as a contributing factor to both trafficking and domestic work - and appeared as pile headings in 2 concept mapping discussions. Orphans were reportedly less likely to be in school, more likely to do *'too much work'* and more likely to be sent into domestic work. In some discussions participants agreed that it was important to talk to the parents or guardians to find out why certain children were overworked, although some said it would be difficult to confront the parents as there is usually an attitude of *'this is my child'*.

The workshops and interviews with children underscored this trend – whilst debriefing them on their drawings, it was evident how both illness and death related to HIV had undermined their educational opportunities and pushed them to move from place to place and into domestic work. HIV was not often mentioned explicitly but was implicit in children's stories and communities discourse.

The traditional obedience and cheap labour of 'Village Children'

The theme of old and new culture recurred throughout the discussions as a reason why some families want girls from the village to work for them - because they have been *'taught nicely'*, though this was sometimes translated in the discussions as not knowing their rights.

'Someone comes from Lusaka to get small children. You think 'Don't you have children in Lusaka?' But they say the children in Lusaka - they don't know. These children will do what we tell them.'

Magazine Community Concept Mapping

The control that can be exerted on children in general is reflected in the main reasons that families would recruit a child as a domestic worker – as opposed to an adult. Children are also perceived as being able to keep secrets, to be less likely to complain, to be cheaper and to be less likely to attract the sexual advances of husbands and other men in the household.

Recurring reasons why a family would wish to employ a child as a domestic worker (as opposed to an adult)
• You don't have to pay them much (if anything)
• They will not threaten the marriage (i.e. a husband is more likely to sleep with an adult maid)
• You can control them easily
• They will never complain
• You can send them (to collect something) a very long distance
• They will keep secrets (i.e. bedroom secrets, 'love potions' etc)
• You can give them jobs that an older maid might refuse
• (e.g. washing nappies)

Table 6: Reasons for recruiting a child, summary from adult participant discussions

***'Things are changing'* (Dumiso concept mapping)**

One hopeful sign in the village discussion was that there was agreement that *'Things are changing'* (a pile heading). There had been some sensitisation sessions with community leaders from a NGO (YWCA/ SGBV) about keeping children in school which seemed to have made an impact.

Children's role in the decision to go into domestic work

Her first drawing is of a house with a light bulb and a solid roof; the house had two bedrooms, electricity, a stove and a fridge, a kitchen and a yard. Inside is her mother, father, herself and her young brother. They lived in Mtendere and had a good life. Her father worked as a technician for ZAMTEL and he built this house. She went to a private school.



Children's pictures

In 2001, her father fell ill. He was sick with swollen feet and he lost his sight. After 6 months, he died. She was 6 years old. His relatives chased her mother and the children from the house and took the house. She has no contact with her father's relatives now.

They moved to her grandfather's and grandmother's house in Mtendere. This house is made of mud bricks with plaster 'rough, rough' – it has a big avocado tree and a brazier outside and is a 'ka small house'. It has two bedrooms and a sitting room and no electricity.

Outside the house are her grandparents, her mother, younger brother and herself. She went to the government school until Grade 9. In 2009, her mother died from TB – she had 'whatever that other disease' and was on treatment for four months.



Children's pictures

Things were difficult at home – no-one was working, there was no aunt or uncle to help and no other children or anyone that could help. They were suffering and short of food. Her grandmother is about 60 and her legs are becoming paralysed. Her grandfather is losing his sight and is aged 75 years. Her young brother sometimes does piecework and sometimes is 'just sitting'. He does not go to school. So she decided herself to start working.

Exerpt from interview with girl working as live-in domestic worker, 16 years old, Mtendere

'The decision for me to come was made by my mother though I also agreed. I knew that I was coming to work here'.

Girl. Working as live-in domestic Worker 15 year, Chelstone

'My mother decided that I start working so that we can be raising money for food. My boss was just talking with my mother at that time. I agreed to go though I was not happy'.

Girl, working as live-in domestic worker 13 years, Mtendere

Children did sometimes decide themselves to look for domestic work, driven by poverty, mistreatment, being an orphan, peer pressure and educational aspirations.

In the village, poverty and hunger could lead to children deciding to look for work: *children just leave in search of food* (Dumiso Concept Mapping).

Sweeping the Bedroom
Bond V, Chiiya C, Chonta M, Clay S

In some cases orphans who are being mistreated by relatives at home make an active decision to leave to look for work, as a way of escaping from the situation, though this was more a community perception than a story from children.

'Maybe at the house (relative's house) the way they are talked to - the insults and language used even drives them away. They can say things like 'this is not your money, you have 'over-used' the soap'. So they just think 'let me go and look for work'.

Magazine Concept Mapping

In some of the discussions, community members talked about young people being influenced by peer pressure to go and work, usually in a quest for money and independence. This theme recurred in several discussions with adults - sometimes as a dialogue about how things are changing: *'children nowadays'* and how children are refusing to follow the old ways, are *'out of control'* or are getting involved in *'bad behaviour'* because of friends.

'...they follow their friends or other families; they go where they are not 'taught' properly'.

Dumiso Concept Mapping

*'On rare occasions, some children would be **rebellious** and leave home to have the freedom they want and fall into peer pressure and start work so that they can buy what the parents were not providing for them'.*

Chelstone Household Women

The more unusual outcome of a young person having a positive experience as a domestic worker tended to create envy amongst other children and parents:

'a child returns looking very well, they are being kept nicely, they are going to a better school; other parents then say 'even mine should also go'.

- 'those who left to go for work, come back boasting 'Me I'm enjoying life'; then the others will never listen, they want the same'.

Dumiso Community Mapping

In all communities, some of the children were working to support themselves to attend school. This would often take the form of piece work, but was sometimes interspersed with longer periods of domestic work. Older boys who were orphaned reported that they were often told that they had to support themselves if they wanted to attend school.

In the Women's Household Discussion in Chelstone, participants discussed how often young girls come from Chipata and Katete to work as maids in Lusaka, attributing the main reasons for this as dropping out of school and peer pressure. In Chipata, the hardships created by the lack of secondary schools in the rural areas would support this reasoning. The only way that most girls could attend secondary school from the village was to stay with relatives in town (Chipata). This arrangement often lead to other problems - with girls being given heavy workloads at the house, leaving little time to study; often walking long distances to school, with no food until the evening meal (affecting concentration) and missing parents and friends in the village. A local NGO (FAWEZA) testified that there are a lot of strains on these girls which lead to high drop out rates.

'Chipata produces many of these young maids because young boys and girls tend to stop school very early and end up being home without anything to do, so their friends who are already working in Lusaka (when they go back home to visit) would encourage them to join being maids'.

Chelstone Household Women

Sweeping the Bedroom
Bond V, Chiiya C, Chonta M, Clay S

Sometimes the decision for a daughter to go and work was a pragmatic family decision. For example a young girl from Kagunda reported that when her Father passed way and her Mother could not find any work, she agreed to work for a year at a house in Magazine, to support the rest of the family and to save money so that she could return to school. Each month she gave her Mother her small salary (K50,000) and the money was spent on basic needs as well as on fertilizer and her school uniform. After one year she returned to school, but now does piecework to ensure her continued education.



'The second house was in Magazine where I worked for a year with a family. My Father passed away and my Mother discussed with me that we don't have money so I needed to work. I was 14 years old. I had to look after the baby and sweep and wash clothes'.

Girl, ex-domestic worker, 19 years old, Kagunda

Some children did agree to the arrangement of being sent into domestic work if it was explained to them. For others it was a matter of being told by an adult, or of simply being taken somewhere to work. Often the decision was made by the parent/s, and the child would agree (with very little option). One Uncle told his nephew, *'if you are old enough to eat, you are old enough to work.* Similarly another boy reported that his Aunty had said, *'After all you are not my husband, why should I cook food for you?'* Sometimes girls from rural areas moved in with relatives ostensibly in order to further their education, only to be told that they should go out and find work. This was the experience of one 15 year old girl from Mtendere who moved from her rural home to an uncle's house because she wanted to go to secondary school. Although her uncle promised he would assist her, when she got there, he said that he no longer had the money. When a stranger came to his house looking for a domestic worker, he told her *'You are doing nothing here – you should go and work'.*

2. Understanding the modes of recruitment that facilitate children's entry into domestic work

Dice Game

Question: If a relative wants to find a young girl or boy to help in their house, how do they find someone

Answer: 'They just ask those who are keeping you

.... but they don't tell the truth- they say we want her to go to school, but when you go it's a different story'.

Children's Workshop, Chipata

The research showed that most recruitment took place through either family or social networks - with respondents talking about *'finding someone from the village'* as the most common means - usually done by someone who used to stay in the village or who still has relatives living there. Some talked of *'agents'* – sometimes these were more formal and organised - *there are agents who pick girls and give girls to neighbours* (Chelstone Household Men) but often recruitment was through word of mouth and informal networks. In Kagunda, children said there are sometimes written adverts posted on trees around the village (though we did not see any during the field work).

The interviews with adult domestic workers did not bring out significant links to recruitment – although we had anticipated that they might play a key role. They are often asked to *'find'* child domestic workers by potential employers (friends of their own employer or people in the neighbourhood). Some said they would help friends to find employment, but only if they knew the employing family was good; others said they would not get involved because they could be blamed if the arrangement did not work out - for example if something was stolen, it could fall back on them. All those who we interviewed said they would not want their own children to work as domestic workers, and several of them were working to ensure that their children can go to school and have greater opportunities.

'I, of course did not help [to recruit] because I know the exploitation that they will face'.

Adult Domestic Worker, Magazine Compound

One unanticipated finding on recruitment was the role that professional working people often play - especially teachers, in recruiting children into work. In Chipata, participants said that this was a common practice - particularly for teachers in rural areas who hold a position of trust, who could easily convince a family that a child may be offered better opportunities by moving to an urban family. There was some mention that teachers may receive a payment for this practice and often find children to work for their teacher colleagues in town.

'It could be a teacher in a village- he gets the salary for finding a child for his friend in town'.

Magazine Concept Mapping

In Kagunda, one of the boys, H, told how *'a teacher from around the village informed his parents that I needed to go to Lusaka where I could progress in school and also have the opportunity of living in Lusaka'.* In reality, H ended up living in Mandevu working in a family shop, attached to the house, and carrying out domestic work when the shop was closed. At first the employer told him to wait for a place at school, but after a while he found out that

Sweeping the Bedroom
Bond V, Chiiya C, Chonta M, Clay S

they had lied to his parents saying that he was attending a good school. It is unclear how complicit the teacher was in this. It was not until a year later that his parents found out what was happening and ordered the family to send him back.



Whenever a customer came to the shop I would be called from the house to attend to them, then I would go back to work in the house. I used to open the shop at 06.00 hours and close it at 22. I was so tired I couldn't even ask about how the search for a school was going...'

Boy 18 years, Kagunda

Teachers who attended the women's discussion in Chelstone said they were not aware of this happening, although they admitted it was very common practice for teachers in rural areas to use school children to do domestic and agricultural tasks for them.

Other professionals mentioned in the field included a nurse working at a rural health clinic and a worker for the Food Reserve Agency (who travels around the villages buying maize for the government). The church was also viewed as a significant recruiter in Chelstone :

'Some even announce at church and people recommend, because most of the young domestic workers are being picked in the name of being helped'.

Chelstone Concept Mapping

There is some irony that these are all people who would be respected and trusted by the community and who are usually there to provide essential services.

We did not collect much detail from children participants on their actual journey from their household of origin to the household where they worked. What was sometimes evident in their narratives was their excitement of going to a new place - for example from the village to the town, from Eastern Province to Lusaka - or even just going in a car for the first time. This excitement could override any initial worries or concerns that the children might have. In Chelstone, girls talked about *'being upgraded'* – *from Chainda to Chelstone*: moving to an area that is wealthier. In one interview with a 17 year old boy, he said that the thought of going to work in Kabulonga (middle to high income area) was exciting– *'Even just thinking about the food that people in Kabulonga eats made me get excited'*.

3. Understanding a range of child domestic labour circumstances and the effects they have on health, education and social development

Examples of questions asked by children working as domestic workers

At the month end you give us K90,000 – what was the agreement – an agreement is an agreement you had said I would get K250,000. I cannot wake up for that amount of money.

When you can see all the house chores, why can't you increase the salary?

To the man, for you to want a relationship with me, where do you place your wife?

You love your wife, but when your maid starts looking nice why do you want to go for her?

When you are recruiting me, you promised school but now when I ask, you send me away.

Examples of questions asked by children treated as maids by family

Aunty- why do you give me so much work to do when I am going to school?

Uncle- why do I have so much work to do, but John does not do anything, yet you always praise him?

Aunty- every time I do something wrong you tell me to 'go to my dead parents'- why?

Figure 6: Extracts from Employer Role Play, Children's workshops

The range of children involved in the study in various domestic work circumstances included:

- Girls and boys who are working as live in domestic workers
- Girls in the village who had worked as live in domestic workers in town
- Orphans who are staying with relatives, but are treated like domestic workers

- Girls from the rural areas, who are staying with relatives in order to attend secondary school, but are used as maids to pay for their upkeep
- Boys and girls who are not live in domestic workers but support siblings, grandparents and their own education, by doing piece work

Our sense is that none of the children who were live in domestic workers had contracts with their employers although we did not ask them about this. In Zambia, it is extremely common practice not to have a contract with a domestic worker.

Although children's experiences differed, as attested to by the pain, hurt and anger in the opening quotes to this section, there was no doubt that working as domestic workers affect children's health and well-being and that many basic needs were unmet. In the role play, as the summary above illustrates, some questions the children asked of employers were about money and being let down by their employers by not being paid, others were targeted to the man, about his sexual advances. Findings about sexual abuse are discussed under the fourth objective.

Food

Do you eat as well as children of the house? Everyone says no together – and raise hands.

'Some people are hard hearted – I eat when they have finished eating, I am the last to eat.

I eat after I've washed all the dishes'.

'I just eat leftovers'.

'Some are good hearted and you eat together'.

'Not sitting at same place – I am in the kitchen when they are in the dining room'.

Children's Workshop, Mtendere

'...They want a young one to send [to collect/ buy things]- they send her [to go out] as soon as the food is ready, so she will find no food when she returns'.

Dumiso Village, Key Women

The children who said that they are often hungry were those who were staying with relatives in order to attend secondary school. Several of these girls reported that they only ate one meal in the evening and would work at home in the morning before walking long distances to school on an empty stomach. Some children said that they did manage to eat enough at their workplace but others had to wait until everyone else had eaten.

Food was also used to reinforce class differences - and the fact that domestic workers ate outside, or in the kitchen, apart from the family was really hurtful to some of the children, especially when other children were in the house.

'They eat at the table and I eat from outside. As much as I eat three meals a day, I eat from plastic plates and the rest of the family eats from breakables. There is nothing wrong but it just shows that you are different from the rest'.

Boy 17 years, Mtendere

Education

'I always worry about going back to school. I always think about finishing school one day. I do not want to end up just being a maid'.

13 year old girl, domestic worker, Mtendere

One of the most cited promises made to families who sent their children to work, was that there would be opportunities to take them to school. This was rarely the case. Indeed, even in a few households where children said they were treated well - and in one case, *'like the children of the house'* – did children domestic workers get sent to school. Ironically, children were often recruited to work as maids in order to free up the children in the house from domestic chores, to give them more time for school work. This was especially illustrated in the the adult participant discussions during the stop start drama.

Many of the children who participated in the study had not gone to school for long and it was difficult to ascertain whether poverty was the reason behind this or whether leaving to become a maid instigated the dropping out of school.

