CHILD DOMESTIC LABOUR IN LUSAKA: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

The Case Of Kamwala, Kabwata, Libala, Chilenje, Woodlands Extension, Nyumba-Yanga

By

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LIST OF ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

ASI    Anti-Slavery International
CHIN   Children in Need Network
CRC    United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (Florence, Italy)
CSO    Central Statistical Office
HIV/AIDS  Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICDC   International Child Development Centre
OAU    Organisation of African Unity
UNICEF United Nations Children Fund
ILO    International Labour Organisation
RDC    Residents Development Committee
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

0.00 The aim of this study is to look at the characteristics of child domestic labour in Lusaka. The study attempted to establish the relationship between this aspect of child labour and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1990). This became necessary in view of the fact that Zambia ratified the Convention in 1991 and ratification carries with it an obligation to look into the rights of all children particularly working children. A first step in reporting on the CRC is to investigate the relationship between the conditions of working children and their rights as persons and as workers.

0.01 The study investigated the nature of the work including the reasons why children were working, the conditions under which the children were working, and the gender differentiation in the work. Each aspect of investigation was examined in relation to exploitation and to the rights of the child in the CRC.

0.02 The study involved 159 children below the age of 15 who were employed as child domestics. The sample was inclusive of non-schooling relative workers. The latter category was included to capture relatives who are usually not regarded as workers but who are actually working as unpaid relative workers. The research was conducted in the Kamwala, Kabwata, Libala, Chilenje, and Woodlands Extension/NYumba Yanga areas of Lusaka.

0.03 A major characteristic of the child work was that most of the respondents were between the ages of thirteen and fifteen. Since previous literature found that employers preferred the same age, this finding establishes the age as the characteristic age of child domestic labour in Lusaka. The finding is however a social concern because children in that age group who are working, are out of school children. In contrast to the finding by Lungwangwa (1996) that girls were only 20% of street children, a major finding of this study is that the large majority of child domestics, (88%) are girls. Additionally, girls constituted the larger majority, (65%) of relative workers. The finding suggests that child domestic labour is a female dominated area of child labour in Lusaka.

Causes of child domestic labour

0.04 The fundamental reason why children are working is parental poverty. Eighty-one percent (81%) of the child workers said that they were working because their parents could not provide basic needs of the family. As a result, many children are working in order to contribute to the family budget. The indication from this is that child domestic labour is one of the ways that families cope with poverty. Family poverty however is an outcrop of societal poverty. The poor economic condition of the country is resulting in many children having to work instead of being in school.

0.05 In addition, the method of sharing the cost of education with parents that was introduced by government, the Parents Teachers Association (PTA) has additional adverse
effects on the attendance of children at school and tends to be contributing to child domestic labour. Children were dropping out or unable to enrol in school, and engaging in child labour as alternative activity to schooling because of the inability of parents to pay the PTA. Such adverse effects include the elimination of children from poor families from education. The PTA thereby compounds problems for the most vulnerable, the extremely poor, who need education in order to get out of poverty. The opposite of this policy, that is free and compulsory education, is a better alternative to cost sharing.

0.06 Other social issues that were found to be responsible for children engaging in child domestic labour include death in the family, giving rise to orphanhood. Orphaned children were more than half of (57%) the sample of relatives and at least one third (34%) of employed workers. This shows that a large number of orphans are working in private homes, as either paid or unpaid domestics, and most of them are girls. 68% of relative orphans, and 89% of employed orphans, are girls. Marital disintegration is another social problem, which generates vulnerability in children. The latter constitute thirty percent (30%) of employed workers and twenty percent (20%) of relatives. On the whole, relatives a larger proportion of relative workers are orphans and there are more girls.

0.07 Additionally, many of the workers, (69%) come from families with six, seven and eight children making large family size a source of child domestic labour. Since most of the children were from poor families, a large family would compound poverty situation and result in sending some of the children into waged work to generate income or to live with wealthier relatives. The average family size of the respondents was 6.3 almost the same as the national average of 6.7.

**Conditions of work**

0.08 A major characteristic of the condition of work is that it involves too many responsibilities. The girl workers were in charge of most of the domestic chores in the household. Where the host family has small children, the child worker in addition to household chores acts as a surrogate mother while biological mothers went to work. Childcare sometimes included sleeping on the floor on the children's room in order to care for the children throughout the night. Those who lived with employers were found working an average of about 15 hours 30 minutes daily, indicating too many hours of work. Some of them did not have fixed hours of work. Majority of those who lived with the employer, 71% started work by 06.00hours, 69% closed after 21.00 hours.

0.09 For many workers, 54% of employed and 37% of relative workers, prolonged hours of work are compounded by the absence of rest breaks during working hours. Most of the workers could only snatch rest when the employers were out. Boys on the other hand are able to rest because their work environment is less supervised than that of the girls. Another fifty-nine percent (59%) of the girls did not have any day off while eighty-three percent did not have the opportunity to play with peers outside the house. In addition, to this, none of them
enjoyed paid leave off from work. These findings suggest the isolation and lack of family life for most of the child workers. Such conditions are likely aggravating the stress of work on young children. Since most boys, (90%) come to work from home, they are able to play after work, enjoy family life and have the weekend away from work. Although not all the children experienced these negative conditions, those who did were more than those who did not.

0.10 Lack of education and low level of education is characteristic of the condition of work. Only one child worker was found going to school part-time. Out of the remaining, 35% had dropped out by grade 4, 25% by grade 7, 18% by grade 10 and 21% had never been. Among relative workers, 19% had dropped out by grade 4, 23% by grade 7, 25% by grade 10, and 13% had never been. From quantitative and qualitative responses, both the children and the parents regret lack of educational opportunity, which contributes to the social isolation of the child worker and impedes the opportunity for a better future.

0.11 On remuneration, ninety-five percent, (90%) of child workers said that they were paid. Contrary to findings in Kenya where 78% of child domestics are paid in kind 79 percent of the respondents of this study said that they were paid in cash. The average wage of child workers in this study was K26, 402 ($7.9 at the exchange rate of K3, 350) a month. There is however no minimum wage in the country against which to assess exploitation. However, in comparison with the recommendation of the Food Basket by the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection, (JCTR 2000) the amount earned by the children is not enough to meet basic daily needs and is therefore exploitative.

0.12 Additional exploitation is suggested by the finding that out of the ninety-five percent who were paid, 65% received the money in their own hands thereby contradicting the finding in Rwanda that the wages of majority of child domestics are sent to their parents in the village. Out of those who are paid however, only 34% said that they were paid regularly. Irregular payment is a feature of the work, which makes many child workers change jobs frequently, resulting in the unstable nature of the work. Only a handful however complained of wage deductions as punishment for offences, with only three serious cases.

0.13 Though only five (6%) said that they were physically beaten when they offend, forty-eight (58%) suffered verbal abuses. From the qualitative discussions with the child workers, verbal abuse seems to be a characteristic feature of the work, which most of the children resent very much. For many of them verbal abuse could be very severe. Like irregular payment, it also results in frequent change of jobs and contributes to the unstable nature of the work. Sexual abuse was another feature of the work in Lusaka. Revelations on sexual abuse indicate that sometimes the men of the house corrupt the girl child worker. Other culprits include male children of the house, male visitors or men in the neighbourhood. Sexual abuse in particular renders the work hazardous and intolerable because apart from initiating prostitution there is the risk of early pregnancy and of Sexually Transmitted Decease (STD) and HIV/AIDS.
0.14 Discussions about the feelings and perceptions of the children about the work indicates that they were not unhappy having to work to help their families. Rather they were not happy with many of the conditions of the work. They resented not being able to go to school. Surprisingly, the deep sense of loss, which the children expressed at not being able to go to school, seem to contradict the readiness to help their parents. Children appeared to be caught in the web of cultural reciprocal obligation between parents and children, on one hand, and the needs for a good education in preparation for a better future life.

0.15 They also did not like the isolation from social life and from their families. They were not happy with the ostracism from the other members of the household and especially verbal abuse by employers and sometimes the young children of the house. Another major concern of child workers was the lack of government intervention in their situation. Many of them expected that we were sent by government to investigate their condition and were hoping that help was at hand. We however had to explain to them that we were not from government. Though the parents appreciated the contribution of the child to the family budget, most of them lamented the inability of the children to continue schooling. In contrast to child workers and parents, employers were of a different view. The employers said that the children should be happy to be working because they are children of the poor. They felt that they were doing the children a social service by employing them. On the reasons why they employ young workers, they said young girls are cheaper to hire, are more hard working and more stable at work, more obedient and better trusted than adult workers.

**Gender issues in child domestic labour**

0.16 The job description of both workers and dependants is differentiated by sex. While girls were assigned to work inside the house doing domestic chores, boys were assigned to do manual work outside the house though within the yard. The prevalence of girls in domestic child labour reflects the impact of socialisation and cultural discrimination, which is known to segregate the girl-child and women into stereotyped gender roles.

0.17 Gender preference was demonstrated in the preference by employers for girls to live-in with employers and boys not to. As a result, the majority of girl-child-workers (80%) lived with their employers while most of the boys did not. This gender preference in the work was not only a major determinant of the conditions of work, but also of the gender differences in the work.

0.18 There were three categories of workers based on whether children lived in or not. There were live-in workers whose parents/guardians lived in or around Lusaka; live-in workers whose parents lived far away from Lusaka; and live-out workers. This categorisation was necessitated by the fact that living with the employer or not, and having relatives nearby or not, contributed immensely, to the level of the strain of the work on the children.

0.19 Most live-in maids were girls, while most boys came from home. The live-in maids were overworked especially where there was a baby or young children to be cared for in
addition to housework. Most of them started work at 0500 hours and finished work between 21.00 hours and 23.00 hours and are usually the last to go to bed in the household. Their lives are usually so circumscribed by the work that they had no time for recreation, rest or play.

0.20 There was marked difference between the conditions of live-in maids whose parents were from out of town and live-in maids whose parents lived around Lusaka. Most of them had the opportunity to visit their families occasionally while the former had no relatives nearby to visit. As a result of this, child workers with no relatives in the city were the most disadvantaged group. Those with parents in Lusaka were unstable at work unlike those who had no relatives living nearby. This is because whenever the conditions of work were not favourable, they simply did not return to work from home visits or day-off.

0.21 Live-out maids who came to work in the morning and returned home every evening were usually less disadvantaged than workers who lived-in. They enjoyed the opportunity to interact with their families and friends daily. They also had time for rest, recreation and play just as those the lived-ins, who had families nearby. On the other hand, live-ins, with no families nearby, usually missed-out on such liberties.

0.22 Though most child domestics complained of being overworked, live-in workers were more overworked than live-outs. They usually started work at dawn and did not stop working till about mid-night. They ran errands for everyone in the house of sometimes up to eight people in the household. They served as surrogate mothers and housewives in place of working nursing mothers and housewives. In addition to child-care, they routinely did the laundry including ironing. They also cooked, cleaned and polished the floor. Sometimes they served as extra hand to full time housewives, but in all cases, the work and the needs of the employer's household, circumscribed their lives.

0.23 Compared with the live-out workers who worked about 10 hours daily, live-in workers worked an average of 15 hours a day, that is, 105 hours a week. Many live-ins complained of lack of rest, play or opportunity for recreation. Majority complained that they were not allowed to play with anyone in the neighbourhood, thereby completing the isolation of the live-in child worker who had no relatives in Lusaka.

0.24 The live-ins with no relatives in Lusaka and the relative children are the most disadvantaged. They did not go on home visits and so totally miss out on family life. Unlike live-outs and live-ins with family nearby, they are not able to abscond like other categories of workers. Without opportunity to play except within the household, they are the most isolated of all the child workers. Generally, there were more constraints on live-in child domestics than the live-outs and much more on live-ins with no relatives nearby and the relatives.

0.25 Recruitment into child domestic labour showed no regular patterns and no child was found to be in bonded labour. There was no trafficking of children, either from the village to the town or across international boarders as reported in other countries. Recruitment is usually solicited individually by employers, parents and the child workers.
0.26 Though reports of physical abuse were very minimal, verbal psychological abuse was typical. Although girls were usually shy to discuss private matters such as sexual abuse, surprisingly, some of the girls openly reported quite a number of cases of sexual abuse, an indication that it is most likely to be a widespread occurrence.

0.27 On the whole, though some issues such as lack of education, isolation, long hours of work and heavy workload were characteristic, the conditions of work varied with employer. The whims and personal tendencies of each employer determined the treatment of the child worker.

0.28 Most of the terms and conditions of work violate the best interest of the child and therefore violate many of the articles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). These include articles 7,8,9,13,15,18,19,28,31,32,34,35 and 37 of the convention.

**New Trends in Child Domestic Labour**

0.29 The findings of this study suggest some new trends. For example, Matoka found that fewer girls migrated from rural areas to work in the cities because parents did not easily allow girls to work far away from home in order to protect their morals. In addition, girls also preferred to live with their parents for fear of 'being turned into prostitutes at an early age.' Such fears revealed the concern of both the girls and their parents that child domestic labour is implicit with sexual abuse. Contrary to such trends, however, this study found that twenty-seven girls had migrated from the rural area in search of wages labour in the city while only one boy was in such a situation. Some of the girls said they came to the city on their own with the help of friends who are already working in the city in search of work. The indication of this is that parents are increasingly sacrificing the protection of their children and family values for the sake of using children to generate money, due to increasing poverty.

0.30 A new trend is that there seem to be more employed workers than in previous studies. Previous literature found that unpaid relative workers were preferred to employed workers. Contrary to this, this study found more paid domestics than relative workers. The new trend seems to be that more children are going into waged employment in the homes of strangers in order to earn wages most likely due to increasing levels of poverty.

0.31 Additional new trends indicate that there are fewer child workers combining schooling with working and increased workload for children in domestic work. While this study found only one worker schooling part-time, Matoka's finding indicated that 15% of boys and 13% of girl were schooling part-time. This indicates that in 1993, Matoka found more child domestics combining school with work. Additionally, in comparison with Hansen's (1986) study on domestic workers in Zambia between 1900 and 1985 found that different workers were employed during the colonial and early post-colonial days, many workers were assigned to do different aspects of the work within the households of colonial masters. While one worker did the laundry, another did the bath, another did the cooking and a child worker was
employed just to play with the children. The new trend is for one young worker to do the work of about four to five adults. Thereby while the number of workers decreased, the workload seems to have increased over the years. Furthermore, while majority of Hansen's samples were adult males with children doing minor roles, the age of workers tend to have decreased and preference for age thirteen to fifteen. These young ones who used to be assigned light duties or merely served as playmates to children of the house, are now expected to run the entire household on their own. Another trend is increase in the hours of work between findings by this study of 15 hours 30 minutes and with Mushota (1987) and Matoka (1993) findings of 14 hours. These increasing trends suggest that the increasing desperation due to extreme poverty is compromising traditional norms and values and worsening the conditions of the work.

0.32 Findings on the whole indicate that child domestic labour exists and that the conditions of work are deplorable. The work is exploitative and many of the rights of the children as workers, as growing children and as human beings are violated. The findings of this study establish its characteristics to be child labour and not child work, which ought to either be prohibited, or be strictly protected by law.

0.33 Though the features of the work in Lusaka are similar to the conditions in other countries (UNICEF ICDC 1999), the conditions of work establish many aspects of child domestic labour as hazardous and intolerable. According to Bequele & Myers (ILO, 1995) though hazard usually implies physical dangers, in the case of children, psychological and mental abuse such as verbal abuse, isolation, ostracism and sexual abuses make children suffer more that adults. Children are vulnerable to experiences such as these because of their tender age and due to their age such experiences tend to be more devastating on them. Bequele et all further suggest that children differ from adults because they are still growing up and the process of normal development can be damaged by negative conditions. The concept of work hazard must therefore be child centred in that beyond the immediate jeopardy, lie negative impacts on emotional development, cognitive development such as lack of schooling, social and moral development, sexual abuse, isolation and denial of family contacts, play and recreation. Some of the conditions of work like sexual abuse of the children make the work intolerable. The work is therefore a high social cost for the child and the community.

0.34 The foregoing findings underlie the need for more detailed studies, in order to capture the full extent and characteristics of this phenomenon, which tend to disadvantage girls in particular, especially since it is related to the education of the girl-child and the CRC. The study recommends that in order to drastically reduce out of school children and thereby reduce child labour, the government should endeavour to make free and compulsory education, a national priority.
CHAPTER ONE
Introduction
1.0 Child labour is a serious problem in the world today especially in the developing countries. According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 1998), the number of children aged between 5 and 14 who are working full time in the world, is at least 120 million and the large majority of them are in developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In Zambia, child labour has also been acknowledged as a problem. Its negative implications for Zambia are particularly disturbing, especially with statistics showing that about 50 percent of the total population is below age 15 (CSO 1996). Studies on child labour in Zambia are very few and those that have been done are grossly deficient of data on child domestics.

1.1 Child domestics are children who are engaged in employment as housemaids, nannies, house-boys or 'horse-boys' within private households. Girls are hired to do household chores such as cooking, cleaning and child care, while boys are assigned work outside the house washing the car, tending the garden as garden boys, running errands or working in the stables as 'horse boys'. The privacy of the work makes them invisible workers. Their dispersal among various households, the lack of legal recognition for the work, its absence from systematic research, and from official statistics, all combine to reinforce its invisibility. The acquiescence of the public at large to the work in Zambia seems to be because of traditional socialisation, which gives the impression that domestic work is women's destiny; something that they were born to do and therefore, domestic work cannot be harmful to children. Some tend to regard it as a better alternative to poverty and destitution, and therefore employers are performing a social obligation.

1.2 Studies have shown, however, that child domestics are often exploited, maltreated and abused. They miss out on schooling and skill training opportunities, family life, play and recreation. They are also exposed to psychological, physical and sexual abuse. The implications are that the work is harmful and not in the best interest of the children involved. Furthermore, it is harmful on the long run to the society at large because it generates a reservoir of future unskilled labour force. Despite the negative aspects of the work, due to increasing poverty, there appears to be a growing preference and demand for young domestics in Zambia (Times of Zambia, 7 March 1998). Employers claim that they are more obedient, more hard working, and are cheaper than adult workers.

1.3 The preface to Black's (1997) manual on child domestics, referred to a request by Anti-Slavery International (ASI, 1956) for systematic data to be collected in countries where children are commonly employed as domestic workers. According to the request, although child domestic labour is known to be the most widespread form of child labour in the world, data on which to base international advocacy campaigns about its negative aspects is limited. Additionally, Convention 182 on the Intolerable Forms of Child Labour requests for gender segregated data on invisible forms of child labour such as domestic child labour, in which girls tend to predominate. In 1991, Zambia ratified the Convention on the Rights of Children (CRC, 1990) which carries with it an obligation to report periodically on how the rights of children are protected in line with the terms of the convention.
1.4 This study is in response to global concerns about the exploitation of the labour of children. According to the study, *child labour* is defined as work that hampers access to education, involves too many hours of work, too many responsibilities, irregular payment or lack of wages, and sexual, physical and psychological abuse. The study investigates the work of children aged between eight and fifteen years. This is because though most international conventions specify age 18 as the minimum age for work, more recent conventions such as the ILO Convention 182 permits different countries to decide a more realistic age that suits their economic and cultural demands. The choice of age 15 as the ideal school completion age was determined by current suggestions for basic education to be more than mere numeracy and literacy but functional literacy, which should be completed by age 15.

**The Problem**

1.5 Poverty is rising in Zambia. At the same time, orphans from the HIV/AIDS pandemic are increasing. The increase in the number of vulnerable children on the streets suggests that invisible workers are also likely to be increasing. The problem is that while the visibility of street children helps them to receive public attention and sympathy, the conditions of invisible workers are not known. Whatever is known about them is often clouded by misconceptions that arise from traditional socialisation. Since women and girls are brought up to do domestic chores, it is usually assumed that domestic work cannot be harmful. In addition to this, because they are usually children of the poor, and are housed and fed and out of public eye, it is assumed that the work is a better alternative to destitution. As a result, some feel that the employers are doing the children a favour and do not feel that the child worker has any rights.