Children are caught in a vicious circle of low educational attainment leading to fewer employment opportunities and facing a lifetime of being a domestic worker – *'once a maid always a maid'*. This sometimes becomes intergenerational where the children of domestic workers get caught in the same cycle particularly if a girl domestic worker becomes pregnant, returns to the village and has no contact with the father.

Some of the girls we interviewed in Chipata who were staying with relatives in order to attend secondary school, worried that their school work was suffering because they were given so much domestic work to do:

'Its different to helping at home - there you can rest when you have done something. Here it is one job after another, as soon as you finish there is another one waiting...

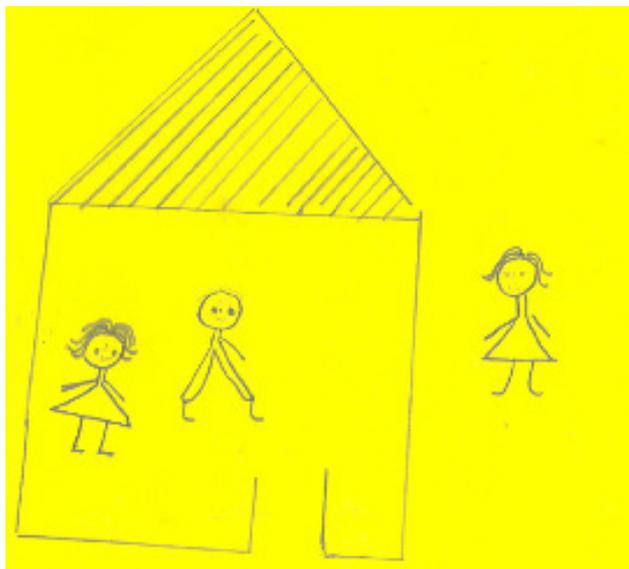
- I can't learn if I can't study, but there is no time at home'.

Girl, 15 years, Chipata

Some children worked in order to sponsor themselves to go to school- in Kagunda one boy had worked as a cattle herder for two years and used the calf that was his payment, to buy a uniform and pay school fees (as well as helping his grandparents). A young girl had worked as a maid for one year in Magazine for the same reason. Many of those who participated in the Kagunda Workshop were identified by the school as 'drop-outs' - they regularly missed school because of the need to raise money and were often far behind the grade appropriate for their age level, yet they were determined to complete their education. For example, the only 19 year old in the study was a girl in Kagunda, classified as a 'drop out' and currently in Grade 8, having been unable to go to school on and off due to funding shortfalls and the death of her father. Some other life histories from children revealed the same pattern of moving in and out of education. One of the most poignant aspects of the individual interviews with children was that all the children aspired to a

future based on education – for example wanting to become a teacher, doctor, pilot, engineer, and agriculturalist. These aspirations were so removed from their own situation that they were more of a fantasy than a realistic aim. Some children however were more pragmatic about their future – aspiring to do business or raise money to fix their grandparents house. The following interview with a girl domestic worker in Chelstone reveals how abandonment when young and lack of educational opportunities made her focus very intensely on the education of her baby boy.

Case Study 1



F is 17 years old; she is dressed simply and her English is good. Throughout the interview she persistently asks for support – clear that the support be for her baby boy who is 10 months old. I suggest that she asks her father to help support him. Her baby is a focus in the interview.

F was born in Mumbwa – her mother ‘threw’ her at the age of three years and her sister (aged 1 yr 6 mths) in a bus station. She does not know her mother now. Her mother ‘turned to prostitution – I do not even know the way she looks’. Her father took her and her sister to his parents.

Until she was 8 years, she lived in a village in Mumbwa with her grandparents. She draws a simple house (‘No 1’) – red bricks and a thatched roof with her grandparents inside and herself outside as a young girl. The village was quite remote – close to the Kafue National Park.



One of the four houses she draws – labelled again ‘No 1’ – is this house – it is large (3 bedrooms, sitting room) and full of her siblings and parents. She, again, is on the outside.

She went to school in Chelstone but failed Grade 7. Her father told her to go and look for a place to work. She went door to door and started working in the police camp. ...

Mirrored opposite the village house is the first house where she worked – her boss was a woman and she lived with her husband.

....She saved for school and after four months she left because the situation ‘was not good’. She moved back with her father and went back to a government school in Chelstone where she stayed until Grade 9.

... After two weeks, she started a relationship with this man – her ‘boyfriend’. She was with him for three months before she fell pregnant at the age of 16 years. At first he was ‘ok’ with the pregnancy but then he ‘ran away’ and she has no contact with him.

Before her pregnancy became obvious, she left school and started working again

When it became hard to hide the pregnancy, her father ‘chased’ her from his house and told her to ‘go to the village’. Her grandfather was happy but her grandmother was moody. Nonetheless she appreciated saying with them ‘free’ and helped with the farming (cotton and maize). After giving birth, she came back to Chelstone. Her relationship with her father is not good – he has not forgiven her for having a baby and he said that she can stay with him but ‘just to eat – we are not going to look after your son’.

Relationships with other children in the house

‘Other children in the house they do mistreat me. They always send me to do things’.

Child working as a domestic worker, 13 years, Mtendere

Most children who are working or had worked as domestic workers reported that they were not treated the same as other children in the house. The most obvious example of this was in education - where the

children of the household would attend school and the working child would not. As the men's discussion in Chelstone commented, *'this brings segregation'*.

Children of the house would often want to 'control' the working children, giving them clothes to wash or sending them to buy things. Most often they would not help with the work, saying *'after all you are paid to do that'* - even if the child was never paid. Older children of the house and boys of the house were more likely to order the child domestic workers around. When boys of the house became teenagers, both themselves and their friends could become a sexual threat to girl domestic workers. Child domestic workers found it easier to be with much younger children and babies - whom they looked after - although they did also complain about small children *'crying too much'*. It was common for girl domestic workers to share bedrooms with the children of the house.

Child domestic workers would often carry the blame for other children in the house, afraid to speak out for fear of losing their job. They also found it hard to discipline the children of the house if they were behaving badly and a few recalled being humiliated by children.

'Why is it always that the boss' child when they do something wrong, they shout at the maid?'

Children's participatory workshop, Chelstone

There were however two examples where children helped each other - one where an orphaned girl was carrying out all the household chores at her Auntie's house

'There is another orphaned girl in the house who is 14 years old- she is pregnant, but she helps sometimes'.

Girl orphan, 15 years, Magazine

And another where a 13 year old domestic worker had befriended a girl in the house: *'I eat with Gift who is a 17 years old girl daughter to my boss. Gift is a good friend of mine'.*

Space

Children's space in the households was sanctioned - few had any personal space, some shared bedrooms with the other children (as mentioned above), but others slept in the sitting room and could not sleep until everyone else had gone to bed.

'I sleep at the sitting room as much as there is a spare room. I am not allowed to sleep there - they say it is for relatives. I also sleep late because usually I have to wait until my employer finish watching TV. Sometimes when they are watching TV I sit in the kitchen or wait outside because they do not allow me to watch TV'.

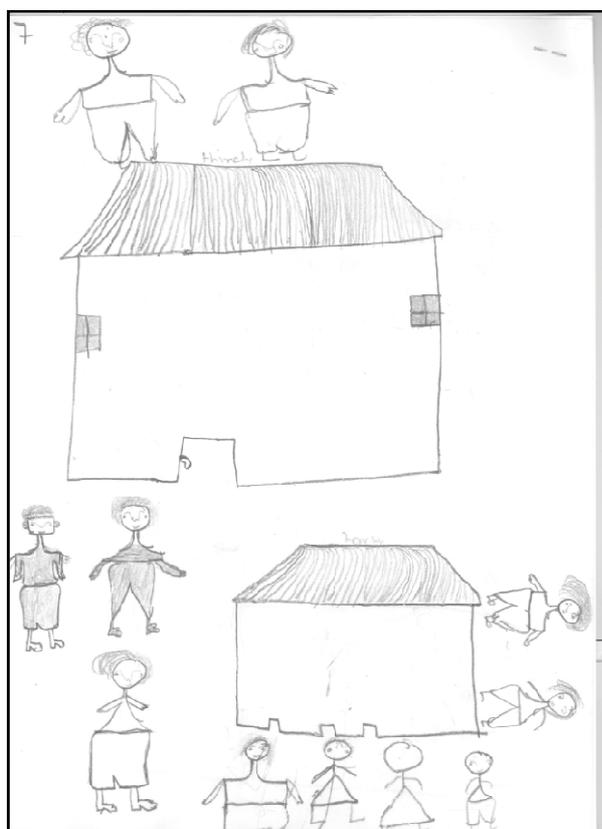
Girl , 17 years, working as domestic worker, Mtendere

Boy's space tended to be even more sanctioned. One boy slept in the 'corner of the pantry' though he had been promised a bed when he accepted the job. Since most of the boys' work is outside the house, boys were often not regarded as having any need to be inside the house. One of the reasons that there were more boy domestic workers in Chelstone is, we think, because there was more space – the plots are bigger and more likely to have gardens and often there are domestic worker houses.

'If a boy child works at a household the abuse is mostly worse. They are not allowed to enter the house even when they want to use the toilet, or when it is raining, and they are also given their own cups and plates'.

Chelstone Household Women

This lack of any sense of space in the households must have contributed to the unanimous negative answer by the children to the question 'Do you call this place home?' On occasion, children would move into work from a spacious house to a much more crowded house, demonstrating the role that marginality can play in pushing children out of a household. The drawings below illustrate this.



'R moved from her grandfather's house which is large and spacious and relatively empty (top picture) – to work in a smaller, crowded house where she lived with the boss' family'.

***Girl, 16 year old, working as live-in domestic worker,
Mtendere***

Sickness

'When I fell sick I went to the clinic. My employer gave me money to go to the clinic .I was attended by a nurse and she gave me medicine'.

Girl, 16 years, Chelstone

'I am always scared to tell my boss when I am not feeling well. I just think he may just decide to chase me if I tell him'.

Boy 17 years Mtendere

In general, sickness and healthcare was not an issue that children who participated in the research brought up, even when probed. There was only one girl who shared a serious health problem which had not been treated adequately and was causing her a lot of anxiety - she had previously been seriously burnt on her leg and stomach and still felt internal pain, especially when her workload was heavy. She had been to the clinic once but had been told there was nothing that could be done.

Most of the children had not experienced serious sickness; those who had fallen ill, had generally been taken to a clinic by the employer, or given Panado², or in one case, had been taken back to their family.

Some however said they did not usually tell their Aunty or boss if they were sick, for fear of being ridiculed (*'they say I am pretending'*) or being accused of laziness or even of losing their job.

Family and Friends

Children's experiences of contact with family and friends varied according to how far they stayed from their family home and the employer's conditions. Some would be able to visit family every weekend or each month, especially if they took some of their salary home (this was

² Cheap painkiller

accepted by the employers). Others were allowed to occasionally visit, though one girl working in Chelstone had not seen her mother for 11 months, saying her employer would not let her go.

Many of the children seemed quite isolated, spending long hours alone or looking forward to being sent outside the house and yard in the hope of seeing other people. Some reported that they did visit family and friends without permission if they could and this contact seemed to play an important role in their lives.

'I am not allowed to go out. Though sometimes I go out when they are not around. I go out and sit outside the gate'.

Girl, 17 years Mtendere

Workload

Do you think it is important for children to help around the house?

'It's good to help your parents - but there should be a limit to what you have to do, so you can go to school - not just helping so that it makes you late for school'.

'It's good to help so that you learn to do things in case your parents die. If you stay with others, you need to know how to do things'.

Dice Game, Children's Workshop, Chipata

'There is no getting tired if you are a maid - Yata nchito!![you think there is no more work!] No sitting there'.

'I would not want my child to be a maid - working 24/7 and have no say'.

Men Head of Household Meeting, Chelstone

The most striking thing about the working conditions of the children - both those employed, and those who were working with relatives, was the

long hours and the sense that the children were rarely 'off duty'. Most children were waking at 04.00 in the morning - the first to wake, in order to draw water or prepare baths and breakfast for other children and adults in the house.

Chores included the usual household work of sweeping, washing clothes, shining the floors, cooking and washing dishes. Sometimes children were given duties others would refuse - for example washing baby's nappies, or walking a long distance for shopping or collecting things. And often they were given jobs which were deemed unsuitable for children by other adult research participants: carrying heavy loads of water, cooking for many people, washing adult's clothes.

Most children would finish work late in the evening, after washing the supper plates, but some would even be woken up if their boss arrived home late. It was often the woman of the household who would wake them to cook for their husband or, in some cases, to cook for men friends. Men coming back this late had often been drinking - and were more likely to then be aggressive and/or make sexual demands.

'My Aunty works late and wakes me at 22 hours to warm her supper and then wash her plates. She doesn't like to eat cold nshima [staple food] so I have to wake up to warm it for her'.

Girl orphan, 15 years, Chipata

'R is not treated well at the house where she works (as a live in domestic worker). The husband sometimes comes back at 23 hours and she is asked to prepare food - called by the wife. Sometimes he is drunk. The children also sometimes wake up her when she is sleeping...'

Girl, 16 years old, orking as domestic worker, Mtendere (Children's interview)

The Household Labour exercise, which illustrated the interchange of labour between women, maids and orphans, reflected the shift of tasks from the woman of the household to the maid and then to the orphan. When the 'maid card' was introduced all the women's tasks were put against it, and then with the 'orphan card', groups agreed that the same tasks can be done by either the orphan or the maid – and that an orphan could replace the maid although in Chelstone men participants said an orphan's status was *'better than a maid'*. Thus there is a pecking order amongst children in a household – the children of the household (referred to as *'real children'* below), the orphans of the household and the child domestic worker – or *'maid'* – in the household.

'...when the maid knocks off she [the orphan] becomes the night maid'.

Chelstone Household Women

'the shocking thing here is that the real children are very notorious and the orphan has no say – the orphan has to clean after the real children . If I am keeping a niece or nephew, perhaps the woman of the house is over using them and they can't say anything'.

Men Head of Households, Chelstone



'I used to sweep in the house, clean the toilet, wash clothes, cook and draw water from the outside tap.

Sometimes she used to wake me up and wash clothes in the night'.

**Girl, ex-domestic worker,
15 years, Chelstone**

Drugs and Alcohol

Another dimension of alcohol was the children's use of alcohol and drugs. In the community discussions, participants identified exposure to drugs and alcohol as one of the risks facing children who work - partly in relation to being away from home, and the guidance of their parents, and partly because if they lose their jobs they may come into contact with others who drink/ use drugs.

'Beer drinking: many young boys work as brick layers which is hard work and by the time they knock off they are very tired that they find relief in drinking beer in order for them to get peaceful sleep and be ready for next day's hard work'

'Girls who lose their work end up with other girls who drink beer before they could find other things to do to keep them busy'.

Mtendere Concept Mapping

Spiritual Support

Many of the children were allowed to attend church at the weekends, or were given Sunday as an off day. Some of the girl domestic workers who attended the Mtendere workshop belonged to the Catholic church and knew each other through the church. This church network appeared to offer them support and strength. However one girl was not allowed to go to church when she started working because she worshipped at a different church to the employing family

'I am a Jehovah's Witness and my employer stopped me to be going to the Kingdom Hall just because they go to New Apostolic. Now I do not even go to Church because I do not want to go to the New Apostolic. I have never been to church for the last 11 months'.

Girl working as live-in domestic worker, 15 years old, Chelstone

4. Understanding when child labour is both considered and experienced as exploitative

'Since I came 11 months ago I have just been given a K250, 000 kwacha'.