1.6 While detailed information on its full extent and characteristics are not available. Indications however are that children are recruited from distant villages or from poor urban families or relatives. In some instances they are orphaned relatives and so are completely dependent on the patron families. Total dependency means that the children have to accept the harsh conditions that are associated with the work. Though the work is beneficial in the sense that it keeps the children off the streets and where they are paid provide financial support for needy families, those of them under room and board are usually subjected to very long hours of work. They are exposed to various forms of abuse, including verbal, physical and sexual. They are isolated and ostracised within the household and many of the conditions of work violate the rights of the children as human beings and as workers. The fact that they miss-out on schooling and any form of skill training and there is no pension scheme for the future social welfare benefits, prepares them for a future life of destitution. Despite the studies that have been done, many of the aspects of the work are still unknown in Zambia.

1.7 There is therefore a need for systematic study into the characteristics of the work such as the reasons why the children are working, details of the conditions of the work and the gender implications in the work. There is need also to evaluate the characteristics of the work with regards to the rights of the child in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC 1990). The prevalence of girls in the work makes the work and in the preference for those
who live-in, a gender concern. It is against the background of these needs that this study was carried out.

Objectives of the study

1.8 The general objective of the study is to establish the nature, causes, conditions and effects of domestic child labour from a gender perspective. More specifically, the study aims: (i) to establish the reasons why children seek employment; (ii) to establish the conditions under which child domestics are working and to assess whether relative workers do the same work as employed child workers; and (iii) to establish the gender differences in the findings.

Research questions

1.9 The study was guided by the following basic questions:
(i) Is domestic child labour in Lusaka a hazardous and intolerable form of child labour?
(ii) Does domestic child labour in Lusaka violate the rights of the children in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)?

Rationale

1.10 The study is justified on a number of grounds. Firstly, it responds, as already indicated, to global concerns about the exploitation of child labour, including those of ASI, Convention 182 on the Intolerable Forms of Child Labour and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The study provides answers to the concerns of the ASI about servitude in domestic employment. The findings provide gender desegregated data on this invisible form of child labour as requested by the ILO Convention 182 (1999). They also serve to indicate whether the rights of the children are violated by the work. Secondly, the findings should generate interest and create awareness about the conditions under which child domestics are working among child advocates, policy makers, donors and the public. Thirdly, such awareness is expected to motivate further studies into the phenomenon. Lastly, the study is expected to suggest interventions on behalf of the children and to establish the gender implications in child domestic work. The findings will generate awareness and interest in this neglected area of child labour and contribute to the general body of knowledge.
CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.0 There is a gap in Zambia in the knowledge on the reasons why children are engaged in domestic labour and the conditions of work. While the UNICEF ICDC (1999) review of studies on child domestics in different countries found that poverty is the most common cause of the work, the same was affirmed by studies in Zambia on child labour. Matoka (1993) identify parental poverty as the main reason why children are working.

2.1 Boyden, Ling & Myers (1998) however suggest that it is too simplistic to attribute child labour to poverty alone. Other factors that have been found to generate child labour include the inadequacy of the school system, geographical location of the family and family dysfunction due to HIV/AIDS or divorce. Though not specifically with domestic labour, Kelly's study (1998) found that the inability of the school system to admit and to maintain all children of school going age in school contribute to children having to work rather than being in school. The study found that the high cost of education, failure to cope with studies, long distance to school, inability of some children to secure admission to school, pregnancy, are part of the reasons why children are dropping out of the school system. Lungwangwa's (1996) study attributed the alarming increase in the number of street children to the increase in the number of orphans from the HIV/AIDS. In addition, Kamocha, Munalula, & Miti's (1997) study on child labour in Zambia, found large family size as a cause of child domestic labour in Zambia. Findings by the study indicates that child labour predominates in large households and that 28 percent of all working children came from households with 6-7 persons. This study examined these different reasons with relation to child domestic labour in order to assess their contribution to it. The study however additionally examined the contribution of cultural gender discrimination.

2.2 Evidence from other parts of the world on the conditions of child domestic work is contained in the review by the UNICEF ICDC (1999). The report indicates that most child domestics live with the employer and that they were mostly girls. The review indicates that many studies found that the children tend to work prolonged hours, without rest, play, or recreation. Furthermore, visits to and from their families are restricted and severely limited. Where parents live far away from the work place, children had no opportunity to visit their families or did so once a year, a condition that hardly ever happened in many cases. At the same time, friendship with peers outside the house of employment is usually discouraged or prohibited, and the lack of schooling opportunity completes the isolation of the child from social life. The review further indicates that child workers were either unpaid, as in Kenya, or their pay was sent to their parents in the village, as Rwanda. As a result, child workers themselves hardly handled their own wages. The typical tasks were mostly household work and childcare.

2.3 In Zambia, though there is very little in the literature on the conditions of child domestic work. Studies by Mushota (1989) and Matoka (1993) represent the closest attempts before this study, to unravel the working conditions of child domestics. The studies found that
the children were working in 'undesirable conditions' thereby confirming that most of the findings in other parts of the world also apply to Zambia. Both studies found child domestics work very long and irregular hours, in most cases, from 06.00 hours till around 21.00 hours (15 hours), as a daily routine except on Sundays, when some of them would be given half day off to visit relatives or friends. The children generally suffered from verbal abuse, their wages were very low, and that poor relatives from the villages were preferred as unpaid labour.

2.4 Additional findings included the preference of employers for girls aged 15 and below, because they were more malleable, steadier at work, more hardworking than adults or much younger ones and more obedient than adults and accepted lower wages. Matoka (1993) in addition found that child domestics did not go to school, their wages were irregular, dependent relatives were treated harshly, and that the children felt insecure and lonely.

2.5 Both studies conducted exploratory qualitative investigations, using interviews and case studies. While most of Matoka's conclusions tended to confirm Mushota's, Matoka additionally obtained information on the correlation between child labour and schooling. He found that few girls were found to have been in the same employment for a long time, indicating instability in the work, that the majority of child domestics were girls while only fifteen percent were boys. He attributed this prevalence of girls to the fact that domestic work is regarded as a protected work. He also found that although many children migrate from the rural areas to the urban cities to work, fewer girls were found to have done so compared with boys.

2.6 On the whole, both investigations were limited in their treatment of child domestics most likely because the studies were not on child domestics per se. The aim of this study was to specifically examine child domestics and to analyse the current conditions of work in relation to the terms of the CRC and the CEDAW; features that were absent from both Mushota and Matoka's studies. None of them examined the causes and conditions of work in detail, while details of gender differences in the work were very minimal.

2.7 In general, both studies agreed that the main cause of child labour is poverty. Mushota however condemned the 'blatant use of children as a source of family income.' The study concluded that child domestic work was child labour, that parents were blinded by the immediate economic gains and that advocacy was needed to combat the practice, Matoka on the other hand concluded that it was not child labour but child work. Both of them however predicted an increase in the practice due to increasingly lower levels of poverty in the society. With such predictions and the actual worsening economic conditions of the country, the findings of this study would most likely include not only worsened conditions of work but also the emergence new sources of children going into waged labour. Due to the background of cultural socialisation, this study expects to find that child domestic work is a female dominated aspect of child labour and due to increasing poverty, the conditions of work are likely to have deteriorated.
CHAPTER THREE
Research Methods Used

3.0 The study applied both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to obtain a holistic insight into the objectives of the study. The exploratory nature of the study necessitated a qualitative approach in order to obtain the perceptions and feelings of participants and the underlying issues, which quantitative data would omit. Both quantitative and qualitative data were used to complement each other in the analysis and in the discussions. Several methods of data collection were used for triangulation.

Research Site

3.1 Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, is centrally situated at the junction of rail lines and main roads from the north, south, west and east. It began as a railway station in 1905. Covering an area of 360 square kilometres it became a municipality in 1953 and a city in 1970. Originally a farming settlement, it is increasingly becoming highly industrialised in recent years.

3.2 The chosen research site, Kabwata, Libala, Chilenje and Kamwala, Woodlands Extension/Nyumba Yanga areas of Lusaka, occupy an area of 32 square kilometres within Lusaka. These sites, with an estimated population of 97,361 out of Lusaka's estimated population of 2 million, are situated to the south and south east of the city. Using an annual projection of 3.7 percent annual growth rate over the 1990 census figures, Kamwala has an estimated population of 15,821; Kabwata, 12,889; Libala, 18583; Chilenje, 36,994; Woodlands, 8086; and Nyumba Yanga, 4987. CSO (1996) classified Chilenje South as one of the areas of highest population densities in Lusaka, while Chilenje South was classified as a medium density area. Woodlands' extension and the Madras area of Kamwala were classified as areas of lowest densities while Kabwata and Libala were regarded as areas of medium density in Lusaka. These classifications tend to designate the chosen research site as a mixed income area.

3.3 The choice of a mixed income research site was based on the suggestion in the ILO/IPEC's manual on how to find out quickly about child labour (1995:35). The manual suggests that for the sake of reliability, a mixed income area would be more representative of the city and would contain a sizeable proportion of invisible workers.

Target population

3.4 The target population was made up of child workers between the ages of eight (8) and fifteen (15) years, who were employed in the homes of strangers, either for wages or not or schooling part-time or not. A second target group was that of children of the same age bracket who were living and working in the homes of their relatives either for wages or not, but were not attending school. Children in this second group are not regarded as workers.
because of the informal traditional method of their adoption and the cultural demand on the children to regard the host as parents. The situation tends to make them more invisible than employed child workers.

Sampling

3.5 Data for the study was collected from a total of 159 randomly selected samples. Since children in domestic work are dispersed invisible workers, a house-to-house enumeration was done to locate them. The samples were desegregate by gender. Male child workers were so few that all the ten samples that were found in the entire research site had to be used purposively.

Table 1 (a): Total sample frame of employed and relative child workers from each site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research site</th>
<th>No. of employed children</th>
<th>No. of relative workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamwala</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabwata</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libala</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilenje</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodlands/extension/Nyumba Yanga</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total sampled number</strong></td>
<td>83=10 boys + 73 girls</td>
<td>76= 54 girls + 22 boys</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 (b): Sample size of employed and relative child workers from each site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research site</th>
<th>No of employed children</th>
<th>No of relative workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamwala</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabwata</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libala</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilenje</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodlands/Nyumba Yanga</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6 Out of the total frame in Table 1 (a) the respondents were in Table 1 (b) were randomly sampled. While a total of 73 girls were sampled, only ten boys were found in the research site. Fifty-four relative girls and twenty-two boys were randomly sampled.

3.7 The first ten respondents in each research site were used as samples for observation. Those who were willing to participate in the group discussions were randomly selected. Ten children who were found to be in very typical or desperate situations were randomly selected from a list of sixteen cases. The primary determinant for selecting the employers, parents and guardians was accessibility, availability and co-operation, those who were found were used purposively.

Tools for Data Collection
3.8 Secondary data involved research reports, journals, newspapers, and information from the internet websites. Preliminary discussions were held with key informants. Primary data tool included survey questionnaires, which were self-administered. Unobtrusive observations were carried out during the administration of the questionnaires. Case studies and focus group discussions were also conducted.

3.9 Two research assistants, one female and one male, were hired and were sensitised on the objectives, the sensitive nature of the study and on the methods of gaining entrance. They were also taught on the various instruments to be used. The questions were discussed and several interpretations were made to avoid misunderstandings.

3.10 Pilot interviews were conducted using randomly selected two girls and two boys employed child workers and relative workers. Two guardians, employers and parents of workers were also involved in the pilot interview. The pilot resulted in deleting questions that were threatening or rephrasing others while methods of gaining rapport were rehearsed.

3.11 The data was analysed using the SPSS computer package for Windows, version 6.0. Verbal descriptions were made of the qualitative data.

Limitations of the study

3.12 As expected of invisible working situations, the greatest challenge that the study faced was gaining entry into private homes to locate child workers. Since child workers were sometimes not willing to talk in the presence of employers, the best responses were obtained from those whose employers were absent. Entry was secured by assuring employers that this was an academic study, that their identities were confidential and that the interviews were anonymous. Group discussions were difficult to conduct because the workers worked everyday and many were not allowed outside the home. Parents were also difficult to locate for the survey because the houses in the compounds were not easily accessible. Generalisations cannot be made to the whole country because the study was only done in Lusaka.

Ethical consideration

3.13 Care was taken not to deceive the participants, but to try and gain their confidence. There was a promise to conceal their identities and that they will not be implicated legally or otherwise. Explanations were given that the study is only an academic exercise and a letter of introduction from the department of Gender Studies, University of Zambia was presented to each employer to read to confirm the above statement.

3.14 In the course of the interviews efforts were made to avoid affecting the children negatively, such as avoiding placing psychological stress on them. In some cases we had to try to soothe distressed children. In the discussions about sexual abuse we tried not to encroach on their privacy. We made them to know that the interview was voluntary.
3.15 It is pertinent to note that the children were more co-operative than the employers. Many of child workers were actually pleased with the study but were disappointed that we were not emissaries of government who had come to help them.
CHAPTER FOUR

Introduction

4.0 This section introduces the situational background to the study. It includes physical geographical, economic, and political background of the country. It also includes data on demography and education.

Geography

4.1 Zambia, a landlocked country, is located in the Southern region of Africa. It covers 753,000 square kilometres and shares border with eight countries. These include Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia to the south, Tanzania and Zaire to the north, Angola to the west, and Mozambique and Malawi to the east. The country is divided into nine provinces one of which is Lusaka province with Lusaka; the nation's the capital city, as its headquarters. The study was done in the southern and south-eastern part of Lusaka.

Economy

4.2 Zambia has a two-tier economy consisting of the modern and urban formal sector and a rural agricultural sector. There has been a decline in the economy of the country in the last 20 years. Among other things, the heavy reliance on copper following independence exposed the country to economic shock, from the fall in copper production and in copper prices. Zambia's GNP fell from US $ 500 with inflation of less than 5 percent at independence in 1964 to US $ 250 by 1991 with inflation risen to 100 percent. The result is high level of poverty, which has not been made better by the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). By 1985, Zambia was re-classified from a low middle income to a low-income country. Current classifications by the World Human Development index (1999) suggest that it is in the class of very impoverished and least developed countries of the world.

4.3 According to the Living Conditions Monitoring Survey (LCSM, 1996), two thirds of Zambians are living below the poverty line. The same report indicates that over 78 percent of the population live below the poverty line or fall in the category of extreme poverty with the large majority, 66 percent being extremely poor. The introduction of the structural adjustment programme (SAP) results in cuts in government spending on social services such as education and health and in closures of government parastatals and companies. The results include unemployment, retrenchments, and reduction of social amenities including education. With hopes of employment dashed and with continued urban migration, there is a growing population of unemployed people in Lusaka. As a result, social amenities in the city are over stretched and an increasing large squatter residential areas have grown around Lusaka due to inadequate housing. Poverty is more extreme in the rural than the urban areas of the country.

Politics and Administration
4.4 Since Zambia obtained its independence from British rule in 1964, she has had three phases of governance. The first was a multiparty system from independence to 1971. The second phase was a one-party rule while the third was a reversal to multiparty in 1991.

Population

4.5 According to the census figures of 1969, 1980 and 1990, the total population of Zambia were 4.0 million, 5.7 million, and 7.8 million respectively, with an annual growth rate of 2.7 percent between 1980 and 1990. The CSO (1996) estimated the population in 1997 to be 9.7 million with 63 per cent residing in the rural areas and 37 per cent in the urban making Zambia one of the most urbanised countries in Africa. Together with peri-urban and smaller townships, nearly half of the total population lives in urban areas. Another demographic characteristic is that Zambia has a young population. Over fifty percent of the total population is below the age of fifteen.

Education

4.6 Zambia has a three-tier education system, that is, 7 years of primary education, 5 years secondary, with 2 years junior secondary and 3 years senior secondary; and a 4-year university education. In addition to these, there are vocational or technical schools ranging from two to three year certificate or diploma courses. According to the data from the LCMS (1996) more men have been to school than women and is consistently so for all age groups. The data also showed that children between 7 and 13, for which education is compulsory, school attendance rate was 69 percent. This means that 31 percent were not in school. Children in the rural areas, like those from poor urban households, have a much lower attendance rate than children in urban centres. Girls also consistently fair worse than boys. Although primary education from age 7 is compulsory, government had to introduce the payment of the Parents Teachers Association fee, a method of sharing the cost of education with parents because of the prevailing adverse national economic situation.
CHAPTER FIVE FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS: CAUSES OF CHILD DOMESTIC LABOUR

Introduction

5.0 This chapter presents the results of the study on the causes of child domestic labour and discusses the issues that arise from it. The presentation begins with the findings on the personal characteristics of the child workers such as age and sex because they help to lay the foundation for a better understanding of subsequent findings.

Age of child workers

5.1 Table 1 below shows the characteristics of the age of employed child workers and of relative child workers.

Table 2: Percentage distribution of age of employed and relative child workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of employed child workers</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
<th>Cumulative per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
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<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>20.5</td>
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<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>41</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of relative workers</th>
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<th>Cumulative percent</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

5.2 According to Table 2, out of the eighty-three employed workers that were sampled, seventy-nine (95%) were between thirteen (13) and fifteen (15) years old. Similarly, majority of relative workers, fifty-seven (75%) were also between ages of thirteen and fifteen. Though there was one eleven year old and three twelve year olds the overall trend was that there were more children between the age of 13 and 15 years old. This same trend was found by Mushota's (1989) study. Such a trend was also affirmed in an interview that was conducted by a Times of Zambia publication of 7 March 1998 in which employers expressed preference for young girls between 13 and 15 years old. The confirmation of the trend by this study indicate that preference for the particular ages of 13 to 15 is characteristic feature of child domestic work in Lusaka.
5.3 According to the national child policy, age 14 is the age of work. Although age 14 marks the end of primary schooling, the study applied age 15 as the age limit for work because due to failure and repetitions, and inadequate places for admissions to school some children, a more realistic age of school completion is age 15. The choice of age 15 was further reinforced by the provisions of the Employment Act (Cap 512) of the laws of Zambia. The law that was passed in 1971 provides for the minimum age for employment is 15 years except those who have failed to secure admission to school, or whose admission to school has been terminated for a good cause. Additional reasons include the 1973 ILO Convention (No.138) which recommended a minimum age of 15 years for work. Furthermore, the Zambian Education Act (Cap 234) also provides for a school leaving age of 16 years. Although the younger the age the greater the vulnerability of the child worker, the concern of this study is that children below the age of fifteen, who are out of school and working, are a social concern.

**Sex of child workers**

5.4 According to Table 3 below, there are more girls in domestic child labour, whether in the homes of relatives or working for strangers, than boys. Further confirming Table 3, the total sample frame in Table 1 (a) shows that while only ten boys could be found in domestic employment in the entire research site, there were a total of one hundred and fifteen girls. None schooling relative girls were also more than boys.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: Sex of Child Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(a) Sex of employed child workers</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(b) Sex of relative child workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5 The indication from the findings is that whether in hired employment or as dependant relatives, there seemed to be more girls than boys in domestic work than boys. The finding implies that child domestic labour in Lusaka is a female dominated area of work. Contrary to this finding, Matoka's (1993) study found that there were fifteen percent (15%) boys and forty percent (40%) girls in domestic work. Though this study did not assess the extent of the work, the finding suggests that the proportion of boys seems to be decreasing when compared to previous findings. It is possible that boys are increasingly engaging in work on the streets than in the homes. This tendency is supported by Lungwangwa's (1996) study, which found that more boys are on the streets than boys. Such a tendency could be supported by the traditional attitude that housework is for girls and not for boys (Reynolds 1989).

5.6 This finding seems to confirm that findings in other countries that domestic child labour is uniquely a gender-segregated work, is the same in Lusaka. For example, in the Philippines, a 1997 study found that nine out of ten child domestics were girls (UNICEF
ICDC, 1999). The same review indicates that in Togo, that 95 percent of child domestics were girls. Along the same trend, this study found that 88 percent of child domestics in Lusaka are girls. Such a finding establishes child domestic labour as a gender concern.