Child, 15 years, Chelstone

'No rest, working throughout- She works all day, there is no time to rest; but their own children just sit and watch TV. She must never stop'.

Dumiso Concept Mapping

Children's experiences of domestic work, although not described in direct terms as exploitative by the children themselves, often included examples of exploitation by the employers. These ranged from low or no pay, irregular payments, heavy workloads, long working hours to verbal and physical abuse and rape and defilement.

Embedded in the control that can be exerted on children in general is reflected in the main reasons that families would recruit a child as a domestic worker – as opposed to an adult. The intention to exploit is clear. Children are less likely to complain, to be cheaper and – wives believe - to be less likely to attract the sexual advances of husbands and other men in the household.

Recurring reasons why a family would wish to employ a child as a domestic worker (as opposed to an adult)
You don't have to pay them much (if anything)
They will not threaten the marriage (i.e. a husband is more likely to sleep with an adult maid)
You can control them easily
They will never complain
You can send them (to collect something) a very long distance
They will keep secrets (i.e. bedroom secrets, 'love potions' etc)
You can give them jobs that an older maid might refuse (e.g. washing nappies)

Table 7: Reasons for recruiting a child, summary from adult participant discussions, all communities

In district and community discussions, participants were quick to identify domestic work as exploitative and many concepts linking to exploitation emerged. In some discussions *exploitation* was identified as a whole category (or pile heading), in others it emerged as a concept under wider headings like *Moral Ills* (Lusaka) or *Child Labour* (Mtendere).

In Dumiso Village, the powerful pile heading of *bad-heartedness* (of the boss) – a direct translation from Chichewa *nkanza*, embraced concepts covering *not keeping the child well, no money, never resting* and *forced sex*.

In Magazine, one of the concepts closest to exploitation was *the child becomes like a slave* – this was raised especially in relation to the fact that *'the child cannot even ask about going to school, they have no voice'*. Linked to this theme of *'having no voice'*, in Mtendere, *the child can't say no* was a concept piled under *Child Labour* and was linked to exploitation. Children did not use the term exploitation explicitly but many of their examples of how they lived and worked, illustrated that they knew things were not how they should be.

'If you used to have free time to play you remember how it was. Now you finish one job, you are given another one straightaway'.

'There are a lot of people at home but I am the only one working. You might say Am I the only one here?'

Dice Game, Chipata Children's Workshop

Sexual abuse and Defilement

'If the husband is after you, and you try to tell the wife, she becomes annoyed with you and denies that husband could ever do this. So in the end you just run away because no one to share problem with. Sometimes men bosses or male children would want to rape you. These things happen'.

Children's Workshop, Mtendere

Sexual abuse / rape/ defilement by the male employer or relatives of the employer was reported as a very common experience by the children who participated in the research, and the risk of sexual abuse was recognised by all participants at district and community level. This abuse of power and authority is the most obvious overlap between domestic work and exploitation.

In the Magazine Concept Mapping discussion, *defilement* was named as the first concept linked to child domestic work

'...young children working in another house doing domestic work is not appropriate. Girls are taken there. There is a couple married there, but when the wife leaves, the husband proposes the girl to have sex. There is no guidance, she doesn't know what to do. He takes advantage of her'

In Dumiso village concept mapping, *Sex with the boss* as a concept was discussed at length, with the men participants blaming the girls, the women blaming the male bosses for taking advantage of young girls.

Ironically one of the most common reasons that household groups gave for employing a young child, was that she would not pose a threat to the marriage, yet again and again, children reported that it was common place for men in the household to 'propose' [sex] to them, harass them or insinuate they wanted to have sex with them.

'The husband would ask me to sit at the table with him when his wife was not there'.

Child domestic worker, 17 years, Magazine

'One male relative to my employers when he visited I remember he touched my breast and this made me uncomfortable hence I always had to make sure I avoided him'.

Child domestic worker, 15 years, Chelstone

Other more consistent abuse was also reported, in particular by one 17 year old girl who repeatedly raped by two men of the household (the husband and brother of the employer) and then again in the second house where she worked, the son to the employer raped her.

Case study 3



Dainess is 17 years old and lives in Mtendere with her grandparents. She drew pictures of 4 different houses where she has stayed during the last few years.

Dainess started working as a live-in domestic worker when she was 14 years old and has experienced a shocking series of sexual abuse in different households.

In her first workplace, the husband to her employer raped her regularly – whenever his wife was not there. He could even come back from work, rape me and then return to work.

Dainess told her employer but instead of supporting her, her employer beat her, saying she was making false accusations against her husband.

She was also raped in the same household by the employer's younger brother when he visited the house. On the day that she decided she could take no more. She ran back to her Grandparents.

Dainess' second employer was in Chilenje, Lusaka. For a while the job was Ok, but then the employer's son raped her and threatened to kill her if she told anyone. She told her Grandfather and they went together to the police. When the police went to arrest the son, they found he had run away.

I kept asking myself- Why is it me, all the time to be raped?

Whilst relating her experiences, Dainess had tears pouring down her face. During the role play at the end, she tells the man employer, 'You love your wife but when your maid starts looking nice, why do you want to go to her?' She also comments – 'what if you have HIV?' Dainess hopes to return to school one day. Her dream is to be a nurse.

'I refused and I told his wife. Of course she asked him and he refused so I said I would leave, since there was no witness.'

Girl domestic worker, 17 years, Magazine

'I was told by the man 'Let's go to the bedroom, I'll give you money, but don't tell my wife'

Girl, ex-domestic worker, 16 years, Dumiso Village

'If the husband wants to be served in the bedroom, can he be served there?'

Girl domestic worker, Mtendere Childrens Workshop

'The husband asks me for sex. I tell him 'You have a wife and you are big and I am small'. He tells me 'You are not too small to have sex'. I refuse to have sex with him, locking the door at night but I have not told his wife about this. I did tell a friend who told me 'Even me, my boss does the same'.

16 year old girl domestic worker, Mtendere

A common scenario reported by the children was that if they tried to tell the woman employer, she would not believe them and telling her could lead to being chased from their jobs. The men involved would also threaten them if they told anyone - with the loss of the job or even with death. Orphans or children who are estranged from their families, with no place to go, are especially vulnerable in these situations.

In interviews with four girls from Dumiso Village, two reported that they had been defiled, and seemed resigned to the fact that it had happened. Promises of extra money, luxury items or the opportunity to attend a good school were commonly made by the men who sexually abused girls. The stories were corroborated by the adult domestic workers, some of whom had been raped and abused in different households.

A view shared by many of the children and adult domestic workers was that whatever household one worked in, sexual advances would be made. So there was no point moving to another household. One child domestic worker said that one should avoid a household *'where there are too many men or boys'*.

'Sometimes when the husband comes at lunch, he asks me to sleep with him and promises to give more money. He wants me to be his girlfriend. He says his wife will stop shouting at me and that he will support me at school. He says he can even pay for school. "Where do you live? How can you live in that shanty compound? I can even teach you driving, if you can agree to be my girl friend. I refused this proposal

Now what I do I even lock my bedroom door. ...Sometimes its male friends of my employer that makes sexual advances on me. And if you refuse then they start saying false information.

I now live in fear when ever I see him my body shakes. Some male employers always shower you with these promises but after sleeping with you they do not fulfil these promises. Mainly young girls are victims because they fear to say no. They find themselves in a difficult situation. Usually this situation leaves them on the brink of prostitution. Usually they may be impregnated by the employer and then they may be chased from work'.

***Adult domestic worker, 27 years, working since she was 15 years old,
Mtendere***

Discussions with adult participants would also link girls who work as domestic workers to prostitution- to 'top up their salaries' by selling sex – and commented how this could result in HIV infection. Popular discourse in Zambia points the finger at domestic workers who use men's sexual desire to their own advantage and aim to foster relationships with men of the household. In this research, although some girls admitted to consenting to sex to top up their money, most girls said they had resisted and refused sexual advances but, as the example above portrays, they were not always successful in repudiating men. We never got the sense that children and adult domestic workers were 'proud' of sexual advances made on them. Rather it filled them with fear and trepidation.

Girls sometimes faced risks from female employers too. One 15 year old girl reported that her boss had brought home a group of male friends and

told her to *'do whatever they ask'*. The same girl was also being sexually harassed by the driver of her female employer; in the role play she asks for advice about this harassment – *'I am so scared. I am afraid to be alone'*.

Some of the girls and adults found ways to avoid the abuse - by locking their doors, running away, avoiding sweeping the bedroom, and avoiding being alone with the man. Some even spoke back to the perpetrator as one of the examples demonstrates. One woman would always put the baby on her back when she saw the man approaching.

'Although she was not sexually abused, that man always used to come early back from work and tried to seduce her to enter the bedroom. As a form of defence whenever G saw the car coming for that man she could put the child she was looking after on her back'.

Excerpt from Adult Domestic Worker interview, Mtendere

Asked if they could talk to anyone about this abuse, girls said they talked to their friends and older women and grandparents in their family. In two cases, the older women told the girls they were sorry but they must return to work since the family needed the money. One 15 year old girl domestic worker in Chelstone, who had been extremely quiet throughout the workshop, suddenly spoke out forcefully during the role play, *'Why do you look at me in a sexual way when your wife is not around? You even send me to get things from your bedroom when your wife is not there. Why don't you tell the wife to tell me I look good?'* After the end of the workshop, she approached the child counsellor and asked if she could come and talk to her at YWCA.

Sometimes the rapes would result in pregnancy which would mean returning home:

'When you are impregnated they chase you back to the village and your child can be a fatherless child. Some end up with diseases'.

Adult domestic worker, Chipata

'Also if I get pregnant what will you tell your wife? I cannot terminate pregnancy. That child will need support.'

Girl domestic worker, Mtendere

There were a few stories about boy domestic workers or gardeners being asked by the woman employer to have sex and being forced to have sex.

Women in Chelstone said that the sexual advances that men of the household made on domestic workers were partly due to the failure of the wife to perform wifely duties. This point is crucial since it appears that the presence of another girl or woman in the household performing both intimate and 'wifely' tasks - sweeping the bedroom, perhaps cooking for the man, even washing underwear - gives men the impetus to demand sex from her. One narrative in Mtendere painted a rosy outcome to this practice, relating how a domestic worker ended up getting married to her boss who chose to stay with her rather than his wife. In Zambia, the pattern of men having sex with domestic workers in their household is apparently widespread and can happen at any time when the wife is not at home. As more middle class women are going to work outside of the home and spending longer periods away from the household, the risk of defilement and abuse increase. Indeed, the girls who experienced sexual advances and violence talked of husbands coming back at lunch or when the wife was out at work. Although there were households where children

domestic workers said that husbands did not make sexual advances on them, this was the minority.

'Why do male bosses like having affairs with maids – do you have to listen to friends when they say the maid is the sweetest? What if I tell my female boss-how is she going to say? If you continue doing it, I will tell her.'

Girl Domestic Worker, Chelstone Children's workshop during role-play

Physical and Verbal Abuse

'Why are you so rude and start shouting – why have you not done this? Why not done that? Why can't you talk to me in a polite way? Especially towards the month end, you like shouting at me. Don't you have children to shout at to get your frustrations out?'

Girl Domestic Worker, Chelstone Children's workshop during role play

Children domestic workers spoke of women of the households being the main perpetrators of verbal and physical abuse and almost all the children recalled experiencing verbal abuse – and a majority spoke of occasional physical abuse. They spoke of women 'bosses' shouting at them for not cleaning well enough, for breaking a cup, for being too slow. Verbal abuse often occurred if children stopped to rest, or were seen not to be doing a task:

'There are times though when I sit to rest but when my boss discovers, she assigns more work. This woman shouts at me too much!'

Boy working as domestic worker, 17, Kabalonga

' If I do not work, my boss will shout at me'

Girl, 13, Mtendere

Girls from the village recalled how they were often shouted at and ridiculed because they had come from the village and did not know or understand certain things that were taken for granted in town, for example not knowing how to use a stove, or fry with cooking oil.

Children spoke less about men shouting at them – one girl even complained that men had a tendency not to talk to you or greet you at all. It would seem that children domestic workers can easily become a 'hitting bag' for women's frustrations – as conveyed in the opening quote.

Some children said they were hit, slapped and 'beaten' by the woman of the house. One adult domestic worker relayed how the children of the house sometimes kicked her and how her woman employer had thrown the water left over from cleaning fish in her face when she had made a mistake.

Some of the physical abuse linked to the sexual abuse by the men- for example during the Dice Game, children in Kagunda identified one of the risks that girl domestic workers face , could be being beaten or chased by the woman employer who suspects you are sleeping with her husband. Another girl reported that when she had tried to tell her employer about her husband, she was punished severely as a consequence:

'The man used to rape me whenever the wife was not there. One day I told his wife but instead I received a beating from her, saying I was accusing her husband of doing such a thing'

Girl, 17, used to work as domestic worker, Mtendere

Payment

The first reason given for employing a child, in nearly all the household discussions was that they will not need to be paid much, if at all. This was

a common experience of the children who rarely received the salary they had been promised and were often paid erratically, in kind (e.g. with clothes, food) or not at all.

'Young maids are cheaper; even if they are not paid in full they will not complain or question their bosses about it.'

Chelstone Household Women

There was also a commonly held view that children from the village would not really *'know money'* and would therefore not need to be given much. In Magazine, one of the men asked what the child would need money for, when after all they are being kept and given food.

'Low wages- a child does not know how much she should get. The owner decides. He thinks after all she's living here, eating our food. He can even just give a 20 pin³. The child can't do anything'.

Magazine Concept Mapping

Most children said they would be scared to ask their employers about money, for fear of losing their job or being shouted at and it is this fear that employers really exploit.

Orphans as maids

'...these children are more like balls that are kicked in different directions by both family members and other people who want to use them as domestic workers'

Mtendere Concept Mapping

Orphans emerged as more vulnerable to exploitation - either by the employers or the families where they stayed in exchange for doing domestic work. With few options of other places to go and no one to speak up for them, they could easily be taken to work for little or no

³ 'Pin' is slang for thousand

money and sometimes were not given adequate food or shelter. Some families even 'give orphans away' to relieve economic pressures.

One 15 year old girl in Magazine had been pushed between two Uncles - called to work by one Aunt and then chased to the other house when she was not wanted or refused to do something. She had been responsible for nearly all the chores in the house. Another girl had lost touch with her elder sister when they were separated after her parents died. She was staying with an Aunt who expected her to do all the work and who beats her or punishes her if she is perceived to not be looking after the younger child well.

'One time they burnt my uniform and books, saying I had not taken care of the child. I stayed a while without going to school'

Orphan girl , 14 years, Chipata

Coping with exploitation

'No, never refuse. But sometimes you can refuse in your mind – they tell you to iron but you just tell them I will iron after I wash. But take your time to wash clothes and run out of time to iron – so more like you have said no.'

Children's Workshop Mtendere

'Mostly I help out my sisters with mealie meal, which I get from my boss' house, more especially when the guard is not there'

Girl, 17 years old, Mtendere

Children domestic workers are extremely vulnerable and open to exploitation, especially under the conditions described. But children are

also social actors who attempt to control their lives. Some of the ways in which they attempt to do so is through muted resistance (as illustrated in the latter quote) and more explicit resistance:

'F talks about an incident with her employer. She had left her baby in the house when she went out to buy some food at the market. When she got back, her baby's arm was burnt. She asked her employer about this and she told her 'it is up to you to look after your baby'. She was so angry that she picked up a cooking stick and hit her employer on the head. She was taken to the police and it became a case – they were both charged – her for hitting her employer and her employer for burning the baby. The case was settled by her not getting paid and her employer buying medication for her baby'.

Interview excerpt, Girl working as domestic worker, 17 years, Chelstone

Another form of tackling exploitation that emerged in the research was through social support where family and communities have shown to be on the look out for children's welfare.

'Another one gave an example of where an orphan was sent to go and sell chickens at the road side. He was told to come back with no chickens left. So in the process, rain started, the child had no choice but to stand in the rains because he did not want to go back home with chickens without selling them. People passing by were concerned and asked him what he was doing selling chickens in the rains, that was how he explained his situation, so they packed the chickens in the car and took him back home to meet the people who had sent him to sell chickens and they had a word with them'.

Chelstone Women Householders Meeting

'One of the participants gave an example of her sister who went to the village and was asked to bring a maid for a family. She managed to find a young girl who was in school there in the village in grade five. The family that had sent her agreed that they will put her in school when she started work. This was when they had communicated on phone. When the girl was brought to Lusaka, she was not put into school as promised.

The husband to the sister got concern about the situation and had a big fight about it with his wife. So they decided to go and withdraw the girl from work and they took her to live with the sister (participant) since their house was too small while waiting to repatriate her back to the village. The girl has since been put in school before she goes back to the village'

Participant, Chelstone Women Householders Meeting

5. Perceptions of the overlap between children in domestic work and child trafficking

'Usually trafficking is done outside the country. But it can also be that moving children from their homes to work as live in maids can be described as trafficking, because these children will not be free to do what they want since they are enslaved, confined to the house and only do house chores'.

Chelstone Household Men

'Trafficking is taking children with a hidden agenda (in a group) to sell them in another country so that the trafficker is paid, while child exploitation is taking children through making false promises like taking him/her to school and using them as domestic workers'.

Mtendere Concept Mapping Discussion

During an NGO meeting in October whilst we were in the field, a colleague raised the topic of this research. None of the research team was present. 'You mean the UNICEF research on children domestic workers?' one person asked, 'I hope they are not going to start calling that 'trafficking'. It is normal here in Zambia. We all do this'. After he spoke, the other people at the meeting all laughed in agreement'.

The findings demonstrate that the practice of children moving into domestic work is relatively widespread in Zambia and that – despite the pragmatic dimensions of this work – the work can often involve both intention to exploit and actual exploitation and can be extremely harmful. This objective explores when this type of child labour becomes equivalent to trafficking by focusing on the perspectives of firstly adults in the communities and secondly, the children's points of view.

Adult Perceptions of Trafficking

Everyone seemed familiar with the word 'trafficking' but some participants initially said that trafficking was a foreign concept and did not exist in local language. Adult participants were quick to point out that in their view child trafficking involved two nationalities, movement across borders, stealing and selling children and making them disappear or even die, prostitution and drug trafficking.

'A woman with a salon in market lost her child mysteriously. This child was abducted by a Congolese woman who had a very big house where she was keeping young children in readiness for trafficking to Dubai. Lucky enough the Congolese woman's maid discovered what was happening and notified the people at the market who did some investigations and found out that she had abducted many children who she was planning to traffic. This woman's property was destroyed and her cars were burnt, and she was arrested'.

Mtendere Concept Mapping

Lively discussions about how to talk about 'trafficking' in the vernacular elicited descriptive phrases for trafficking rather than single words. The most common phrases included *kuba mwana* (stealing children) and *chibalo* (slavery). Other words literally translated revolved around *forcing* and *deception / false promises*. Most people at first identified trafficking with cross border movement, involving two or more countries; there were some common stories cited about traffickers from South Africa and DR Congo. This is reflected in two of the opening quotes.

Vernacular	Where used?⁴	Literal meaning	Meaning in context of trafficking
Kuba muntu	Chipata	Stealing a person	Getting people without permission and taking them somewhere
Kuba bana (Chewa)	Chipata	Stealing children	As above but about children
Nikutenga kwa bantu kuba chosa kuntu kwina kubapeleka kwina	Chipata	Getting people from one place to take them to another place	Where they are taken, they will be exploited
Kulonjeza	Chipata	Promises	Promising something in return for taking a child
Kuba muntu olo mwana mwamupeleka kuzikolina kupanga ndalama	Chipata	Stealing a person or a child to take them to another country to make money	Stealing a person or a child to take them to another country to make money (for yourself)
Chibalo	Magazine	Slavery	Taking someone to

Vernacular	Where used?⁴	Literal meaning	Meaning in context of trafficking
	Mtendere		somewhere where they are treated like slaves
Chikakamizo	Magazine	Forcing	Taking someone by force
Chinyengo	Magazine	False promise	Taking someone in a deceitful way
Ubuchenjeshi/ bukuluku / bumambala	Mtendere	Crookedness (being a crook)	Getting children to use them / exploit them
Ukwiba abana	Chelstone	Stealing children	<i>We'll not see them come back- they disappear and go</i>
Kutenga bana popanda chivomeleso	Chelstone	Taking children without an agreement	
Ukusenda umawana kubuchushi	Mtendere	Getting a child for exploitation	Getting a child to use /exploit
Ukushitisha abana	Mtendere	Selling children	Selling children (to make money for yourself)

Table 8: Vernacular terms for 'child trafficking', Concept Mapping Discussions, all communities

Adult perceptions of the overlap between characteristics of children domestic workers and child trafficking

Critically, as the concept mapping discussions progressed there was more and more recognition that child trafficking shared characteristics with

children in domestic labour. This reflection is captured by the opening quote to this section – and by the following:

'Ubuchenjeshi – getting children through crooked ways for exploitation – caters for both child labour and human trafficking'

Mtendere Concept Mapping Discussion

Indeed, there is a strong overlap in community definitions of the characteristics of children who are living in as domestic workers and of child trafficking (see Table 6 below). Both involve exploitation of vulnerable children, unfulfilled promises, cultural practice and intergenerational tensions. Underlying both are the legacy of poverty, limited access to education, HIV/AIDS, alcohol abuse and sexual violence.

The key terms used by adult community participants in the discussions around child trafficking further reveal their own perceptions of the overlaps and blurred boundaries between with child trafficking and children domestic workers. Across the community and district discussions these include:

- **Exchange** of children for some form of wealth – this can be a relatively small payment in exchanging for identifying and organising children for domestic work
- **Power and authority** – wealthier people taking advantage of vulnerable people to *'pay what they want'* (Chipata District Concept Mapping); *'this person is empowered and has money and uses this to take the children'* (Lusaka District Concept Mapping).
- **Abuse of Trust** – *'trafficking can be done by people you trust'* (Lusaka District Concept Mapping).
- **Getting a child from the village** – get a child from the village promising them an education but use them as *'domestic workers*

looking after babies' (Mtendere Concept Mapping). This has a historical legacy that links with slavery – *'a long time ago children were being taken from the villages to urban areas to be used as slaves'* (Mtendere Concept Mapping).

- **Trafficking within the family** – *'go and get a child after death in the family and promise to educate but do not do what promise'* (Lusaka District Concept Mapping).
- **Promising Education** – this came up in all concept mapping discussions as a characteristic of both child trafficking and child domestic work. *'talk of many things when recruiting, I am going to give you good money, eating nicely, sleeping nicely, go to school, promising good words but when they come it is different...'* (Chelstone Concept Mapping).
- **Deception** – *'children and parents are not told the truth but promised better services of learning'* (Lusaka District Concept Mapping).
- **Cheap labour** – Participants at the Chipata District Discussion commented, *'it is better to pay just K150,000 instead of K400,000. It is us the working class who are doing this'*. In Mtendere, participants spoke of children being taken as domestic workers by residents in South Africa and the UK because they cannot afford to have domestic workers from these countries.
- **Overworking**- *child is taken as a worker- they force her to do so much work. There is no time limit. The work will never stop.* (Magazine Concept Mapping)
- **Ukakamizilwa (Forcing)**-*parents force the child to look for something, he doesn't want to but has no say.* (Magazine Concept Mapping)

- **Movement** – moving children from one place to another – including between areas within Lusaka and from provincial towns into Lusaka is ‘part of human trafficking’ (Lusaka District Concept Mapping).
- **Lack of medical attention** – if a child domestic worker is physically abused, ‘so called guardians do not wish to take the child to a clinic because they don’t want to be exposed’ (Lusaka District Concept Mapping).
- **Enslavement** in the form of lack of rights and sexual abuse
- **Defilement** – *‘this can happen to a child maid’* (Chipata District Concept Mapping)
- **Death** – children who are being abused in a household can be killed. *‘Sometimes a child can be killed even murdered. If a child wants to run away and is caught, a child can be killed rather than be allowed to report to authorities. There are no reports on these deaths although there are reports on trafficking’* (Lusaka District Concept Mapping)

Further analysis of the concept mapping grading statements, which explicitly address the overlap, will be carried out using software to generate visual clusters of concepts and we are hoping that this analysis (as yet to be completed) will add more insight.

Lusaka District	Chipata District		
What are the characteristics of child trafficking?			
Moral ills	Exploitation of young people		
Economic Issues	Promises		
Social effects	Vulnerability		
	Effects		
	Traditional beliefs and practices		
Magazine Community	Chelstone Community	Dumiso Community	Mtendere Community
What are the characteristics of child domestic work?			
Ignorance (not educated)	Ignorance	Parents Bad behaviour	Child Labour
Poverty	Poverty	Poverty	Poverty
Being orphaned	Vulnerable	Being orphaned	Education
Selfishness	Gender roles	Effects	Emotional Abuse
Exploitation	Abuse	Bad heartedness	Sexual Abuse
Job creation	Lack of education	Things are changing	Dysfunctional Family
Government inefficiency	Economy	Not listening to parents	

Table 9: Pile labels, Concept Mapping Discussions, all communities

Children's experiences of harm

The children who ended up in domestic work told us what they considered to be harmful about moving. This includes:

- **Deception:** A move prompted by deception and false promises, frequently combined with limited options. Wealthier families use their power to convince children from poorer families to come to work.

'Others don't say the truth they say we want her to go to school or we'll take her to boarding (if she is already schooling) but the truth is a different story'

Child Participatory Workshop, Chipata

- **Abuse of power:** In the receiving home, being subject to abuse without being able to take action and/or express grievance about working conditions (money, sleeping and eating conditions, schooling, workload, sexual abuse, defilement) without severe repercussions (verbal and physical abuse, humiliation, loss of job, move into another household that is worse). In addition, access to health care is limited and controlled by the employer and it is hard to take a break when sick.
- **Cut off from social support:** Limited services to go to or protective adults to turn to. Children feel like an outsider in the household and their contact with sending home and family can be limited or non-existent. In Eastern Province, children from Malawi who are involved in child labour fear to be deported and this makes them more cut off and easier to exploit.

Global concept of human trafficking applied to local context of children as live in domestic workers in Zambia

Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour, or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

Article 3, United Nations (2000), Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children.

Highlighted, by ourselves, in the trafficking definition above, are characteristics of children who live in as domestic workers based on this research and appearing in under and across different objectives. The overlap with human trafficking is both striking and clear.

CONCLUSION

By the time we reached the role play in the Mtendere children's workshop, the girls had relaxed and really opened up. It was often during this role play that key forms of exploitation – and their affects on the girls – became the most apparent. Long hours, disproportionate workload, poor payment and payment in kind, verbal abuse, differential treatment, false promises of education and sexual abuse spilled out. There was not a moment of silence in this role play as the girls rapidly asked questions to the 'employers' one after the after – targeting their questions specifically to either the man employer

and the woman employer, often not listening to the mock answers and often interrupting each other to get their word in. ' If I make a mistake, why not just sit me down instead of firing me?'; ' You can ask us to take a bath and then we can eat together'; 'Why do you pay me in bits and pieces instead of in one go?'; 'Why can't you pick something that you have seen instead of calling me?'; 'Why wake us up at 1am?'; 'For you to want a relationship with me, where do you place your wife? At the end , one girl talked in detail about the sexual harassment she is facing at work from a driver of her employer and from men friends of the employer- the other girls listen intently and quietly, nodding their heads. When she has finished, my fifteen year daughter - who was helping us with the workshop - bursts out, 'But you must know this is not right? That they should not be doing this? This is wrong!' The girls look a bit taken aback and the child counsellor comes in, explaining gently that sexual abuse should not be tolerated.

Researcher's reflections, Mtendere Children's Workshop

Discussing the research findings on sexual abuse with a friend, she shared that her step-son had impregnated her maid. After this maid had left employment, a friend to her step-son impregnated her next maid. 'When you leave the house, you don't know what goes on', my friend explained.

The reasons for sending children into domestic work were identified as poverty, alcohol use, HIV (and accompanying orphanhood) and the desire for cheap labour. Children moved into domestic work both of their volition, driven often by poverty and educational aspirations, and were pushed into it by their own families.

The modes of recruitment used were described as mostly family and social networks (especially church networks) and significantly the role of professionals as recruiters was mentioned – especially teachers in rural areas but also health care workers and agricultural officers.

Once they move into domestic work, very few children have their school educational needs met and all of them are faced with considerable workloads, long hours, shortage of space, limited contact with home, strained and disparate

relationships with other children in the household, differential treatment at mealtimes, sporadic and minimal pay and verbal abuse. Many girl domestic workers also described the sexual abuse inflicted on them by the men in the household where they work, sometimes by the relatives of the family or other male employees. The vulnerability of these children is increased when they are orphans with no one to speak up for them or when they are working far from their close family.

Their resulting situation holds strong parallels with child trafficking with shared characteristics of recruitment, transfer, transportation, receipt of persons, coercion including deception, the abuse of power, exploitation of the most vulnerable, exchange of payments or benefits to achieve consent and control, intention to exploit, actual exploitation, forced services and sexual exploitation – including defilement of children.

It is an important part of Zambian life to teach children how to do household chores and involve them in the work of the house. It is also considered important, and sometimes necessary, to move children from one household to another. However this research shows how this practice can result in the exploitation of children from poor families and orphans, who are used by wealthier families as, at best, house servants and, at worst, as modern day slaves. Whilst it is promising that across low and middle income communities in this research there was an overwhelming awareness about the potential harm that children can face and a willingness to challenge and change practice, there is also a degree of resignation and even complacency around the issue. This permeates the attitudes of children domestic workers, who told us so often they felt they had '*no option*', as well as the attitudes of more privileged children and of the wider community. It is also possible that as the middle class continues to expand in Zambia, and along with it the demand for domestic work and child care, that this practice could become even more common place and the education of an underclass could continue to be compromised and neglected by the educational needs and standards of a middle class. Implicit in the current practice of child domestic work is the burden of HIV since the number of orphans

in Zambia society is driving the practice. Also implicit is the issue of child care for all women who have to make a living. Regardless of their educational level, child care is problematic for working women and having a live-in child domestic worker care for a child, as well as performing other domestic chores, is a cheaper and more flexible option. As the children's experiences in this role testify, their labour may not cost much but can come at a considerable cost to their health, education, well-being and future.

RECOMMENDATIONS – The Way Forward

Question: *What would improve the lives of children who work as domestic workers?*

Answers:

'If I was a leader I would make sure children are not given too much work- that it goes according to their age'

'I would tell the community that children have rights so you should not give them too much work'.

Dice Game, Children's Workshop, Kagunda

What would improve the lives of Zambian children who work?

'Going to school because then you know your rights and no one can push you around'

Children's workshop , Chipata

Rules? Laws? They are there but they are not followed e.g. children under 18 should not work. But they do. No one enforces the law. In some countries, they take care of children from when they are born - they make sure they go to school. But in Zambia, no one cares, especially the last few years. In days before they used to check that all the children were in school.