**Cultural Gender Discrimination as a Cause of Child Labour**

5.7 Additional investigation into differentiation based on sex revealed that the preference to send boys to school instead of girls is a contributing factor to the reasons why there are more girls in domestic child labour. Responses in Table 4 indicate that when parents cannot send all their children to school because of poverty, their preference is for the male child to go to school rather than the female.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation of parents</th>
<th>Siblings</th>
<th>No of siblings by gender</th>
<th>No in school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant farmers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant farmers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night guard</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retrenched miner</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction worker</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired clerk</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petty trader</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petty trader</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>88</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data indicates that though girl siblings outnumber boys, more boys were schooling. Sex based differentiation such as this, suggests son preference.

5.8 More light was shed on son preference by qualitative discussions. For example, the girl in case study 2 (appendix II) said that her parents had to sell cows to send her brothers to school but would not do the same for her and her sister who were both given out to work in Lusaka with two different employers. Additionally, parents who were interviewed indicated that they would rather send a boy to school than a girl because she would get married and leave them but that a male child would take care of them and his sisters later in life. Both parents, fathers and mothers who participated in the study tend to share the same view.

5.9 The implication is that where parents are faced with financial constraints, male children take priority over female children. As a result, apart from poverty, gender is a determining factor in the choice of which child got sent to work when the family was too poor to send all their children to school. The result is that more girls are found in domestic child labour not only because of parental poverty, but also the higher value for boys. This seems to be one of the reasons why girls were found by previous studies, such as Kamocha, Munalula, Miti (1997), to outnumber boys in child labour.
5.10 The prevalence of girls in domestic child labour and among relative workers could also be attributed to the preference of parents for domestic work for the daughters. According to Matoka (1993) parents in early colonial days regarded it as a protected form of child work, therefore more girls were sent into domestic work. Such work preference is rooted in cultural socialisation, which segregates children into stereotyped gender roles. During socialisation, girls are expected to do domestic chores with their mothers, aunts and grandmothers while boys learn men's work with their fathers and uncles. Such gender role ascription and segregation in the upbringing of children was found by Snelson (1964) to be affecting the education of boys and girls in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). Kelly's study (1998) also hinted that the domestic roles of girls in the household, is contributing to the dearth of girls in schools.

5.11 The foregoing data indicate that where poverty was a handicap, girls were more disadvantaged than the boys, and that parents would prefer to send the male rather than the female child to school. The findings further establish the work as female dominated. It additionally establishes gender discrimination as the reason for the prevalence of girls in domestic child labour, thereby confirming gender preference to send boys to school and girls to work as a reason for child domestic labour. The finding also explains why there were more boys and fewer girls in schools.

5.12 Cultural gender discrimination resulting in sexual division of labour, which ascribes domestic roles to women as their destiny, has been identified as one of the areas of oppression of women and an aspect that must change before gender equity can be achieved in the society (Chafez 1989). The basis of son preference is the superior value that the society through tradition ascribes to the male child as opposed to the inferior status ascribed to the girl-child. The underlying premise however is the power relations between men and women. Such power is asserted through the concept of male superiority and female inferiority to control and to dominate women and the segregation of girls and women into household duties is one of the ways of restricting them. In this instance, when boys receive education and girls are only educated when it is convenient, men will ultimately continue to dominate women. The segregation of adult women to the household also known as the 'private' versus the 'public' sphere of life commences in childhood. The finding indicates that child domestic labour is a replica of the gender concerns about the domestic roles of women and the negative effects on their lives. The foundation of the low status of women is laid in childhood issues. reasons why children are working

5.14 According to Table 5 below, sixty-seven (81%) of the child workers said they were working due to lack of money. Nine said that it was due to death in the family, three said that it was due to failure at school, another three said it was due to lack of admission to school while one attributed it to long distance between the school and the home.

Table 5: Reason why children are working (employed child workers)
Parental poverty as a cause of child domestic labour

5.15 The data indicates that parental poverty is the main reason why children are working. Parental poverty in this study is defined as the inability of the parents to meet basic daily needs such as food, clothing and shelter. Although the study did not attempt to assess the income of parents, it however examined the employment status of the parents of the respondents in an attempt to assess the economic status of the family.

Table 6: Employment status of parents of employed child workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother's employment</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>65.1</td>
<td>78.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's employment</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>96.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.16 The employment status of parents were examined in order to confirm the economic status of the family of child workers. According to Table 6, the majority of parents, fifty-four mothers out of sixty-five (83%) and thirty-one out of fifty (62%) fathers of child workers were not employed. The data suggests gender imbalance in the employment status of parents. According to the CSO Census Report (1990), unemployed persons are those who are either looking for work or are available for work.

5.17 Responses of child workers indicated that some of the fathers lost their jobs through retrenchments and retirements from closed government parastatals and companies. While many were unemployed, others were simply in search of jobs. On the other hand, the nineteen fathers who were working were only involved in low skilled or unskilled jobs. They worked as welders, bricklayers, plumbers, drivers, cooks and stewards. Others were petty traders, gardeners, subsistent farmers and security guards. These were jobs that seem to have little earning power, to the extent that parents sometimes found it difficult to meet the basic daily needs of the family.

5.18 The employment status of the mothers was not much different from that of the fathers. They were either unemployed or full-time housewives or were engaged in the same low skill or unskilled labour as the fathers. The data however further shows gender imbalance in the
work of parents in that only one mother claimed to have been retired and none was retrenched as the fathers. The mothers who worked were engaged mostly in work such as petty trading, domestic service or subsistent farming. On the whole, the responses from parents corroborated the information that was provided by the children. All of the ten parents who took part in the survey said that their children were working due to ‘financial problems,’ they also said that children stopped going to school for the same reason. One parent remarked, ‘I am poor, what do you expect me to do? My child has to go out to look for work, to help the family, instead of starving.’

5.19 In addition to these, informal discussions with the chairman and some members of the Residents Development Committee (RDC) in Chawama, one of the compounds from where many live-out maids were often recruited, further confirmed parental poverty as the main reason why the children were working. The RDC members said that many young children go to work from Chawama, instead of going to school, because their parents are too poor to provide for them or to finance their education. They added that most of the parents depend on or supplement family income with the income from the children and that many children are not in school usually because of lack of money but were instead idling away at home. In this case, working was beneficial, both for the financial reward and for keeping the children occupied in constructive activity. The responses indicate that domestic employment helps the children to provide for themselves and to contribute to the family purse. This indicates that employment tends to be an alternative and beneficial activity for out of school children.

5.20 The background to parental poverty that is indicated by these findings is the adverse economic conditions in the country, the direct result of which is children having to work because parents are too poor to sustain them. This indicates that the conditions of children cannot be disassociated from the family on which they depend for their existence. On the other hand, the conditions of the parents are dictated by the condition of the society. As a result, parental poverty resulting from societal poverty in turn gives rise to child poverty and child labour. The trend is that of societal poverty generates parental poverty and parental poverty generates child labour. Most parents confessed that the wage earned by the child contributes to the family budget. Child domestic labour is therefore a way of coping with poverty for many families.

Inadequacy of the school system

5.21 The study examined the role of the school system in keeping and sustaining children in school and child domestic labour. This was done because many of the reasons that the children gave for being out of school, contained in Table 5, are related to the inadequacies of the system of education. Such reasons include parental inability to afford the cost of schooling, death in the family, failure at school, lack of school admission, and long distance to school from home.

Table 7: School Attendance
(a) All Child Domestics
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of respondent</th>
<th>In School</th>
<th>Not in School</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Percentage        | 1.2       | 98.8         | 100.0 |

(b) Why the child worker stopped school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Failure</th>
<th>School too expensive</th>
<th>School too far</th>
<th>Got pregnant</th>
<th>Never been to school</th>
<th>Death in the family</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

© Why the child worker had never been to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of respondent</th>
<th>Too costly</th>
<th>Too far</th>
<th>Lack of admission</th>
<th>Got pregnant</th>
<th>Does not know the reason</th>
<th>Have been to school</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Why the relative child was not in school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Too costly</th>
<th>Too far</th>
<th>Lack of admission</th>
<th>Got pregnant</th>
<th>Never been to school</th>
<th>Death/illness in the family</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.22 A comparison of Tables 5 and 7 shows that the reasons that were given by the children for working in Table 5 seem to correspond with the reasons for dropping out of school in Table 7 (b). According to Table 7 (c) those who have never been to school repeated the same reasons. Apart from further confirming poverty as the single most important reason why children are dropping out of school and working, the data also suggest that the dropout rate among children in domestic work is very high. It additionally indicates a high correlation between reasons for dropping out of school and for engaging in child labour. More importantly, the data additionally suggests that the school system has not been able to cope with its obligation to enrol and to sustain all children in school till the end of functional level of education and that this inadequacy is contributing to children being in employment.

5.23 The situation of relative workers was not much different. Out of seventy-six relatives, twenty-seven cannot read or write, eleven of them have never been to school while sixty-five of them (86%) had dropped out of school. The reasons that they gave for being out of school and working in Table 7 (d) were the same as the reasons that employed children gave.

5.24 Table 7 (a) shows that only one out of eighty-three (1.2%) employed child workers was schooling part-time. This finding suggests a lack of correlation between school attendance and child domestic labour. The finding is however at variance with previous
finding by Matoka (1993) that 13 percent of girls and 15 percent of boys in child labour were schooling part-time. The indication of this finding is that the number of children who are unable to go to school, even on part-time basis, is increasing over the years, most likely in consonance with increasing poverty in the society. With increasingly high levels of impoverishment, it seems children are increasingly engaging in full time work.

5.25 On high cost of school, child workers and relative workers complained during group discussions, that their parents were not able to pay the Parents Teachers Association (PTA) fees. PTA fee, according to Kelly (1998) was a method that was devised by the government to share the cost of education with parents. Apart from the PTA, the children also complained of lack of money to buy shoes, uniforms, school texts and other writing materials. The PTA seems to be an additional burden on parents who could not afford to buy even school essentials such as school texts or writing materials. Thirdly, the findings that poverty is the reason why children are dropping out from school seems to confirm that the PTA scheme is partly responsible for children dropping out of school and going into child labour. It additionally has the implication of alienating the children of the poor from school and thus making education available only those who can afford it. The suggestion is that the children of the poor are out of school and serving the rich. Since according to Giddens (1997) education is the major avenue for the poor to attain 'upward mobility,' the children of the poor, who are denied the opportunity and the right to education, can hardly aspire to improve their social status. The fact that there are more girls in the sample additionally suggests the negative implication of the PTA on girls.

5.26 None of the reasons that were given for being out of school, including pregnancy, should keep any child out of school if the school system is adequately fulfilling its obligations to the human right of children to education adequately. Article 26 of the UN Declaration on Human Rights is that "Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages" and Zambia is a member state of the UN. The reaffirmation of the same that "primary education shall be compulsory and available to all free" by the UN CRC (1990) which was ratified by Zambia in 1991 carries with it an obligation it to make primary education free and compulsory. The same idea was emphasised at the World Conference on "Education for All" in Jomtien Thailand (1990) and was contained in the Zambian Conference on Education for All (EFA) in 1991. For the same reason, the decision at the EFA was that all children of primary school level should be in school. This decision is yet to be fulfilled. Since many children claimed to be out of school because of poverty, if primary school is made free and compulsory, dropping out of school to engage in domestic labour will be drastically reduced if not eradicated. Kelly's (1998) suggestion that the lack of prioritising education by government is responsible the inadequacy of the school system seems to be the underlying problem rather than due to poverty.

5.27 Though only three (3) employed and two (2) relative girls gave pregnancy as the reason for not being in school, the issue of pregnant girls returning to school after delivery is a social issue, which has recently become a source of concern in the education of girls. While the male partner who impregnates a girl usually goes scot-free, the girl misses out on
education and on her chances to progress. The contention is for school age mothers to return to school after delivery. Although there is a new government policy (1997) which allows such girls to return to school, it is yet to be fully operational. According to Munachonga (1991) the issue of pregnant girls returning to school has been a contentious one, which the school system has not been able to handle adequately, and it has resulted in many girls missing out on school.

**Family dysfunction due to death or divorce/separation**

5.28 The marital status of the parents was examined in order to investigate the role of family cohesion or dysfunction as a cause of child domestic labour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8: Marital Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Marital status of the parents of child workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(b) Marital status of parents of relative workers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.29 The suggestion from the data in Table 8 is that child workers are hired equally from sources such as orphaned children, children of poor parents, and children made vulnerable by family disintegration. This means that the reasons why children are working and their social backgrounds are varied. On the whole, the data suggests that family dysfunction, just like orphanhood and poverty, is an important reason why child workers are out of school and working. Additionally, the data shows that 18 percent of relative workers were from dysfunctional marriages. This indicates that children from dysfunctional homes constitute a sizeable portion of vulnerable children in the society.

5.30 Additional revelations at the group discussions further confirm the finding that divorce and separation is a source of child domestic labour. For example, one girl from a divorced home said that due to the cruelty of her stepmother, she ran away from Kitwe to Lusaka with a friend who helped her to get a job as a maid. Two others said that they ran away to Lusaka to look for work because their stepmothers did not like them while another two were because of stepfathers who did not like them. The story of the girl in case study 4 (Appendix II) serves to illustrate family dysfunction as a potential source of child domestic labour. According to the girl, her parents were divorced and had both remarried. She does not know the whereabouts of her mother whom she misses very much and would like to trace. Her father had to send her to
work in Lusaka so as to be away from home because her stepmother did not like her and her sister. Her sister was also sent to live with uncle somewhere unknown to her. These examples show that children from broken down marriages become disadvantaged and are made vulnerable by it. The social implication is that they are swelling the dependency problem in the nation and constituting another social concern.

5.31 Apart from children from broken down marriages, about twenty percent (20%) of dependants were found to be children who said both parents were alive and married. These are likely to be economic dependants. The root of this is found in the African traditional kinship relationships. According to tradition, all male adult relatives are expected to assume the role of 'father' to all children in the extended family system, whether biological or not. The same goes to all female adult relatives who also are mothers to all children within the extended family circle (Browning 1989 cited in Matoka 1993 pp 125). With such goes all the responsibility parenthood and in return goes all the filial devotion of the child. Hence no child in traditional society is expected to be orphaned or to be disadvantaged by divorce, separation, or economic need. Children are therefore are sent by poor parents to live with relatives who are well off in the cities with the traditional assurance of parental obligations. They however find that the "father" is unable to meet expected obligations because the harsh economic realities also affect him. He is therefore able to send his own child to school, but not his dependants who have to do the household chores in return for their room and board. The norms of the extended family therefore no longer seem to hold in the face of modern economic and other social conditions.

**Orphanhood in child domestic labour**

5.32 A comparison of the two sets of data in Table 8 on marital status on pp.20 suggests that orphans constitute one third of employed workers (34%) and that a large percentage of relatives (62%) are also orphans. The increasingly large numbers of orphans from the HIV/AIDS pandemic has added a new twist to the issue of dependency in Zambia. Recent global estimates indicate that the total number of people living with HIV/AIDS is 34.3 million with 24.5 million of them in sub-Saharan Africa and that there are at least 13.2 million HIV/AIDS orphans. The AIDS epidemic in Zambia, according to the UNICEF Zambia report on orphans in Zambia (1999) is among the most serious in the world. The estimated proportion of children under the age of 15 who are orphans (23%), actual figures are not known, suggested at 520,000 by the Ministry of Health (1999) is regarded as one of the highest in the world. This is regarded as the second largest population of HIV/AIDS orphans. If orphans from other causes are added, the figure is much higher. Orphans in this study are orphans from any reason, including HIV/AIDS.

5.33 The indication is that apart from the increasing numbers of dependants from HIV/AIDS, there are also economic dependants from poverty, in addition to children from other social problems such as those from broken down homes. Dependency is increasingly becoming a serious social concern. The current dependency ratio in the nation, according to statistics by the World Population Data Sheet of the Population Reference Bureau
Washington D. C., is 92 for every 100 adults. This data clearly indicates the magnitude of the problem. In addition to the number of dependants, deaths due to AIDS tend to target young parents, thereby leaving the aged as caregivers.

5.34 The rising cost of living due to adverse economic conditions results in problems for the children and for the caregivers. Guardians who were interviewed and those who discussed with us during case studies lamented their powerlessness to help the children. For example, the guardian of the orphan in case study 7 on the reason why his ward was not in school, remarked "the poor are nowhere because government is not concerned. The little money that is available we spend on feeding. It is up to the children to choose between schooling and feeding." However, in well to do families where family ties are still very strong, orphanhood may not lead to child poverty because the orphan is taken care of. In cases where the deceased left wealth for the children, the children could be well cared for by surviving adult relatives though not in all cases.

5.36 For example in case study 8, a girl who had been orphaned by AIDS, was working as an employed child despite the fact that her parents were not poor when they were alive. Following the death of the parents, her father's relatives came and collected all the family property and told the children to go in search of their mother's family who they claim ought to be responsible for them. Unfortunately, the children had never been to or met the family of their mother who was from South Africa. The children were therefore stranded. The two girls are working for their survival, as maids. Her case is rather pathetic because of the sexual abuse that she has to endure in the place of work and irregular payment of the wage for which she is working. This case illustrates the vulnerability of orphans who lack the support of extended families. It additionally illustrates the problem of grabbing the property of dead relative by the extended family without any consideration for the orphans. The practice of "property grabbing" is currently a gender issue that many organisations, including 'Women in law in Southern Africa,' (WILDAF) are mounting an advocacy against.

5.37 Case study 6 is another case that illustrates orphans who are adopted by uncaring extended family members. The two girls had been adopted by an aunt who uses them as unpaid family workers. They complained of being overworked, maltreated, ostracised and verbally abused. While this case does not indicate that the lack of capacity by the caregiver, it however indicates that some caregivers are uncaring. This case also illustrates the diminishing commitment of extended family to vulnerable family members. In support of this finding, the Ministry of Health (1999) found that the traditional extended family is already disintegrating due to urbanisation among other things.

5.38 A study that was cited in Ncube (1998) suggested gender preference in the adoption of relatives. According to the study, relatives prefer to adopt a girl orphan because of her usefulness in unpaid household chores. On the other hand, they would not adopt a boy because he was not as useful for housework, would not generate bride price, and instead he would have to be educated and married for. This study did not investigate the existence of son preference and gender discrimination in the choice of orphans to adopt in Zambia. However,
during the enumeration exercise, it found a larger sample of orphaned boys who were going to school while a large number of orphaned girls were not schooling. Such girls were found to be working at home for relatives as unpaid family workers. This finding suggests that families are using their orphaned relatives as unpaid domestic worker, though they are not regarded as workers. It additionally shows the diminishing parental responsibilities of relatives while on the other hand children are made to fulfil filial duties to adult relatives.

5.39 In addition to these findings, the large sample of orphaned girls as unpaid house-worker makes the issue of orphaned girls, a gender concern. Cultural gender differentiation also seems to underlie the differences in the finding. While twenty-five, (25) orphaned workers were girls, only five (5) were boys. In addition, while thirty-two, (32) orphaned relatives were girls, only fifteen (15) of them were boys. This data shows that the majority of the orphans in the two categories of workers were girls, and that more orphaned girls, were adopted than boys. The dearth of boys among relative workers could however indicate that more orphaned boys were in school, due to male preference, hence the sampling of non-schooling relatives consisted of more girls.

5.40 The finding that the majority of orphaned girls were working as unpaid family workers or in employment suggests that efforts to get orphaned girls into school should include investigations of domestic labour. It also shows that government concern and action is needed to care for these children instead of leaving it to privately run orphanages and philanthropic individuals. On the whole, evidence from the data suggests that while poverty is the main reason why employed children are working, orphanhood is the major cause of relative children being out of school and working for relatives.

**Family size as a cause of domestic child labour**

5.41 Responses of the children, indicated that large family size tends to contribute to domestic child labour. With a background of household poverty, large numbers of children would aggravate family poverty.

*Figure 1: family size*
5.42 The number of siblings in the families of the child workers, according to Figure 1 above ranged between 2 and over 11 children in one family. According to the frequencies, two child workers had one sibling each, three had two siblings each, and another three had three siblings each. Seven child workers had four siblings each, another seven had five siblings each, sixteen however had six siblings each. Twenty-one and another twenty said that they each had seven and eight siblings respectively. Three had nine and one had eleven siblings each respectively.