Magazine Concept Mapping

The recommendations first lay out a stepped approach to facilitating a change in attitude and practice around children domestic workers, and then suggest how to prevent recruitment, improve work conditions and develop monitoring and services resources. We aim to refine and localise the recommendations through feedback to the communities and children participants involved in the research and with the input of UNICEF, ILO and IOM.

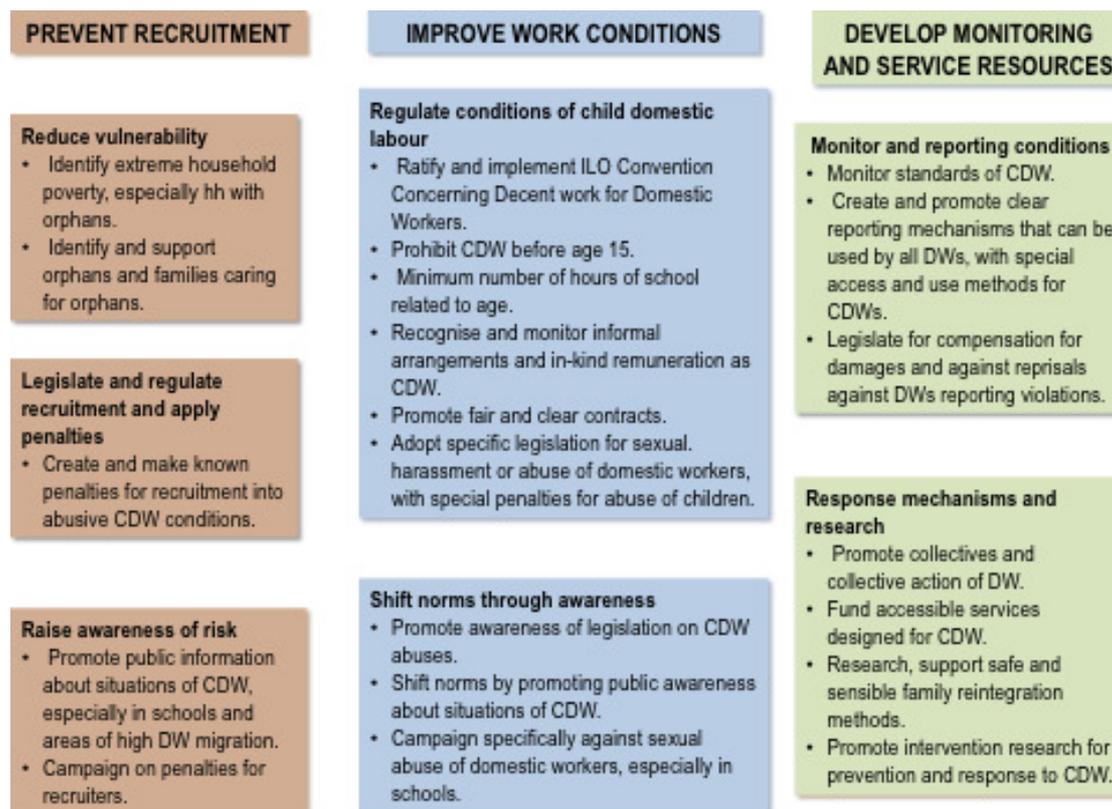
Central to this approach is a recognition that any recommendations have to work within the existing context in Zambia where there are many children domestic workers. Rather than drive this practice underground, and rather than assume that children domestic workers are better off sent back to where they come from, we need to develop programmes that build awareness and empathy about the harms associated with exploitation of children domestic workers and that publicise existing protective legislation (which can feel quite removed from reality). We need to use and extend the capacity of existing organisations to provide services for children domestic workers, as well as consider standardisation of child care and alternative options for the provision of child care. We need to ensure that children domestic workers are able to access education. The sexual abuse of children domestic workers needs to be exposed, challenged and penalised and recognised by men, women and children in Zambia as unacceptable as opposed to inevitable. And we need to recognise that the practice arises in part from cracks in social protection in the context of poverty and HIV.

'You must understand that what is underlying this is poverty – there is no way a wealthy household will send their children into domestic work. You must understand this before you start'.

Chelstone Men's Discussion

CAUSAL PATHWAY TO CHANGE





Notes to support recommendation charts

Policy

Current laws are in place- review to assess whether they protect / prevent CDWs
Develop child care guidelines policy- many children are employed to take care of younger children while mothers work- child care needs to be regulated and standardised and provision of child care discussion
Remove economic and structural barriers to education so that school is not jeopardised by the need to work.

Practice

Monitoring and reporting e.g. Incidence of under age children employed; documenting cases of defilement of CDWs, conditions of work etc

Awareness campaigns

Carry out media campaign to raise awareness- use simple powerful images and messages to help population reflect on how child domestic workers are treated and to build empathy. This could build on the anti-HIV stigma approach of identifying forms of exploitation related to children domestic workers, then looking at causes and consequences and promoting community action.

Accessible services for Child domestic workers

Strengthen services for children- especially Victim Support Unit and Child Protection officers. Work with Social Welfare to train NGOs on child domestic workers
Increase awareness of services to children

Research

Carry out a survey to measure prevalence of child domestic workers in Zambia or analyse existing data (if available)
Intervention studies on prevention and response programming

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Ethics



THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH AND GRADUATE STUDIES
HSS/ED/LAW/INESOR RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

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Lusaka,
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Dr. Virginia Bond,
P.O. Box 50697,
Ridgeway Campus,
School of Medicine,
Lusaka.

9th August, 2011.

Dear Dr. Bond,

Re: Provisional Ethical Clearance

The Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee convened to review your research protocol entitled:

Children's Health, Wellbeing and Mobility in Zambia.

The Committee was impressed by the very full submission of relevant material and also by the valuable importance of the topic under consideration. The slow pace in getting back to you has been due to a delay in receiving the minutes from that meeting.

There are, however, some issues that the Committee was concerned about and which would require some clarification. They are as follows:

1. Although you state that after discussions with UNICEF and other partners, you have changed the title of the protocol from “Research into Child Domestic Labour and Trafficking in Zambia” to “Children’s Health, Wellbeing and Mobility in Zambia”, there is no written statement to this effect. Appendix G only refers to the UNICEF Contract with no letter of approval of change of title included.
2. There is also need to explain in greater detail the reasons why the change was made to the title and what is the goal of the research. In other words, does the changed title now correspond to the content of the protocol? You do acknowledge that there is an “overlap between child domestic work and trafficking” but the new title seems to avoid the intended focus on trafficking by discussing the more positive dimensions only. The intervening variable, of course, is exploitation and (quoting Sample) you do acknowledge that “exploitation is a complex concept” and “one that has not necessarily been analysed within the complex modern reality of relative deprivation and labour migration”. Nevertheless, there is need for further clarification on the relationship between exploitation and trafficking in this context. It has been noted that the method used in group discussions “aims to develop locally specific definitions of trafficking of children and understandings of children’s mobility.”
3. There is a risk of importing external standards of what constitutes child labour or migration, especially that involving young adults. Much of what may called forced migration and domestic work in the African context may actually serve a very positive social function, such as availing young people with opportunities in urban settings and contributing to social capital. The different meanings of migration and domestic work need to be clarified in terms of the standards being proposed for defining these concepts. Value judgements need to be acknowledged so that the research is properly contextualised.
4. There is need to clarify how children are going to be identified. Furthermore, how is this going to affect their schooling?
5. As those aged 15 are still identified as minors, parents or guardians need to give consent to their participation. Furthermore, some of those under 15 years of age should also be asked for more than “verbal consent” as they are quite capable of giving consent when given explanations in appropriate terms.
6. It was noted that the data collection tools (e.g., children’s participatory workshops for both 15-17 and 12-14 year olds are too long. Is it possible to reduce the time (10.00-16.00 hours)?
7. Is giving each child a 5kg of mealie meal or 2kg of rice adequate in view of the benefits received by the investigators?
8. Attention was also drawn to the fact that the vernacular translation could be improved.
9. Your attention was further drawn to a study entitled, “ILO Child Domestic Work in Zambia” which was conducted by Mr. Robert Tembo and Mr. Chrispin Matenga, either of whom can be contacted at the University of Zambia.
10. Finally, it was noted that the application was not signed by the principle investigator.

The concerns mentioned above are not meant to detract in any way from the value of the study but are raised with respect to protecting the children involved.

Our Committee will be meeting again on the 23rd August and it is expected that final ethical clearance can be given to your protocol at that meeting pending satisfactory responses to the concerns raised above.

With best wishes,



Professor Clive Dillon-Malone,
Chairperson,
HSS Research Ethics Committee.
E-mail: cdmalone@stignatius.org.zm

cc. Director, Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies.
Assistant Director, DRGS.
The Secretary, DRGS.



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22nd August 2011

Professor Clive Dillon-Malone

Chairperson
HSS Research Ethics Committee
University of Zambia
P.O. Box 32379
Lusaka, Zambia

Dear Professor Dillon-Malone,

**Re: Response to Provisional Ethical Clearance
– Children’s Health, Wellbeing and Mobility in Zambia**

Thank you very much for your considered and thought provoking response to our ethical application for the above study. Our apologies for responding this late; we did not manage to get a copy of the letter until last Thursday 18th August. We sincerely hope you are able to discuss our response in your meeting tomorrow 23rd of August 2011.

Please find our clarifications in response to the issues raised:

1. Please find attached an email from UNICEF approving the change in title.

2 & 3. After some discussions with UNICEF, ILO and IOM and within the Zambian team, we decided it was prudent to change the title of the research from 'Child Domestic Labour and Trafficking in Zambia' to 'Children's Health, Well-being and Mobility'. There are a number of reasons for the change, namely:

- Both 'child domestic labour' and 'trafficking' contain implicit judgment and external standards (that you refer to in your third point of clarification). In order to avoid imposing these and to rather capture Zambian perceptions of both, we hope that using 'concept mapping' methodology and less 'loaded' language should help unravel Zambian experiences related to children in domestic work and when this work involves explicit exploitation and even trafficking.
- We don't wish respondents to be put off by value laden language – and feel that people would respond more readily and more openly to 'health, well-being and mobility'. We are worried that doors will shut in our face if we present a study of 'domestic labour' and 'trafficking'. Our intention was to choose more neutral words – rather than more positive or negative 'laden' words. We would like respondents to be able to discuss different outcomes of domestic work – both positive and negative.
- You rightly observe that there is a shift away from a focus on 'trafficking' as defined by both national and international laws. It should be noted however that the focus is on children sent away from home into domestic work where they live in the house that they work in. Such movement could be classified as trafficking – but trafficking intentions are hard to establish and not all children sent into domestic work are actually being trafficked. Sending children into domestic work is a practice in Zambia with the potential for exploitation. And we are aware that focusing on this within two Zambian districts – and within four communities – may uncover trafficking systems/practices (both internal and external). Exploitation can occur outside of trafficking – but trafficking would always involve exploitation. So our focus is on both exploitation and trafficking.
- Key to our approach is the inclusion of children's perceptions and experiences of being sent into domestic work outside their own households. Their own definitions of exploitation and experiences of mobility will help to further explore the relationship between exploitation and trafficking.

Thus these points are underlying the goal of the research – namely ‘to explore children’s entry into domestic work, risk exposures associated with domestic work situations and to consider the overlap between child domestic work and trafficking’. We have further identified and adapted a conceptual framework which helps both capture and unravel our goal – the conceptual framework was developed by Zimmerman, Kiss and Hossain (2011, Migration and Health: A Framework for 21st Century Policy Making, PLoS Medicine, Volume 8, Issue 5, May) for trafficking of adults in South East Asia and identifies five main phases – namely pre-departure, recruitment, destination, interception and return. Our research aims to focus on sending households in the pre-departure phase, the role of different recruitment channels, what happens at the receiving households, as well as the possibility of moving into shelters or returning home.

4. Children with experience of domestic work will be identified in each community through discussions with appropriate local NGOs, the Social Welfare department, community leaders and adult domestic workers. We anticipate that it may be easier to initially identify children who have left households where they were working – to return home or to stay in shelters. We are concerned that it may be hard to identify children currently in domestic work although UNICEF and ILO feel confident that we will identify such children through our approach. In relation to schooling, we take note of your concern and we will endeavour to ensure that the workshops and interviews will not interfere with schooling. For example, we could hold the participatory workshops in two sessions over two days (since most children are at school half day) or we could hold the workshops at the weekend. We also anticipate that all children will be in school.

5. We have changed the consent forms to accommodate your concerns. The adult consenting form now covers children under the age of 18 years. The consent form for children aged 15 years and over has been changed to be administered to all children in the study – in other words, we will endeavour to obtain both verbal and written consent from children in the study after providing children with full explanations for the study and making sure they understand what they are signing for. The parents/guardians of these children would also still sign for their children/dependent. Please find attached the amended consent forms.

6. We agree to reduce the time of the children participatory workshops to 10am to 16hours.

7. On reflection, we have decided that we should give each child either 5kgs of mealie meal or 2kgs of rice AND a school kit bag which would be for personal use for the child.

8. We have taken note of your comments on the quality of the vernacular translation. In the lead up to fieldwork, we would aim to improve the quality of the vernacular, partly by practicing the questions verbally. We would also ensure that all researchers have a common understanding of the meaning behind the questions.

9. We are aware of the study and will aim to speak to the researchers involved. Thank you for suggesting this.

10. The application was not signed by the P.I. because at the time of submission she was in the UK so Dr Helen Ayles signed on her behalf. Please find enclosed a copy signed by the P.I.

Please let us know if we can provide any further information and thank you for recognizing the potential value of the study.

We look forward to hearing the outcome of tomorrow's meeting.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Virginia Bond

Social Scientist and Director, ZAMBART Project



THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH AND GRADUATE STUDIES

HSS/ED/LAW/INESOR RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

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Dr. Virginia Bond,
P.O. Box 50697,
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School of Medicine,
Lusaka.

25th August, 2011.

Dear Dr. Bond,

Re: Final Ethical Clearance

With reference to your research protocol entitled:

Children's Health, Wellbeing and Mobility in Zambia.

Your detailed letter dated 22nd August 2011 in response to the concerns raised by the HSS Research Ethics Committee by my letter to you of the 9th August was considered by the Committee which met on the 23rd August.

The Committee is satisfied that you have taken adequate account of the concerns raised despite the difficulty of clarifying completely some of the concepts used in the research.

Please note that you are expected to submit the following to the Secretariat:

- (a) a Progress Report Form (which can be obtained from the Secretariat) every six months;
- (b) a copy of the full report on completion of the project.

Finally, and importantly, take note that notwithstanding ethical clearance given by the HSS Research Ethics Committee, you must also obtain express written authority from the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Health, before conducting your research. The address is: Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Health, Ndeke House, P.O. Box 30205, Lusaka. Tel: +260-1-253040/5; Fax +260-1-253344.

Good luck!

Clive Dillon-Malone

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cc. Director, Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies.
Assistant Director, DRGS.
The Secretary, DRGS.

Appendix 2 Consent Forms

UNZAREC

FORM 1a



THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
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Lusaka, Zambia

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET- for Adults consenting for Participants under the age of 18 years

TITLE OF RESEARCH:

CHILDREN'S HEALTH, WELLBEING, AND MOBILITY IN ZAMBIA

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY:

We are doing a research project on the health and wellbeing of children who move households in Zambia. We are interested in learning about the experiences of children between the ages of 12 and 17 who have moved into a new household at least once in their lives. The idea of this research is to identify the types of things that promote a child's health and welfare as well as the problems children face in maintaining good health before, during, and after they move.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AND YOUR INVOLVEMENT:

The research will involve children who have moved into two districts-Lusaka and Chipata. We plan to include children age 12 to 17 in the research. We will ask all children to participate in a children's workshop which will consist of a drawing exercise, a group discussion, and a role play. We will also select some children to participate in individual interviews on the day of the workshop or on a day immediately following the workshop. The workshop will take most of the day. The individual interviews will take no longer than 1 hour. Your participation in the group discussion and/or the

individual interview is completely voluntary. If there are questions you feel uncomfortable about, please feel free not to answer them. You may stop participating in the research at any time during the group discussions or individual interviews.