5.43 The revelations from this finding are that the highest concentration of families (69%) had between six, seven and eight children. Based on the data, the average size of the family of the child workers therefore, according to the data, is 6.3 per family. This is against the national average of 6.7 (CSO 1990). According to demographic studies, Zambia is considered one of the countries with the highest birth rate in Sub-Saharan Africa. The root of large family size can be traced to the traditional need for valued labour of children and women in subsistence agriculture. The practice seems to have persisted despite the shift from agriculture by many families and the reduced need for such large family size without the financial resources to continue the trend. The practice of large family not only continues in rural but also in urban settings.
Large family size in the midst of adverse economic family conditions puts a strain on the already tight or non-existent family budget. As a result, both the parents and their children are forced to seek avenues to cope with the situation. One likely avenue is employment for children or sending them to live with relatives who are better off, and domestic work is usually the work that girls are more easily recruited to do. Large family size therefore, is a major cause of domestic child labour, especially in a declining economy like Zambia where parents cannot easily find incomes to support big families.

Responses during group discussions tend to support the foregoing. For example, a girl said that her mother was a widowed mother of eight and she was working as a domestic servant on a monthly wage of K40,000. The probability of such a parent resorting to encouraging the children to work as a coping strategy against poverty is very high. In another family, an unemployed widower with six children had remarried. His new wife has had three children of her own, and she was not yet ready to stop bearing children. Such a family would likely encourage their children to work.

Confirming the role of large family size in other aspects of child labour, Lungwangwa & Macwani (1996) found that 49 percent of the street children that were surveyed, were from large households of between seven to ten people. Kamocha, Munalula, & Miti (1997) also indicated that large proportions of working children come from large households. In addition to these, the results of the Priority Survey II (PSII) further indicates that 28 percent and the LCSM indicates 30% of all working children are from households with six to seven persons. This study confirms that the finding on large family size as a reason why children are engaged in other forms of child labour also applies to domestic child labour. According to this finding a higher proportion (69%) have large families than in other aspects of child labour. The sample of this study being largely girls, suggest that are girls are more vulnerable in large families than boys.

Rural factor as a cause of child domestic labour

Another factor, which was found by this study, was the rural factor as a source of child domestic labour. According to the findings in Table 14 (pp.56) on family visits, at least 34%, that is over one third of the child workers, twenty-seven girls and one boy, said that they did not have family in Lusaka. This means that these workers came from the rural areas to work in the city.

The rural factor is important against the background of other findings that have differentiated between rural and urban poverty with relation to child labour. For example, Kelly (1998) and the CSO (1997) report suggest that there is inequality between rural and urban economic condition and suggesting that rural poverty is more intense than urban poverty. Further expatiating this, Kelly (1998) says being rural is almost synonymous with poverty because there is a near absence of cash in the rural areas. Rural parents find it impossible to pay even the most minimal amount or to provide the most basic requirements for schooling such as writing materials, textbooks or even to pay examination fees. Kelly's
study found that dropout rate and illiteracy levels are therefore much higher in the rural areas than in the urban. As a result, there are lower levels of schooling and the ability to read and write. These findings tend to explain why there is a large percentage of children from the rural areas who are out of school and engaged in domestic child labour. The high proportion of rural to urban hiring of child domestics therefore has a direct relationship with the data in Table 4, which indicates that the majority of the employed child workers were working due to poverty. Rural poverty therefore is a major contributor to child domestic labour.

5.51 The findings of the study supported by past literature suggest three trends. One, a high illiteracy level is expected in domestic child labour. Two, there is a high proportion of rural to urban hiring of workers in child domestic labour. Three, the finding tends to link the rural to urban trend in adult migration for employment as indicated by Matoka (1993) therefore indicating that the trend in adult migration is being replicated in the hiring of child domestics.

5.52 Matoka's (1993) study on the other hand, found that during the colonial and early post-colonial periods, girls were not easily allowed to go far from home to work so that their morals would not be corrupted. The finding that at least one third of the sample of this study were from the rural areas, indicates an increasing trend in the migration of girls to search for work far away from home. It also suggests that the increasing desperation created by poverty is parents are exposing children to risks and values are being undermined, in order to cope with poverty.

5.53 Nevertheless, the data on the number of children who originated from the rural areas notwithstanding, there could have been more urban poor children involved with employed domestic work. Children who lived around Lusaka tended to find it easy to resign from work because they would simply go home for the weekend and not return especially when they were not pleased with the conditions. This could indicate a greater availability of the more stable ones, the rural ones, who would not find it easy to resign from work or simply leave work without any notice. Therefore urban-based children might be more than the number that was reflected by the data but more difficult to locate because they tend to be more unstable in the work and therefore more migratory.

Conclusion

5.54 On the whole, findings on the reasons why children engage in domestic work overwhelmingly suggest that poverty is the single most important cause of child labour. However, other causes such as orphanhood and family disintegration seem either to initiate poverty or compound already existing poverty. For example, an orphaned boy said that his family was not rich when his father was alive. The father's occupation was burning charcoal in the bush to sell. According to him, his father's death only compounded the family poverty. In other cases, children claimed that their families were well off and that the death of parents initiated poverty.

5.55 The stories of the girls in case studies 6 and 8 serve to illustrate the latter. While both parents of the girl in case study 6 were teachers, her father was a secondary school teacher.
and her mother a primary school teacher the girl in case study 8 said that her father was a miner in South Africa. Both girls claimed that their families were comfortable before the death of their parents and that poverty was initiated by the death of their parents. Large family size, like orphanhood also tends to either compound poverty or result in poverty. According to the findings, as family increases, the tendency for children to dropout from school and to work increases. The inadequacy of the school system on the other hand, is a direct result of bad government policy like the cost sharing method, which has a negative effect on education, and the lack of commitment to education.

5.56 Other case studies further illustrate the issues that have been discussed. For example, the girl in case study 1 said that the father illness initiated family poverty in her family, while the girl in case study 9 was due to the retrenchment of her father from work. In case study 2, family poverty was compounded by large family size (9). While cases 6 and 8 said that poverty was initiated by the death of both parents, the girl in case study 2 said that the breakdown of the marriage of her parents initiated child poverty. These findings confirm ILO (1996) finding that child labour is linked with poverty and population growth.
CHAPTER SIX FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS: RECRUITMENT PROCESS

Introduction

6.0 The findings and discussions in this chapter are about the process of recruitment of children into work. It also provides information on the exploitation in child domestic labour. The information on the recruitment process is presented in the following order: the involvement of the children in the decision for them to work; the persons who arranged the work; and the persons who negotiated the work. The chapter also discusses the presence of contracts in the employment. Formal agreements such as contracts are necessary in employment to protect the worker from exploitation.

Involvement of the child in the decision to work

6.1 The purpose of examining the involvement of employed children in the decision to work is to find out whether the children were forced or coerced into work, or whether there was bonded labour or servitude. Only employed children were asked these questions because relative workers are not recruited but adopted.

Table 9: Involvement of the child in aspects of work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>72.30</td>
<td>27.70</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Persons who arranged the work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Parent</th>
<th>Guardians</th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>Family friend</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Persons who negotiated the terms of work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Parents and guardians</th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>Friend</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>54.20</td>
<td>31.30</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Whether there was employment contract

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valid contract</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>51.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3 The involvement of the majority of the children (72%) in the decision to work suggests that the children were not forced or coerced by parents or guardians to work. Further confirming the finding, group discussions revealed that many of the children said that they took the decision to work on their own and simply informed their parents of their decision.
6.4 This finding however seems to be at variance with suspicions of the ASI about servitude, which connoted forced labour. It also contradicts the assumed traditional autocratic power of parents and other adults in the home over the child, as Munachoga (1989) explained. The data also contradicts Himonga Chuma's study in Zambia (cited in Ncube, 1998) that parents failed to consult their children before sending them to live in other households. The findings show that on the issue of the child's role in the decision to work, Article 13 of the CRC on the right to identity, selfhood and freedom of the child is being respected in a majority of cases in Lusaka. The desperation of poverty could however have affected the status quo of tradition. In which case, poverty can then be seen to be undermining the authority of parents in the home and their control over their children.

6.5 On the other hand, concern exists over the 28% of the workers who said they did not participate in the decision to work. This group seemed to have been merely told or taken to the place of work without prior consent or discussion with the child. The situation of this latter group tends to agree with Chuma's finding, with cultural expectations, and also violate Article 13 of the CRC of the right of the child to individual freedom and selfhood. This group which form one third of the total sample seem to suggest the concern of the ASI. The study however could not examine details of their non-participation because of its limited scope. On the whole, the findings did not indicate any gender discrimination in decision making. More boys, like girls, participated in the decision to work than those who did not.

Arrangements for work

6.6 The study sought confirmation on the persons who arranged the work and whether the children participated in the arrangements for the work. This was to further determine exploitation and also to indicate the persons involved in the exploitation. In addition, it was to find out the existence of recruiting agents or middlemen.

6.7 A comparison of the data in Table 9 suggests that although the large majority of child workers participated in the decision to work, other people arranged work for a larger majority (66%) of them. The data further suggests that there is an equal distribution between the different categories of persons who arranged work for the children. This indicates that there are no regular patterns in the arrangements for work. Another suggestion is that with fifty-five respondents (66%) claiming that the arrangements were done on their behalf, many children were not involved in the arrangement for work.

6.8 Some of the children claimed that they came from outside of Lusaka through friends or relatives who are already working in the city. Despite the danger of having young girls canvassing for work on their own, the desperation of poverty and the helplessness of their parents, force both children and their parents to risk the danger of young girls canvassing for work on their own.
6.9 Further supporting the finding, data that was obtained from employers suggested that they sometimes personally canvassed for child workers through friends and family. According to the data, three of the ten employers recruited their workers through friends and colleagues while three said that they went round looking for their maid in the nearby shanty compounds. Two said that someone brought the child to their home in search for work, while another two said that their child workers were obtained through the help of relatives who lived in the village away from Lusaka. This data suggests that employers, children and parents were all involved in efforts to obtain employment for children.

6.10 From both qualitative and quantitative responses, none of the children indicated the use of recruiting agents or middlemen or mass recruitment from the villages to the towns or transported across international boarders such as was reported in many African countries (UNICEF ICDC 1999). Being limited to Lusaka, though, the study could not assess whether such practices exist in other parts of the country or not. The finding instead was that children, parents, and employers canvassed for job or for workers through individual efforts.

**Negotiation for work**

6.11 Information about the persons who negotiated the terms and conditions of work was examined by the study because the foundation for exploitation is usually laid at this point. According to the data in Table 9, the largest single majority of the children, fifty-two (63%) of the children did not take part in the negotiations. Some of the children were however found to be disadvantaged by lack of participation in the negotiations for the terms of work. During qualitative group discussions, case studies and observations the study found that many of them were not aware of the terms of the work. The example of the worker in case study 2 reveals the typical condition of some of such children. The girl had no idea of whether she was being paid, whether she could go on holidays or to visit her family. Such children were usually observed to be very shy and distressed. On the other hand, those who participated in the negotiations for the terms and conditions of work knew the exact terms of the work and could respond to most of the questionnaire and appeared to be bold and more confident of the expectations from the employer. The lack of involvement of some child workers in negotiating conditions of work further demonstrate the traditional authority of adults over their children or wards exists for one third of the population that was investigated.

6.12 However, child workers who negotiated by themselves cannot be regarded as free from exploitation. According to Black (1997) and Lewenhak (1992) such children are likely to be made vulnerable by their age and by their desperation to obtain a job. The suggestion by both studies is that negotiations between a young child and an adult is an unequal situation in which the employer would simply dictate the terms of work and the child would have to take it or leave it and usually out of desperation, they would take it.

6.13 Another angle to the problem that was proffered by Lewenhack (1992) was that whether the child alone or the parents alone or whether both the child and the parent combined to negotiate, the negotiation might still not be devoid of exploitation by the
employer. She asserted that their condition of poverty would usually make them helpless and desperate and therefore vulnerable to exploitation. Their desperation for any work often put them in weak bargaining positions. Such a condition suggests servitude in the work. A major conclusion from the foregoing therefore, is that it is difficult to rule out exploitation from child labour except there is enforced legislation to regulate the conditions of work.

6.14 It is interesting to note that very few of the child workers who participated in the discussion groups expressed dissatisfaction with their parents for arranging or negotiating work. They were convinced that their parents were right to do so. This conviction must be due to the traditional socialisation and cultural dictation (Matoka 1993) of autocratic parental authority. Some of them however said that they were not happy with their parents collecting their wages. For example, one of the girls said that she was not happy because her mother was spending her wages on drinking. The case of this girl shows the helplessness of children to stop their labour being exploited by parents who use their wages for purposes not agreeable to them. This situation further demonstrates the need for advocacy on behalf of the children. On the whole, the dissatisfaction of a lot of them was not with the idea of working or with their parents negotiating or arranging the work on their behalf. Rather their concern seemed to be with the characteristics of the work itself.

**Employment contract**

6.15 The study examined existence of formal agreements such as written or oral contracts in order to find out whether the negotiations of terms and conditions of work were binding. This is because lack of binding agreement would likely expose the worker to denial of remuneration and to exploitation.

6.16 The data in Table 9 indicates an almost equal frequency of distribution in the responses. Further enquiry on whether the contract was written or oral showed that none was written. Ninety per cent (90%) of the children said that their employment involved only oral contracts. Oral contracts however ought to be binding if witnessed but since these children are not recognised by law as workers, they are excluded from seeking legal redress in case the employer violates the terms of employment. Due to lack of education, the children lack legal knowledge and would therefore not be able to seek redress even if they want to. On the other hand, legal provision is needed to protect the rights of child workers as workers, or they will remain vulnerable to exploitation. Furthermore, the presence of contract in 90% of the respondents, even if merely oral, also contradicts the suspicion by the ASI of servitude in this work, in Lusaka. This is because servitude connotes forced labour and is devoid of negotiation.

6.17 Several conclusions could be drawn from the data on decision to work, arrangement and negotiation of work. To start with was that there were no regular patterns in the persons who arranged the work. Secondly, the data on arrangements and negotiations showed that they were done by personal and individual efforts. Thirdly, the data did not indicate the presence of middlemen or official recruiters in the recruitment process of the samples in
Lusaka, such as were found by studies in Togo and Benin (ILO 1998). Fourthly, the findings did not show that children were recruited en-mass for employment from the villages to the towns or transported across international boarders to neighbouring countries such as in child trafficking (UNICEF, ICDC, 1999). Such agents were reported to exploit the children through deductions of commissions from their wages in the countries where they are found. According to the data, such practices were absent in Lusaka. Although being limited to Lusaka, the study could not assess whether such practices existed in other parts of the country or not. Fifthly, although one employer confessed that the child worker was forced by her mother to work for her, it was another isolated case, which cannot be generalised.
CHAPTER SEVEN  FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS: CONDITIONS OF WORK

Live-in or live-out

7.0 Whether child workers lived with the employer or not, tends to dictate, not only the characteristics of the conditions under which they worked but also many of the consequences of the work on child workers. In order to understand the conditions of work, it is therefore necessary to first find out whether the child workers lived with employers or not, and also to establish the gender considerations in living with employers. Since relative workers are generally in adoptive situations, they all live with adopting relatives and are therefore excluded from this inquiry.

Table 10: Whether child workers live-in or live-out

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>80.70</td>
<td>19.30</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.1 According to Table 10, sixty-seven, (81%) employed child workers were living with their employers while only sixteen, (19%) were not. The sixteen who lived-out included nine of the ten boys in the sample thereby showing that while the majority of girls lived with their employers, most of the boys (90%) lived out and came to work from home everyday. A comparison of this data and Table 3 on pp. 21 reveals a high degree of correlation between the two sets of data. The indication is that there is a relationship between the number of girls in the work and the number of them that live with the employers.

7.2 According to the data, most of those who lived with the employers were girls, sixty-six out of the sixty-seven (98.5%). This data is indicative of very strong gender differentiation in whether workers lived with the employer or not, thereby suggesting employers' preference for girls to live in. The tendency to prefer girls to live-in with employers benefits both the employer and the parents. While parents in extreme poverty situation would have one mouth less to feed at home, most employers benefit from long working hours, which living in permits.

7.3 The finding suggests that gender role stereotypes and sexual division of labour is the basis for the obvious preference of girls to live with the employers and boys not to. Role stereotyping, a result of segregation in the upbringing of children, has been known to put girls and women in disadvantaged positions in life compared with men. It had also been found to lay the basis for several gender-based consequences on girls, such as exposing them to sexual abuse and various other forms of exploitation from which male child workers are exempted. The invisibility, obscurity and hidden nature of the work, is aggravated by the living-in of child workers with employers.

Types of work
7.4 Child domestic workers are usually identified with work such as house cleaning, laundry, food preparation, shopping, and looking after young children.

Table 11 (a): Types of work done by employed child workers, by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of respondent</th>
<th>Fetch water, garden, errands</th>
<th>Cook</th>
<th>Clean house</th>
<th>Do the Laundry</th>
<th>Care for kids</th>
<th>All the above</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>13.30</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>25.30</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>50.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Types of work done by relative child workers, by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of respondent</th>
<th>Fetch water, garden, errands</th>
<th>Cook</th>
<th>Clean house</th>
<th>Do the Laundry</th>
<th>Care for kids</th>
<th>All the above</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To begin with, the findings in Table 11 suggest that there are no specific job descriptions in the employment. In addition, while most of the girls did household chores within the house, boys worked as gardeners outside the yard. Moreover, the boys in both categories were only involved certain types of work, while majority of the girls (51%) were involved in every work type. The list of the routine daily work of girls was therefore much longer than that of boys, suggesting that girls have heavier workload than boys. Caring for infants and young children in addition to housework increases household workload dramatically. Only three girls said that they found childcare rewarding. Those who would escape childcare in homes with young children would be children who had a separate worker for cooking and other household work and another for childcare. Those who did both child care and housework formed 36 percent of the total sample. Child workers were used as surrogate mothers when the biological mother was a worker herself. The three said that the work was good tutelage for their future aspirations of marriage and motherhood.

7.5 The study additionally found that when child workers slept in the same room as the children, work continued throughout the night suggesting a 24-hour nature of child domestic work in Lusaka. The data on the type of work further show a close relationship with Table 3 and 10. While Table 3 found that more girls were found in the work, Table 10 shows that most girls lived with employers, and Table 11 shows that the same samples are involved in the same type of work.

7.6 Table 11 further reveals that there is gender differentiation in the work that girls and boys do. While all the boys except one worked as garden boys outside the main house, the girls did housework in-doors. The finding also suggests that girls are employed into domestic work because they are preferred to boys for the job. The only boy who worked inside the house was employed by an employer of Asian origin in Madras as a playmate to a male child of the same age. This suggests the historical trend of hiring children to play with the children of colonial masters (Hansen 1985). The findings suggest sexual role segregation in child domestic labour. The indication is that the upbringing of children during socialisation (Matoka 1993) underlie the child domestic labour. Role differentiation between girls and boys tends to translate into stereotyped roles in the work that children do in employment.
7.7 The context of traditional socialisation is however different from employment conditions. Though the work was the same, mothers in traditional socialisation are not routinely absent from home everyday, housework is more of collective effort, and the child is not isolated. Moreover, children in traditional setting are prepared for subsistence existence only, a situation which is no longer sufficient in modern society. It is interesting to note that though girls had heavier workload, there were no wage differentials between girls and boys (Table 19 pp. 63). As a result of working outside, boys additionally enjoy being freer, less supervised, and less circumscribed by the employer. Relatives were found to be engaged in the same work as the employed workers, and relative girls were indicated by the data to be more overworked than the boys.

7.8 Role segregation that takes place in adult employment (Anker, 1998) has been a central theme of feminist advocacy. According to feminists, gender role segregation is a major instrument for the oppression and domination of women by men. While feminists such as Chafez argue that the sexual division of labour within the home must be abolished before women could be liberated, the finding of this study suggests that segregation of children must stop before it can stop in adulthood. It therefore suggests that the issues of the girl-child must be part of feminist struggles for adult advocacy to be meaningful. Another revelation from the finding is that like adult women, girls are segregated to work that keeps them in-doors (private) while boys work out-doors (public). Concern about the negative effects of keeping women in the 'private,' which has been the focus of feminist struggles, seem to be replicated in young girls child domestic labour.