CONFIDENTIALITY:

Your name and any other information that may identify you or your household will be kept confidential. The results of this research may be published, but your identity and confidentiality will be protected. However, if we identify any serious health or welfare problems during the course of this research, we are obligated to refer to others who can help.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL:

Your participation in the research is voluntary. If you feel uncomfortable about any questions we ask, please feel free not to answer them. If you no longer wish to participate in this research, you may do so with no penalty.

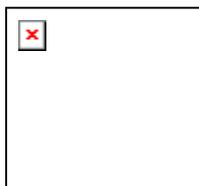
RISKS AND BENEFITS:

There is a chance that some of our questions may cause discomfort or emotional stress. If so, you are not obligated to answer them and we can move on or stop the interview. We will not provide money for participation in this research. There are no direct benefits associated with participation in the group discussions/activities or individual interviews, but there may be indirect benefits for your community in the future. The information gained in this study may help organizations design future interventions on children's health and wellbeing.

CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS (Names, addresses and phone numbers of the following):

1. **Principal Investigator:** Virginia Bond, ZAMBART Project PO Box 50697, Ridgeway Campus, School of Medicine Lusaka. Telephone: +260 211 254710; Cell No: +260 977 846726
2. **Chairperson,** Humanities and Social Sciences, Research Ethics Committee, University of Zambia. Professor Clive Billon Malone, Telephone: +260 211 290258
3. **The Director,** Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies, University of Zambia. Telephone: +260 211 290258

UNZAREC FORM 1b



THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

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Lusaka,

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
CONSENT FORM (Adults consenting for children under 18 years)
(Translated into vernacular if necessary)

TITLE OF RESEARCH: CHILDREN'S HEALTH, WELLBEING, AND MOBILITY IN ZAMBIA

REFERENCE TO PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET:

1. Make sure that you read the Information Sheet carefully, or that it has been explained to you to your satisfaction.
2. Take note of whether tape or 'audio' recording has been used.
3. Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, i.e. you do not have to participate if you do not wish to.
4. Refusal to take part will involve no penalty or loss of services to which you are otherwise entitled.
5. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of services and without giving a reason for your withdrawal.
6. You may choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study. If there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so.
7. The information collected in this interview will be kept strictly confidential.
8. If you choose to participate in this research study, your signed consent is required below before I proceed with the interview with you.

VOLUNTARY CONSENT

I have read (or have had explained to me) the information about this research as contained in the Participant Information Sheet. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I now consent voluntarily to be a participant in this project and understand that I have the right to end the interview at any time, and to choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study.

My signature below says that I am willing to participate in this research:

Participant's name (Printed):

Participant's signature: Consent Date:

Researcher Conducting Informed Consent (Printed)

Signature of Researcher: Date:

Signature of parent/guardian: Date:



THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
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Lusaka,

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
CONSENT FORM (Adult Participant)

(Translated into vernacular if necessary)

TITLE OF RESEARCH: CHILDREN'S HEALTH, WELLBEING, AND MOBILITY IN ZAMBIA

REFERENCE TO PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET:

1. Make sure that you read the Information Sheet carefully, or that it has been explained to you to your satisfaction.
2. Take note of whether tape or 'audio' recording has been used.
3. Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, i.e. you do not have to participate if you do not wish to.
4. Refusal to take part will involve no penalty or loss of services to which you are otherwise entitled.
5. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of services and without giving a reason for your withdrawal.
6. You may choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study. If there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so.
7. The information collected in this interview will be kept strictly confidential.
8. If you choose to participate in this research study, your signed consent is required below before I proceed with the interview with you.

VOLUNTARY CONSENT

I have read (or have had explained to me) the information about this research as contained in the Participant Information Sheet. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I now consent voluntarily to be a participant in this project and understand that I have the right to end the interview at any time, and to choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study.

My signature below says that I am willing to participate in this research:

Participant's name (Printed):

Participant's signature: Consent Date:

Researcher Conducting Informed Consent (Printed)

Signature of Researcher: Date:

Signature of parent/guardian: Date:



Children's Health, Wellbeing and Mobility in Zambia

Contact Sheet for Children in Chipata

About the research:

Title of research: Children's Health, Wellbeing and Mobility in Zambia

Principal Investigator: Dr Virginia Bond, ZAMBART, Ridgeway (Opposite UTH) Tel. 0211 254710

UNZA Ethics Committee, University of Zambia, Great East Road, Lusaka. Tel.0211 290258

If you need help:

YWCA (SGBV)

They assist with: A safe house for families and children who are threatened with violence. They have trained Counsellors who can help to talk through problems and know of other services that may be available.

Where they are found: Plot 1115 Kalindawalo Road. Kalongowezi, (Opposite Golf Course, Next to where the sell Chickens on Saturdays. Also known as the Black Gate)
Phone: 0977 8667636

SMILING KIDS ZAMBIA

They assist with: Integration of orphans and vulnerable children into school and society. Run afternoon activities for local children

Where they are found: DK Compound, Near Kapata Basic School Tel: 06223764

FAWEZA

They assist with: Promotion of girl child education, reintegration of girls who may have dropped out of school for various reasons e.g. Pregnancy and early marriages. They have a safe house for girls who need somewhere to stay

Where they are found: Hillside Girls Secondary, along Great East Road opposite Headquarters Police Camp.

CHILD PROTECTION UNIT

They assist with: Provision of legal and social **protection** to children. Help children who are at risk of any form of abuse.

Where they are found: Zambia Police Headquarters, Chipata. Phone: 0977 82 45 34.

DISTRICT SOCIAL WELFARE OFFICE

They assist with: Giving information and support to children who may need help and advice about family problems, education matters and may assist in situations where children are stranded.

Where they are found: Ministry of Community Development, Maternal and Child Health, The BOMA , (near Police Headquarters), Chipata

Appendix 3: Table of Research Team

Name	Role	Experience	Responsibility in this Research
ZAMBART Project	Lead Organisation	Extensive experience in Zambia in rigorous clinical and applied social science research and in communicating research to relevant stakeholders. In addition, considerable administrative, financial and managerial experience due to the management of large grants.	Contractual management (funder & staff) Budget & accounts management Logistics
Virginia Bond, ZAMBART & LSHTM	Lead Researcher	Twenty-two years of experience in conducting applied social science research into urgent public health and social issues in Uganda, Zambia (mostly) and South Africa. Experienced in management of multi-site research projects & teams and with ethical clearance. Research of particular relevance to this proposal includes: households management of adversity, child labour on commercial farms, the influence of the type & diversity of place/s on response to problems & interventions, HIV & TB related stigma experienced by children, children's role in TB interventions, supervision of MSc on adolescents and sexual risk taking, supervision of PhD fieldwork on children's role in the management of TB (see Hunleth below). Committed to interdisciplinary research and familiar with eclectic and applied approaches and a range of social science and epidemiological methods.	Management of research team (staff, timeframe, logistics, budget) Lead communication with funder/s Lead & final responsibility for research design, research instruments, ethical clearance, fieldwork, data entry & management, analysis, presentations, writing and submission of final report. Oversee any peer reviewed publications linked to the research.
3C consultants, Zambia - Sue Clay, Chipo Chiiya & Mutale Chonta	Researchers	The team has worked for last 6 years with International HIV/AIDS Alliance (based in Zambia) on the regional stigma training programme in more than 20 African countries. Experienced participatory trainers with backgrounds in HIV, social work, counselling, working with street children and hard to reach groups. Expertise in stigma reduction- training and tools development. Relevant to this study: research on children's experience of HIV stigma in Zambia; development of tools through children's workshops in Zambia and Tanzania on children and stigma; training of caregivers on how to challenge stigma towards children in Copperbelt; development of UNESCO tool for young people using art and creative approaches to tackle stigma.	Key role in research design & instruments, ethical issues, fieldwork, analysis, presentations, writing and submission of final report. Participation in publications (report to funder/s and peer reviewed).

<p>Cindi Mwila & Kasongo Chilufya</p>	<p>Child Counsellors</p>	<p>Cindi has worked as a child counsellor for 8 years. She is based at YWCA in Lusaka and works with vulnerable children at the rsafe house refuge.</p> <p>Kasongo is a counsellor and a child counsellor trainer. She is based at Mututa Memorial Day Care Centre and works with girls at risk and other young people. She has been involved in other research projects as a research assistant at Kara Counselling</p>	<p>Role in development of research instruments</p> <p>Key role in fieldwork, data entry and management.</p> <p>Key role in conducting research with children and ensuring referral and follow up.</p>
<p>Simeon Chiwele (Chipata)</p>	<p>Local Research Assistants</p>	<p>Simeon is a section chairperson in Magazine compound. He has lived there for the past 30 years and has watched the compound grow and change</p>	<p>Key short-term logistical and introductory role in community fieldwork, in both Magazine and Kagunda. Also helped to organise venues and participants in Magazine.</p>
<p>Miyoba Sumaili (Mtendere)</p>		<p>Miyoba has been a programme officer at Africa Directions NGO in Mtendere for 10 years</p>	<p>Identified participants for Concept Mapping and Household Meetings in Mtendere and Chelstone. Arranged venues. Carried out logistics during meetings.</p>
<p>Festus Zulu</p>		<p>Festus is a Child Counsellor at the Anglican Community School in Chelstone</p>	
<p>Cathy Zimmerman & Ligia Kiss, LSHTM, UK</p>	<p>Technical Advisors</p>	<p>Zimmerman is a senior staff member of the Gender, Violence & Health Centre at LSHTM, has conducted research on violence against women for over a decade (including domestic violence in Cambodia) and is a leader on research on health and human trafficking. She is co-author on two international guidelines on trafficking. She and Kiss are currently working together on a study on trafficking, exploitation and abuse of persons in the Mekong Sub-region. Combined, they bring to their study their international expertise on trafficking and domestic violence, their international policy connections to appropriate organisations (e.g. IOM, WHO) and their commitment to the rights of and health services for trafficked women. In addition, Kiss has epidemiological skills and relevant research experience in South America and Africa.</p>	<p>Based outside Zambia in the UK, responsibility confined to 'remote' input.</p> <p>Technical advice on international literature & frameworks, research design & instruments, analysis (particularly 'concept mapping' analysis and policy implications).</p> <p>Participation in publications (report to funder/s and peer reviewed).</p>
<p>Jean Hunleth, Northwestern University, Chicago</p>	<p>Technical Advisor</p>	<p>Twelve years of experience in research, development work, and doctoral study focused on Zambia, with five of the twelve years spent in residence in Zambia carrying out public health projects and research concerning issues of child health. Carried</p>	<p>Based outside Zambia in the US, responsibility be confined to 'remote' input.</p> <p>Technical advice and input on international and Zambian literature on the</p>

out a 15-month (2007-2008) doctoral research project on child labour and work in 25 Zambian households affected by adult illness (TB), including a 200-household survey of children's household labour in George, Lusaka. Particularly relevant to the UNICEF Child labour project: expertise in developing innovative and ethical participatory research methods for research with children in Zambia; experience with ethical clearance; in-depth knowledge of historical and current literature on child labour in southern Africa.

role of children in domestic work, research design & instruments, ethical issues, analysis.

Participation in publications (report to funder/s and peer reviewed).

Appendix 4 Research Tools

CONCEPT MAPPING OF CHILD TRAFFICKING District Stakeholders and Community Leaders

Materials needed:

- Explanation sheets for each participant
- Informed consent forms (two for each participant – one for researchers, one for participant)
- Participant details form
- Strips of card paper
- Marker Pens
- Ball point Pens
- Evaluation sheets for final part of activity
- Flipchart paper
- Sticky stuff/Tape
- Refreshments

Research Team of three – Assign roles-need to facilitate, take notes throughout

Introduction:

- **Collect participant details (age, sex, affiliation, residence)**
- **Administer explanation sheet**
- **Administer informed consent**
- **Explain that this activity will take about three hours and that refreshments will be given**
- **Introduce the concept mapping:** *'We want to understand what is understood by children who end up as live in domestic workers in Zambia. But first we wanted to look at one aspect of this – namely child trafficking'*

1. **What words do you use to talk about child trafficking in the vernacular? (free list words on flipchart)**
2. *Can we agree what word we use today to discuss trafficking – we can use the English word or a vernacular word we all feel comfortable with.*

Then ask the group to brainstorm in pairs the focus statement below:

3. *In _____ (name of site) what are some of the characteristics of children who end up as live in domestic workers? (Please write one point per card)*

Give each pair several cards and a marker each. Allow some time for ideas to come. Number and stick the cards on the wall, as they are handed to you. Once ideas seem to stop flowing, you may use some of the probes below to guide them. Write them up on a flipchart.

- a) *What causes children to end up living in households as domestic workers?*
- b) *What are the effects of children being domestic workers?*
- c) *Do some children move from elsewhere into this place to become domestic workers?*
- d) *What are the links between children in domestic work and exploitation?*
- e) *Do you think that children who are domestic workers are sometimes trafficked?*
- f) *Are some children more vulnerable than others to trafficking?*
- g) *Are certain places and certain groups associated more with trafficking than others?*

Call the group back together. As a group, ensure that each statement represents only one idea. Help the group to remove statements that have been mentioned more than once and simplify any confusing language together with the group.

Ask the group to now cluster the statements into piles based on those that belong together (not how important they are). Do not limit the number piles they choose to use but ask them to put each statement into one pile only.

Ask the participants to pair up with a new partner and allocate several piles to each pair and ask the pairs to label each of their piles.

As a group, look at and discuss the relationship/pathways BETWEEN the different piles (move the cards around to illustrate whether there are close links or no relation etc). Once finalised, make sure you understand the pathway- or clarify with group.

Put the statements onto a flip chart with the grading statement and columns.

Finally, ask participants as individuals to rate each statement on the questionnaire by ticking on the flipchart columns:

Please rate on a scale of 1-3 how each item/statement about children who live in as domestic workers perpetrates child trafficking

PILE label	Short STATEMENT	N o	1=LOW	2=MODER ATE	3=HIGH

Thank you all very much for your time. We have learnt much by listening to you and it will help us know how you perceive child trafficking in Zambia.