**Hours of work**

7.9 The difficulty of quantifying the amount of work that child workers do necessitated investigation into the number of hours they worked and whether there was regularity in working hours. The examination further helped to highlight the exploitation of the children by employers. Table 12 below shows the number of hours that employed child workers spend on the job daily.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Starting time</th>
<th>17.30</th>
<th>18.30</th>
<th>20.30</th>
<th>21.30</th>
<th>22.30</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Live-in</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05.00</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06.00</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (b)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08.00</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Live-out</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06.00</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07.00</td>
<td>6 (b)</td>
<td>1 (b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08.00</td>
<td>1(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b=boys)
7.10 According to the data, 42 live-ins (51%) started work at 05.00 hours, 15 (18%) started at 06.00 hours, 8 (10%) at 07.00 and only two (2%) at 08.00 hours. Out of a cumulative number of 67 live-ins, only one was a boy and he started work at 07.00 hours. On closing time, six of those who lived in (9%) closed by 17.30, three (4.5%) by 18.30 and the largest majority of fifty-eight, (70%) closed after 20.30 hours. On the other hand, none of the live-outs started work before 06.00 hours, seven started at 06.00 hours, 8 at 07.00 hours and one at 08.00 hours. Out of the total population of 16 live-outs, 8 out of the total sample of ten (80%) were boys and only nine percent of them, that is seven out of seven-three, were girls.

7.11 Closing time for live-ins were rough estimates because according to the workers, unlike starting time, most of them did not have regular closing time. Since the tasks were ad hoc, closing usually depended on whenever the worker finished the tasks assigned to her. Since the worker served everyone in the house, the work would only end when the last person had gone to bed. In addition, the thirty-two workers, (39%) who slept on the living room floor could only go to bed after everyone had finished watching the television. The twenty-eight, (34%) who slept with younger children in the children's room had to be alert all night to attend to the needs of the children. The latter could therefore not be said to have any closing time. The findings indicate that live-out workers had regular hours of work with an average work from around 07.00 hours to 17.30 hours, that is an average of ten (10) hours a day. A rough estimate of the working hours of live-in domestic workers is from 06.00 hours to 21.30 hours, that is, 15 hours 30 minutes of work daily. Live-in workers therefore work five and half-hours longer than live-outs.

7.12 Gender differences were found to exist in working hours. To start with, no boy started work before 07.00 hours, but 57 girls (78%) started work before 0700 hours. While seven (7) out of ten of the boys closed at 17.30 hours, most girls, fifty-one (61%) out of the total sample of 83 girls closed later than 20.30 hours. Relative workers were found to work the same hours as the employed children. Since they all lived-in with the host family, the girls worked the same hours as the live-in girls.

7.13 Findings additionally suggest an increase in the number of working hours over the years. While Mushota (1989) and Matoka (1993) found that child domestics were working an average of 14 hours, most live-in workers in this study were working for an average of 15 hours 30 minutes daily. The increase in the number of hours of work suggests worsening hours of work. The findings confirm the review in the UNICEF ICDC (1999) that prolonged hours of work in other countries such as Rwanda, 14 hours; Tanzania, 16 to 18 hours; Zimbabwe, 10 to 15 hours seem to be almost the same as Lusaka. The 24 hour nature of the job, which was identified as characteristics of child domestic labour in many countries (Boyden, Ling, & Myers 1998) also exist in Lusaka.

7.14 While differences exist between live-out and live-in workers, gender differences also exist between girls and boys who live-out. On the average therefore, live-in workers tend to work five and half-hours longer than live-outs. Live-out girls continued working at home in
the evenings while boys would close from work and go to play with their friends. Therefore, most girls unlike most boys, whether they live-in or live out, work for prolonged hours. In conclusion, most of the children who live with their employers work round the clock. The number of hours that these findings suggest and the amount of work that they do, leave little or no room for schooling or skill training.

7.15 The gender differentiation in time use between women and men has been the focus of gender concerns for a long time. For example, findings of a World Bank research in Zambia on time-use in agriculture found that young girls worked one and half times longer hours than adult men. The same trend is indicated in other parts of the world (World Bank Report on Trends, 1995). The long yet unrecognised and unremunerated number of hours spent by women on housework as opposed to men, has been a central feminist concern. This same problem is indicated in the findings by this study to be a gender concern for young girls in domestic work.

7.16 Such long hours of work are a condition that is unusual even in adult labour (Boyden, Ling, & Myers 1998). According to the Employment Act (Cap276 volume 15) working hours should be between 0600 hours and 1900 hours or maximum of sixty-five hours in a week excluding lunch and tea times. Any work in excess of such or after 1900 hours should be compensated double the normal hourly rate. Domestic workers are however exempted from the provisions of the Act and they definitely did not apply to children. Despite exempting domestic workers, adult employed domestic workers have had to use their own initiative to apply its provisions to their employment. Child workers were not able to attempt this because they are not recognised as workers.

7.17 Several negative consequences, both physical and psychological, which are outside the focus of this study, have been identified with this condition of work. According to papers that were presented at a World Health Organisation (WHO) conference in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1987, serious health related problems result from prolonged hours of work by child domestics. This study could not attempt professional assessment of the full extent of the physical and psychological implications of the work. Easily visible observations revealed that children appeared to be frustrated, tearful, many showed signs of anxiety, while some showed signs of being withdrawn. Children during group discussions complained of the amount of work and the excessively long hours of work. Some of their remarks included, "I am busy most f the day," "this work is not suitable for children of my age," "most of the day I am busy with work, I rarely have time to relax." Ninety-two percent of them described their typical day as "working throughout." Three of them, wept openly during the group discussions. From all indications, the conditions described above are not likely to favour the physical and psychological well being of children. The findings on the types and hours of work indicate parallels with women's household roles.

7.18 In conclusion, when children live-in with the employers, they are taken advantage of and made to work round the clock and such children happen to be girls only. The large majority of the boys, according to the findings, were exempted from such practices, since they
did not live-in, except where the employer had separate accommodation for the worker. Girls who live-out like boys, unlike their male collegeaus had to work with their mothers and other siblings at home, doing extra domestic chores and caring for younger siblings after closing from work.

**Regularity of working hours**

7.19 The majority of child workers, fifty-eight, (58) did not have regular working hours. Furthermore, out of the ten employers who were interviewed, four said that their workers had regular hours, while six said they did not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 13: Regularity of working hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.20 The hours of work were found to be influenced by whether the child lived with the employer or not with the employer. Most live-in girls said that they found it difficult to estimate closing time because they had no fixed closing time. One of the employers said his worker closed 'anytime.'

**Rest breaks/family visits/play or recreation/leave/holidays**

7.21 The study examined whether the child workers had rest breaks during the long working hours, whether they had opportunities to visit their own families, whether they enjoyed time to play and to interact with their peers and whether they were entitled to go on paid leave or holidays. These were to find out whether the children had the opportunity for a social life of their own or whether they enjoyed their childhood.

**Rest breaks**

7.22 For many live-in child workers, prolonged hours of work are compounded by the absence of rest breaks. As indicated in the table below, the responses of the children revealed that the girls, in particular, had very little time for rest during the day.

7.23 For many live-in workers, prolonged hours of work are compounded by the absence of rest breaks. While forty-nine (49) workers said they did not have rest break, thirty-four (34) did. Additionally, forty-five (45) relatives said they did, thirty-one, (31) did not. Gender differences exist as more boys went on break than girls in both categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14: Rest Breaks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Employed child workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Boys said that they were able to rest in-between work because they are less supervised.

7.24 During group discussions, some of the girls indicated that they could snatch rests when the employer was at work but others said that other adults such as grand mothers lived in the house and supervised their work throughout the day. Many child workers did not find the discussions about rest or lunch break very pleasant. Majority of the boys had time to rest during lunch breaks. Their complaint however was that they had to eat under their lunch under a tree outside because they were not allowed inside the house.

Family visits or days off

7.25 In Table 15 below, thirty-four workers (41%) indicated that they had at least one day off while forty-nine (59%) did not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Had Days Off During the Week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Opportunity to play with peers in the neighbourhood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>83.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Whether child workers had annual leave

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.26 According to Table 15 children who lived with employers seem to miss out on family life. The most disadvantaged in this regard, were children whose parents lived outside Lusaka. The latter were mostly girls, twenty-seven girls and only one boy. While live-outs saw their families daily, live-ins whose families lived in Lusaka and who had off days saw their families, even though occasionally. Live-ins with families far away, were cut off from their families for the duration of the work. The majority of those who could visit home, (24) went off monthly, two said they went home weekly, four said they expected to visit home once a year and fourteen who visited anytime, were the live-outs. A total of twenty-seven (33%)
never visited. Discussions about family visit were very disturbing for many of the girls. It made many tearful and very emotional especially the ones who said they have no idea when they will be able to see their families. An eleven year-old girl was brought from Chipata had not seen her parents in over one year.

7.27 Like in many other conditions of work, gender differences also exist in family visits. To begin with, the majority of the workers who were unable to visit their families were girls. While only one boy said he never visited home, twenty-seven (27) girls never did. Although four workers out of the twenty-seven have parents in Lusaka and did not visit home, the remaining twenty-three (23) were from outside Lusaka. This suggests distance of home from Lusaka is a factor on the frequency of visits by workers to their families. It also shows that there are more girls from long distances, than boys. Additionally, it shows that such workers are the most disadvantaged. This finding contradicts Matoka's (1993) finding that in colonial and early post colonial days; parents did not allow girls to work far away from home. Such a reversal of trend suggests the influence of adverse economic conditions on social and cultural values and the exposure of children to adverse work situations.

7.28 Lack of family contact for the twenty-seven (27) girls will most likely aggravate the stress of other negative working conditions, increase their exploitation, and reinforce the hazards of the work. According to the UNICEF ICDC their needs for care and love will be better met by their own families. In addition to this, most of the children said that visits from relatives to the workplace were not permitted. Relative workers understandably had no off days, since they were adopted into the homes.

7.29 According to Matoka (1993) urban migration of his respondents between 1989 and 1992 were thirty-seven percent, (37%) of boys and eleven percent (11%) of girls. Such a finding contradicts the finding that ten percent, (1) of boys and twenty-eight percent, (23) of girls in this study who seemed not to have any relative in Lusaka.

**Play and Recreation**

7.30 Quantitative data in Table 15 indicate sixty-nine (83%) said that they did not have the opportunity to play while only fourteen (17%) said they did. In addition, responses from all live-in workers consistently said that they were not allowed to play with children in the neighbourhood except for a few, who had secret friends. Most of them could play with children in the house but said that they were too busy to do so.

7.31 The foregoing further indicate marked differentiation between live-out workers and live-in workers. While live-out workers were able to play on their way to and from work, live-in workers were not able to play. The data indicates that there are more constraints on child workers who live with employers. Since the opportunity to go on home visits provides time for them to interact with others, children who had relatives nearby were not as disadvantaged as those that did not. This means that when child workers live with employers far away from their parents and relatives, they are more likely to miss out on family life, play and recreation.
7.32 Since the majority of live-ins are girls the findings indicate marked gender differentiation in whether girls and boys could play. While the girls could not play, boys on the other hand, are able to play as they work since they are not under constant surveillance by the employer. They usually have the opportunity to work at their own pace and could snatch rest breaks in-between work. They also have time to play at home with their friends after work and at weekends. Girls did not enjoy such opportunities.

**Leave/ public holidays**

7.33 The finding on paid leave was that none of the children observed any paid leave during the year. On public holidays, most of the children, both girls and boys said that they did not observe public holidays. Information from the ten employers who were interviewed confirms this finding. All of them consistently confirmed that they did not allow their workers to go on leave or to have public holidays off from work. Figures in Table 14 show that none of the children observed any paid leave.

**Opportunity for Educational Development**

7.34 Another aspect of the conditions, which the study found to be very strongly lamented by most of the respondents, was the lack of schooling opportunities. To begin with, only one employed child was found combining work with schooling. In order to find out the level of schooling and literacy levels of employed child workers, the last grade that was attained at school and whether the child could read or write were examined.

7.35 Table 16 below suggests that the majority of child workers, sixty (82%) dropped out before grade seven, thereby indicating a high level of illiteracy among child domestic workers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 16: Level of Schooling</th>
<th>(a) Last grade obtained at school by employed child workers</th>
<th>(b) Last grade obtained at school by relative child workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Grades 1-4</td>
<td>Grades 5-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.36 Compounding illiteracy, fifty-two (63%) child workers said that they could neither read nor write, while only twenty-seven per cent (27%) said they could. Furthermore, eleven relatives and eighteen employed workers had never been to school.
7.37 The inability to go to school was a very touchy subject for most of the children, both girls and boys. Many looked very anxious and worried and though none cried it was evident that it was a painful subject. This finding however reveals a contradiction between the reaction of children to lack of schooling and their willingness to help their parents by working to earn money. This finding shows that the benefits of working notwithstanding, child work that denies children the right to education is not in the best interest of the children. It also shows that children seem to succumb to working because they have no choice. The work therefore, though not forced, is not voluntary. Additionally, the lack of schooling completes the social isolation of the child worker. Another disadvantage of inability to read and write is that it reinforces the isolation of the child worker from communicating with her family if they lived far away. A major long-term disadvantage is that it limits the opportunities opened to the child later on in life and has negative consequences on social development in the country. Both the parents and children lamented the inability of children to go to school. Except for two fathers who said they did not see the relevance of education because they needed the wages of the children, and one who did not think that education was necessary, all others regretted the lack of money to send their children to school.

Table 17: Level of education among informal workers in 1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of education</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No school at all</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade I-VII</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade VIII-XII</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Matoka 1993 pp 126)

7.38 A comparison of previous findings on the level of education of child domestic workers shows that it has deteriorated between 1993 and 2000. Table 15 contains the findings of this study on the level of schooling of child domestics and Table 16 contains Matoka's (1993) finding. In Table 16, only forty-nine percent (49%) of girls went up to Grade 7 but in comparison to sixty-two percent (62%) Table 16. Matoka's finding shows that child workers had a higher level of education than the samples in this study.

7.39 Lack of schooling for these child workers however contravenes the laws of the land. For example the Employment Act stipulates that only the Minister for Education could grant exemption for children below the age of 15 to be out of school. Such exemption could only be granted for reasons such as failure to secure admission to a suitable school or termination of enrolment by the school authorities or for a good cause by the parents. These conditions are supposed to complement the provisions of the Education Act (Cap 234) which provides for a school leaving age of 16 years. In addition to these, the National Constitution about the education of children contains the same stipulation as the Employment Act. Despite legislation, 98% of these child workers are out of school and working without approval from the Minister, and there seems to be no prosecutions or any attempt at enforcement, making the legislation of no effect. Though child work happens in the context of culture and poverty, the lack of enforcement is however a violation of the human rights of the children to education.
Remuneration

7.40 The findings and discussions that were presented here were on whether the children were paid or not and if they were, how much. It included whether the payment was in cash or in kind, how often it was paid and to whom. It also included whether wages were ever deducted and why. No worker in the relative category is paid since they are usually adopted. They are therefore not part of the investigation on remuneration. The only relative who was paid was regarded as a worker and so she was included in the sample of employed workers.

Table 18: Wages of child workers
(a) Whether child workers were paid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Persons who collected the wages of child workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valid</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardians</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>98.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Whether pay was regular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.34 The large majority of workers (79) said they were paid, only four said that they were not paid. The mode of payment included cash only, kind only, part cash and part kind, while some were not paid at all. The large population of sixty, (79%) said that they were paid in cash. Payment in kind included: used clothes, shoes, and a bag of mealie meal (the local staple food of maize meal) to the parent of the child worker as payment for the labour of the child. On the whole, the data suggests that an overwhelming majority of the children are paid in cash while only very few of them are not. The finding that most workers are paid in cash contradicts findings in Kenya where 78 per cent of child workers were paid in kind.

Amount paid

7.41 With such a large percentage claiming that they were paid, it is necessary to examine the amount that was paid in order to assess whether the workers were exploited or not.

Table 19: Amount paid to employed workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Below 15,000</th>
<th>K15000</th>
<th>K25000</th>
<th>K35000</th>
<th>K45000</th>
<th>Above K45000</th>
<th>Not paid</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The responses of the children about amount of wage were not very consistent. On the whole, while nine said that they earned below K15,000 a month, twenty-one (21) earned K15,000 a month; seventeen (17) earned K25,000; thirty-one (31) earned K35,000; five (5) earned K45,000 a month, two earned above K45,000 and only one said that he was not paid anything. Some of these were given money only occasionally as gifts. A rough average wage that is earned by child workers according to the data is therefore K26,402 (that is $7.9 at the exchange rate of K3,350).

7.42 In order to assess exploitation, apart from the wages, there is need to consider the accommodation and feeding that employers provide for the workers. Quantifying the cost of accommodation and of feeding are however difficult because child workers hardly had a room to themselves. Accommodation was usually the floor of the kitchen, corridor, living room, or children's bedroom. Another problem with this was that the accommodation usually carried with it the costly implication to the child in that it exposed her to further exploitation such as being made to work till very late or on call throughout the night. It also enables the child to commence work very early in the morning. The accommodation therefore usually benefited the employer more than the child. The quantity and quality of the food is also difficult to assess.

7.43 Attempt to quantify exploitation from the amount of wage is also difficult. This is because there is no national minimum wage for domestic workers, which could be used to measure exploitation by the amount of wage paid to child workers. Though the President of the Domestic Workers Union of Zambia, Mr. Chitalu, suggested a rough estimate of the average wage of adult workers at K60,000 it is however not easy to assess exploitation based on the amount of wages. Using the March 2000 Food Basket Survey of the Economic and Social Development Research Project of the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) based on the needs of an average household of six adults was K272,810 per month to meet basic food needs. Such recommendation shows that child workers are exploited. The fact that the earnings of the adult domestic worker fall far short of this requirement shows that the wages of the child worker is even worse. This shows to a large extent the lack of worth of the wage of child domestic workers.

7.44 In addition to this, when compared with the stipulation of the Minimum Wage and Conditions contained in the Employment Act (1974), the average amount of K26,402 a month is exploitative. According to the Act, a cleaner, handyman or a general worker is entitled to a minimum wage of K245 per hour. It therefore follows that if the employed child workers work an average of 15.30 hours daily, she or he is entitled to K110,250.00 ($33) monthly. The Act further stipulates that no one must be paid less than this wage. Any payment that is less is regarded as exploitative and a contravention of the laws of the land. This regulation, though outdated, does not apply to domestic child workers. They are exempted from it because the children are not legally recognised as workers. The sum of the situation is that
while the Employment Act stipulates legislation about lack of pay for adult workers, it fails to cover either adult or child domestic workers.

7.45 Responses by employers and adult domestics further suggest exploitation in the amount earned by child domestics. The executive members of the Domestic Workers' Union confirmed that child workers are being used as cheap labour. As a result, adults are loosing their jobs to children. Employers additionally confirm preference for young workers because they were cheaper than adult workers. These findings indicate two issues. One is that both adult domestics and employers agree that the child workers are exploited by the amount of wage that they receive. Secondly, it suggests that adults who are providers for families are loosing their jobs to children. The implication of this is that child domestic labour is a major social problem, which will contribute to adult unemployment and thereby increase family poverty levels.

7.46 The study found that it was not easy to quantify exploitation of children based on the amount of their wages for several reasons. One is that although the Employment Act (Cap 276) recommends a minimum wage, there is no official government minimum wage in Zambia. Even if there was, domestic child labour is not a recognised employment and is not covered by any employment regulations, and so it might not be covered by any regulated minimum wage. Another reason is that the wages of adult domestic workers also varied widely depending on individual employers. It is therefore not possible to use adult wage as yardstick against which exploitation by the amount of wages could be measured. Additionally, since many laws proscribe child labour but are not enforced, the children were working illegally, and employers were likely to take advantage of them and exploit them knowing that they had no legal backing. At the same time, the context of poverty in which the law is taking place would make the children accept anything because of the need to earn money. However, wages ought to be adequate to meet the basic needs of life, otherwise it is exploitation. The average wage shows has very little worth with regards to meeting basic daily needs in modern day Lusaka, and constitute exploitation.