**Householders Focus Groups
 Domestic Labour Tool**

This is one of three tools that will be used during the Household Focus Group Discussion

Materials needed:

- Explanation sheets for each participant

- Informed consent forms (two for each participant – one for researchers, one for participant)
- Participant details form
- Cards
- Marker Pens
- Flipchart paper
- Sticky stuff/Tape
- Refreshments

Research Team of three – to facilitate, take notes throughout

Introduction:

- **Collect participant details (age, sex, affiliation, residence)**
 - **Administer explanation sheet**
 - **Administer informed consent**
 - **Explain that this activity will take about 45 minutes and that refreshments will be given**
1. **Introduce the topic** – *explain that we want to explore who does the different jobs in a household.*
 2. Ask participants to work in pairs. Distribute a set of blank cards to each pair and ask them to think of all the different tasks or jobs that members of a household do in a house. Write one point per card (or draw a symbol if they prefer to writing)
 3. Stick up all the cards and ask some group members to help cluster similar points together
 4. Stick up Character Card pictures – a man, woman, older girl child, older boy child, younger girl child, younger boy child and maid. (Ask the group if there are other people in a house who might do jobs)
 5. Now get everyone to help sort out the cards and stick the jobs under the card of the person or people who usually does this task. If more than one person does the job, another card with the same job can be written
 6. Use stickers and ask people to assign the degree or extent to which each people usually do a task (several times a day, once a day, several times a week, once a week)

Discussion

- ***Ask the group to look at the cards on the wall- what do you notice most about the cards?***

Depending on what the cards show, ask some or all of the following questions. [As people are discussing “children,” make sure you clarify what age categories (or sizes) they are referring to.]:

- ***What are some of the reasons that certain people do certain jobs in the house? (use example from the cards)***
- ***Do you think the tasks are normally shared out fairly? Explain ?***
- ***What are the most difficult tasks that are done in a house? (mark the cards with red circle)***

- ***Who does the most difficult jobs? Explain why the jobs are difficult and why those people do them?***
 - ***Who decides in your house who does which job?***
- ***Are there any jobs that you think children should never be asked to do? Which ones? Is it the same for boys and girls? Does it depend on their age ? (Explain why)***
- ***Are there any jobs that you would not want your own children to do?***
- ***What would you do if you thought the children (or a child) were doing too much work in the house? What would you see as 'too much work?'***
- ***What would happen if a child refused to do a certain job in the house?***
- ***Are there any jobs that children (for example someone under 15 years) do better than adults (for example someone over 20 years)? Are there any jobs that really young children (for example under 10 years) can do better than adults?***
- ***If the man or woman in a house is absent, who usually does their household jobs?***

Tool for Household focus group discussions : Discussion and stop-start role-play

This is one of the tools that will be used in the Household focus group discussion.

Research Team of three – to facilitate, take notes throughout

Assume introductions have taken place and participants details have been taken, consent forms signed etc

Explain that this activity will take about 45 minutes and that refreshments will be given

7. Introduce the topic – explain that we want to explore how two themes:

- i)** How and why a household recruits a young child or youth to carry out domestic work in the house.
- ii)** How and why a household might agree to send a young child or youth to go and work in another household. How and why the age of the child or young person change the willingness of households to send/receive children.

We will use drama and discussion to explore the topics

Steps

1. **Brainstorm / discussion** on ‘ Why might some families prefer to have a young girl or boy (for example someone under 15 years) working for them in the house or garden, as opposed to an older person?’
2. **Developing a role-play together:** explain that we want to try and develop a role-play together to explore how children become domestic workers.
 - (i) Ask for 4 volunteers who will be members of Family A , who are looking for a young girl to be a maid. Give the volunteers a few minutes together to discuss who they are in the family and to agree some details about their family- where do they stay, are they working, what kind of jobs do they do and so on. [one facilitator can help them prepare with some questions]

While they prepare- tell rest of group that there are things we need to find out about the family. Ask them to think of some questions that they might want to ask the different family members

(ii) Ask the role-players to play a short scene which will show the family and the situation of why they are looking for a maid.

(iii) After a few minutes ask the role-players to ‘STOP’ (freeze) but stay in role in front of the audience. , Ask members of audience to ask their questions:

[Facilitators can ask the first two or three questions to demonstrate, then hand over to the audience](Explain that if any of the characters get stuck on the questions, and someone from the audience wants to help, they can stand behind that character and give an answer)

Sample questions
Who are you in the family? (ask each person)
What do you do?
Where do you live?
Why do you need to find a new maid? Have you had a maid before? What happened to your last maid?
Why are you looking particularly for a young girl?
How are you going to find a new maid?

(Facilitators record the questions asked and the answers)

(iii) Now ask for 6 (?) volunteers to be in Family B. Family B has several children and have decided that one of the girls is ready to start working in a different household.

Ask them to play a short scene to show what is happening in the house and then shout 'STOP'. The player 'freeze' but stay in role. Ask the audience to ask them questions

Sample questions
Who are you in the family? (ask each person)
What do you do?
Where do you live?
Facilitators ask the following questions if the audience does not:
Why are you thinking of sending one of your girls to work in another house?
How will you choose who goes?
If they have chosen- ask the girl: how are you feeling about going to live and work in a different house?

Facilitators record questions and answers

(iv) Now ask the two families to play the role-play up to the point where the girl starts working in the new house. If a third party/ go-between has been suggested to help recruit the girl, allow that character to come in.

Process the role-play in a group discussion: Use questions to guide the discussion

1. Is this a realistic situation? Have you seen things like this happen before? Do you have any similar stories?
2. Were any payments made or obligations agreed by the 'receiving' family.?

3. Were there any promises made to the sending family?
4. Did the girl go willingly? Did she have any choice? Would it matter if she had been a different age?
5. How was the girl received/ welcomed? Was it clear that she was expected to work? Would this have been different if she had been older/younger?
6. How was she treated in the family compared to the other children in the household? [Probe for things such as sleeping arrangements, eating, school...]
7. What if this girl then moves to another household?
8. Does this ever happen to boys? If yes, what age is it most likely to happen?
9. What kind of risks might children in this kind of situation face? (if not mentioned- ask about physical./ emotional/ sexual abuse)
10. Do you have any other comments or thoughts about this scenario?

CHILDREN'S PARTICIPATORY WORKSHOP, AGES 12-14

Have children sit/stand in a circle. Researchers will also sit in the circle with them.

Explain the reason for the session: Researchers should introduce themselves and the reason of the session. Tell children that they are teaching us today. We are learning from them. There are no bad or good responses. We just want to know what they think. Their participation is voluntary and they do not have to do any of the activities if they do not want to. Emphasize that there are only two rules: (1) Respect each other's opinions and answers and (2) have fun.

Explain the schedule of the session (10:00 to 16:00 hours): [Facilitator should be enthusiastic when explaining schedule!] Today we have several activities for you. We will start with drawings. After you make your drawings, we are going to play a game where we ask you questions and want to hear your opinions. This game will help you teach us about what it is like for kids in Zambia today. Then we will have lunch and break. After lunch, we will continue our game and then ask you to act out short plays for us.

During session, use your discretion. If children appear tired, let them have a break. If unstructured time works better than an icebreaker, use that. If they are bored with unstructured time, introduce a group activity.

Icebreakers and Introductions: Play the 'Lollipop' game. Have one facilitator get a lollipop out of her bag. Play with it in her hands. Take it out of the wrapper. Smells it, take a taste, yummy. Keep the children in suspense, and then throw the lollipop at another facilitator. The second facilitator plays along, acts surprised, peels lollipop out of her hair or off of her clothes and then throws the pretend lollipop at a participant. She might not know what to do initially, so have a facilitator peel it off her, making all sorts of squelching funny noises, and then throw it at somebody else. They soon get the hang of it. Be silly! Once they get the hang of it, have them introduce themselves using the lollipop game. A facilitator should start by saying: "My name is Chipo and I have this Lollipop that I'm going to throw to [insert name]." Make sure that all children introduce themselves.

PART 1: DRAWING

- Give each child 2 pieces of paper and a pencil. Place crayons on desks close to the children so that 2 or 3 children can share one packet.
- **Drawing instructions:** Draw us a map that shows the many places where you have lived. On the map, draw the people in each household in which you have lived (including yourself) doing the main things they usually do or did. [Do not deviate from explanation. Make sure that children know that there is no right or wrong way to do the drawings. Tell them that it is up to them what they should draw, based on how they interpret the instructions.]
- **When children have finished drawing:** When everyone has finished tell them to go to the play area/ table (where there will be some balls, books, dollies etc). Explain that each child

will be called to talk to the RAs about their picture for a few minutes, while the others play. Let them know that this is their time. They can use it however they like!

- **Drawing explanations:** The RAs should speak to each child separately about their drawings. Ask the child to explain the drawings:
 - Assign each child a number and include child's sex and age on all papers. (See CPW Participation Form)
 - Ask child to clarify what they have drawn. Even if it looks straightforward, it is important for us to hear and record their own narratives about the drawings/maps. Wait for the child to explain the drawing and write what they say down on a separate sheet of A4 paper.
 - Continue to ask for children to clarify or expand, particularly when children seem shy. However, also be aware of when a child does not want to talk about a particular situation and respect his or her right to remain silent. Some further suggestions for clarification:
 - What types of things did/do you like about living in a particular place? Are there things that you did/do not like?
 - What do you miss the most?
 - Would you love to go back?
 - **Use silhouette characters:** Have an assortment of silhouette characters of women, men, children, etc. Place these on the table to talk about each of the households drawn by the children. Use a lot of probing questions. Some examples:
 - Pick the silhouettes that represent the people you were living with in this household.
 - Can you tell me what each person did in the household? [Probe about chores and responsibilities]
 - Can you pick out the person/people with whom you spent most of your time? What did you do when you were with this person/people?
 - What/who made you move? Did you play a part in the decision to move?
- **Finalizing notes on drawings:** After you finish taking the child's explanation, take the drawing and explanation and make some quick notations about the tone of the conversation and any other observations about your interaction with the child concerning their drawing.

TEA BREAK

ICEBREAKER: Make a human knot (if appropriate for the group of children gathered today). Everyone stands in a circle and holds hands with someone else in the circle. You cannot hold hands with either person standing directly beside you. Then, without letting go, everyone must climb, bend, twist and turn to untangle the circle.

PART 2: DICE GAME: [There will be an unstructured break and a lunch break during the dice game.]

Before the starting the exercise: Make sure that everything is prepared. Have the pre-made large foam die with a picture pasted to each side. To make the die, cut a large piece of foam in the shape of a die (6-sided). Paste or draw a picture on each side that corresponds with each one of the themes: Child Migration (2 sides), Child Domestic Labour (or Help), Girls and Boys (Gender), Family and Friends, and Miscellaneous.

Have each question written on a small folded piece of paper and placed in a bag that corresponds with its theme. Each theme will have more questions than the children will have time to answer. However, it is important to have a lot of questions so that the children are not disappointed when they roll a die and there are no questions left in the bag.

For the following game, you should have 5 bags, each with a different label: Child Migration, Child Domestic Labour (or Help), Girls and Boys (Gender), Family and Friends, and Miscellaneous. Paste the same pictures used on the die to the corresponding bags so that the children can readily identify them. Print out all of the questions. Cut up and fold each question and put it into its matching bag.

To play the game: Children stand or sit in a circle. Go around the circle. Each child takes a turn rolling a big foam die. The child chooses a question out of the bag that corresponds with the side on which the die landed. S/he hands the question to the facilitator, who reads the question. The child who rolled the die gets to answer the question first, unless he or she would like to pose the question to the group. After the child gives an answer, the rest of the group gets to give their answers and start talking about it. The facilitator should remain animated. Let the children play with, poke or hold onto the die before the game starts, while you're explaining the game and even when they are answering the questions. (It may seem like a distraction, but it puts some children at ease.)

Have one RA facilitate, one RA writing any lists on a flip chart, and one RA take notes.

Die Themes

1. Child migration [Put migration picture on two sides of die. Suggested pictures: Two houses connected by a long path/road.]
 - a. Who do you think children tell (or ask for advice) when they do not want to move to a particular household? How would they tell them?
 - b. What are the most dangerous/risky/harmful things that children might experience when they move to a new household and away from where they are "used" to living?
 - c. Can you list some reasons why children move to the homes of relatives who live far away? [Probe: Can you list some reasons why someone your age would **desire** to move away from their homes? Can you list some of the reasons why they would **not** want to move?]
 - d. When children move to a new home to do domestic work or help with domestic chores, what types of things do they remember most about the homes they left?
 - e. Do children come from different countries to Zambia to do work? Can you tell us the reasons why a child might move to Zambia? What types of work do they do? What problems do they face?

- f. Do you think that children travel from different provinces to work here in _____[insert location]? Can you tell us the reasons why a child might move to - _____[insert location]?
- g. Do you think that children travel from the villages sometimes to work in the towns? Can you tell us the reasons why children might leave the village? What about children who move from towns to the village? Can you tell us the reasons why children might leave the town?
- h. When children move to a new household to do domestic work or become a domestic worker, how long do they stay in that household? Have children list time frames and offer reasons.
- i. Can you list the reasons why a child would leave a household where they have been sent to do domestic work or to help with household chores? Who decides that the child will leave?
- j. Do children ever run away from households where they have been sent to do domestic work? If so, when and why? What happens to such children?
- k. When a child moves or runs away from a household where she was doing a lot of domestic work, does the children worry that she will be punished? If so, who will punish her?

2. Child domestic labour (or help)



B 17

- a. What are children's primary jobs around the house?
- b. Do girls and boys do different jobs around the house? The same jobs? How are their jobs different or the same?
- c. What are chores that children should not do (jobs reserved for adults)? Do children sometimes do these chores?
- d. Are there certain types of children who have to do more housework than others? Explain what types and why.
- e. Do children ever refuse to do chores? What do they do to refuse? What happens to them if they refuse?
- f. Do you think it is important for children to help around the house? Why? Why not?
- g. When children move into a home to do domestic chores or help someone with the housework, are they allowed to play? [Probe about Church activities and other outside play.]
- h. When children move into a home to do domestic chores or help someone with the housework, are they allowed to go visit other relatives or spend days and nights away from the home? Why or why not?

3. Girls and Boys (Gender)



B 27

- a. Can you list some of the reasons why a girl of your age would move far away from her family to help out in someone's home? Can you list some of the reasons why a boy of your age would move far away from her family to help out in someone's home? Are the reasons different?
- b. Are girls and boys treated differently in their new households if they move by themselves to another part of Zambia? Can you explain some of the differences?
- c. What are the things that girls can do if they live in a household where they feel that they have to do too much housework? What do boys do? Are these different?
- d. Do adults who want a child to move to their house to do domestic work prefer girls or boys?
- e. What are the most dangerous/risky/harmful things that girls might experience when they move to a new household and away from where they are "used" to living? What about boys?

4. Family and Friends



G 2

- a. When a child moves to a new place far from where he or she used to live, how does he or she make friends? Is it hard to make friends (advocates?)?
 - b. Who is a mother? What makes someone a mother? Who is a father? What makes someone a father?
 - c. What types of things do adults do to show that they love and care for children?
 - d. Who would you turn to if you had a problem?
 - e. Do children make friends easily when they move to a new place? Why? Why not?
 - f. Can you describe/list the things that make someone a “good” friend? What types of things does this person do?
5. Miscellaneous [Draw a big question mark ‘?’ on the side of the die.]
- a. If a relative wants a young girl or boy to help around the house, how do they go about finding one?
 - b. Can you describe/list the things that you think make a “good child”? How do these differ for girls and boys?
 - c. Can you give us insight on what would improve the lives of Zambian children who do a lot of domestic work? Or children who provide a lot of help to women who do domestic work?
 - d. Are children ever afraid to live in particular households? If so, can you list some reasons?

- e. Can you list the main health concerns faced by children of your age? Who do children ask for help when they are sick? Who do children turn to when they want information about health?
- f. When children move to a new household, do they eat as well as children who already live in that household? Why or why not?
- g. Do children ever think they are going to visit someone for a short visit and end up staying? What types of things would make them stay?
- h. Are children who work in someone's house, allowed to go and visit other family members or friends sometimes?
- i. Are there times when a child who works in a house is allowed to leave the yard to do their own thing? If not- list some of the reasons why they are not allowed.