**Persons who collect the wage**

7.47 Persons who collect the wages were examined to further determine exploitation. The data in Table 18 shows that while fifty-four, (54) child workers collected their wages by themselves, a total of twenty-nine (29) workers had their wages collected by adults on their behalf. The majority of the latter were children who were recruited by the employers from outside. The indication that more than half of the workers collected their wages themselves contradicts findings in Rwanda and Kenya (UNICEF, ICDC, 1999). However, though the child worker is able to handle hers/his wage, in reality the child still gave a large proportion of the earning if not all to parents or guardians. Additionally, about one third of the sample do not enjoy such privileges indicating that in the case of one third of the sample, traditional authority and control over children is exercised by their parents and guardians and their right to selfhood and freedom (Article 13 of the CRC) is violated. On the other hand, while few of the children said they spent their wage as they liked, majority of them claimed that they
willingly gave a large proportion to their parents. Observations revealed that such child workers demonstrated a sense of pride and joy in doing so. Few of them were however not happy with it because according to one of such children, her mother spends her wage on alcohol.

**Regularity of payment**

7.48 The fact that the worker expects to be paid is however only meaningful if the payment is on time and paid when due. According to Table 18 (pp. 62), only thirty-four, (34) out of the fifty-four, (54) who said they were paid confirmed that they were paid regularly. Twenty-six, (26) said they were not. Irregularity of payment, like hours of work, heavy workload, and verbal abuse, were found to negatively affect stability at work. More importantly, the importance of the work was supposed to be the financial benefit to the child and her/his family, lack of payment therefore defeats the purpose for working and is bound to demoralise the child worker. Though few child workers expressed dissatisfaction with having to work, their frustration was not with the idea of working, but with the lack of payment, along with other negative conditions of work. In addition, according to section 1 (1) of the Minimum Wages and Conditions of Employment Act of Zambia (Laws Volume 15, Cap 276, gazette, 23rd October 1997) a worker must be paid by the 5th of the following month. The existence of such legislation, would have protected child workers but for the fact that they are legally exempted from its provisions.

7.49 On the other hand, the employers themselves are facing the same harsh economic realities in the country. Though the study did not assess the incomes of employers, some of the employers were engaged in low-income jobs. As a result of the latter, payment of wages would sometimes be difficult. However, not all the employers were of low income. The problem was that the more well to do employers, for example in the high class Madras area, were not co-operative, and so they could not be interviewed. The few workers that could be interviewed in that area were paid regularly, but some of them experienced other problems such as serious wage deductions as punishment for offences. The interview by Zambian Sunday Times (7 March 1998) revealed that highly placed government workers who could afford not only to pay child workers well but also to send them to school said they did not see any reason why they should do so. The findings indicate that the lack of or irregular payment is more of attitude than in many cases than inability to pay.

**Wage Deductions**

7.50 On the issue of whether child workers suffered wage deductions, only fifteen out of eighty-three samples of child workers said that their wages were deducted. Those who experienced deductions were usually for breakage or for missing items in the house and only two of them appeared to be serious cases. On the whole, considering the fact that most of the children were working to raise money to help their families, deductions invariably signify exploitation. Those who suffered wage deductions were very unhappy about it and feel cheated. One orphaned worker said that half of her wage was paid to her guardian. The other half that she was to be paid was usually not paid to her because it would have been deducted
so much that there was nothing left to pay her. Another was paid K50,000 in Madras, an area that is inhabited mostly by Zambians of Asian origin. The wage was however deducted for every toiletry, food and accommodation that she hardly had any pay left at the end of the month and was perpetually indebted the employer.

**Types of punishment**

7.51 According to Table 20, forty-eight, out of eighty-three, (58%) said they were verbally abused, some of them very seriously. Only two said that they had never been punished. Verbal abuse seems to be the most common form of abuse in Lusaka.

| Table 20: Punishment types imposed on child workers |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Sex         | Physical beating| Denial of food  | Wage deduction  | Verbal abuse    | Other           | Not applicable  | Total           |
| Female      | 5               | 5               | 43              | 19              | 1               | 1               | 73              |
| Male        | 11              | 1               | 5               | 2               | 1               | 1               | 10              |
| Total       | 5               | 1               | 6               | 48              | 21              | 2               | 83              |

7.52 Describing their experiences, some of the children complained that the employer shouted, insulted and humiliated them almost every minute of the day. Some felt it was harassment. According to one of them, "she shouts at me continuously despite her high blood pressure." Another said that she was denied food along with insults. One of the girls said that in addition to verbal abuse, everybody in the house would stop talking to her for days.

7.53 One of the ways that child workers said they reacted to verbal abuse and other forms of punishment was to abscond from work. Abuses thereby also contribute to the instability in the work. This option was however limited to those who lived-out those who could go on home visits. They simply did not return to work from home visits. In conclusion, verbal abuse tends to reinforce ostracism and isolation of children. It also seems to contribute to instability in the work.

7.54 Very few said that they were physically beaten. One said he was denied food as a form of punishment and six had their wage deducted as punishment for offences another twenty-one of them (25%) reported that they experienced other forms of offences not listed in the questionnaire. Only two in the entire sample (2.4%) did not experience any punishment. Responses of the children show that they resented verbal abuse very much.

**Feelings of Children about Domestic Work**

7.55 This question was administered to employed workers alone because of it could put psychological stress on the relative children. Revelations from group discussions indicated that many of the child workers considered themselves lucky to have something to do. They were also happy with earning wages to help their families and themselves. Despite these, they tended to be unhappy with many aspects of the work. The children were very emotional about the lack of schooling opportunities and loss of family life. Other terms of the work that they found distressing included lack of payment of wages, separate treatment within the household, and the verbal abuse.
7.56 Some, in addition to other problems, complained of other abuses such as sexual abuse. For those who lived with the employers, the above problems seemed to be compounded with heavy workload, long hours of work, and lack of rest or play. Only three out of the total sample of eighty-three employed workers said that they did not mind the work because it prepared them for future roles as full time housewives while one hoped to continue working in domestic career. Parents also did not think much about the work but said they had no choice. In response to the question whether the worker would in future allow their own child to engage in domestic work, they all consistently said they would not, an indication that they not think that the work was good. According to one of them, "this work is too much for a child of my age." When asked if they would send their own children to do domestic work, they all consistently replied in the negative.

7.57 The majority of the children described their typical day as 'working throughout.' Some of the typical replies of girl child workers to the question on their typical day were as follows: "I work throughout the day," "I am busy most of the day," "I work all the time. This work is not suitable for children of my age." "Most of the day I am busy with work, I rarely have time to relax." Although boys seemed to have fewer types of work, some of them complained of too much or while most hated the insults by employers and their children.

7.58 The children were confused over their future aspirations. While some expressed the hope of eventually becoming teachers, nurses, doctors and engineers, without the opportunity for schooling, such aspirations seem unrealistic. Some however said that they had no idea and were not sure of what they wanted to be. Most of the employers however thought that the work was good because it removed children from destitution, they did not talk about the negative conditions of the work. The reasons that employers gave for preferring to hire young girls were that they were cheaper to hire, they work harder than adults, they do not give excuses to be absent from work. They added that young child workers do not request for separate sleeping area as they sleep anywhere, they are more obedient, and better trusted than adult workers.

Sexual abuse in child domestic labour

7.59 Discussions about sexual abuse were only done during the group discussions because children are usually shy to talk about sex. Some however confessed to either having been approached, or personally abused or heard a story about some other child worker who was being abused. According to the finding, the child workers said that they were propositioned sometimes by male employers, sons of the house, visiting male relatives or dependants, and other men in the neighbourhood.

7.60 The very bad cases were recorded in case studies 3, 5 and 8. The girl in case study 3 was found being taken advantage of sexually by the man who helped her to find a job in Lusaka. In case study 5, a 13 year-old girl who we met during the enumeration as a maid but had been converted to a wife by the 34 year-old employer by the time we conducted the
survey. The girl in case study 8 complained of being abused sexually by the younger brother of the employer. Any time he wanted her he simply threatened to lie against her that she was playing while they were at work. Since she was afraid of being thrown out of work, she would subject herself to him. Some other girls confessed to being molested by the son of the house while some spoke about other men in the neighbourhood coming to take advantage of them when the employer was not at home with promises of marriage and gifts.

7.61 The major concern was that these girls did not have anybody to complain to. If there were known drop-in centre, children in such circumstances would seek refuge and help in such places. The girl in case study 5 said that her mother refused to help her because she was getting monetary rewards from the man. The orphan on the other hand had nowhere to obtain help while the girl in case study 3 was simply perplexed about her condition. A complication to the problem is the traditional training that makes any discussions of sex a taboo. The revelations on sexual abuse indicate that sometimes the men of the house corrupt the girl child workers morally by sexually abusing them. In some cases the presence of the girl child worker creates tension in marriages and sometimes leads to marital breakdown. In the process, like the story of the girl in case study 5, the child loses her childhood and is caught up in the crisis.

7.62 For example, an 18 year-old prostitute said in a radio 2 interview (1999) that she took to prostitution because she was tired of the long years of sexual abuse that she suffered from her employers when she was a child domestic. Although this is not a finding in this study, it however illustrates the implications of this abuse on the moral development of the child. Apart from prostitution, other implications of sexual abuse include early and unwanted pregnancy and the possibility of contracting HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.

**Duration of service**

7.63 According to the data, sixty-nine (69) workers had worked for less than one year while only fourteen (14) had been working for over one year, suggesting a quick turnover and lack of stability in domestic child labour. Reasons that the study identified as being responsible for this are the negative conditions of the work.
CHAPTER EIGHT THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD AND CHILD DOMESTIC LABOUR

8.0 Many of the basic rights of the children are violated in child domestic labour because the underlying principle of 'the best interest of children' regardless of gender seems to be undermined by the conditions of work. To begin with, the finding that girls are overwhelmingly prevalent in the work means that most of the negative conditions of the work affect girls and only a handful of boys. The root of this is based on cultural gender segregation, which is a concern not only of feminists but also of the CRC, the CEDAW, the Beijing Conference and the ACRWC. Since Zambia has ratified the three conventions it has a duty to uphold the terms. Each of the conventions regard gender discrimination such as preference in the choice of the child to be sent to school as the study found, as a violation of the human right of girls and women. Not only because it limits women and girls to stereotypical gender roles, but also because it ascribes roles on the basis of female inferiority and male superiority. The inferior roles ascribed to girls probably underlie the lack of interest in domestic child labour by both the general public and research as it mainly involves girls.

8.1 The negative correlation between child domestic labour and education, which is suggested by the findings, violate Article 28 of the CRC; the right of the child to education. The prolonged hours of work violate their right to be protected from physical or mental ill-treatment (Article 19); and the right to conditions of living necessary for their development (Article 27). It also violates their right to be protected from economic exploitation and from work that interferes with their education or is harmful to their mental, spiritual or social development (Article 32). The long hours of work additionally violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on work. According to article 4 of the Declaration, everyone has the right to just and favourable conditions of work and the right to rest and leisure including limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

8.2 The denial of rest, and play in child domestic work imply that child workers miss-out on their childhood, an important aspect of normal development. This condition is not to in the best interest of the child workers (Article 18, CRC). It also contravenes Article 31, the right of the child to rest, play and recreation. Lack of family contact contravenes the right of the child to maintain regular contact with parents if separated from them and the right to preserve family relations (Article 9).

8.3 The use of prolonged verbal abuse and ostracism as a weapon of punishment contradicts part of article 19, that children should be protected from mental ill treatment. Segregating girls to this invisible aspect of child labour tends to expose young girls and make them vulnerable to sexual abuse. It denies them their right to grow as children, corrupts their morality and denies them the right to proper development. It thereby violates Article 34 of the CRC that children have a right to be protected from sexual abuse.

8.4 The denial or irregular payment of wages violates Article 32, that children be protected from economic exploitation. The powerlessness of the child workers to retrieve their wages amounts to servitude in the sense of free/unpaid labour. It thereby also contravenes the
Constitution of Zambia. Section 14 (1) of the constitution states that as part of the fundamental right and freedom of the individual, "no person shall be held in slavery or servitude." It also contravenes the Declaration of Human Rights which states that everyone that works has the right to just and favourable remuneration.

8.5 In an article titled *The survival of slavery*, Prior (1997) contends that millions of workers around the world are held in conditions of slavery or near slavery. The article specifically cited conditions of work in domestic employment as an example of work with conditions of servitude. ASI is concerned with servitude and slave-like conditions of of child domestic labour. These findings suggest the existence of such concerns in Lusaka. In addition to the findings of this study, the executive members of the Domestic Workers Union believe the existence of servitude in the conditions of work for adult domestics. The same holds also for child work. The findings actually suggest a worse situation for children because of their young age.

8.6 The problem of implementing the CRC and other international instruments is the poverty and cultural context of child domestic work. However, like socialisation, the work prepares the child worker for a future of subsistence existence and domestic roles only, a preparation that is inadequate for the requirements of modern day life. It therefore results in a future of destitution for the child worker and also perpetuates such limitation in future generations in a vicious cycle. Due to the need for education, the UN has declared that the provision of at least basic functional education is a fundamental human right of every child. Moreover, without effort to ensure that children are educated the society will find it difficult to come out of poverty. In addition to this, since all other rights of the CRC are based on the 'best interest of the child' its provisions ought to supercede cultural provisions. The only way to ensure its provision is however through enforced legislation.
CHAPTER NINE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction
9.0 The conclusions and the recommendations that derive from the findings are presented in this chapter. The presentation of the conclusions follow the order in which the findings were presented in the previous chapters, that is: causes of child domestic labour and conditions of work of child domestic workers. The gender issues that arise from the findings are discussed at the end of the conclusions. The conclusions are followed by the recommendations.

Conclusion

9.1 The objective of the study is to establish the characteristics of child domestic labour in Lusaka. Based on the findings, the conclusions are discussed following each specific research objective.

Causes of child domestic labour

9.2 Despite poverty, the lack of education in child domestic labour indicates the lack of preparation for a better future for the child and suggests a future life of destitution. This situation is an important hazard because it perpetuates both individual and societal poverty. Compounding this hazard is the government policy of cost sharing, which rather than alleviating the problem seems to contribute to the reasons why children are dropping out of school and working. The PTA is additionally making education to be for only those who can afford it, and the children of the poor, who need education since it is their only hope of upward mobility, are being denied the opportunity to ascend the social ladder. It additionally has the negative implication of making the children of the poor to be serving the rich and missing out on school thereby the P.T.A tends to be perpetuating poverty among the poor.

9.3 The long-term effect of many children missing out on education is that the children will constitute a large reservoir of future unskilled labour force. In addition to this, the children will further transmit poverty to their own children in a vicious cycle. The policy is not only contributing to the vulnerability of children but is reinforcing societal poverty.

Conditions of work

9.4 The negative attitude of the society including the employers seems to be responsible for the way employers take advantage of the vulnerability of the child workers through several undesirable conditions of work. Many relatives children are found in the same condition as employed children. Their situations are worse because they seem to have no hope. A major characteristic of the condition of work is that it involves too many responsibilities. The young girl workers are in charge of most of the domestic chores in the household, sometimes including the care of young children. In which case she acts as a surrogate mother while mothers went to work in addition to household chores. She has no
fixed hours of work, works for an average of about 15 hours 30 minutes of work a day with very little time to rest in between. By the time she finishes her daily tasks she has no time to play, relax or watch her favourite program on the television and she is the first to wake up the next day most times as early as 05.00hours. She is isolated and has no social life, over one third of the children miss out on family life. Because they do not visit their families and none of the respondents was allowed visits from their own family members. None of them enjoyed days off from work, public holidays or had annual paid leave.

9.5 Though only a few of the child workers indicated physical abuse, many of them (58%) were found to suffer verbal abuse, humiliation and verbal psychological torture. Though not many volunteered information about sexual abuse, the fact that some of them confessed to being sexually abused indicates that it exists. These abuses are likely to have long-term negative psychological and physical implications on the children. Apart from the possibility of prostitution, other implications of sexual abuse include early and unwanted pregnancy and the possibility of contracting HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.

9.6 The physical and arduous nature of the work, the opportunity cost of the work such as social life, recreation, education, and long hours of work, isolation, ostracism and verbal and sexual abuse of the child, combine to make the work near-slavery, hazardous, and exploitative. These conditions on the whole deny the children the opportunity to grow as children. They live premature adult lives and miss-out on their childhood, a phase which psychologists say is essential for an all round development of the person (Boyden, Ling & Myers 1998). The low payment, denial of or irregular payment of the wages, despite the foregoing poor conditions of work, constitutes gross exploitation of the children. The conditions of work and the treatment of the child workers connote servitude, a condition that contradicts the basic human rights and suggest the concerns of the Anti-Slavery International, (ASI) about servitude is correct.

Gender in child domestic labour

9.7 The findings indicate gender differences in every aspect of the work. To begin with, there were more girls both as employed and relative workers. The reason for this was found in the preference of poor parents to send boys to school and not girls and the work that girls easily found employment, was of the domestic nature. The implication of son preference is that where parents are faced with financial constraints, male children take priority over female children. The same tendency is likely to underlie not only poverty but also other conditions that generate vulnerability such as too many children in the family, death or divorce in the family. As a result, gender is a determining factor in the choice of which child got sent to school or to work. The basic premise for son preference is the higher value for the male child.

9.8 Most of the conditions of work showed wide gender differentiation in the condition of girls and boys indicating that the sexual division of labour in socialisation is translated into waged labour. This indicates that the feminist concerns about the segregation of women into domestic roles commence in the work of girls and that the work of girls ought to be part of
feminist campaigns. The irony, however is that, while men exploit, undervalue and oppress women through their domestic roles within the household, adult women tend to do the same to young girls who they employ to assist them in the homes. Domestic child labour on the whole, is a gender issue, which ought to be part of gender advocacy and struggles. This is because the institutionalisation of the low status of women commence in the issues of the girl-child. For this reason, facilities to combat issues such as battered women ought to be extended to include abused girls.

9.9 On the whole, many aspects of the conditions of work are exploitative and establish the work of children in housework as child labour and not child work as in socialisation. While socialisation is training for adult roles, child labour is not. Rather than prepare the child for a better future, it impedes modern requirement for adult roles especially formal education. The lack of schooling or skill training opportunities makes child domestic labour, unacceptable as an alternative to destitution. The exposure to sexual abuse makes it unacceptable as the best alternative to destitution.

9.10 In short, the findings of the study show that a lot is wrong, not only with the work but also with the total prohibition and with the societal silence. The children are not dropping out of school from truancy or working because they wanted to. Instead child workers find themselves in the painful dilemma of having to work instead of going to school. The government is right to prohibit child labour below age 14 and to recommend that any child who would be out of school below that age must be with the approval of the Minister for Education. On the other hand however, the climate that is generated by poverty renders any legislation unenforceable and untenable. The ineffectiveness of the laws is shown in the fact that though many children are working, no breach has ever been recorded. Silent acquiesce, which seems to be the present stand of government and policy makers is dangerous, both for the child because the best interest of the children right now are compromised and the future of the nation. Though child labour should not be condoned, if children have to work due to poverty, which seems to be spiraling out of control, their rights as human beings and as workers should be protected.

9.11 It is important to tackle the situation in a realistic manner. This because apart from poverty, the problem of dependency that is being compounded by the impact of HIV/AIDS which leaves children orphans and the aged to care for them. The dependency ratio of 92 children to 100 adults is too high to be ignored or to be handled conservatively. The cost of doing so is too high for the future of the society. The situation is desperate and requires the same handling.

9.12 The best immediate intervention is to enact and enforce legislation for the protection of children at work for the sake of the 'best interest' of the children. Such an action will be in line with the CRC to which Zambia is officially committed. Such an action will also be in line with the recommendations of the latest ILO Convention 182 (1999) which asks that states decide their minimum age based on the economic and social climate of each state. The approach of the best interest of the children will combat the exploitation of children by
 empowering them in the work place, since the poverty situation makes it impossible to exclude them from the labour market. Legislation will help to reduce near-slavery working conditions, by reducing the long working hours, better pay, open opportunity for education or vocational training, and grant child workers rights to associate and to have social life. The approach will make the work less detrimental especially since it will allow them to have a better preparation for the future. Furthermore, child workers will have better opportunity to grow as children.

9.13 Remarks by the children during group discussions showed that they were fully aware that they were being exploited and maltreated, a situation that is harmful to their moral and spiritual development. They also demonstrated awareness of lack of government concern and it makes them feel that their situation is utterly hopeless. They actually thought that the study was at the instance of the government and are really hoping that help would come following this study.

9.14 The findings indicate that many vulnerable children are girls and that more girls are in the hidden work situation of domestic work. The findings on the conditions of work indicate that they are part of the most disadvantaged group of children. Though they seem to fall within the same category with disadvantaged child workers whose relatives are far away from Lusaka unlike the latter however, orphaned relatives, especially those who are double orphans, have no hope of parents who will come for them some day.

9.15 Another social concern is that children who were found working and out of school due to marital breakdown are mostly girls. This indicates that this is another potential source of unpaid child domestic labour. In most instances, these relative children differed very little from employer/employee relationships, and the norms of kinship virtually non-existent. In fact the conditions of work of relative children fall in the category of the worst treated child workers. Their powerlessness due to total dependency on the patron family and the fact that their situation is taken advantage of is likely to have very deep seated and long lasting psychological effect on them.

9.16 On the whole, the findings of this study establish many aspects of child domestic labour as hazardous and intolerable. According to Bequele & Myers (ILO, 1995) though hazard usually implies physical dangers, in the case of children, psychological and mental abuse such as verbal abuse, isolation, ostracism and sexual abuses make children suffer more than adults. Children are vulnerable to experiences such as these because of their tender age and due to their age such experiences tend to be more devastating on them. Bequele et all further suggest that children differ from adults because they are still growing up and the process of normal development can be damaged by negative conditions. The concept of work hazard must therefore be child centred in that beyond the immediate jeopardy, lie negative impacts on emotional development, cognitive development such as lack of schooling, social and moral development, sexual abuse, isolation and denial of family contacts, play and recreation. Some of the conditions of work like sexual abuse of the children make the work intolerable. The work is therefore a high social cost for the child and the community.
**Recommendations**

9.17 In view of the findings and the conclusions drawn from the study, the most important recommendation is that the society needs to appreciate the economic contributions of child domestic work to the society and to support instead of overlooking them. The recommendation is therefore to make the work less detrimental, by removing it from full to part-time and transforming it from harmful to beneficial.

In order to fulfil these, the following ten immediate actions and interventions should be initiated:

- Further studies should be done to obtain a national picture of the incidence of child domestic labour. The study should include not only the national character of child domestic labour in Zambia but also the statistical data to establish the extent of the phenomenon in Zambia.

- Efforts should be made at public enlightenment and sensitisation of the parents, employers, donors and policy makers. The attitude of employers needs to be targeted so that they can be sensitised to the needs and rights of the children as human beings and as workers. Parents need to be sensitised to the adverse negative conditions of work and to their responsibility to ensure that employers are aware of the needs of their child to be treated nicely and for them to learn to listen to their children. The general public needs to be sensitised to the harm implicit in the work so that they will see it as child labour and not socialisation or child work so that the current acquiescence and acceptance of the work can be challenged. Policy makers need to be aware of the conditions of work so that interventions can be designed to help the situation of the children and only sensitisation commence a change in attitude. Sensitisation will additionally create greater visibility for child domestic labour. Such sensitisation should be in the form of dramatic displays on the electronic media, the print media and other government bulletins and publications.

- Efforts should be made to provide support services to children. To begin with, already established programs in care for child domestics in other countries should be visited. These may not be adopted but modeled to suit local conditions and existing facilities. Among several other examples are the following three:
  
  (a) The Sinaga Women and Child Labour Resource Center in Nairobi, Kenya.
  (b) The Kisumu Municipal Council in Kenya, which runs, classes for child domestics using school classrooms.
  (c) Other projects that are worth noting include the Maurice Sisto Shelter in Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

- Organisations that are already involved in the issues of children should be identified and encouraged to incorporate child domestics into their programs especially since none of them is currently looking into the work. They could be encouraged to set up programs like
any of the above examples and adapt them to the local situation and helped to obtain foreign funding.

- They should also enumerate child domestics in their area of operation, get acquainted with the employers, mediate in amount of pay, monitor payment and working hours. These should be done with care in order not to scare employers at the same time protect the best interest of the children.

- The organisations should arrange to set up recreational facilities for child workers in every neighbourhood to come to and play and interact with peers. Arrange contacts with families who are far away from Lusaka. Serve as arbiter between employer and child worker and a counseling and resource center for the children.

- Existing classrooms could be adapted for use after hours for night schools, evening schools and weekend schools should be run as in other countries. Special curriculum should be developed to help child workers. Basic education including English and mathematics should be taught to all children. Vocational training should include courses that can give children a future trade. The school timetable should be flexible and adapted to suit working hours to be agreed upon with employers so as not to disturb their work but to give children time for training.

- Since child domestics are in the same work situation as adult housewives, current facilities for battered women should be extended to incorporate abused child domestics. They should also serve as a drop-in and rescue centers for children in conditions of sexual and very bad conditions of work or physical and psychological abuse. Counseling and legal support should be provided where needed and should be based on 'the best interest of the child.'

- The association of domestic workers should have a unit for children to network for them and give them a corporate voice.

- Legislation should be passed to protect child domestic workers. The legislation should provide for:
  
  (1) A realistic minimum age for work which will not ostracize younger ones who are forced to work due to no fault of theirs;
  
  (ii) Adequate schooling if children below the age of school completion have to work; and
  
  (iii) Tolerable amount and hours of work.
  
  (iv) Legal contracts for work with children should have legal backing; they should provide for negotiated hours of work, wage, rest periods, leave and days off, to minimise exploitation. Legal recognition for working children will make it easier to protect these children and the monitoring of their working condition will be easier to do. Working children should have the same rights as adult workers and because of their vulnerability due to their age, they should be
given more rights than adults. Legislation has its limitation especially with hidden work, however the presence of legislation is better than its absence.

(v) Free legal service to be provided for child domestic workers as is available for adult housewives.

- On child workers from broken down marriages, this study recommends that institutions such as the YWCA and the Ministry of Social Welfare and even Local Council Offices and the courts should endeavour to ascertain the future welfare of children from marriages that are being dissolved. Laws should be enacted to protect children who are informally adopted children after traditional system. This is because the society needs to fill the vacuum that is being created by the gradual disintegration of traditional obligations to vulnerable children.

9.18 In addition to the above immediate interventions, the following long-term interventions should be pursued vigorously:

- The first one is on education and training programs. Since lack of education perpetuates poverty, following attempts to set up immediate interventions as suggested above, compulsory primary education should be initiated nation wide. This should be part of the strategy to reduce exploitation of child domestics, to drastically reduce, if not eradicate, child labour, and to be part of the national poverty reduction strategy. Government needs to prioritise education and increase spending on education. The current BESSIP program, which is designed to ensure that 100 percent of 7-13 year-olds should be Grades 1-7 by the year 2005 it is made a reality. and 100% of 7-15 year-olds in Grades 1-9 by the year 2015, should be pursued with vigour in order to ensure that it is made a reality. If children are free to go to school, many of them will not be working.

- Attempts should be made to empower parents of child domestic workers in order to stem the tide of poverty, which is the main cause of child domestic labour. An important way to stop poverty is capacity building to enable people to effectively harness and utilise resources for sustenance. Poverty reduction programs are the best long-term solution to child domestic labour.

- There is need for legislation concerning adoption of children. With the extended family obligations gradually fading in the face of modernisation and the traditional mechanisms of coping with vulnerable children, the government has to begin to think of playing a more active role in protecting wards who are living with relatives. Practices such as property grabbing despite surviving children should be discouraged and there should be legislation to protect such property so that children can benefit from it and not just greedy relatives.
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Appendix 2  Case Studies

In the following case studies, many of the features that were found to characterise child domestic labour in Lusaka are vividly portrayed. They serve to highlight some of the findings of the study.

Case study 1 (employed female child worker aged 13)
This case describes how parental poverty as a result of illness in the family resulted in extreme poverty, which in turn resulted in domestic child labour. The case additionally illustrates how the inadequacy of the school system compounds poverty to expose the girl-child to exploitation and to unwanted pregnancies. It serves to illustrate the vulnerability of the out-of-school girl-child.

The first case was that of a 13 year-old girl. According to the socio-economic background of the parents, her father, the only breadwinner in the family, was a mini-bus driver who had dropped out of school in grade five. Her mother had never been to school and was a full time housewife. According to her, when her father was working, the family was comfortable. The family began to suffer when her father broke his spine from a road accident and her mother had to spend all the time taking care of him. There were six children in the family all of them were girls. Three of the girls have children out of wedlock and in fact the fathers of the children have denied being the father. The latter confirms the negative effects of girls being out of school.

Due to family poverty as a result of the father's illness, the children had to dropout of school, electricity was disconnected from their home, and they had to sell most of the family possessions including beds to purchase drugs for the father and to feed. They have had to sleep in cotton sacks instead of blankets in winter. The family relies on the wage of the child to meet some daily requirements. She sends K20, 000 out of the K35, 000 that she earns monthly, making her contribution to the family very important to the survival of the family.

None of the children were found to be currently in school due to lack of money. Just like most children in her condition she felt absence from school very badly. Though she understood some English she could neither speak nor write a letter. She said that she would love to go back to school if she had the opportunity. She had stopped in grade six because there was nobody to buy uniforms, shoes and to pay PTA for her which is part of the inadequacy of the school system. She suggests that "government should help to introduce free education to poor people like us." She said that she did not enjoy the work.

Routine daily activities of the child:
According to her, "I wake up at 0500 hours and go to bed at 2300 hours. I have no resting hours. I sweep the house, cook and wash clothes for the whole family of six. I apply the polish to the floor every morning; I wash plates three times a day. I go to buy vegetables from the market, and I take care of 2 little children. I bathe them, feed them and care for them. I also sleep in their bedroom so, when they cry at night I have to wake up. To care for them."

Her perception of the work:
I don't like the job, I get very tired every night and I cry to sleep, but there is nowhere I can get money from, I am forced to work."

Case study 2 (employed female child worker)
This case highlights many of the features of child domestic work especially employer and parental exploitation of the child and the denial of many of her rights. It shows gender preference of boys over girls to be sent to school and girls sent to work.
Her parents were peasant farmers in Choma with nine children, six girls and three boys. This case reveals gender discrimination in the choice of children to be sent to school. The three boys were schooling while none of the girls are school. Out of the six girls, none was currently in school due to lack of money. Her parents had to sell cows in order to send the boys to school but they would not do the same for girls because "boys are more important in the family, than girls."
She had dropped out in grade four not only because there was no money, that is parental poverty and gender discrimination, but she also found that she was too dull, a part of the inadequacy of the school system. She could not speak or write a letter. She was of the opinion that schooling was very important and she was very disappointed that she stopped school in grade five due to lack of money because she was aware of the importance of schooling. Two of her sisters were working as maids.

Her parents arranged the job with the employer. Her employer kept her money to give directly to her parents. She did not know how much she was being paid she was just given enough to buy what she needed.

**The following were an account of her routine daily activities:**
She woke up 0500 to start cooking breakfast. Then she woke the children up to bathe and cleaned them up and to get them ready for school after feeding them. The youngest child was nine years old and the oldest was fifteen. After the mother and the children had left for work, she must be on hand to attend to the master who was at home all day because he was not working. Other daily routine duties included washing of plates, clothes for all the six people in the house, cleaning and polishing the floor, cooking lunch, and dinner, and ironing. She had never gone to bed until the last person had gone to bed. When asked whether she ever had time to relax or watched the television with the family, she said that her favourite program was Chaka the Zulu, but that she never had the time to watch it because she would not have finished her work. She was usually too tired to watch anything by the time she was through with work.

She said that she suffered from frequent headaches and tiredness, and she was visibly distressed emotionally. She complained of too much work and lack of rest, verbal abuse and harassment. She said that she would like to go back but that she did not know how. She had never been home in over one year when she started working. She had never sent nor received any messages from home. Illiteracy further isolated her from her family because she could not write letters home.

As usual with child domestics, her aspiration, which seemed to be out of line with her situation, was to go to school and “get a good job.”

Case study 3 (Girl-worker aged 14 years old)
A 14 year-old girl was recruited through the help of an adult male family friend (he appears to be between 29 and 30 years old. She said that her father was dismissed from the Zambian Airforce. She did not know his rank. Extreme poverty began from that point for the family. The family could no longer afford for the children to go to school the children including the respondent, had to drop out of school. She dropped out in grade four.

The family friend used to visit his cousin in a home near the home of her parents. Her father told the man to help look for a job for in town for one of his daughters. He came back and discussed with her father and she was asked to go with him to work.

It turned out that he had helped to secure a job for her with his own employer in the Madras area of Kamwala. The situation that we found was that he had arranged it so that the girl was residing with him in his own bedroom at the servants quarters where he worked as a gardener. He was virtually living with her as his wife. She works as a maid while he works in the same house as the garden boy.

As a day worker, she would close from her normal work as a maid in the main house at 17.00 hours, and then cook for him, wash his clothes, and take care of him and the house like a wife. She does not know the terms of her employment, whether the employer is to pay her or not and whether she is being paid or not. She just does what she is told to do and goes back to the servants quarters to take care of the young man. He arranged the work, negotiated the terms and was in charge of everything. It was not possible to locate the parents of the girl because the man refused to co-operate with us.

**Case study 4 (Girl worker age unknown)**
This case serves to illustrate the negative consequences of family dysfunction due to divorce and the way it contributed as a potential source of domestic child labour. The little girl had never been to school and could not communicate in English. She said that her mother had divorced her father and remarried somewhere in the North (she could not say exactly where). Her father also had remarried and the stepmother did not like the two children from her husband's early marriage. Her father gave her out to the employer. Her other sister was sent to an uncle somewhere she did not actually know.

She does not know how much she is paid or the terms of her work. In addition, she has not seen her parents since she left home. She could not say how long she had been working because she could neither read nor write nor did she know her age.

She says that the work is tiresome because she works from break of day till very late at night. She does not know how long she had been working but that it has been very long. She showed signs of being slow to respond, was almost in tears all the time, was timid, unsure of herself, frowned a lot, and showed signs of being helpless. She was very anxious to trace her mum but she did not know how.

**Case study 5 (Girl worker 13year-old)**

This case illustrates how liquidation of government owned companies resulted in a chain of reactions including family breakdown, family poverty, death, child labour, and economic and sexual exploitation of the girl-child.

This is the case of a 13 year-old girl who was being sexually abused by the employer. Her father worked as a technician with a reputable bakery in Lusaka. He stopped work when the company liquidated and when he collected his benefits he absconded from his wife and six children, all of them girls. He ran away to Livingstone and remarried there. He died soon after that.

Her mother, left with six children to care for, took to drinking Kachatsu (a very strong locally brewed beer) very heavily. She soon sold all the property that they had including motor cycle, television set and radios chairs. Two of the children died after their father left. The children other had to stop schooling due to lack of money. Her elder sister was only 15 and she is married to bus conductor.

Her 34 year-old employer used to tell her that she cooked better than his wife and kept the house cleaner. He used to touch her and complain to her that his wife was childless. After sometime, he told his wife to go to the village and stay there. After that he asked her to move into his bedroom and he began to take advantage of her. When she reported to her mother, the mother told her not to refuse because a woman could never be too young. Her mother told her not to complain because the man would help them financially. According to her, "I had no choice but to agree because he promised to sponsor me and my family for life."

**Case study 6 (Relative girl 14yrs-old)**

This case illustrates the causative effect of orphanhood on child poverty and domestic labour.

This was a 14 year-old double orphan said that she was told that her parents died of HIV/AIDS in 1993. She said that her father was a teacher in one of the prestigious secondary schools in Lusaka while her mother also taught in a primary school. Three children, one boy and two girls survived them. After the death of their parents, their aunt adopted the two girls. The older girl became pregnant for a policeman who used to invite her to his home and take advantage of her. The aunt had to send away to live with the man. Her sister now has two children and she is not yet 18 years.

The following were an account of her routine daily activities:

The child says, "I wake at 0500 hours and go to bed around 22hours. I sweep the house and bathe the children. I prepare breakfast and wash the plates. After breakfast I sweep the outside of the house. I wash clothes and mats, blankets and towels. I go to the market to buy vegetables for lunch, prepare lunch and I serve lunch to everybody. After eating, I wash the plates and clean the windows of the house and begin to prepare for supper. I iron the clothes for everyone for the next day. When they return, I prepare dinner for everybody. I then wash the
plates, clean the kitchen and get the children ready for bed. I usually go to bed at 2200 hours but if a visitor comes, I have to be up to serve the visitor. During the day, I do not have time to rest.

**Her perceptions of the work:**
They always want me to be working for them and yet they cannot attend to my basic needs. I am planning to escape from home.

**Case studies 7 (Relative girl 14)**
This case illustrates the exploitation of children of poor relatives. This is the case of a relative girl who said that her father used to work for Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation (ZESCO) in Mumbwa. He stopped work because he broke his arm and was discharged. There were nine children in the family, four boys and five girls. Her parents are currently subsistence farmers in Kasempa village in Kombe.

She was brought by her relative to Lusaka to look after and play with his baby. Only one of her siblings, a boy, was attending school. She said that all the others were out of school due to lack of money. According to the guardian, this girl is out of school due to lack of money. He said that though education is important, the poor, "are nowhere because government is not concerned. The little money that is available we spend on feeding. It is up to the children to choose between school and feeding."

The duties of the child at home include:
According to the child, "I wake up at 0500 hours and clean the kitchen. I then prepare breakfast and serve everybody. I run errands while they are getting ready for work. I bathe the young ones and feed them. Then I wash the dishes and clean the kitchen. I polish the floor and clean the bedroom. Then I wash clothes and have my bath. I rest for about 30 minutes. The children demand my attention all the time. I cook their food and feed them. I start to cook dinner at 1800 hours. I go to bed at 22 hours. I do these things everyday. My sister-in-law has a shop in town and gets home at 18 hours every day. I was brought to play with the baby when she was nine months old. She is now 3 years and a second baby is now 11 months. The first baby used to cry a lot it took me some time to get used to the crying. The problem was how to get her to eat because she was frequently sick. There are about 8 people in the house and I serve all of them."

**Case studies 8 (Girl worker 13)**
This case, in addition to portraying several characteristics of child domestic labour, it additionally illustrates sexual vulnerability of child domestics. This 13 year-old girl was a double orphan. Her father was a Zambian miner in South Africa who had married a South African and returned to Zambia with his wife and children. After they both died, their fathers' family members grabbed all his property and left the children to go and search for their mother's family. The children did not know where to go because their mother never introduced them to her people. Three children, one boy and two girls were therefore stranded. She said that since their parents died life has been very tough. She could not go to school due to lack of money. The older girl was working for a white family as a maid on a salary of K70,000. Since she had to feed and pay her rent, she could not afford to care for the sister. She therefore advised her sister to work. The first job that she got was near her sister's place of work. She had to quit the job for irregular payment of wages. She also quit the second job for the same reason. She had received only two months pay in the current job out of four months.

According to the child, her daily duties were as follows:
"I wake up at 0500 hours. I sweep the house and prepare breakfast for all the members of house. I wash the dishes. I bathe the children and get them ready for school. I take them to school. I sweep the surrounding of the house. Then I wash the blankets of the young ones because they wet their bed and the clothes of everybody. I prepare lunch after this and serve lunch to everybody. I wash dishes and clean the dishes and then I iron the clothes for the children and their parents. Then I start preparing dinner and after everyone has eaten, I wash up and tidy the kitchen. I prepare packed lunch for school for the children for the following day. I lock the door after everybody has gone to bed before I can sleep. I go to bed at 23 hours and sleep on the floor of the living room. My employer likes to shout at and insult me and is very rude."
My employer's younger brother takes advantage of me sexually. If I refuse, he threatens me that he will tell them that I went out of the yard instead of working.

**The child's perception of the work:**
I do not like my work or my employers. I am paid K30,000 and they treat me as if I am not a human being."