SHORT BREAK: Unstructured play time

Continue Dice Game

[Part 2: Dice Game: To be continued after Lunch Break]

LUNCH BREAK

- RAs collect any remaining demographic information from children (Participation Form) and explanations of their drawings.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Icebreaker: Everyone stands up! Make a circle. Do the 'pepeta' icebreaker. A facilitator takes the lead:

- "I find a ball" (leader pretends to find a ball) [*group repeats "I find a ball"*]
- "I pick it up" (leader pretends to pick up a ball) [*group repeats "I pick it up"*]
- "I put it here" (leader pretends to bounce the make believe ball on a knee or head) [*group repeats "I put it here"*]
- "I pepeta" (continuing to bounce the ball on the knee, head, or other body part) [*group repeats "I pepeta"*]
- "I pepeta" [*group repeats*]
- Hand off to the next person who says and it starts over again, with each person trying to find a sillier place to bounce the ball.
-

PART 2: DICE GAME: Continued...

BREAK: Unstructured Play

PART 3: ROLE-PLAYS

- Divide children into several groups. If there are 10 children, divide them into groups of 3-3-4
- **Role-play Theme:** A child (of the same age as you are) moving on his or her own to live in a new home. The new home is far away from where the child had been living. Have 2 groups act out a girl child moving and 1 group act out a boy child moving.
- **Do not** deviate from the above theme scripts. If children ask for further explanation, tell them that you are interested in what they have to say and that they are the experts on this topic, because they are all children who have moved homes.
- **Note taking:** Two RAs should take notes at the same time. Try to write down as much about the role-play as possible, including the children's positions in relation to each other, their gestures, and their words.
- **Ask the audience:** Ask the children in the audience to pose questions about the role-play they just watched. Make sure to write down the questions and answers. (The questions will also be important for analysis.)
- **Follow up discussion:** RAs follow up with questions they have about the details of the role-play. For example, RAs might be unsure of whether a child is acting as a grandmother, mother, or sister. Also probe about a number of details or questions raised during the role-play.
 - **IMPORTANT:** Have children reflect on their position in the household in relation to other household members. Ask questions on the role-plays, such as:
 - What would have happened if [insert character] was...
 - The biological child of an adult in the household.
 - A boy instead of a girl.
 - Living with other children of his or her age.
 - Living with [introduce other types of potential household members].
 - Ask probing questions about repatriation.

CLOSING: Thank the children for their participation. Tell them how much you learned from their participation and point out one or two examples. Then explain that the information they gave us will be used to help children in the future.

Ask children: Do you have any questions for us? Encourage them to ask questions, and record their questions.

FINAL ACTIVITY: Everyone forms a circle. One person introduces a song and everyone takes turns dancing in the middle of the circle.

Make sure that each child takes a packet of mealie meal and sugar back to their households.

INDIVIDUAL CHILD INTERVIEW FORM

Before conducting the interview: Explain (or re-explain if child has already given consent/assent) the research using the Explanation of Research Form for children age 15 and older, the Consent Form for all children (children under 15 years do not have to give written consent but we should try to obtain it) and the Verbal Assent Script for all children under 15 years.

Ensure that the child has a copy of the contact and referral sheet for any questions or concerns after the interview. Read what is on the form so that all children, especially children who cannot read, are aware of what it says.

If child gave consent or assent to this research earlier in the day or week, ask them if they still consent/assent to the interview.

Before beginning the interview, the interviewer(s) should do an age-appropriate activity with the child to put him or her at ease.

Have silhouettes and drawing materials ready. Some children may wish to answer questions more visually or use material objects. Other children might find it useful to hold onto something or have something to look at while they are answering questions.

Section 1: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1.1 Name of Interviewer(s): _____

1.2 Date: _____

1.3 Location [District, Province]: _____

1.4 Child's Name: _____

1.5 Child number from CPW: _____

1.6 Age [in years]: _____

1.7 Sex [circle one]: FEMALE MALE

1.8 Tribe: _____

1.9 Nationality: _____

1.10 Currently in Domestic Work [circle one]: YES NO

Section 2: HOUSEHOLD, FAMILY, AND SOCIAL NETWORK

2.1 How long have you lived in (area of research)? _____

2.2 How long have you lived in your current household? _____

2.3 Can you list all of the people with whom you currently live. Can we start with adults?

	Adult member	Male or Female	Age in years	Relation to child interviewee (ex. maternal grandmother or grandfather, mother's sister or brother, father's brother, unrelated male employer, etc.)	When you address this person, what do you commonly call them? [ex. Aunty/Uncle, Madam, Boss, etc.]

And now can we talk about the other children in the house?

Child name	Relation	Male/ Female	Age	Does he or she attend school?	List the things that the child does to help around the house	Does he or she spend more or less time on chores than you do?	Does he or she do any work outside of the house? [e.g., selling in the market, crushing stones]

2.4 Can you tell me about your biological mother? *Let child answer first. Then probe for further details:*

- is the child's mother alive?
- where does she live?
- when did the child last see her?
- what she does/did she do to make money?
- ask if the child was close to the mother?

2.5 Can you tell me about your biological father? *Let child answer first. Then probe for further details.*

- is the child's father alive?
- where does he live?
- when did the child last see him?
- what he does/did he do to make money?
- ask if the child was close to the father?

2.6 Do you have brothers and sisters? *If yes,*

- where do they live?
- How frequently do you see them?
- What do you do when you see them?

2.7 Can you list the people who help you? *Probe for various kinds of assistance (for example, food, clothes, school supplies, money, household help, and encouragement).*

3 DAILY ROUTINES, DOMESTIC CHORES, AND WORK

3.1 I would like you to think about everything you did yesterday. *If the child participated in the CPW yesterday, ask them to describe the day before yesterday.*

Please start by telling me the time you woke up and then can you describe what you did from morning to the night that day. Tell me about:

- any chores you did
- when you rested and ate
- when you had free time
- any other things you did including who you talked to during your day

3.2 What chores do you like to do around the house? What chores do you really dislike doing?

3.3 What would you do if you thought you had too many chores to do around the house?

- Is there someone you would tell? If not, why? If yes, who and why this person?

3.4 How do you think you are treated compared to the other children in the house? How do you think you are treated compared to other children your age that you see in your neighborhood/compound?

4 HEALTH AND WELFARE

4.1 How many meals do you typically eat per day?

- What do you have for meals?
- Do you feel you are given enough food?

4.2 With whom do you typically eat your meals?

- Who buys the food?
- Who cooks?
- Who cleans the plates after the meal?

MIGRATION AND LIFE HISTORY

5 MOBILITY and RESIDENCE

Use children's drawings from the Children's Participatory Workshop as props to help facilitate discussion. If they didn't take part in the workshop, ask them to draw a picture of the different places they have lived and debrief this with them.

First, I would like us to count all of the different places you have lived. *Use drawing to prompt memory. There might be more places than the ones listed on the drawing.*

5.1 Do you know where you were born? *Write down name of place & district.*

5.2 How many homes have you lived in since you were born? *If a child has lived in more than two homes, probe to ask them about reasons for moving from place to place to get a sense of how much they have moved and how far they are now from their birth place/original home.*

6. CHILD'S CURRENT RESIDENCE: Now I want to talk about the place where you currently live. You have already told me some things about the place where you currently live. I would like to ask a few more questions.

6.1 Do you know why you moved to this place?

- Who decided that you would move?
- Were you involved in the decision to move?
- Did you want to go or were you unhappy about the move?

6.2 Can you tell me about how you moved?

- Did you move alone or with someone?
- What transportation did you take?
- How long did it take to get there?

6.3 What were you told about living in this new place?

- were you told that you would be paid?
- get to go to school?
- your family would be sent money?
- a lot of work?
- a little work?

6.4 What does your current house look like compared to the previous houses you lived in?

- How many rooms?
- Where do you sleep? With whom do you sleep?

6.5 Are you currently attending school?

- If yes, what grade are you in?
- If No, what grade did you last complete? What was the reason for leaving school? Do you plan to go back to school?

6.6 Do you ever get sick here? If so, tell us about it.

- Is there anything you do that makes you feel sick?
- Can you tell me about the last time you were sick and had to go outside the household for treatment to a clinic or traditional healer. Who did you see? What did you take?

6.7 Is there something that is causing you to think too much these days? Can you tell me about it?

6.8 What makes you feel happy about living here?

6.9 Is there anything else you want to tell me about your life in this house?

6.10 Do you call this house home? Or is there somewhere else that you think of as home?

- *If somewhere else that the child calls 'home' – how is home different to this place?*

6.11 Is there anywhere else you have stayed that you would like to tell us about?

- *Probe about why they want to talk about it.*

7 ABUSE AND VIOLENCE

<< Ask the following questions if they have not already come up in the discussion. Approach them with care and pay attention to the child's level of discomfort. >>

READ ALOUD:

Sometimes people do bad or violent things to other people. Maybe this has happened to you at some time. I now want to ask you about any bad or violent things anyone might have done to you since you arrived at this house or when you lived in other place(s). You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer.

7.1 In any of the places that you have lived, has anyone done anything to you that was really bad or that hurt you?

- For example, did anyone ever hit, slap, kick you, pull your hair or burn you on purpose?
- If yes, ask: Can you tell me what happened?

7.2 Do you live with or have you ever lived with someone who drank too much beer or used drugs?

- If yes, what happened when they were drunk or on drugs? [*Probe about which household(s)*]

- Who was this person?
- How was this person when not drinking (or doing drugs)?

READ ALOUD

People sometimes do sexual things to children or touch children in ways that make them feel uncomfortable. Maybe this has happened to you at some time. I now want to ask you about any sexual things anyone might have done to you since you arrived at this house or when you lived in other place(s).

7.3 <<for children over age 15>>

Did anyone ever do something sexual to you or make you do something sexual that you did not want to do?

- If yes, ask: Can you tell me what happened?

Or

<<for children under age 15>>

Did anyone ever touch you in a place that you did not like or make you touch them in a place that you did not want to?

- If yes, ask: Can you tell me what happened?

[Assess the child's level of anxiety or sadness after these questions. If you think it's necessary, take a break with the child or introduce an appropriate activity. For example, drawing something together.]

8. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT and FREE TIME

8.1 Do you ever get any free time? What do you do in your free time during the day or night?

[Probe: just sit, play, watch tv, have fun, read, see friends, go to church]

- With whom do you do these things?
- When was the last time you did one of these fun or relaxing things?
- What did you do? With whom?

8.2 When was the last time you spent the night away from the home where you currently live?

- Where did you go, for how long, and what did you do?

8.3 Do you get a chance to see your siblings/ parents if they live somewhere else?

8.4 If you could be anywhere right now, where would you most like to be?

8.5 Can you tell me what you would most love to be doing when you become an adult?

9 CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Is there anything else we have left out of your story or that you want to tell us?

9.2 Do you have any questions for us?

FINAL ACTIVITY: *To be decided based on the child's age and interests.*

Thank you for your time and participation. If you have any further questions or concerns, please feel free to contact ZAMBART or any of the organisations listed on the reference sheet we gave you.

Domestic Workers Semi-Structured Interviews

Explanation of research: Thank you for agreeing to talk to us. As we mentioned we are carrying out a research about the welfare of children, and in particular of young domestic workers.

[Explain confidentiality clause- including mention of the benefits of taking action if child is in danger.]

Introduction:

- **Collect participant details**
- **Administer explanation sheet**
- **Administer informed consent**
- **Explain that this interview will take no longer than an hour and will be recorded for research use only**

Name of Interviewer(s): _____ Date: _____

Location [District, Province]: _____

Domestic Worker's Name: _____

Age [in years]: _____

Sex [circle one]: FEMALE MALE

Tribe: _____ Nationality: _____

Currently in Domestic Work: Y/N

Questions

Personal experiences

1. Can you tell us how you came to be a domestic worker? At what age did you start working as a domestic worker?
2. How long have you worked in this household? Do you reside in the house or live elsewhere?
3. Do you have any children? (depending on children's age: Who looks after your children while you work? Do your children help you with your work? Where do they live?)
4. Can you tell us about your experiences of being a domestic worker? (probe – daily tasks, workload, ambitions)

5. As a domestic worker have you experienced any of the following: (do not administer this as a table but rather ask the questions more openly and fill in the table with notes)

	Explanation – how often, under whose direction etc..
Long working hours?	
Not being allowed to leave the house without permission?	
Sexual abuse: Has anyone in your work ever touched you in a sexual way? Have you had sex with someone at your work when you did not want to?	
Violence: specify/probe: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slapped • Pushed • Beaten • Dragged • Kicked • Pulled hair • Bitten • Threatened with a weapon • Any other 	
Verbal insults?	
Working during public holidays?	
Being asked to carry out an extra heavy workload e.g. washing clothes for many visitors?	
Working when sick?	
Working when you have a bereavement?	

6. What kind of work do you do in the household? Are there jobs that you really enjoy doing?
Are there jobs that you really dislike doing?
7. Have you ever heard of the Domestic Workers Union? Are you in touch with them?

Social Networks

8. Are you able to visit family and friends as a domestic worker?

9. How easy is it to make friends as a domestic worker?
10. If you had a problem who would you tell? Who would you ask for help? Do you find it easy to get helped when you need it?
11. Do you have a cell phone?
12. Are you able to contact friends and family anytime you want? If not, why not? Are they able to contact you any time you want?
13. What do like doing in your free time? Are there other things you would like to do but can't? What? Why?

Knowledge of young domestic workers

Now we are going to ask you some questions about young domestic workers. By this we mean children who move to a different home to carry out household chores or give help.

14. What role do you think that children play in domestic work? For example if we were talking about children under 10 years, what role do they play? What about children over 10? What about children over 14 or 15?
15. Have you ever known any young girls or boys working as domestic workers? Is it common in this area for children to work as domestic workers?
16. From your experience-what are some of the factors that lead to young girls and boys working as domestic workers?
17. Have you ever heard of a young domestic worker being physically abused by the family that she /he works for? Tell me about what you have heard.
18. Do you think that a young domestic worker's health is looked after? Probe for food, action when sick.
19. Do you think that a young domestic worker's educational needs are looked after?
20. Have you ever heard of any young domestic workers having a sexual relationship with a member of the family they work for? If yes- what was the relationship like- was it forced? How did it end?
21. Do you think young domestic workers have time to play or watch TV?
22. Are they allowed to visit family members or friends in other households or communities?
23. What do you think children in domestic work might worry about?
24. If a young domestic worker wanted to leave their job, where could they go for help?
25. Do you think things are changing for young domestic workers, compared to the time you started? (Prompt: for example are there more young girls working as domestic workers nowadays than there were before? Why do you think things have changed?)
26. Are there any other observations you would like to make about the health and well being of young domestic workers?

Recruitment

27. Have you ever assisted any young girls to get a job as a domestic worker? Can you tell us about it?
28. IF YES, Do you know any other domestic workers who have helped young girls to get a job?
29. If someone you know asked you to help find them a domestic worker- would you recommend your own child to go and work for them? Would you recommend a relative?

30. If someone you don't know asked you to help find them a domestic worker, would you help?

31. If someone wanted to find a young girl or boy to help around the house, how would they go about it? (Are there certain people who can organise to help find a young girl?)

Mobility

32. Do you know where many young domestic workers come from around here? Is there a particular place that it is common for young domestic workers to come from?

33. Have you ever heard about young people travelling a long distance to go and work as domestic workers? From a) another compound or village b) another town c) a different province d) a different country

[Do young people move from one compound to another to work- or do they usually move to work in a residential area?]

34. A lot of people have told us stories about young girls who are orphaned and when they go and stay with another family, they end up working as a maid there. Have you ever seen this happen? How often?

35. Are there certain factors that make some young girls and boys more vulnerable to being used as a domestic worker? (for example coming from a poor family / rural area?)

Other

36. Is there anything else you want to tell us about domestic work?