**Case study 9 (Boy worker 14yrs-old)**
This case is about a male child domestic. It is an example of the effect of parental poverty on child domestic labour. It also shows the difference in the type and hours of work with girls. His father was a driver for a haulage company while his mother never went to school. He said that his mother was never allowed to go to school because her parents said that school corrupts the morals of young girls. His father was retrenched in 1994 when the company that he was working for was closed down by government. Up till the time of the study, he was still expecting his terminal benefits to be paid. Since his retirement the father had not been able to get another job because his sight has become bad. When he was working, the family was able to feed and the children were able to go to school. Since he lost his job, the children had to drop out of school. The family had to move to a shanty compound. His father has had to start repairing bicycles and wrist watches while his mother sold groundnuts and meat chops at the tavern in the evening. The child claimed that the earnings of both of them were not enough to feed the household. Out of the five children two were in domestic work.

The child's wage was used to pays the rent for the family indicating that the benefits of child's work to the family. The child receives K35.000 out of which he gives K30.00 to his family for rent and keeps only K5.000 for himself.

Duties of the child at work are as follows:

He said, "I wake up at 0500 hours, report for work at 0600 to take the children to school. After that I sweep the surrounding of the house. I water the flowers and collect the dog dung. Sometimes I wash the dogs. Occasionally, I am asked to wash clothes for members of the house. I am sometimes sent on errands to but tomatoes. I close at 1800hours."

The perceptions of the child about his work are as follows:

"I do not like the work because the people I work for are not kind. They do not have respect for the poor. They shout at me and sometimes the children mock me. I want to go to school but there is nothing I can do to go. When I see my friends going to school I feel very bad. I stopped in grade 7 due to lack of money."

**Case study 10 (Boy domestic worker)**
This is the case of a male employed child worker. His father was a shoe repairer and his mother a brewer of local strong brew beer known as 'kachatsu.' Both of them were illiterates. Some of the customers who came to the house to buy the beer were habitual drunkards. He did not think that they earned much because of the extreme level of poverty in the family. He had dropped out of school in grade 5 not only for lack of money but also lack of encouragement from his parents. His parents said that schooling was for rich people and that not everyone was born to be rich or to go to school. None of the seven children were currently in school.

The boy decided to look for job to help himself. A friend who was already working introduced him to the current employer. Out of the K35.000 that he was paid monthly, he gave K15.000 to his parents to help them. He said that his elder brother had dropped out of school in grade six was serving a 15 year jail term in Lusaka prison for armed robbery.

During the enumeration and survey exercise we found him going to work from home daily, when we came back to conduct his case as a case study, he was now living-in with the employer.

He said that he was told by the employer to come and live with them so that he could watch the car at night and
guard the gate. His abode was the garage with a bed and one light bulb. The indication was that even when the male child worker was made to live-in, unlike the female worker, his abode and work remained external to the family residence.

He woke up at 0500 to clean the car of the master (bwana). He then began to clean the surroundings of the house and ran errands like buying bread, sugar or milk. Then he took the children to school. One of the children usually went at 0630 and another at 10.00 hours. He would also go in the afternoon to bring them back. For the rest of the day his work entailed gardening, running errands, occasional washing of clothes and being a general handyman.

His perception of the work was that the work that he did was too much for the amount of pay. However since his employers also fed him, he could not complain much because at home with his parents he could not feed. According to him, "I am poor, what can I do? I have nowhere to go so the only thing I can do is to work. It is painful to work for people who do not regard you as a human being because you are poor. Here they think that I am a slave and that I must everybody's instructions even the children. When I am sick no one listen or cares they say I am lying because I am lazy.

Employers said that they were helping him by employing him because he was a poor child with no one to send him to school. The employer felt that education was the right of all children but that "the story is different for children in his case. They are too poor to go to school, so the best they can do is to work. They have no choice but to work or they would and steal from peoples' homes. We are helping them by giving them jobs to do."
Appendix 3 Survey Questions

Instruction to Interviewers
The respondents should be told that the information that is given will be treated as anonymous and will be held in strict confidence.
Fill in the answers where necessary

SECTION A: INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED BY EMPLOYED CHILD WORKERS
Use observation sheets to record noticeable behaviour or any other characteristics of the children. Use the note pads provided to write extra information.

Questionnaire for female and male employed children
Interview Code No: Date:
Respondents Code No: Residential Area: House No:

Personal details of the child:
Q1. Sex of respondent:
   1. Female [ ]
   2. Male [ ]
Q2. Age of respondent in years
   1. 8-10 []
   2. 11-13 []
   3. 14-15 []

Details of the socio-economic characteristics of the parents of the child:
Q3. Are both your parents alive?
   1. Yes []
   2. No []
Q4. If both parents are alive, are they married?
   1. Married []
   2. Divorced [ ]
   3. Separated [ ]
   4. Never married [ ]
   5. Widowed [ ]

Economic background of the parents:
Q6. Is your father currently employed?
   1. Yes [ ]
   2. No [ ]
   3. Don’t know [ ]
Q7. Is your mother currently employed?
   1. Yes [ ]
   2. No [ ]
   3. Don’t know [ ]
Q8. How many bothers and sisters do you have? (Indicate how many in figures)
Q9. How many of them are currently in school
   1. Girls []
   2. Boys []
Q10. What is the main reason why you are working?
    1. Lack of money []
    2. Death in the family []
    3. Failure at school [ ]
    4. Lack of school admission [ ]
    5. Long distance to school [ ]
    6. Other [ ]
Details about schooling: (these are likely indicators of reasons why children are working):

Q11. Are you currently at school?
   1. Yes [ ]
   2. No [ ]

Q12. If currently in school: what grade are you?
   1. 1-4 [ ]
   2. 2.5-7 [ ]
   3. 3. 8-10 [ ]

Q13. If not in school, would you like to go to school?
   1. Yes [ ]
   2. No [ ]

Q14. If you have been in school and stopped, why did you stop?
   1. Failure [ ]
   2. School too expensive [ ]
   3. School too far [ ]
   4. Child got pregnant [ ]
   5. Lack of admission [ ]
   6. Sent to work [ ]
   7. Others [ ]

Q15. If you have stopped school, at what grade did you stop?
   1. 4.0 . . . . . @ @
   2. 5-7 [ ]
   3. 8-10 [ ]

Q16. If you have never been to school, why not?
   1. Too expensive [ ]
   2. School too far [ ]
   3. Lack of admission [ ]
   4. Child sent to work [ ]
   5. Pregnancy [ ]
   6. Child got married [ ]
   7. Parents not interested in school [ ]
   8. Other [ ]

Q17. Can you read a letter?
   1. Yes [ ]
   2. No [ ]

Q18. Can you write a letter?
   1. Yes [ ]
   2. No [ ]

Q19. Do you think that education is important?
   1. Yes [ ]
   2. No [ ]

Q20. If not in school, would she/he like to go to school?
   1. Yes [ ]
   2. No [ ]

Details of recruitment methods:

Q21. Did you have any say in the decision for you to work?
   1. Yes [ ]
   2. No [ ]

Q22. Who arranged this job for you?
   1. Parents [ ]
   2. Guardians [ ]
   3. Self [ ]
   4. Family friend [ ]
5. Other

Q23. Who negotiated the work?
1. Parents/guardian
2. Self
3. Other

Q24. Were you involved in the negotiation?
1. Yes
2. No

Q25. Was there any employment contract?
1. Yes
2. No

Remuneration or not:
Q26. Are you paid?
1. Yes
2. No

Q27. If yes, what is the mode of payment?
1. Cash only
2. In-kind only
3. Part cash part kind
4. Others

Q28. If paid in cash, how much?
1. K10-20,000
2. K21-30,000
3. K31-40,000
4. K41-50,000

Q29. Is the payment regular?
1. Yes
2. No

Q30. Who receives your wage?
1. Parents
2. Guardian
3. Kept by employer
4. Self
5. Other

Q31. Does the employer ever deduct from your wages?
1. Yes
2. No

Q32. If yes, why?
1. Breakages
2. Lost items
3. Bad behaviour
4. Other

Working conditions
Q33. Do you live with your employer?
1. Yes
2. No

Q34. How long have you been working?
1. Less than a year
2. Over 1 year
3. 2-3 yrs
4. Over 3 yrs

Q35. Can you give a list of the type of work that you do in the home?
1. Fetch water
2. Cook
3. Clean the house
4. Does the laundry
5. Care for young children and babies
6. Makes coal fire
7. Shop for the house
8. Wash the plates
9. Run errands
10. Others

Q36. What do you feel about the work that you do?
1. It is very good
2. It is good
3. I do not like it
4. It is not good
5. It is manageable
6. Others

Hours of work:
Q37. Do you have regular working hours?
1. Yes
2. No

Q38. When do you start work?
1. 05.00 hours
2. 06.00 hours
3. 07.00 hours.
4. Anytime

Q39. What time do you knock-off?
1. 17.30-18.30 hours
2. 18.31-19.30 hours
3. 19.31-20.30 hours
4. 20.31-21.30 hours
5. 21.31-22.30
6. 22.31-23.30
7. No fixed time

Q40. Do you have any breaks during the day?
1. Yes
2. No

Q41. Do you have any day off during the week?
1. Yes
2. No

Q42. Do you have annual leave?
1. Yes
2. No

Q43. Do you have any opportunities for play?
1. Yes
2. No

Q44. Are you ever allowed to play with other children in the neighbourhood?
1. Yes
2. No

Q45. How often do you visit family/guardians/or other relatives?
1. Once a week
2. Once a month
3. Once a year  
4. Anytime  
5. Never  

**Punishment:**
Q46. How are you punished when you offend?
1. Physical beating  
2. Denied food  
3. Salary deducted  
4. Verbal abuses  
5. Other  

**Relationship with the household:**
Q47. Do you have your personal sleeping area in the house?
1. Yes  
2. No  
Q48. If you do not have, where do you sleep?
1. Children’s room  
2. Living room floor  
3. Kitchen floor  
4. Other  

**Relationship with members of the household:**
Q49. What is your relationship with your employer?
1. Very good  
2. Good  
3. Satisfactory  
4. Not very good  
5. Other  
Q50. If the relationship is bad: what are the reasons?
1. Too much work  
2. Hours of work too long  
3. Poor pay  
4. Does not pay on time  
5. Physical abuse  
6. Verbal abuse  
7. Others abuse  

Q51. Do you have any problems with other members of the house?
1. Yes  
2. No  
Q52. If yes, what type of problems?
1. Sexual abuse  
2. Verbal insults  
3. Too many errands  
4. Others  

Q53. Would you like to send your own child to do housework?
1. Yes  
2. No  
Q54. What would you like to do in future?
1. Nursing  
2. Teaching  
3. Office work  
4. Trading  
5. Domestic work  
6. Get married
SECTION B:
INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDE BY EMPLOYERS

Personal details of the employer:

Interview Code No:  Date:
Respondent Code No:
Residential Area:  House No:

Q1. Sex
1. Male  
2. Female  

Q2. What is your occupation/profession?
1. Trader  
2. Driver  
3. Gardener  
4. Housewife  
5. Farmer  
6. Unemployed  
7. Retired  

Details about recruitment:

Q3. What is relationship with the child?
1. Related  
2. Not related  

Q4. If not relation, how did you find her/him for employment?
1. Agent  
2. Friend  
3. Co-worker  
4. Other  

Q5. Who arranged the work?
1. Parents  
2. Child  
3. Relatives  

Q6. Who negotiated the terms of employment?
1. Parents  
2. Child  
3. Relatives  

Q7. Is the child paid?
1. Yes  
2. No  

Q8. Is the pay in cash or kind?
1. Cash  
2. Kind  
3. Both  
4. Unpaid  

Q9. If in cash: how much do you pay the worker?
1. K10-20, 000  
2. K21-30, 000  
3. K31-40, 000  
4. K41-50, 000  
5. Over K50, 000  

Q10. How often do you pay?
1. Monthly  
2. Yearly  

Q11. Who collects the pay?
   1. Parents  []
   2. Child  []
   3. Relative  []
   4. Other  []
Q12. If not the child, does she/he get any part for her own use?
   4. Yes []
   4. No []
Q13. How long has she/he been in your employment?
   1. Less than 1yr  []
   2. 1yr 1month-2yrs  []
   3. 2yrs 1month-3yrs  []
   4. Over 3yrs  []
Q14. Has there been any increment in wages since he/she started working with you?
   1. Yes []
   2. No []

**Details about working conditions:**

Q15. Does she/he have fixed hours of work?
   1. Yes []
   2. No []
Q16. When does she/he start work in the morning?
   1. Before 05hrs  []
   2. 05-06hrs  []
   3. 06-07hrs  []
Q17. When does she/he close in the evening?
   1. 17-18hrs  []
   2. 18.30hrs-19.30hrs  []
   3. 19.31-20.30hrs  []
   4. 20.31-21.30hrs  []
   5. 21.31-22.30  []
   6. After 22.30hrs.  []
Q18. Does she/he work during the weekends?
   1. Yes []
   2. No []
Q19. Does she/he work during public holidays?
   1. Yes []
   2. No []
Q20. Why do you employ a young worker?
   1. Reliable  []
   2. Obedient  []
   3. Trust worthy  []
   4. Costs less  []
   5. Others  []
Q21. What do you think about children working?
   1. It is good []
   2. It is not good []
   3. I don’t know []

**SECTION C:**
INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED BY PARENTS OF CHILD WORKERS OR THEIR PROXY.
Personal details:
Interview Code No: Date:
Respondent Code No:
Residential Area: Code No:

Q1. Sex of respondent?
   1. Male
   2. Female

Q2. Are both parents of the child currently married to each other?
   1. Yes
   2. No

Q3. What is the occupation of the father?
   1. Formal employment
   2. Informal employment
   3. Self employed
   4. None
   5. Retired
   6. Retrenched
   7. The RS

Q4. What is the occupation of the mother?
   1. Formal employment
   2. Informal employment
   3. Full time housewife
   4. Retired
   5. Retrenched
   6. None
   7. Other

Q5. How many children do you have? ---------

Q6. Why is this child working?
   1. Financial problems
   2. Retrenchment
   3. Unemployment
   4. Too many children
   5. Marital break down

Q7. Who arranged the work?
   1. Parent
   2. Child
   3. Relative
   4. Family friend

Q8. Was the child involved in the decision to work?
   1. Yes
   2. No

Q9. Is she/he being paid for the job?
   1. Yes
   2. No

Q10. If paid, how is she /he paid?
    1. In cash
    2. In kind
    3. Both
    4. Unpaid

Q11. Who collects the wage?
    1. Parent/s
    2. Child
3. Relative/s []
4. Other []

Q12. How often do you exchange visits with the child?
1. Weekly []
2. Monthly []
3. None []

Q13. What are your views about education/schooling?
1. Important []
2. Not important []
3. Not sure []

Q14. If you had the chance, would you like to send your children to school?
1. Yes []
2. No []

Q15. If you had to choose, which of the children would you send?
1. Girls []
2. Boys []

Q16. If the child has been to school before, why did she/he stop?
1. Lack of finance []
2. Death in the family []
3. Retrenchment []
4. Retirement []
5. Family break-up []
6. Other []

Q17. If she/he has never been to school before, why not?
1. Lack of finance []
2. Death in the family []
3. Retrenchment []
4. Retirement []
5. Family break-up []
6. Other []

Q18. Does the wage of the child contribute to your family?
1. Yes []
2. No []

Q19. What is your future aspiration for the child?
1. Nursing []
2. Teaching []
3. Office work []
4. Trading []
5. Skill training []
6. Domestic work []
7. Marriage []
8. Not sure []

SECTION D:

INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED BY RELATIVE WORKERS BOTH GIRLS AND BOYS

Personal details:
Interview No: Date:
Respondent Code No:
Residential Area: House No:

Q1. Sex:
1. Male []
2. Female []
Q2. Age:
1. 8-11  
2. 11-13  
3. 13-15  

Q3. What is your relationship to the house?
1. Sister  
2. Sister-in-law  
3. Brother  
4. Brother-in-law  
5. Cousin  
6. Cousin-in-law  
7. Others  

Q4. Is your natural mother alive?
1. Yes  
2. No  

Q5. Is your natural father alive?
1. Yes  
2. No  

Q6. If they are both alive, what is their marital status?
1. Married  
2. Separated  
3. Divorced  
4. Widowed  

**Economic background of the parents:**

Q7. Is your father currently employed?
1. Yes  
2. No  
3. Don’t know  

Q8. Is your mother currently employed?
1. Yes  
2. No  
3. Don’t know  

Q9. How many brothers and sisters do you have? 

Q10. How many are girls/boys?
1. Girls  
2. Boys  

Q11. How many of the are currently in school?
1. Girls  
2. Boys  

Q12. If the child’s parents are alive, why are you not living with your parents?
1. Death in the family  
2. Retirement of parent  
3. Illness in the family  
4. Parents divorced/separated  
5. Retrenchment of parents  
6. Needed to working  
7. Other  

Questions about school:

Q13. Are you currently attending any school/training?
1. Yes  
2. No
Q14. If the child is not in school, why not?
1. Death in the family [ ]
2. Retirement of parent [ ]
3. Illness in the family [ ]
4. Parents divorced/separated [ ]
5. School is too expensive [ ]
6. School too far from home [ ]
7. Did not gain admission [ ]
8. Failure [ ]
9. Pregnant [ ]
10. Other [ ]

Q15. If not in school, would she/he like to go to school?
1. Yes []
2. No []

Q16. If you have stopped school, at what grade did you stop?
4. . . . . . . @ @ []
2. 5-7 []
3. 8-10 []

Q17. Can you read a letter?
1. Yes []
2. No []

Q18. Can you write a letter?
1. Yes []
2. No []

Q19. Do you think that education is important?
1. Yes []
2. No []

Q20. If not in school, would she/he like to go to school?
1. Yes []
2. No []

Q21. What work do you do in the house?
1. Fetch water [ ]
2. Cook [ ]
3. Clean the house [ ]
4. Do the laundry [ ]
5. Bathe the children [ ]
6. Feed the children [ ]
7. Take the children to school [ ]
8. Shop [ ]
9. Run errands [ ]
10. Others [ ]

Q22. What are your future aspirations?
1. To be a nurse []
2. To work in an office []
3. Trader []
4. Doctor []
5. Lawyer []
6. Sportsman []
7. Not sure []
8. Others []

SECTION E:
INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED BY GUARDIANS OF DEPENDANTS

Interview Code No: [ ]
Respondent Code No: [ ]
Residential Area: [ ]
House No: [ ]

Personal details:
Q1. Sex:
   1. Female [ ]
   2. Male [ ]
Q2. Are you related to the child?
   1. Yes [ ]
   2. No [ ]
Q3. Is the child’s mother alive?
   1. Yes [ ]
   2. No [ ]
Q4. If she is, where is she?
   1. In Lusaka [ ]
   2. Outside Lusaka [ ]
Q5. Is the father alive?
   1. Yes [ ]
   2. No [ ]
Q6. If he is, where is he?
   1. In Lusaka [ ]
   2. Outside Lusaka [ ]
Q7. If the parent/s is alive, why is the child living with you?
   1. For employment [ ]
   2. For adoption [ ]
   3. To assist in housework [ ]
   4. Others [ ]
Q8. Is the child schooling?
   1. Yes [ ]
   2. No [ ]
Q9. If the child is not in school, why?
   1. Lack of money [ ]
   2. Long distance to school [ ]
   3. Lack of admission [ ]
   4. Guardian not interested [ ]
Q10. What work does she/he do at home to help you?
   1. Fetch water [ ]
   2. Cook [ ]
   3. Clean the house [ ]
   4. Do the laundry [ ]
   5. Care for the younger children [ ]
   6. Make coal fire [ ]
   7. Shop [ ]
   8. Run errands [ ]
   9. Others [ ]
Q11. What are your future aspirations for the child?
   1. Nursing [ ]
   2. Teaching [ ]
   3. Office work [ ]
   4. Trading [ ]
   5. Skill training [ ]
6. Domestic work [ ]
7. Marriage [ ]
8. No plan [ ]
## UNOBTRUSIVE OBSERVATION CHECKLIST-EMPLOYED CHILD WORKERS

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<th>1. Physical appearance</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
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